

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

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# TWO CASES FROM THE BARON COURTS OF DIRLETON

### by GEORGINA BURNS

The reports of the Baron Court have not survived, but a few isolated documents have survived in the Biel and Archerfield Estate records. Those of the early 18th Century are hard to decipher and use many legal terms and expressions of the time. The two local squabbles featured in this article took place in 1706.

Complains Hugh Acheson proc. fiscall of ye court of Dirleton upon Hugh Coldon in Archerfield, and Charles Gordon servitor to James Steven in Dirleton that where the said Hugh Coldon and Charles Gordon are guilty of one riot and breach of her Majesties (Queen Anne) peace in so fare as upon Monday last the said Hugh with one violent thurst wounded and pushed the said Charles whereby he labours under great pain and trouble and is thereby in hazard of his life and the said Charles did calumniat ye said Hugh by his malitious expression not worthy to be named for which they ought both to be severely punished in the persons and goods to the terror of others not to commit the lyke in tyme coming.

### Dirleton 26th Septr. 1706.

Hugh Coldon present confesses that in regaind Gordon was pasturing the toun sheip upon his stubles and therefore he gave the said Charles a thurst with the end of his staffe but says it was sich a thurst as could not wrong a chyld.

Hugh Coldon

Wmn Brocus aged twentie years or thereby purged of parts all councell solemnly sworne interrogat depons that he did see Mr Coldon come to Gordon and give him a thurst with the end of his staffe wherewith Gordon within a little through pain fell down and was necessitate to go home and saw no

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### DIRLETON BARON COURT

provocatne given and kisses the bible as he shall answer to God and sayes he cannot wryte.

Will Nisbet

Isobel Downie purged ut supra depons the said Mr Coldon gave Gordon a thurst on ye back with the staffe but that the same was not violent as she thought and this is the way of it and she heard no provocatne given and says she cannot wryte.

### Dirleton 26th Septr 1706

The Baillies having considered the lyball and deposition of ye witnesses finds the riot lybold proven and therefore fynes Hugh Coldon in Twentie pounds Scots and ordains him to lye in prison while payt. be made therof for regaind the sd. Charles has laboured under great pain and trouble since he received the thurst since proven.

> Will Nisbet. Geo Yule.

### Complaint — Dean against Forrest

Complains Agnes Deans servitrix to James Smyth in Cockilmilne pairtie damnified and the proc. fiscall for his iterest upon John Forrest servitor to the said James Smyth that where upon Sabath last in the evening when the complr. was milking the kyne the said John came into the byre and blew out the candle and would not suffer the comptr. to go out the door but lay down in the entrie and upon Monday thereafter he beat the comp ltr. both with his fist and with a flail to the offusion of her blood in great quantities and still threatens to do the comptr. one ill turne all which he did without the least provocatne. And for which he ought not only to be severely punished in his person and goods to the terror of others to commit the lyke in tyme coming but ought lykeways be ordained to find cation not to trouble or molest the complr. hereafter according to justice.

John Forrest present confesses that upon Sabath night he blew out the candle and upon Monday because she curst him he beat her once with his fist and that upon Tuesday thereafter when she came to the barne she had shon light on his eye it lyke for which he brack her head with the flail to the offusion of her blood.

John Forrest.

### DIRLETON BARON COURT

Dirleton 26th Septr. 1706.

The Baillies having considered the lyball togither with the acknowledgement of the said John therefore they fine him in fiftie pounds Scots and ordain him to lye in prison while paye be made thereof.

### Will Nisbet. George Yule.

Source Biel and Archerfield Estate Records

Scottish Records Office GD6/1027.

### MARRIAGE AND MOBILITY IN EAST LOTHIAN IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

### by IAN D. WHYTE

In recent years the belief that Scotland's population during the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was largely immobile and static has been substantially modified.<sup>1</sup> Research has shown that, far from passing their lives within the confines of a single small community, people changed their place of residence frequently though often over fairly limited distances; commonly a day's walk.<sup>2</sup> In this Scotland conformed to the pattern which has been established in England and much of Western Europe.<sup>3</sup> Mobility in Scottish society took many forms; for example, the movement of male and female servants from one farm to another at the end of their short contracts, the seasonal flows of casual labour from the Highlands to help with the Lowland harvest, the migration of men and women from the countryside to the towns in search of opportunities, and the less purposeful driftings of the vagrant poor. Although families often changed their residence much of the mobility was associated with people who were young and single, and the change of residence which two people made when they got married was often one of the most important moves of their lives.

Patterns of mobility at marriage have been studied for a number of communities in England and on the Continent,<sup>4</sup> although little research has so far been carried out on Scotland.<sup>5</sup> The attractiveness of marriage registers is that they provide a widely available and easily utilised record of population movements at all social levels, albeit of a rather specialised character. However, the distances over which people interact during courtship also provide a good indication of the general level of mobility within a society.<sup>6</sup> At all periods people with more money or higher social status have tended to look further afield for their marriage partners than people in the poorer levels of society,

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because their horizons were wider and, as most marriages tend to involve people from similar social backgrounds, because of the limited choice of potential partners close to home. In most pre-industrial societies the majority of marriages involved contacts over very limited distances. Previous work on England has suggested that patterns of marriage mobility for the bulk of rural society did not change significantly before the late nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> It has been argued that until this period contacts by ordinary country people had to be made and maintained largely on foot and it was only the development of cheap forms of transport; the railw<sup>y</sup>, the bicycle and later the motor bus, and the achievement of near-total lite cy, which increased day-to-day personal mobility and widened individual horize 3.8

During the eighteenth century Scotland witnessed tremendous changes in her society and economy. In the second half of the century Scotland's population was growing at an unprecedented rate. By 1800 agricultural improvement was proceeding at a rapid pace throughout the Lowlands, while the expansion of industry in the larger towns and their environs was providing employment for the growing numbers of people who could not find work on the land. The spread of turnpike trusts was greatly improving road transport on the main routes though country roads were often still badly surfaced and difficult, while harbour improvement schemes, large and small, were facilitating coastal transport. More commercialised farming meant more regular contacts by the rural population with local and regional market centres. The parish descriptions in the Statistical Account, written in the closing years of the eighteenth century, are filled with examples of population movements; from Scotland to North America, from Highland to Lowland, from the countryside to the towns within the countryside to the planned estate villages which were being established by progressive landowners. Under such circumstances one might speculate whether there was any increase in the day-to-day mobility of the bulk of the population, as reflected in marriage patterns. Marriage patterns are not the only indicators of population mobility nor do they summarise all forms of contact within and between communities, but they are one of the few pointers which can be measured accurately over long periods of time for large numbers of communities.<sup>9</sup> The rapid commercialisation of the rural economy and the phasing out of traditional patterns of agriculture began earliest in East Lothian and had made more progress here by the end of the eighteenth century than in other parts of the Lowlands.<sup>10</sup> If any significant changes did occur in patterns of marriage mobility as a result of the rapidly accelerating social and economic changes then East Lothian is one of the most likely areas in which to look for them. This article attempts to assess whether, in fact, there were any

identifiable changes in patterns of marriage mobility in East Lothian between the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century.

To investigate patterns of marriage mobility in the county during this period the marriage registers relating to a group of twelve parishes were chosen. These comprised the urban parishes of Haddington, Inveresk and Prestonpans, and the rural parishes of Aberlady, Athelstaneford, Bolton, Dirleton, Gladsmuir, Ormiston, Pencaitland, Saltoun and Yester<sup>11</sup>. Together these parishes formed a block of country spanning East Lothian from north to south, from the fertile coastal lowlands to the edge of the Lammermuirs. Some rural parishes such as Athelstaneford were purely agricultural, others such as Gladsmuir and Ormiston contained a significant industrial and mining element. In all, data relating to nearly 13,000 marriages were extracted from the registers, the three urban parishes providing about 7,000 records and the nine rural ones the remainder. Unlike their English counterparts Scottish marriage registers generally record the proclamation of banns as well as, or instead of, the actual marriage. This means that brides who were marrying out of as well as into a parish are recorded, providing a better-balanced record of marriage mobility.

The marriage registers posed some problems of interpretation. Some were seriously damaged around the edges or were otherwise poorly preserved. Where this prevented a significant proportion of the entries from being deciphered the sections concerned were excluded from the analysis. Only one register, Prestonpans, contained any data for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and most of the others had gaps during the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Sometimes, particularly in the seventeenth century, registers did not indicate when partners were drawn from outside the parish and such data could not be used. Most registers were continuous for the bulk of the eighteenth century but one disturbing feature was the rise of irregular marriages towards the end of the century. In Haddington irregular marriages between 1785 and 1789 accounted for over a third of all marriages<sup>12</sup>. Sometimes these irregular marriages, which were often celebrated in Edinburgh, are recorded in the East Lothian registers with the origins of the partners concerned, in which case they have been used in the analysis, but in other instances these details were lacking. Some registers did not record irregular marriages at all but their existence is hinted at by the year-by-year decline in the number of proclamations of banns towards the end of the eighteenth century.

A measure of marriage mobility which has often been used in the past, providing an indication of the relative isolation of communities, is the level of endogamy; the proportion of marriages in which both partners were resident

within the same parish at the time of their proclamation or wedding<sup>13</sup>. This measure has to be used with care because it is influenced by the population of the parish concerned, and those of the parishes around it. A small rural parish in which the pool of suitable marriage partners is limited may have much lower levels of endogamy than a large urban one where there is a wider choice of partners locally. The pattern of marriage endogamy for the twelve parishes in shown in Table 1. For virtually all the parishes studied the proportion of marriages in which both partners were living within the parish when the banns were proclaimed fell significantly over the period studied. For the urban parishes

# TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES WITH BOTH PARTNERS RESIDENT IN THE SAME PARISH

Urban parishes						
HADDINGTON		INVERI	ĒSK	PRESTONPANS		
1669-75 1680-99 1700-19	69% 71 62	1700-19 1720-39 1740-59	76% 75 71	1596-1618 1687-1716 1788-99	71% 64 52	
1720-39 1740-59 1760 79 1780-99	65 66 61 59	1760-79 1780-99	68 67			
Rural parishes						
ABERLADY		ATHELSTANEFORD		BOLTON		
1634-46 1682-99 1700-19 1720-39 1740-59 1760-99 DIRLE <sup>7</sup> 1664-79 1680-99 1705-39	62% 63 58 54 50 37 FON 75% 78 76	1660-79 1680-99 1700-19 1720-39 1740-59 1760-99 GLADSN 1693-1719 1720-32 1766-79	50% 38 31 45 34 44 1UIR 72% 56 58	1685-1719 1720-59 1760-99 ORMIS <sup>7</sup> 1706-19 1720-39 1740-59	40% 39 32 FON 47% 46 32	
1760-79	51	1780-95	51	1760-99	34	
PENCAITLAND		SALTOUN		YESTER		
1698-1719 1720-39 1740-63	48% 42 43	1640-79 1680-99 1700-19 1720-39 1740-59 1760-99	48% 46 46 40 38 36	1655-99 1700-39 1740-59 1760-99	58% 54 57 43	

the fall was most marked in Prestonpans. The emancipation of the coal and salt workers, who comprised an important section of the population, may have been an influence behind the substantial increase in endogamy here. For Haddington and Inveresk the drop was less marked but nevertheless distinct. It is notable that the drop in the proportion of endogamous marriages occurred when all three urban parishes were growing in population, providing larger local pools of potential marriage partners.

A similar pattern occurred with most of the rural parishes although, because of their smaller populations, the proportions of marriages which were endogamous were generally lower than for the urban ones. Only Athelstaneford and Pencaitland failed to show a significant fall. The level of endogamy dropped in parishes where population grew between 1755 and 1801 (Aberlady, Gladsmuir, Ormiston, Saltoun and Yester) as well as in those in which the population fell (Bolton and Dirleton). Overall the indications are that between the later seventeenth and later eighteenth centuries the proportions of marriages involving contacts between rather than within parishes increased significantly.

Another measure which has often been used in studies of population mobility in past societies to measure the pattern of contacts between different places over time is marriage distances, the distances between the places of residence of bride and groom at the time of their marriage.<sup>14</sup>. Marriage distances are an important type of interaction in themselves but they are also a more general index of patterns of social contact. They can be calculated within a parish when specific details of the location of each partner are given but in the registers examined here such information was rarely recorded for more than a short run of years. When the origins of one partner lay in a different parish the actual place of residence within that parish was hardly ever mentioned. For marriages involving partners recorded as residing in different parishes the marriage distance is usually taken as the distance between the respective parish churches. This is obviously a generalisation; contact between partners from two parishes might only involve a short distance across the parish boundary while a contact within a large parish such as Haddington might extend over several kilometres. With a sufficiently large set of data, however, such discrepancies tend to average out and measurement of the distance between parish kirks provides an acceptable substitute for the actual distances over which marriage contacts were made and maintained.

The most straightforward way of analysing changes in inter-parish marriage contacts through time is to calculate the average marriage distance for successive

groups of years. Such averages tend, however, to be unduly influenced by the effect of limited numbers of long-distance contacts; a single marriage between an inhabitant of an East Lothian parish and a partner from say, London, would distort the pattern of marriage distances for a group of years by raising the average substantially.<sup>15</sup> The median marriage distance — the middle item of a set of marriage distances ranked in ascending order — is much less vulnerable to the influence of a few long-range marriage contacts and provides a better indication of changes in mobility among the bulk of the population. Both measures were used to highlight different elements in the patterns of mobility, along with calculations of the percentage of partners drawn from successive distance bands. The average and median distances for the 12 parishes are shown in Table 2.

The general pattern of marriage contact is similar to other past and present socieities; most marriages involved partners who lived within a few kilometres of each other.<sup>16</sup> In all the East Lothian parishes studied, up to 90% or more of marriages involved contact within distances of 20km or less and 80% within 10km or under, with little difference between urban and rural parishes. The table shows that for all three urban parishes there was a marked increase in the average marriage distances, especially towards the close of the eighteenth century. The increase for Prestonpans between the early seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries is particularly notable and again may reflect a marked increase in the mobility of colliers and salters. There is also a smaller but significant increase in the median distances for these parishes. Clearly there was an increase in long-distance marriage contacts. The percentage of contacts over 20km for residents in Haddington parish rose from 4% in 1740-59 to 11%. For Inveresk over the same period the increase was from 2% to 7%, and for Prestonpans between the early seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries from 3% to 13%. It is interesting to note that despite the different social and economic structures of the three urban parishes the average marriage distances at the end of the eighteenth century are very similar, and are substantially greater than for any of the rural parishes indicating, as one would expect, that the area over which townspeople maintained day-to-day contacts was substantially greater than for rural-dwellers.

The rural parishes show a similar overall pattern. Average marriage distances tend to increase slowly throughout the eighteenth century, and more markedly in its later decades. The percentage of contacts over 20km increased markedly for all parishes except Ormiston and Pencaitland. For Aberlady, Athelstaneford, Bolton, Gladsmuir and Saltoun there is also a small but significant rise in the median distance, although there were no discernible

Urban par	rishes							
HADDINGTON		INVERESK			PRESTONPANS			
1	Average	Median		Average	Median		Average	e Median
1669-75	12.0km	9km	1700-19	11.3km	7km	1596-1618	9.1km	5km
1700-19	11.5	8	1720-39	12.1	8	1687-1716	18.4	11
1720-39	11.2	8	1740-59	12.2	9	1788-99	26.6	10
1740-59	13.1	9	1760-79	14.3	9			
1760-79	15.3	8	1780-99	26.0	10			
1780-99	21.0	12						
Rural Pari	ishes							
A	ABERLADY		ATHELSTANEFORD		BOLTON			
Ave	erage	Median	Α	verage	Median	Av	erage	Median
1634-46	9.2	8	1660-79	7.6	6	1685-1719	6.7	· 5
1682-99	9.6	8	1680-99	9.6	7	1720-59	8.4	6
1700-19	12.2	8	1700-19	9.4	7	1760-99	8.8	6
1720-39	10.9	8	1720-39	9.2	8			
1740-59	11.6	8	1740-59	11.5	8			
1760-99	14.2	10	1760-99	13.4	8			
D	DIRLETON		GLADSMUIR		ORMISTON			
1	Average	Median	· A	verage	Median	Av	erage	Median
1664-79	8.4	7	1693-171	9 9.2	7	1706-19	7.6	6
1680-99	8.1	. 7	1720-32	7.8	6	1720-39	9.3	7
1705-39	9.9	7	1766-79	11.4	7	1740-59	8.9	7
1760-79 1	10.5	7	1780-99	12.0	8	1760-99	9.8	6
1780-99 1	12.0	7						
DEN				6 A L TO L	<b>N</b> 7		VEODED	
PEN	PENCAIILAND			SALIUUN		IESIER		
I	Average	Median	Α	verage	Median	Av	erage	Median
1698-1719	9.1	7	1640-79	8.6	7	1655-97	8.5	7
1720-39	9.4	7	1680-99	7.5	6	1700-39	10.4	7

### TABLE 2. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN MARRIAGE DISTANCES

changes in the remaining four parishes. Increases in mobility were generally less marked than in the urban parishes. A closer examination of the data shows that average marriage distances in all the rural parishes were being pulled upwards at

7.6

8.7

9.2

14.4

6

6

6

11

1740-59

1760-99 17.6

10.4

7

7

1740-63

8.8

7

1700-19

1720-39

1740-59

1760-99

the end of the eighteenth century by a limited number of contacts over increasingly long distances. Where information is available on the occupations or status of the people concerned, it is clear that most of the long-distance contacts were generated by local professional people such as ministers and schoolmasters, and sometimes wealthier farmers or, where a bride was moving out of an East Lothian parish, by professional people and merchants and tradesmen living in larger towns outside the area. Growing contact with Edinburgh and the Merse were important elements here but there were also a limited number of marriages involving partners from beyond south-east Scotland in places like Glasgow and Paisley, as well as one or two from England. Although the rise in median distances is not as uniform or as marked as with the urban parishes there are, nevertheless, some signs of an increase in the distance over which marriage contacts were made at a local level, confirming the evidence of decreasing endogamy discussed above.

So far it is clear that marriage contacts tended to fall off sharply with increasing distance but it has implicitly assumed that at a local scale levels of contact leading to marriage tended to be uniform in all directions. Some previous studies have suggested that at a local level there were no directional biases in patterns of marriage contacts while others have claimed to have identified variations linked to topography, economic patterns and local prejudices.<sup>17</sup> The parishes considered here had varying economic and social structures. Of the urban parishes, Haddington was an ancient royal burgh whose main function was as a market and service centre for the surrounding countryside. Inveresk contained the old baronial burgh of Musselburgh which had a stronger manufacturing base while Prestonpans was a coal and saltproducing centre dependent mainly upon industry. The rural parishes likewise differed in the relative importance of arable and pastoral farming and in the presence or absence of industries such as coal mining. Parishes also varied in terms of their accessibility. Coastal parishes with harbours and those located along major routeways such as the main post road through East Lothian which ran from Edinburgh to Berwick upon Tweed via Musselburgh and Haddington might be expected to have had wider patterns of day-to-day contact, stretching out along the lines of communication, than more isolated rural parishes such as Yester, close to the edge of the Lammermuirs.

In order to examine this it is necessary to make allowances for variations in the populations of different parishes. All other things being equal, marriage contacts will tend to be higher with parishes whose populations are largest. To remove the effects of population differences a standardised measure of marriage contacts must be calculated. This was done using three sets of data relating to

population: the hearth tax lists of the 1690s,<sup>18</sup> Webster's census of 1755,<sup>19</sup> and the first official census of 1801.<sup>20</sup> For each parish a 20-year block as close to the date of the population information as possible was selected and the number of marriage contacts per 1000 hearths (for the 1690s) and per 1000 inhabitants for 1755 and 1801 was calculated.

There were marked contrasts in the patterns of contact of the three urban parishes. Haddington, as one would expect of such an important market centre, had strong contacts with the purely agricultural parishes to the north, south and east, but low levels of contact with industrial parishes to the east like Inveresk, Prestonpans and Tranent. The importance of Haddington's communications links is stressed by contacts with parishes like Dunbar, Oldhamstocks and Innerwick along the post road to England, and also via the roads across the Lammermuirs to Lauderdale. Prestonpans, by contrast, had strong coastwise links with parishes like Dirleton and North Berwick, as well as locally with other industrial parishes like Tranent, but low levels of contact with inland, purely agricultural parishes. Inveresk had similarly weak contacts with the agricultural parishes on the borders of Midlothian and East Lothian, and strong links with urban parishes like Dalkeith and Prestonpans. Inveresk had many marriage contacts with Haddington during the early eighteenth century but the level of contact dropped throughout the century, possibly as the economies of the two burghs became more distinctly separated. Musselburgh developing more as an industrial centre and Haddington a rural service centre.

The more northern rural parishes, Aberlady, Athelstaneford and Dirleton, were characterised by marriage contacts reaching over most of the county as far away as Humbie, Innerwick and Ormiston. These parishes, on the best lowland soils, were among the most agriculturally advanced in the later eighteenth century and it is likely that the predominance of highly-commercialised farming systems in these areas had helped to generate wider patterns of contacts than for some of the less improved parishes to the south. By contrast, Bolton, south west of Haddington, had a more restricted pattern of contacts with most marriage partners being drawn from the parishes fringing the edge of the Lammermuirs; Garvald, Humbie and Yester, and few from the coastal plain. Gladsmuir, on the main post road, was the only one of the rural parishes west of Haddington to have significant contacts with parishes like Dunbar and Innerwick in the east of the county. Although Ormiston had an important coalmining element the parish's basically rural character is shown by its low proportion of marriage contacts with Inveresk, Prestonpans and Tranent compared with the more agriculturally-oriented parishes of Pencaitland and Saltoun. Pencaitland and Saltoun had limited contacts with Tranent and

Prestonpans to the north and with Haddington to the east. Linkages were strongest with neighbouring agricultural parishes but there was also a surprising amount of contact with rural parishes east and north of Haddington such as Athelstaneford, Dirleton and Prestonkirk, Stenton and Spott. Yester had few contacts northwards with Haddington but strong links with other parishes along the Lammermuir edge like Bolton, Garvald and Humbie. Yester was the only rural parish to have significant marriage contacts across the Lammermuirs with Channelkirk and Lauder. In the earlier part of the period studied Yester and Bolton were perhaps the most isolated of the parishes studied but, particularly in the case of Yester, this isolation had been substantially broken down by the end of the eighteenth century.

Although covering only twelve of East Lothian's parishes this brief study has shown that there was a significant increase in day-to-day mobility, reflected in patterns of marriage contacts, among the population of the county between the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries. Growing mobility is indicated by a general increase in the proportion of people marrying partners from outside their own parish, and by a tendency for people to marry partners from parishes further afield, as shown by an increase in the average marriage distances for almost all parishes, and a rise in the median marriage distance for most parishes. Much of the increase in long-distance mobility was due to the substantial widening of marriage horizons for a limited elite in rural society but there was also a tendency for ordinary people to increase the distances over which courtship and marriage were maintained. This was most notable for the three urban parishes whose registers were analysed but was also evident for a number of rural parishes. Marriage contacts between parishes were not spread uniformly in relation to population distribution though. There were marked directional contrasts in patterns of marriage contacts which may have reflected the economies of individual parishes, and the state of agricultural improvement, as well as their topography and location in relation to main communications lines. Further research using parish records may provide other evidence of alterations in levels of mobility; for instance the linkage of marriages with baptisms may indicate changes through time in the proportion of couples marrying in a parish who stayed to have their children baptised there, allowing comparison with other communities in Scotland and further afield.

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## EAST LOTHIAN AS INNOVATOR IN THE OLD POOR LAW\*

### by ROSALIND MITCHISON

East Lothian was a county making the first steps in important developments in the working of the Old Poor Law on several occasions. Perhaps this should not surprise. It was one of the most economically advanced parts of Scotland, agriculturally rich and benefiting by its nearness to the biggest urban market in Scotland. Probably more significant was the fact that it was an area where the central government could expect some conformity to law and obedience to instructions. Though it was a county of big estates it did not have any overweening single lordship or wide heritable jurisdiction. Many of the owners of moderate sized estates found careers in government service, particularly in the law, but some as politicians.

The Old Scottish Poor Law, though based on a statute of 1579, does not appear to have been put into action anywhere before 1649. Efforts of the government to get some form of relief working in the famine of 1623 were too late to be effective, but also were rebutted with particular hostility by the landed society of East Lothian. The reply of this county to the proposals of the Privy Council for levying rates on the better off to suport the poor led the county gentry to reply that 'every contribution is odious and smellis of ane taxatioun': in other words the county refused to cooperate.<sup>1</sup>

In 1649 things were different. This was the year when the extreme covenanting party, the Whiggamores, had taken control of government. The aristocracy had been pushed out of power and was being systematically humiliated. The Whig controlled Parliament passed a new Poor Law Act placing the local administration in the hands of the kirk sessions: as was usual with such Acts it contained regulations both for the support of the needy, the old and infirm in particular, and the suppression of vagrancy.<sup>2</sup>

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Poor Law statutes appear to lay their main emphasis on the first activity. This was partly because of the general tendency to think that those who appeared to have opted out of the activities and obligations of the rest of society should be disciplined. But the two areas of activity had both to be undertaken if relief was to be effective. Only by removing the burden of demands for casual relief made by incomers to a parish could enough be held together in funds to make some useful contribution to supporting the local poor. So emergencies like famines could be coped with only if people were made to stay in their own parish. Only then would it be reasonable to call on local landowners to raise funds from their rents, in other words to put into practice the laws requiring assessment, to support their local poor. A form of this system can be seen in operation in 1649 in Yester Parish. The minister, in obedience to the Act of Pariament, called on the heritors to come to a meeting with the session to make up a list of the poor: when they had failed repeatedly to do so the minister then instructed the session to make its own list and to bring it to the attention of the heritors. After several months of delay the largest landowner, the Earl of Tweeddale, accepted the burden of supporting half the names on the list, while demanding that half the cost be borne by the tenants of his estate.

Even if this does not count as a full success story it was an indication of the fact that in the counties near to Edinburgh, some parishes were trying to carry out the law and to get cooperation from landowners. That landowner resistance was often successful is not surprising. The power of the great landowners was the effective political base of Scotland, except for short periods of revolutionary take-over, and the central government was merely an administrative agency which attempted to coordinate these great men and to persuade them to join in particular policies. Till the split over the Engagement in 1647 when the Church party opposed the policy of the magnates, no great landowner had ever found his tenancy openly disobeying his order. Allegiance for a great lord was first of all to his house or surname: it was the interests of this group which he represented and which he had to sustain. Obedience to the central government was a force of much weaker quality. There was no particular reason why magnates should be expected to concern themselves with the welfare of their tenants except when the threat to that welfare was of such a nature as to endanger the rent paying capacity of the estate. Usually if one tenant failed another family could be found to take over the holding. It is an example of this fact that in 1659 with little expression of concern, Hay of Craignethan could inform Lady Humbie that crop failures would that season lead to failures, and that she should expect some 'roumes in her oune hand'.<sup>3</sup> Even less concern would be felt for the lower level of the rural population, the cottars, who were

the main sufferers in bad years. But landowners did wish to protect their tenantry from importunate demands for alms from outsiders: the granting of these demands, which were sometimes accompanied by threats, could weaken the capacity of the tenantry to suport the local population in need by church collections, and might lead the kirk session to put pressure on landowners to accept assessment, that is to make payments to the poor fund on some basis relating to their rents.

Statute law stated that the poor were to be sustained by money contributed on assessment. In practice, and practice recognised in the statute of 1649, they were for the most part supported by voluntary funds. A parish might have received a legacy, and thereby have capital out at interest. It put most of the church collections into 'the poor's money'. They were also usually mortcloths in use, rich and embroidered cloths to have over coffins at funerals. Sometimes the parish also had a hearse to hire as Bolton and Tranent did. Originally most of the mortcloths belonged to private individuals or to craft incorporations, but parishes came to see the hire of them as sources of income and took steps to gain control of them. For instance in May 1707 Pencaitland requested the heirs of those who had first provided mortcloths to hand them over to the session, which would allow to the families of their heirs 'in all time coming' free use.<sup>4</sup> In January 1751 Tranent session objected to the practice of the town's incorporations of raising money by the use of their own mortcloths for the funerals of their members, but expecting the session to support members and their dependents who became destitute. Eventually the parish was able to gain the whole of the mortcloth income.<sup>5</sup>

Poor law funds also benefited from fines for immorality and from gifts. But though parishes called their money 'the poor's money', it was usually a general parish fund which could be used for any parish purpose. It would pay for new communion cups, for the horse hire for a visiting minister, as well as for fees to parish, presbytery and synod clerks and the parish officer. In July 1698 the elders of Spott can be found complaining to the session of 'the treat inconvenience and prejudice' they sustained in 'colecting the poor's money at the Kirk Gate in cold, rainy and stormie weather so that their health is thereby endangered'. The session agreed to use the poor's fund to build a porch.<sup>6</sup> Sympathy for the elders is limited by the knowledge that the cold, rainy and stormie weather washed out the harvest and made the ensuing winter a famine season, one in which the parish displayed a low level of support for the needy and an exceptionally high death level.

The relative meanness of Spott in the famine of the 1690s was not typical. of the county. In response to proclamations from the Privy Council, and parliamentary statutes confirming them, parishes in many parts of Scotland eventually put through decisions calling on landowners either to support the poor on their estates or to accept a levy on them worked out by the nominal valued rent of their lands. Both of these methods can be seen as acceptance of assessment, even though this policy might be successful for only a few months, and in most cases was adopted only in response to the proclamation of October 1699, the last year of the famine, which enlisted the efforts of the structure of shire government, sheriffs, Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace, Ten East Lothian parishes can be seen using assessment, Yester, Spott, Bara, Ormiston, North Berwick, Preston Kirk (East Linton), Saltoun, Tyninghame, Whitekirk, and Haddington<sup>7</sup> — the last at least for the landward part of the parish. This gives the county a higher level of response than any other in Scotland, even allowing for the fact that in Spott and Bara the assessment appears to have been spurious: the parishes ordered the landowners to support lists of people, but the parish itself can be seen supporting these same people later.

Not all parishes were in a position to resist the combined pressures of central and local authority. In Ormiston and Yester a major unit of landowning was the Tweeddale estate. The first Marquess of Tweeddale was Chancellor of Scotland and sheriff of the shire: his son who succeeded in 1697 was Treasurer of Scotland. With the principal landowners thus linked to the Privy Council and to the shire, it is not surprising that the other landowners in these parishes agreed to accept assessment. In October 1699 Ormiston listed its poor and decided that for their support it needed twelve pounds Scots a week, half of which would come from Tweeddale.<sup>8</sup> Yester had already in 1698 decided on assessment.<sup>9</sup>

After the famine the second Marquess of Tweeddale was not satisfied with the response of the whole of the shire to the emergency and to his pressure. Some parishes which had not used assessment had not needed to — Bolton, for instance, had not run into its reserves except to make a six months loan of a hundred merks Scots to Yester at legal interest.<sup>10</sup> But some others had simply shirked their legal duties. In January 1700, that is within the famine winter of the 1699 harvest failure, the Privy Council received a complaint from Tweeddale as sheriff that Prestonpans and Tranent had neglected the 'Acts of Parliament and the proclamations of the Privy Council' about the poor, and recommended the Lord Advocate to prosecute these parishes.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the kirk session registers for these parishes do not survive for this date, and the legal process is

not identified, so how the parishes had neglected or disguised their duty and what happened to them afterwards are not documented.

Assessment, even if only nominal, or even if maintained only for a few months, was a valuable step in making the poor law effective. It set up precedents and left evidence for later referral. Also in the proclamation of 1696 it had been settled that landowners who accepted assessment could pass half the burden onto their tenants, which further enlarged the resources of the poor law.<sup>12</sup>

The early poor law development was thus the work of pressure by the central and shire authorities and the pressure of the sessions on their landowners, but in the eighteenth century the lead came to be taken by landowning society. The Scottish Privy Council was abolished in 1708, and it might be expected that this would negate the achievements of the 1690s. But landowning society in eighteenth century Scotland was under the influence of the important social ethos which nowadays we call civic humanism. This as a philosophy which stressed the obligation of the independent citizen to help create and maintain a good society. The phrase 'independent citizen' had a narrower meaning then that it has now. Independence meant that a person did not depend on decisions by any one else for his material condition, so it was not for employees or tenants. Only landowners were truly independent. The word citizen could apply only to an adult male head of a household. So the philosophy was exclusively about the role of landowning men. Aspects of the past failure of Scotland to achieve the good society became apparent through closer links with England. Scots were embarrassed at English comments on the numbers of beggars on their roads, and their importunity. Clearly control of vagrancy, which would mean also the suport by each parish of its own poor to prevent the need to wander, was required by the philosophy.

So in the eighteenth century there were periods when, in many shires, the most influential landowners, as Justices or sheriffs, attempted to improve the functioning of the poor law at the parish level by setting up countywide schemes. These periods, for many counties, were the 1720s, the late 1740s, or early 1750s, and the 1770s. A typical county scheme would call on all parishes to hold meetings between landowners and sessions to list the poor and to arrange for their support. There would also be the need to arrest vagrants and either place them in gaol or see them out of the county. There might be pressure on the parishes to raise extra funds by assessment.<sup>13</sup> A scheme might, as did that in East Lothian of 1745-51, attempt to have a general workhouse set

up for the county, to which the parishes could send those of their poor deemed capable of some work, and which was to be supported by the transfer of money also. Details of such a workhouse scheme can be found in the kirk session register of Tranent for October 1750.14 The plan had been formulated in 1745, but postponed because of the rebellion. In fact it never got to the stage of actually creating a county work house. Parishes proved far more enthusiastic about dispatching paupers to a central place than about dispatching money. The list of paupers made by Tranent in 1745 for the scheme then classified them as 'able', i.e. capable of some work, or 'weakly and aged'. It does not suggest a very competent labour force in the 'able' for it included one Donald Cameron whose name is followed by the note 'wants a hand'. While plans for the central workhouse hung fire the parish set up a 'spinning house' for the 'able' poor and in December 1750 when 'John Lamb aged near 90 and his wife past 71 years' applied for relief they were given temporary aid of sixpence and told to apply to this house. We know from the experiences of the English poor law authorities that 'setting the poor on work' was rarely an economic success. Later silence about these workhouses suggests that enthusiasm for this policy waned, perhaps as people became better informed. In October 1751 Tranent session was having to pay more money than the original sixpence to John Lamb, because the spinning house could not offer him work, a fact which suggests that its uneconomic nature was becoming apparent.

The problem of vagrancy was not easily solved by the county. In September 1751 Tranent kirk session was told of complaints about vagrants: 'the whole Intent of restraining the vagrant Poor is disapointed' it was stated. There were allegations that paupers from Tranent were begging in Prestonpans and Gladsmuir, and the parish appealed to the county officer to be more active. In May 1752 it complained that he had not visited the parish since the previous November. The county had its share of really tiresome vagrants. In particular the Justices were faced in April 1768 with the problem of Helen Richardson of Tyninghame, given to bouts of mania in which she marched about the county breaking windows, and 'doing of several other mad pranks'.<sup>15</sup> Since at that date only the better off had glazed windows this menace came home particularly to the upper class. Efforts to get someone to control and support her failed because she had no record of residence in any one parish for as much as a year, and all the Justices could do was threaten her with gaol on bread and water.

A very elaborate county scheme was launched in 1773. It was called a 'Police Scheme', the word police at that time meaning simply government. It was planned to have all the poor listed, the county divided into groups of

parishes which would appoint constables to do the dirty work, and chief constables from among the gentry to supervise. Constables were to be paid for arrests of vagrants, and gaolers receive money for vagrants put in prison, all at the charge of the county's 'rogue money' which was raised by a rate.<sup>16</sup> The whole scheme was launched with great emphasis and seems to have been a complete dead letter.

Particularly of interest in this succession of 'schemes' is that the very first of all those put up in Scotland seems to have been only for East Lothian. Of course further research may modify that statement. Justice of the Peace records for the eighteenth century are intermittent, and this scheme is to be found most fully set out in the kirk session register of Pencaitland.<sup>17</sup> In September 1711 the Justices of the shire appear to have ordered the heritors, ministers and elders of all the parishes to meet, make up a roll of the poor and send it back to them. In October they followed this up with an 'Act', i.e. an order, telling the parishes to maintain their poor, and heritors and sessions to meet again and agree the source of the funds for this. Another 'Act' against vagabonds and stranger beggars ordered each parish to appoint two constables at a quarterly wage of six shillings sterling each; in other words part-time policing was demanded. Since the burden of what the parish of Pencaitland decided was adequate relief and this cost brought the total cost of the relief system to 163 pounds Scots, eight shillings, and all that the parish could be sure of raising by voluntary funds was a hundred pounds, assessment had to be introduced for the difference.

Pencaitland's need is an example of the way in which these schemes were likely to force one or more parishes to assess. The response of other parishes in 1711 in East Lothian is a fair sample of the normal spectrum of activity. Dunbar showed how easy it was for landowners to evade the threat of assessment. Repeatedly the heritors for the landward part and the burgh representatives failed to turn up in adequate numbers, but someone was always there to explain that it was not appropriate for a minority meeting to impose such a charge.<sup>18</sup> But the session did at least make a list of the poor. At one of the unsuccessful meetings permission as given to those on the list to 'goe through the paroch once a week to seek for supply', in other words to beg, 'till the heritors and the town make adequate provision'. Saltoun decided that its existing resources were adequate for the names on the roll, and 'did not think fit to lay any tax on the Heritors and tennants'.<sup>19</sup> In Stenton and Dirleton the sessions divided responsibility for the two aspects of relief with the heritors: the sessions would support the poor if the heritors would pay for the constables who were to control vagrants.<sup>20</sup> In Dirleton the heritors added to this a promise

to accept a stent for the poor, if after all, it should become necessary. The other parishes which have kirk session registers from this period, Inveresk, Oldhamstocks, and Aberlady, made no reference in them to the acts.<sup>21</sup> North Berwick and Haddington merely sent in lists of poor and North Berwick appointed a constable.<sup>22</sup> By the standards of response of counties to alter schemes this was quite a good achievement.

This scheme left the parish of Pencaitland assessed for the support of the poor. Since there was no special reason for an unusual level of need, it was likely to stay assessed. In the same way the scheme of the later 1720s left Oldhamstocks assessed, and that of 1745-51 Tranent. But I have not yet found any parish taking on assessment in response to the scheme of 1773, though by that date anyway many of the country's parishes were already assessed. The parish of Inveresk responded to this scheme by pointing out that it was already supporting its poor, 'though not in the manner as directed'.<sup>23</sup>

These Justices of the Peace schemes originated in lay government, yet the Kirk, which regarded poor relief as part of its province, accepted them. Indeed the scheme of 1745-51 was strongly promoted by the presbytery of Haddington. There is, though, some evidence that the scheme of 1725-31, which extended to the other Lothians, and brought in the Judges of the Court of Session to add pressure, was a response by laymen in rivalry to a proposal first made in the presbytery meeting of Dalkeith. Landowners had a strong sense of the importance of their own class, and it may have seemed derogatory to it that an important aspect of local government should be under the control of the Kirk. Certainly some landowners disliked having to hand money over to elders of lower social standing than themselve, and the working part of any kirk session, the elders who actually attended meetings, kept the money and accounts, or the distributions decided upon, were all of lower standing than made landowners. This conscious pride in the order of landowning, as well as some element of personal cantankerousness, can be seen as providing the basis for a matter in which the county was again an innovator, and on the whole in a matter with unhappy results.

The centre of this matter was the parish of Humbie, a small parish numbering fewer than 600 souls in the 1750s. Small places can be extremely quarrelsome. In Humbie there were disputes between heritors and the session over various small matters: some grazing rights, repairs to a school house, the appointment of precentor, for instance. Some of these matters divided the session, others caused ruptures between session and landowners. One particular landowner, Mr Hepburn of Humbie, figures as a key actor in most of them,

and had considerable power, both as a persistent and vindictive man and also a Justice of the Peace. Most of the disputes involved money. In the early 1720s the session had lent 3,900 merks Scots of its capital to Hepburn and other members of this family; in other words it had decided that his estate was a good investment for the reserves of the poor fund. By 1730 he had not paid the interest for nine years and was unwilling to hand back the principle. In the dispute that developed, as with all true storms in a tea cup, there were plenty of side issues. The heritor had installed a certain Mr Young as schoolmaster in Upper Keith, and wanted to make the session take him on also as session Clerk and precentor. Mr Young's record included a fornication accusation and he was soon in trouble with the session for cursing and for drunkenness, and for not beating the more rowdy of the school children. Hepburn and another heritor complained to the presbytery in 1730 that for over the last ten years the minister. Mr Cuming, had committed numerous ecclesiastical offences, most of them repeatedly. He was accused of failing to give receipts for money received, for allowing a man he knew to be a liar and a thief to have a testimonial for the move to another parish, for failing to be present on Sunday so that the parishioners, deprived of a sermon, frequented ale houses, for failing to catechise the whole of the parish, for failure to visit the dying, for not holding family prayers. There were also more general accusations that he had stirred up division between parents and children, and had encouraged parishioners toward litigation. A vast amount of time and energy was spent by the presbytery and later by the synod, where the case went, in eliciting statements from witnesses, thirty nine of them, before the synod declared that no single article could be proved.24

But that did not create peace in the parish. There was a legacy due to the parish from an old lady of the Hepburn family, and it was with difficulty extracted by the presbytery. In 1748 Hepburn launched an accusation that there was fraud over the management of the poor's fund. The presbytery had to look into the matter, and replied that the books had not been well kept but there had been no fraud. It even offered to take over the management of the parish funds, but this was not enough. Hepburn and four other heritors raised an action the next year in the Court of Session, claiming that the heritors ought to have a veto over parish expenditure, or an equal share with the session in control.

It should be remembered that Humbie was not an assessed parish at this time. The money that these landowners were claiming that they should control came to the poor box as church collections, fines, fees for the use of the

mortcloths and interest on capital. Since most of the heritors were resident in London it is unlikely that even as contributors to church collections they gave much of it. The money was not levied on their estates, so to justify the claim to control it the argument had to be based on very general grounds. They claimed that it was unsuitable that any except the owner of land should handle public money, since those who did not have land could not be made answerable, and there was always a risk of embezzlement. It is true that there are a few, a very few, cases of embezzlement by elders or ministers of poor law funds in the eighteenth century. For instance in 1727 the minister of Athelstaneford had been accused of this and the case had rumbled on for some time in the church courts ending with a rebuke for muddle but an acquittal for crime by the synod.<sup>25</sup> But there are far more cases of landowners holding on to parish money that was not theirs, either by failing to pay interest on loans, or failing to hand over legacies. It had become generally recognised that parishes should lend money to landowners only if their estates lay outwith the parish: then the capacity of their own landowners to manipulate the law could be used to get it back.

To strengthen the thin argument the heritors went further. Their lawyer stated that landowners had a natural right to manage all parish property, because if it were mismanaged assessment would result, from which heritors would be 'the only sufferers'. Since assessment lay half upon the tenants this argument was valid only if it were accepted that all the goods of tenants really belonged to their landowners. The claim was to the total produce based on their estates, a very extreme demand. It is extraordinary that the heritors won their case. Even though all the judges and most of the advocates were landowners and likely to be sympathetic to the claim of landed society the decision was sufficiently way out to lead to a surprised comment from one judge.<sup>26</sup>

The decision was one of the Outer House, and was never appealed to the full bench of the Inner House. This was because, carefully timed to fit in with this case, the landowners in another quarrelsome parish, Cambuslang, had just won a decision in the Court of Session against their kirk session that poor's fund money, which was the name given to all the parish's cash, could be used legally only for the support of the poor, for the fees of the session clerk and for hiring an outside pulpit. All the many other activities which led a session to spend were disallowed, and any minister or session wishing to carry on litigation after that decision would have to be prepared to meet the cost personally.

In theory the Humbie case was a great blow to the authority of the Church

and to its right to run its own affairs. In practice it made little difference. It soon became clear that the Cambuslang decision could not be maintained — it was too impractical. For instance the clerks of presbytery and synod relied on parish payments, and so did visiting ministers for their travel expenses. The kirk session and minister at Humbie continued to keep messy accounts, and no heritor bothered to check them, but parishes from then on had to separate accounts off from other business. Heritors really did not wish to spend their time investigating the details of poor law administration.

The Humbie case decision appears a partisan and one-sided one. Yet it did reflect a basic fact. From the 1690s onwards, if a parish was to manage to care for its poor in a time of high prices and food shortage, it could rarely do so without drawing on the reserves of landowners. An example of this was shown in Inveresk in 1782. Inveresk was by then assessed at £80 a year: it raised an extra £300 sterling, one third on the valued rent, the rest to be supplied by the town of Musselburgh so that grain could be bought and issued through the local market, where it would bring down prices.<sup>27</sup> In the shortage of 1800 several East Lothian parishes were raising money from rates to suport those called the 'industrious poor', that is people in employment. This practice can be found in Haddington, Prestonpans and Saltoun. In Whittingehame the support was worked out on a scale inverse to the size of the family: in other words it was presumed that a large family would have many earners.<sup>28</sup> This use of relief money from the rates to help wage-earners is very near to the 'Speenhamland system', as it has been called, adopted in numerous English rural parishes after the bad harvest of 1795. In East Linton in 1800 a different system gave aid to workers. The parish had bought large stocks of oatmeal and barley meal, and these were made available in price and quantity on a scheme according to people's earning power and family size. Thus a married man without children, if his wages did not come above one shilling and fourpence a day could buy every two weeks a peck of oatmeal at one and fourpence and two pecks of barley meal at a shilling.<sup>29</sup> This would mean that nearly three quarters of the household's basic food needs could be bought for one shilling and eight pence a week.

These interventions show the recognition by the parishes of the severity of price fluctuations, and the failure of wages to compensate. By this date, 1800, every parish in the county except Athelstaneford, was assessed. This was the only reliable way of tapping the profits of land for the social security of those who worked it. Some efforts to make the poor provide some part of their own support, by placing them in workhouses, had been tried. There had been houses for this purpose in Inveresk and Haddington. The attraction of this method of

managing the poor was not just economic expectation. The institutions could provide an element of social discipline. If the poor were made to enter an institution, and undergo work there, unnecessary claims for help might be discouraged. Also there would be fewer people begging (most parishes set allowances for the poor low on the assumption that the poor would gain further help by begging). Medical care for the sick would be easy to organise if they lived in an institution, particularly if, as in Inveresk, the parish contained several surgeons prepared to give their services for nothing. These houses were not necessarily uncomfortable places. The descriptions of the one in Inveresk suggest a good level of comfort, with a varied diet, lots of fires, glazed windows and good bedding. Schooling was provided for children. But it was closed down in 1782 for reasons which show clearly the disadvantages of this way of caring for the poor.

First of all, any money which these places might get the poor to earn was more than compensated for by the falling off of voluntary contributions, including alms to beggars, once the poor were out of sight. The poor were not efficient labour. Even before the rise of factory production employers were trying more and more to have full-time healthy labour, and that of the inadequate, the infirm or the very old, was becoming uneconomic. Some poor were considered too delicate and refined for even the relatively high standard of provision of Inveresk, so that the house never contained all those in need of support. By contrast some were too rumbustious and undisciplined. Some men broke out from the house in Inveresk in 1758 and went 'vaguing', and in Haddington the session twice sent away an old woman who misbehaved, and then had to admit her again because she was truly in need.<sup>30</sup> In Inveresk there was long standing trouble over people's insanitary habits, the house was said to contain 'nastiness'. Again the only effective threat was to send people away. Only a very professional type of management could have dealt effectively with these problems. It was easier, and much cheaper, to let people live at home, where their way of life disturbed merely their neighbours.

Poor relief has to be seen in relation to the self-supporting part of the population. In the early eighteenth century people often needed not a weekly dole but help to make a living for themselves. Thus in 1731 in Saltoun, a man described as 'straitned for money to buy a horse' received one pound sterling, and in Humbie in 1730 a woman was given money to pay for the wetnursing of one of a pair of twins, with the expectation that once the babies were weaned she would manage on her own.<sup>31</sup> But by the end of the century the people likely to be regarded as 'poor' were seen either as able to be a full time labourer, or totally destitute. Opinion had hardened against supporting those

who hoped to become restored to the ranks of self-supporters, except in years of exceptional high price. The story in this county as elsewhere is one in which the categories became more strictly defined. The efficiency which the county had learned during the eighteenth century, about how to support the poor and to raise funds, was being balanced by a tightening up of the definitions of who was to count as poor.

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- SRO CH2/647/2. Dunbar kirk session register. 18.
- SRO CH2/322/3, Saltoun kirk session register. 19.
- SRO CH2/335/1, Stenton kirk session register, and CH2/1157/2, Dirleton kirk session register. 20.
- 21. SRO CH2/531/2, Inveresk kirk session register, CH2/288/1, Oldhamstocks kirk session register and CH2/ 4/2, Aberlady kirk session register.
- SRO CH2/285/5, North Berwick kirk session register and CH2/799/6, Haddington kirk session register. 22.
- SRO CH2/531/16. 23
- 24. The general outline of the dispute can be found in the Humbie kirk session register, SRO CH2/389/2 and the records of Haddington presbytery, CH2/185/11 and 12. For detail there is a bundle of papers found in the tower of St Mary's, Haddington, when the church was recently reconstructed and placed with Haddington kirk session papers, SRO CH2/799/19. 25. SRO CH2/252/19, Synod register of Lothian and Tweeddale and CH1/2/55, ff 414-426, Commission of
- the General Assembly.
- 26. I have discussed this case in my article 'The making of the Old Scottish Poor Law', Past and 'Present no. 63 (1974). For legal argument and comments see Henry Home, Remarkable Decisions, (Edinburgh, 1766), p. 250, and Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Decisions of the Court of Session, 1738-52, (Edinburgh, 1775), p. 408.
- 27. SRO CH2/531/16.
- G. M. Birnie, 'Tradition and Transition: the Scottish Poor Law, Harvest Failure and the Industrious Poor', unpublished MA dissertation, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Edinburgh (1976), c. 5.
- 29. Caledonian Mercury, 5 December 1800.
- 30 SRO CH2/531/17 and CH2/799/18.
- 31. SRO CH2/322/5 and CH2/389/2.

### THE DECLINE OF MARITAL FERTILITY IN EAST LOTHIAN\*

### by DONALD J. MORSE

### The problem and the data

In comparison with present-day European standards, marital fertility in Scotland in 1881 was high. By 1901 however, the fertility of married women in this country had fallen considerably (table 1; graph 1); indeed, as early as 1891 Scottish marital fertility had entered a decline which has not been halted, except fleetingly in the 1960s, up to the present. This fertility decline is a phenomenon remarkable not only for the rapidity of its initial achievement and because it has been sustained, but also for the fact that it occurred more or less contemporaneously throughout Europe.

> TABLE 1 Marital Fertility rate (15-44)\* Scotland, 1860/62-1980/82

	rate	% of prcdng period	% of 1860-62
1860-62	316.0	_	100.0
1870-72	319.4	101.1	101.1
1880-82	311.5	97.5	98.6
1890-92	296.4	95.2	93.8
1900-02	271.8	91.7	86.0
1910-12	233.2	85.8	73.8
1920-22	226.7	97.2	71.7
1930-32	169.0	74.5	53.5
1940-42	136.9	81.0	43.3
1950-52	132.3	96.6	41.9
1960-62	149.7	113.2	47.4
1970-72	116.5	77.8	36.9
1980-82 ·	104.4	89.6	33.0
2-year avera women aged	ge number 15-44.	of births per	1,000 married
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women aged 15-44. Source: Detailed Annual Reports, Registrar-General for Scotland.

\* The research on which this paper is based was funded as a linked studentship by the Economic and Social Research Council. I would like to thank Michael Anderson and Rosalind Mitchison for their comments on earlier drafts.

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### FERTILITY DECLINE



Using lower levels of aggregation (the regions and the counties), the picture is more complex. At these levels Scotland acted more heterogeneously than its neighbours. In broad terms — though there are a few exceptions — the south and east of the country began their downward trend in fertility prior to the First World War, whereas the Highlands and Far North did not do so until the second and third decades of this century. East Lothian, however, was one of the pioneers, beginning its fertility decline at the turn of the century, following hard on the heels of its neighbour counties, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Midlothian, and Berwick.

While much research has been done and published on the national, regional and county-level fertility experiences of many countries, including Scotland, (Coale; Coale, Anderson and Harm; Flinn *et. al.*; Teitelbaum; Lesthaege) there is little evidence on what happened *within* counties. Indeed, no investigation into the behaviour of populations at civil parish level (or its equivalent) has been produced which covers any large area of Europe. The real value of undertaking research at this low level of aggregation lies in the ability of the statistics produced to 'get below' figures produced for county- and higher-level aggregations, and in particular to obviate the type of ecological fallacy<sup>1</sup> often inherent in medium and large area analysis. Clearly, what can be said to be true of Scotland cannot be so strongly asserted as typical of the experience of individual counties. Likewise, county-level behaviour is not so likely to be an accurate estimate of behaviour at the civil parish (or small area) level.

### FERTILITY DECLINE

For most countries of Europe, the figures (on population by age, sex, and marital status, and on births by legitimacy), needed to produce parish-level indicators of fertility are not available. For Scotland, the necessary population figures are, however, published for the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses, as also are the figures for the ten years of births surrounding each of these censuses. Consequently, the research on which this paper is based has produced indices of fertility (marital, illegitimate and overall), and on proportions married, for all the civil parishes of Scotland in 1881, 1891 and 1901. However, in this paper, only the most directly relevant of the indices available, lg (the index of marital fertility), will be used as evidence.

Ig is an indirectly standardised index arrived at by taking the number of recorded births in a population in any given time-period, and multiplying it by the observed distribution of 'at risk'<sup>2</sup> married women in the population, with each aggregate group weighted by a standard fertility weight. It is thus a weighted proportion of actual fertility over expected maximum fertility. A figure of 1.000 would thus represent the achievement of a 'maximum' level of marital fertility. As a rough guide to the significance of various levels of Ig, 0.700 and above is generally reckoned to indicate ''little or no deliberate control'' over fertility: 0.600 to 0.700 suggests ''some control'': usually, figures of about 0.600 and below are indicative of populations which are 'definitely limiting' their within-marriage fertility. The standard set of rates used in constructing Ig are derived from the fertility experience of the Hutterites, a North American religious sect living in relatively comfortable circumstances noted for its practice of early and near-universal marriage, and its avoidance of deliberate control of fertility within marriage.

### Marital fertility in East Lothian

The research project covers the whole of Scotland, but this paper considers only the decline of marital fertility in East Lothian. The county was a relatively early 'limiter' of fertility within marriage in Scotland, and so throws up clues as to why some counties adopted such restraint before others. At the same time it throws light on aspects of differential behaviour within the county.

Given that East Lothian was a 'pioneer' of family limitation in Scotland, how good an indicator of behaviour at the parish level is the county-level experience? Table 2 shows the level of marital fertility in terms of Ig for each civil parish in East Lothian, and for the county as a whole, in 1881, 1891 and 1901; and these figures for 1881 and 1901 are represented graphically in maps 1 and 2. These tables and maps indicate that fertility within marriage did indeed fall substantially in the county as a whole during the period: with the exceptions

### FERTILITY DECLINE

#### TABLE 2

East Lothian — Marital Fertility (Ig), descending rank order in 1901

1001/1001

					1881/1901 %
		1881	1891	1901	difference
(16)	Ormiston	0.713	0.769	0.797	+11
(6)	Tranent	0.804	0.763	0.738	-9
(4)	Prestonpans	0.817	0.733	0.710	15
(2)	Saltoun	0.848	0.685	0.683	-24
(19)	Whittingehame	0.683	0.755	0.676	- ľ
(13)	Gladsmuir	0.721	0.671	0.633	-9
(1)	Pencaitland	0.862	0.707	0.653	-32
(20)	Bolton	0.645	0.295	0.649	+1
(24)	Morham	0.598	0.435	0.640	+7
(17)	Oldhamstocks	0.705	0.736	0.625	-13
(15)	Garvald	0.717	0.668	0.602	-19
(18)	Dunbar	0.691	0.648	0.598	-16
(9)	Spott *(+ Stenton)	0.769	0.616*	0.582	32
(23)	Whitekirk & Tyninghame	0.629	0.760	0.581	-8
(5)	Stenton *(see Spott)	0.810	*	0.566	-43
(7)	Prestonkirk *(see Athelstaneford)	0.775	_*	0.558	-39
(3)	Aberlady	0.845	0.563	0.557	-52
(21)	Haddington	0.638	0.585	0.555	-15
(14)	Athelstaneford *(+ Prestonkirk)	0.720	0.585*	0.524	37
(12)	Innerwick	0.721	0.562	0.520	-39
(8)	Yester	0.774	0.509	0.507	~53
(11)	Humbie *(+ Fala & Soutra)	0.728	0.595*	0.502	45
(10)	North Berwick	0,734	0.582	0.492	-49
(22)	Dirleton	0.633	0.647	0.488	-30
	East Lothian	0.732	0.670	0.628	-16
	(16) (6) (2) (19) (24) (17) (13) (17) (15) (13) (23) (5) (7) (21) (14) (12) (8) (21) (11) (12) (22)	<ul> <li>(16) Ormiston</li> <li>(6) Tranent</li> <li>(7) Prestonpans</li> <li>(2) Saltoun</li> <li>(19) Whittingehame</li> <li>(13) Gladsmuir</li> <li>(19) Workingehame</li> <li>(20) Bolton</li> <li>(24) Morham</li> <li>(17) Oldhamstocks</li> <li>(18) Dunbar</li> <li>(19) Spott *(+ Stenton)</li> <li>(23) Whitekirk &amp; Tyninghame</li> <li>(5) Stenton *(see Spott)</li> <li>(7) Prestonkirk *(see Athelstaneford)</li> <li>(3) Aberlady</li> <li>(21) Haddington</li> <li>(14) Athelstaneford *(+ Prestonkirk)</li> <li>(12) Innerwick</li> <li>(8) Yester</li> <li>(11) Humbie *(+ Fala &amp; Soutra)</li> <li>(10) North Berwick</li> <li>(22) Dirleton</li> <li>East Lothian</li> </ul>	1881         (16) Ormiston       0.713         (6) Tranent       0.804         (4) Prestonpans       0.817         (2) Saltoun       0.848         (19) Whittingehame       0.683         (13) Gladsmuir       0.721         (1) Pencaitland       0.862         (20) Bolton       0.645         (24) Morham       0.598         (17) Oldhanstocks       0.705         (15) Garvald       0.717         (18) Dunbar       0.691         (23) Whitekirk & Tyninghame       0.629         (5) Stenton *(see Spott)       0.810         (7) Prestonkirk *(see Athelstaneford)       0.775         (3) Aberlady.       0.845         (21) Haddington       0.638         (14) Athelstaneford *(+ Prestonkirk)       0.720         (12) Innerwick       0.721         (8) Yester       0.774         (11) Humbie *(+ Fala & Soutra)       0.734         (22) Dirleton       0.633         East Lothian       0.732	1881       1891         (16) Ormiston       0.713       0.769         (6) Tranent       0.804       0.763         (4) Prestonpans       0.817       0.733         (2) Saltoun       0.848       0.685         (19) Whittingehame       0.683       0.755         (13) Gladsmuir       0.721       0.671         (1) Pencaitland       0.862       0.707         (2) Bolton       0.645       0.295         (24) Morham       0.598       0.435         (17) Oldhamstocks       0.705       0.736         (18) Dunbar       0.691       0.648         (9) Spott *(+ Stenton)       0.769       0.616*         (23) Whitekirk & Tyninghame       0.629       0.760         (5) Stenton *(see Spott)       0.810      *         (7) Prestonkirk *(see Athelstaneford)       0.775      *         (3) Aberlady       0.638       0.585         (14) Athelstaneford *(+ Prestonkirk)       0.720       0.585*         (12) Innerwick       0.721       0.562         (24) Yester       0.734       0.582         (11) Humbie *(+ Fala & Soutra)       0.728       0.595*         (10) North Berwick       0.732       0.6	1881       1891       1901         (16)       Ormiston       0.713       0.769       0.797         (6)       Tranent       0.804       0.763       0.738         (4)       Prestonpans       0.817       0.733       0.710         (2)       Saltoun       0.848       0.685       0.683         (19)       Whittingehame       0.683       0.755       0.676         (13)       Gladsmuir       0.721       0.671       0.633         (19)       Pencaitland       0.862       0.707       0.653         (20)       Bolton       0.645       0.295       0.649         (21)       Morham       0.598       0.435       0.640         (17)       Oldhanstocks       0.705       0.736       0.625         (15)       Garvald       0.717       0.668       0.602         (18)       Dunbar       0.691       0.648       0.598         (23)       Whitekirk & Tyninghame       0.629       0.760       0.581         (23)       Whitekirk * (see Athelstaneford)       0.775       -*       0.586         (11)       Hadington       0.638       0.585       0.555         (14) </td

Rank order by Ig in 1881 is shown in parentheses.

of Ormiston, Bolton and Morham, all the county's parishes registered a fall in marital fertility at this time. This observation must be tempered, as table 3 shows, by the fact that many of East Lothian's parishes contained fairly small populations at the turn of the century. For although population size does not normally affect an index such as Ig, it is likely that the smaller the population being measured the more will chance fluctuations disturb the expected pattern. For example, Bolton is ranked twentieth in 1881 (0.645), eighth in 1901 (0.649), and in 1891 it recorded a remarkably low Ig of 0.295. This parish contained at the time only about three hundred people, and this could well have had an effect on fertility within marriage if, during the ten years surrounding each census, only a few of its married women produced by chance an exceptionally large, or an exceptionally small, number of children. So, although the trend in twenty-one out of the twenty-four parishes of East Lothian was towards fewer children within marriage, the figures relating to parishes with populations of a few hundreds should be treated cautiously.

The indices for North Berwick and Dirleton, both parishes of a thousand and more people, and both of which showed an increase in their populations





Map 1


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	1991	1001	1901-	% difference
	1001	1901	1001	unicience
Ormiston	1,026	1,190	+164	+16
Franent	5,198	6,117	+919	+18
Prestonpans	2,573	3,382	+809	+31
Saltoun	575	431	-144	-25
Whittingehame	639	521	-118	-18
Gladsmuir	1,747	1,481	-266	-15
Pencaitland	1,107	1,112	-5	-0
Bolton	337	298	-39	-12
Morham	209	210	+1	+0
Oldhamstocks	568	429	-139	-24
Garvald	758	628	-130	-17
Dunbar	5,396	5,031	-365	-7
Spott	579	423	-156	-27
Whitekirk & Tyninghame	1,051	835	-216	-21
Stenton	594	511	-83	-14
Prestonkirk	1.929	1,673	-256	-13
Aberlady	1,000	950	-50	-5
Haddington	5,660	5,126	-534	-9
Atheistaneford	762	635	-127	-17
nnerwick	777	782	+5	+1
Yester	924	730	-194	-21
Humbie	907	720	-187	-21
North Berwick	2,688	3,649	+961	+36
Dirleton	1,506	1,810	+ 304	+20
East Lothian	38.510	38.665	+155	+0

#### TABLE 3

East Lothian — civil parish populations\*

\* Boundary changes instituted during this period which affected the population sizes of Oldhamstocks (-86), Humbie (-37), Athelstaneford (-5), Prestonkirk (+4), Spott (+3) and Stenton (-3), have not been taken into account in this table:

Source: Censuses of Population, 1881 and 1901, and Detailed Annual Reports of the Registrar-General for Scotland, 1891 and 1901.

during the period, are robust. Dirleton, which has the lowest Ig (0.488) in 1901, was by 1881 already controlling its within-marriage fertility to a marked degree: it shows the second lowest figure (0.633) in the county for that year. All the more remarkable then is the decline in the marital fertility of North Berwick over the same period, from 0.734 in 1881, to 0.492 in 1901. Although in both these parishes marital fertility decline is consonant with East Lothian's overall experience, the downward trend in North Berwick and Dirleton was markedly greater than that for East Lothian as a whole.

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Like those for Dirleton and North Berwick, the indices for Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans, are robust. But unlike Dirleton and North Berwick, it is the *failure* to change of the Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans group which shows up most dramatically (Maps 1 and 2). Geographically contiguous, and forming the North East District of East Lothian, these are the only parishes to

retain Igs above 0.700. Given our knowledge of the overall trend towards the limitation of fertility within marriage in East Lothian, it is the conservative behaviour of these parishes which illustrates best the need to explain behaviour below the level of the county. Ormiston in particular went decidely against the wider trend, showing an increase of eleven per cent in its marital fertility in 1901 (0.797) over that for 1881 (0.713). Tranent, on the other hand, containing more than half of the cluster's total population, did record a drop in Ig (from 0.804 in 1881, to 0.738 in 1901), as did Prestonpans (down from 0.817 in 1881, to 0.710 in 1901), though fertility in these three parishes still remained above 0.700, indicating a minimal level of fertility limitation.

#### Fertility and occupation

How then might we account for the wide variations in East Lothian's marital fertility experience, so graphically illustrated by the behaviour of Dirleton and North Berwick on the one hand, and the Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans group on the other? There are many factors associated with fertility decline, economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and technological. These often are not quantifiable. However, one variable which is susceptible to measurement, and which has often been found to be closely associated with low fertility is occupation. Unfortunately, there are no published figures for Scotland on occupational structure covering our period below the county level, but as Haines has stated, "when demographic information on separate occupations is lacking, as it frequently is, then small areas containing high concentrations of particular occupational groups can be used in its stead" (Haines, p. 3). If this is so, then the resistance to change of Ormiston and Tranent and, to a lesser extent, Prestonpans, is predictable. This cluster was then a thriving coal-mining area, and although the explanations are not always convincing, there is good empirical evidence from other places to suggest that coalminers tend to produce relatively large families (Wrigley: Haines; Friedlander).

Coalmining was dirty, disease-ridden and dangerous. It was also skilled, despite its intrinsic emphasis on heavy manual labour, and produced a distinctive ethos which tended to closely bind the community. Indeed, coalmining communities tended to be isolated and isolationist, a phenomenon "confirmed both by the miners' own exclusiveness and the unwillingness of others, for example farmers' daughters, to associate with them" (Checkland, p. 93). There was rarely any female employment available in coalmining areas, and this, coupled with the comparatively high wages paid in mining (Dickson, p. 222; Rodgers), might well have acted to keep fertility high.

After the sinking of the Lady Victoria pit at Newtongrange, Midlothian,<sup>3</sup> in 1890, the North-East District of East Lothian became an integral part of the modern Lothians coalfield. Between 1893 and 1923 the number of persons employed in coalmining in East Lothian rose by over three hundred and fifty per cent, from 1,080 to 3,891 (Cunningham, p. 62). By 1923, Prestonlinks, Prestongrange and Fleets were three of the largest mines in the area (employing 1,026, 988 and 593 persons respectively at that date) (Snodgrass, p. 49). Significantly, Prestonpans, which showed a markedly greater drop in Ig than Tranent (down fifteen and nine per cent, respectively), had a more diverse occupational structure. Apart from coal-mining, it contained at the turn of the century "extensive works for the manufacture of bricks, tiles and other fireclay goods, and a large brewery" (Bartholomew).

According to the 1911 Fertility Census, those employed in "Brick, Cement, Pottery, Glass Manufacture" tended to produce, on average, 6.01 children, a number "apparently greater than the general mean" for Scotland. On the other hand, those in occupations classed under the "Manufacture of Spirituous Drinks" who had an average number of children of 5.85, were found to "approximate the general mean". These numbers are decidely smaller than those given for coal-miners and coal-hewers, whose average family sizes, at 7.01 and 6.42 children respectively, are classed as "significantly greater than the General Mean" (1911 Census, Table XLVIII).

The apparent tendency of those employed in the Pottery and the Drinks industries, to have fewer children than their coalminer neighbours may be seen as a pointer to why marital fertility fell faster in Prestonpans than Tranent. But as the 1911 figures are Scottish national averages, it is of course likely that they do not at all accurately reflect the behaviour of persons engaged in these occupations in Prestonpans. Employment in Prestonpans, Tranent and Ormiston, was predominantly in coal-mining, and all three parishes still produced a higher level of marital fertility in 1901 than any other East Lothian parish.

The different occupational structures of Dirleton and North Berwick might hold the key to the advanced declining fertility of these places. Each was predominantly agricultural, though North Berwick also engaged in fishing, while Dirleton contained a few small coal mines and stone quarries. In addition, Gullane offered "good facilities for bathing and has both public and private golf courses". The town of North Berwick also had "noted golfing links", plus "a healthy bracing climate, and is a fashionable summer resort" (Bartholomew).

Where paid work for females has been available in or around the home, for example in handicrafts, or in agriculture, marital fertility has usually been found to be higher than average. Under such circumstances it was often possible to work and look after children at the same time. Where female employment was available elsewhere, for example in factories, shops, or in service, marital fertility has been found to be relatively low. In these circumstances the cost of raising children had often to be carefully weighed against the income which would have to be forgone if the woman left work (Tilly and Scott; Roberts; Gittins). There were no factories to speak of in Dirleton and North Berwick, but assuming that a rising proportion of their populations was engaged in the service sector, and that an ever-smaller proportion was engaged in agriculture, it is likely that, overall, the decline in marital fertility would have been enhanced in these parishes.

The 1911 Census informs us that the average number of children produced by agricultural labourers and farmservants, at 6.42, was, like the numbers for miners and hewers, "significantly greater than the General Mean" (1911 Census, Table XLVIII). Again though, because these are averages for Scotland as a whole, we cannot be sure how relevant they are at the parish level. It could be that the 'agricultural depression' which affected much of Britain during our period encouraged people in the rural areas of Dirleton and North Berwick to tighten their belts, and have fewer children in an attempt to keep family costs down. Devine, however, argues that "The 'Agricultural Depression' in Scotland caused problems but did not result in a crisis" (Devine, p. 248). Further, he argues that in the Lothians wages and conditions of labour showed a marked improvement before the turn of the century, not least because, with "conditions of employment in agriculture . . . seen by an increasing number of farm workers as less attractive than life in industry and the towns" (Devine, p. 252), wages were necessarily bid up in an attempt by farmers to keep enough labour on the land. This suggests that those farmworkers who remained, had no apparent reason related to occupation to alter their fertility behaviour.

Better wages in agriculture notwithstanding, the insistent attraction of East Lothian farm-workers to the towns, and to other industries, probably meant that those engaged in agriculture in Dirleton and North Berwick were already by 1901 so small a proportion of the overall 'at risk' populations that their fertility would have a limited effect on the parish figures. As Table 3 shows, the populations of both Dirleton and North Berwick increased at this time — but not necessarily the agricultural population. With these parishes becoming more fashionable (and accessible) as holiday resorts, and with the likely out-migration of many farm-workers, it was probably the parishes' service sector populations

which expanded. The effect of out-migration would tend to be especially pronounced if here, as elsewhere, most of those who left were in their (highly fertile) early- and mid-twenties (Flinn *et. al.*, p. 337). Resorting to the 1911 Fertility Census once more, we are told that occupations as diverse as railway porters; dentists; club, institutional and domestic servants; lawyers; eating-house and boarding-house keepers; etc., produced numbers of children "significantly less than the General Mean" (1911 Census; see also, Banks; Kemmer). Thus, to the extent that the (on average, less fertile) service sector populations of Dirleton and North Berwick were expanding, and the (on average, more fertile) agricultural populations were declining, the sharp fall in marital fertility shown in these parishes' Igs can probably be adequately accounted for.

#### Fertility and religious affiliation

Overall then, it would seem that occupation is a fairly good 'predictor' of fertility behaviour in the East Lothian parishes on which we have focussed. However, despite the apparently good 'fit' between occupational structure and marital fertility behaviour, there is an important objection which must be noted. No matter how well occupation might apparently account for behaviour, it cannot *explain* it. Coalminers, as a group, might have had more children on average than most persons otherwise employed, but that is not to say that they had large families *because* they were coalminers. Like most people, miners have children for a variety of reasons, and not least of these reasons is personal gratification. At the family and social levels, however, pro-natal pressure can be seen as taking the form of a moral obligation; and it is the various interpretations put on this obligation by different groups which enjoins some to have larger families than others. Also, the more close knit a particular community is, the less likely are the individuals within it to deviate from the local 'norm'.

Some historical demographers have argued that the more secularly orientated a community, the lower will its marital fertility tend to be (Notestein; Lesthaege; Lesthaege and Wilson). The assumption behind this hypothesis is that "For centuries the Christian doctrine regarding deliberate family limitation was clear-cut and unambiguous. The primary (some fathers of the Church claimed the *only*) aim of sexual intercourse in marriage was the procreation of childen" (Campbell). This doctrine, it is assumed, was followed by the majority of people, most of the time, largely because of the overwhelming importance of the church in European society through the centuries. However, "between about 1880 and 1930 new patterns of life were emerging in most parts of Britain, as a result of which, regardless of individual religious belief, the social importance of

Figure 2

Church Membership as a percentage of



the churches had greatly diminished" (McLeod, pp. 65-66). If this was indeed so, then religion may be very important with regard to our understanding of the mechanisms of fertility decline insofar as it influenced, and functioned as in indicator of, the *solidity* of a community's common value system.

In the absence of any better measure, the level of church membership has been used by some demographers as a 'rule of thumb' indicator of traditional attitudes to the limitation of within-marriage fertility (Lesthaeghe; Teitelbaum; Lockridge). Conversely, we might reasonably expect to find that communities known to have a high level of marital fertility would also tend to have a higher than average level of religious affiliation. Data in Howie's *Churches and the Churchless in Scotland* allow us to investigate these hypotheses better.

According to Howie, the reported level of adherence to the Established, Free and United Presbyterian<sup>4</sup> churches in Scotland in 1891, was about twentysix per cent of the total population. On the same basis, East Lothian's membership was about thirty-three per cent. These figures do not of course reflect the percentage of persons who had a 'church connection'. Here, the estimates of Howie, and others, are arrived at by using various multipliers on the membership figures. The most reliable of the estimates, those concerning the proportion of the population with 'some connection' to the Established, Free and United Presbyterian churches, range from about forty-six per cent, to about fifty-nine per cent at the national level, and, for East Lothian, from about thirty-three per cent to about sixty-six per cent (Howie). If the estimates for

membership of *all* denominations are reliable, at the national level somewhere between sixty-two, and seventy-four per cent of the population were somehow connected to the Christian church.

At the parish level, reported membership figures are given for the Established, Free and United Presbyterian churches in 1879 and 1891; and for the Episcopalian and other Protestant churches in 1885 and 1891; but for the Roman Catholic church only the number of baptisms, for 1885 and 1891, are recorded. Because 'connection' estimates were not made for the parishes, our discussion will necessarily centre on the reported memberships at this level. However, given that we wish to gain some insight into the possible connection between religion and marital fertility at the parish level, it is arguable that it would in any case be best to focus on actual members, in that they form the 'core' of the religiously motivated in their communities. The level of this 'core', as a percentage of a particular parish population is likely, if the 'secularisation' argument is correct, to correlate fairly well with the level of marital fertility in that parish.

The communities of East Lothian which maintained the highest rate of marital fertility during our period were, as noted above, the predominantly mining communities of Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans. Miners, however, were not known at the time for their religious zeal. Indeed, it was stated in the 1890s that "In the Presbytery of Haddington, 'indifference prevails to a great extent'; though the native miners were fairly regular in attendance, the newcomers were 'utterly impossible to get hold of'" (Smout, p. 200). The relative lack of enthusiasm for religion in the North East District is shown in Figure 2. In Tranent, membership of the Established Church remained constant as a percentage of the parish population. The percentage adhering to the Free and the United Presbyterian churches, however, fell between 1879 and 1891. In Ormiston and Prestonpans, although membership of the Established Church fell, numbers adhering to the Free Church increased. In sum, the percentage of the population adhering to the Protestant churches in the North East District was, in 1879, 22.77; and in 1891, 23.61. These figures deny the suggestion that an influx of 'newcomers' at the time adversely affected Protestant church attendance. Yet, it is fair to say that with under a quarter of the north east of the county's population recorded as adherents, whatever the motivation behind the District's high marital ferility, it was not inspired by the population's connection with the Protestant churches.

What the size of the Roman Catholic population of Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans was, of course, we do not know. The one Roman Catholic chapel

in the area at the time was in Tranent, in which there were thirteen baptisms in 1891, representing only about 6.5 per cent of the total number of births in the parish that year. This would seem to suggest that Catholic adherence in the area matched the Protestant low level. If this was so, then the prevalence of high marital fertility in the area can no more be put down to Catholicism than it can to Protestantism.

The 'pioneers' of East Lothian, on the other hand, as exemplified in the behaviour of the populations of North Berwick and Dirleton, should have been differently motivated, at least insofar as these parishes were more typical of rural Scotland than the North East District. "In the 1890s, many country presbyteries in the South of Scotland reported that virtually all the families still had a church connection, and that people came to worship with a fair degree of regularity" (Smout, p. 198). As Figure 2 shows, membership of the Church of Scotland in Dirleton and North Berwick rose between 1879 and 1891, as did that of the Free Church in North Berwick. Free Church membership in Dirleton fell, however, as did the percentage of attendants of the United Presbyterian Church in North Berwick. The number belonging to Episcopalian churches of both parishes rose, from fifty-eight in 1885, to eighty in 1891 in North Berwick; and from eleven in 1885 to thirty in 1891 in Dirleton. Indeed, as in the North East District, total Protestant church membership in Dirleton and North Berwick increased — from just over thirty-two per cent in 1879, to thirty-five per cent in 1891. Protestant church membership in Dirleton and North Berwick was thus very much in line with the thirty-four per cent attributable to East Lothian in 1891, and significantly above the national average of twenty-six per cent.

Despite the high, and rising, number of church adherents in their parishes, in having smaller families than previous generations the people of Dirleton and North Berwick faced disapproval from the churches. For example, though lamenting over a national trend, the Life and Work, and Social Problems, committees of the United Free Church might well have had parishes like Dirleton and North Berwick in mind, when, in 1916, they were "alarmed by the fact that the birth-rate was declining among the middle and well-to-do artisan classes — from which the Protestant churches mainly drew their members but not among 'the least competent class of the population' " (Boyd, p. 244). In Dirleton and North Berwick, our figures show that, assuming they formed a substantial part of the total number of residents, even the 'least competent class of the population' must have been participating in the new trend towards family limitation. To precisely what extent, in comparison to the behaviour of the parishes' 'middle and well-to-do artisan classes' we cannot tell. In any case, the

solidity of these populations, with regard to fertility behaviour at least, was not firm in the way that their religious leaders desired.

The number of Catholics resident in Dirleton and North Berwick is, as elsewhere, not knöwn. In the Roman Catholic chapel in North Berwick, nine baptisms took place in both 1885 and 1891: figures which represent about fourteen per cent of the total number of births for 1891 in the parish. While this is a much higher percentage than that for Tranent, it is hardly enough to have put much of a brake on the dramatic decline of fertility apparent in North Berwick at the time.

So far as the level of church membership in a community is a good indicator of religious commitment, in the parishes of East Lothian on which we have concentrated there is no foundation for accepting the hypothesis that fertility decline is positively associated with increasing secularity. Indeed, what relationship there does seem to be in Dirleton, North Berwick, Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans, is negative. The less religiously committed parishes of the North East District sustained their high fertility, while the parishes of Dirleton and North Berwick, where a significantly higher percentage of the population were members of the various churches, experienced a marked decline in marital fertility. Whether these parishes are an exception to a more general rule in Scotland only further research will tell.

#### Conclusion

Although East Lothian may be classed as a relatively 'early limiter' of marital fertility, below the county level a much more complex mosaic of experience is evident. Whilst the general trend is inexorably downward, there is one significant exception to the rule (Ormiston), and two important laggards (Tranent and Prestonpans). Also, the demographic experience of 'pioneers' like Dirleton and North Berwick, is far from adequately summarised at the county level. As has been argued here, and as exemplified in the cases of Dirleton and North Berwick on the one hand, and the Ormiston, Tranent and Prestonpans cluster on the other, the reasons for East Lothian's internally differentiated decline in marital fertility seem most likely to be attributable to the various occupational structures of its parishes. But without a more precise idea of these structures, it is not possible to say how accurate our assumptions about the effect of occupation on attitudes to family size are. On this, more work needs to be done. The discussion of a possible link between religion and fertility contradicted the hypothesis that secularisation and fertility decline were positively linked, at least in this county. It is clear that here too, more needs to be done

before any firm conclusion can be reached. However, given the statistics on which this paper has been based, we can be sure that the multiplicity of questions posed by the occurrence of, or resistance to, marital fertility decline are more likely to be answered by research at the civil parish level than they ever could be by resort to county- and higher-levels of aggregation.

#### Notes

- 1. An ecological fallacy is an error made when it is assumed that behaviour apparent at one level of aggregation (for instance, the nation), may be taken as an estimate of behaviour at a lower level (for instance, the county).
- 2. 'At risk' females are those between the ages of 15 and 50. It is usually the case that well over 90 per cent of all births in a population are produced by women between these ages. Age 15 is of course too young in this country to be married at. It is included here, as elsewhere, because of the widespread practice of publishing statistics on age-distribution in 5-year age-bands. But clearly, because there are no women married at this age there can be no legitimate births produced by them, so the index of marital fertility used here, lg, is not affected.
- 3. The only other parish in the map area used here which registers a level of marital fertility above 0.700 in 1901, is, significantly, Newtongrange.
- 4. The Free, and United Presbyterian churches combined as the United Free Church in 1900.

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# PRESTONPANS WATER PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE By JAMES MCKENZIE, B.E.M., TECH. ENG. (C.E.I.) F.A.W.O.

#### INTRODUCTION

History is made every day, each time a secretary records the decisions taken at a meeting, every time a building is erected, altered or demolished, or indeed whenever an event takes place which, in the course of time, could provide a better understanding to our descendants of how we live, move, and have our being. It is a great pity that such records are usually destroyed after a given period, and it would be worthwhile to consider the setting up of an archive in each area to store such records and other items for posterity. In these days when the microfilm is now an accepted part of many offices, storage should not present a problem.

My chosen subject of water supplies may not, at first glance, appear to be of great interest, but these elements have played an important part in the development of the town by way of industrial growth and the standard of life enjoyed by every member of the population.

Throughout this paper I have expressed measurements, whether of fluid or distance, in both imperial and metric figures. This factor alone could indicate to a future reader the difficulties which the change from one system to another posed, especially to the more elderly. We should always bear in mind that there are many today who can recall going to the shops for a 'peck' of potatoes. Later years found that order changed to a 'forpit' then changing again to 'pounds', that is pounds weight, not to be confused with the monetary figure. Today we would be served with potatoes (probably pre-packed and washed) and measured in kilograms.

Without doubt, there will be other persons around who could add to the information contained in this paper, and I would appreciate such comments as might be forthcoming.

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A study of any map will nearly always show that towns and cities have tended to develop where certain criteria can be met, such as ready communications by road, river, or rail. The availability of water, both for domestic and trade consumption has also had a bearing on the siting of centres of population and it is this factor which I would concentrate on. Prestonpans is situated in a position which meets all the criteria. The road and rail facilities, together with the convenience of sea travel, have, in the past been important to the development of industry, which development, naturally, has influenced the population growth. The following is a selection of these figures into Burgh and Landward sections. The figures showing such breakdowns were introduced in 1871.

#### Population figures 1871-1951

Census year	Burgh	Landward	Total
1871	1597	472	2069
1881	1610	963	2573
1891	1606	1053	2659
1901	1721	1661	3382
1911	1923	2799	4722
1921	2001	3153	5154
1931	2426	3560	5986
1951	2907	4686	7593

The Burgh population remained fairly static for a considerable period, whilst the Landward population increased steadily. This was to be expected as the major industrial development took place within the landward area. The Summlerlee housing complex was built to meet the need for accommodation in connection with Prestongrange Coal Mine and the adjacent Brickworks. Irrespective of which area of the town was developing faster, the need for an adequate supply of water and proper sewage facilities was ever present. Generally speaking, the only provision for water supplies had, up to 1878, been from wells sunk at various locations throughout the area, or, and the mind boggles at the thought, from such sources as the 'Dribbling Burn' which ran from a point west of Bankton House, passing close to Preston Tower, and discharged into the sea east of Ayres Wynd. The quality and quantity of water available from these wells varied considerably, and, as is not unusual with well supplies, there was a tendency for them to stop producing in drought periods. The means of drawing off the water varied from the old bucket and rope method to the handle and pump system. Unfortunately these wells have all been filled in, or built over, but there are certain wells the existence of which is

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noted on various old maps. The first edition of the official Ordnance Survey maps was produced in 1894, and even by this time many of the old water sources had either been covered over, or their existence was not deemed worthy of recording. That they existed, however, is beyond question. As recently as 1958 the author had occasion to wonder what was under a very old flagstone at the rear of Camperdown Villas, and, with the permission of the owner, the stone was removed, to reveal the remains of a well. A map of the area (circa 1800) shows the following sources.

#### Preston Area

- (1) Pump marked in a location which would place it as being to the rear of the centre houses in the street now known as Cross Cottages.
- (2) Pump shown on grass land to the south of Schaws Hospital which building became the Mary Murray Institute (now demolished). The approximate position was opposite the left gable of the building. In his marvellous record *Prestonpans and Vicinity* published in 1902, Peter McNeill makes reference to several wells in the vicinity of Dovecot Gardens, probably as supplies to a brewery believed to having been in production in that area in 1720, possibly in Kate Herrings Close, that thoroughfare believed to have run from the Dovecot at the site of the North Berwick Road through to Preston Road.
- (3) In addition to these wells within the actual Preston Village there was, of course, the well situated to the east of Bankton House. This is recorded on the 1907 Ordnance sheet, while a sketch of the house which appears in Macdonald's *Tourist Guide* shows a hand operated pump north-east of the house. Bearing in mind the fact that the main Edinburgh-London road originally passed through Preston Village, it has been suggested that the horses were able to quench their thirst at the Bankton pump while the travellers availed themselves of refreshment at one of the many inns nearby. Old habits die hard, as, with the coming of the railway, it is noted on one of the maps the existence of the North British Railway Tavern, situated to the rear of Hamilton House. Probably the walk from the station to town called for a slight thirst quencher.

#### Extract from the Minutes of Grange Church. 24 February, 1853.

The following letter was read to the Deacons Court.

Prestonpans, 26th August, 1852.

To the Reverend William Bruce Cunningham, Free Church Minister, PRESTONPANS.

My dear Sir,

From a desire to obviate as far as in my power the inconvenience you suffered from the failure of water in the well at the Church Manse, occupied by you as Minister of the Free Church of Prestonpans, I have agreeably to your wish, laid down at my own expense, leaden pipes, branching off from a main pipe in my property opposite, on the west of the Free Church Manse, for the purpose of affording you a better supply of that necessary article.

In doing this, it is, of course, to be understood by all parties as a purely voluntary accommodation on my part. To you under present circumstances, to be discontinued when deemed needful by me or my successors in such manner as may appear to me or them most fit at that time, only I do not for myself or for them reserve any right to enter the Free Church manse or garden to lift these pipes laid down there, or in any way interfere inside of said premises after the supply of water is cut off or withheld, but while the water is supplied it will be proper to see that all the pipes and cocks, as now filled up, are kept in such good order as to prevent undue waste of water. And to prevent any misunderstanding, I think it right to place the small sum of one shilling, sterling (5 pence) per annum, payable at the term of Whitsunday each year, beginning the first term of payment at Whitsunday, Eighteen hundred and Fifty Three, it being also distinctly understood, that notwithstanding the payment of this rent, the supply of water is not guaranteed to you at all times, or with any degree of regularity, but is to be given only to such an extent as may be consistent with my conveniency.

> I remain Yours very sincerely, Robert Hislop.

Agreed that the Moderator intimate to Mr Hislop acceptance of the conditions.

During the second world war, as a means of identifying potential sources of water for use in emergencies, the Geological Survey Unit produced a report on wells and other water flows, including the pumped water from the local coal mines. The introduction to this report admits, with regret, the lack of informaton on wells, but the reports provide a certain amount of detail. The fact that this information does not appear in Peter McNeill's book would tend

to infer that these wells were sunk post 1902, all in connection with the development of new industries which were dependent on large quantities of water, unavailable, for technical and cost reasons, from the public water supply at that time. Before moving to consider the wells in the burgh area, it might be of interest to refer to these industrial wells and water flows in the Preston Area. Again I will be quoting imperial and metric measurements pertaining to flows of water, these being in gallons or cubic metres, one cubic metre being the equivalent of 220 gallons.

*Bankton Colliery*. National Coal Board, formerly Edinburgh Collieries, Ltd. Water pumped from underground. Average pumping rate 2,880 thousand gallons (13091 m<sup>3</sup>) per day. Hardness factor 2450. Water used in coal washing, even after the colliery closed down, as it was considered feasible to transport coal from the Fleets Colliery, Tranent, for washing at Bankton. This practice ceased in 1945 with the closure of Fleets Colliery.

*Meadowmill.* Recorded as being 210 yards (191 metres) north of St. Joseph's Cottages. No flows available, but water quality irony.

Northfield Farm. Well sunk for former Edinburgh Coal Company at position 33 yards (30 metres) north of Northfield House. Yield 8,640 gallons (39 m<sup>3</sup>) per day.

Northfield House. Well sunk for Edinburgh Coal Company. No location given. Yield 2,160 gallons (9.8 m<sup>3</sup>).

Northfield Farm Cottage. Well sunk for former Edinburgh Coal Company. Exact site unknown. Yield 3,600 gallons (16.3 m<sup>3</sup>).

*Burnrigg Wells.* Sunk by former John Fowler & Company, Brewers. Wells sunk at positions of 87 yards (79 metres) and 97 yards (88 metres) South-west of Prestonpans Railway Station. Wells interlinked at depth of 25 feet (7.5 m), providing a joint yield of 31,080 gallons (141.3 m<sup>3</sup>) per day. Hardness factors; temporary 619, permanent 252. For an explanation of hardness factors and characteristics see below.

Before leaving the 'top' side of the town, it would be worthy to consider the question of supply to the house occupied by the incumbent Laird.

The map of Haddingtonshire in 1799 shows the route of lead pipes laid from a fountainhead situated south of Dolphingston Farm and terminating at



Map of Haddingtonshire, 1799.

Prestongrange House, then shown as being occupied by Lady Hyndford. This supply served for many years affording a good pressure and volume to meet requirements of the estate. At a later date a connection was laid from the public water main leading to Fa'side area to tie in with the fountainhead above Dolphingston. The estate (now occupied by the Royal Musselburgh Golf Club) is now supplied from Prestongrange road. Another point of interest from this old map is the showing of a drive leading down from Prestongrange House to an entrance from the coastal road. To the west of this entrance is shown a small building marked 'Bathing House'. Since the supply of spring water would have been more than adequate to allow the normal ablutions to be carried out within the main house, it might be that this 'Bathing House' was used in connection with sea bathing. Whether the building was merely used as changing accommodation prior to a walk across the road to the sea, or whether the servants carried the sea water across the road to the little building can only be left to the imagination.

From Prestongrange House, let us move to the site of the former Prestongrange Colliery and Brickworks. As with Bankton Colliery, a great quantity of water had to be pumped up from underground each day to allow work to proceed. The Geological Survey entry is as follows:

*Prestongrange Colliery;* rate of pumping varies from 720,000 gallons per day (3272.6 m<sup>3</sup>) up to 1,440,000 gallons per day (6545.2 m<sup>3</sup>). Quality brackish. Used for steam condenser and coal washing.

On the various survey maps of the time when the colliery was open there are shown areas marked as reservoirs. These should not be confused with the type of reservoir which we associate with public water supply. Within industry it is common to have these areas to store water which has been drawn from a source such as the pumped mine water, or even river water, the intention being to allow sediment within the water to settle to the bottom of the storage area, thus allowing the water to be used for industrial purposes to a greater degree than would have been possible had all the sediment been present. Prestongrange Colliery closed in 1961, the nearby Brickworks unfortunately following suit in 1973. Other interesting notes from the study of this area was that the 1894 Ordnance Sheet indicates that a fort existed at one time on the north side of the road opposite the colliery site. It is also recorded in the history of pottery that the art of potmaking was carried out at Morrison's Haven by a firm named Hilcote during the period 1760-1801. This is confirmed on the 1799 map of Haddingtonshire, and is shown as having been situated on the south side of the road on part of the site which was later occupied by the colliery. It is probable

that this pottery would avail itself of surface water from the higher grounds south of the site. Even to this day the problem of dealing with water drainage from this higher ground still remains to be resolved.

Along the coast road we have the landward district known in earlier times as Cuthill, or, at a later date when the Prestongrange Colliery was under the ownership of the Summerlee Iron Company, as Summerlee, this being the site chosen by this company to build a housing complex. Prior to this period, potteries had existed at Cuthill, owned at various times by firms by the name of Gordon, in 1795, they having purchased the business from Cadells who had run the pottery since 1750. Messrs. Cadell continued on another site until 1840, while Messrs. Belfield were in production from 1835 until the late 1930's. A firm by the name of Cubie was in the pottery business at Cuthill prior to 1790, but little is known of this firm: that the firm did exist is confirmed by entries in the records of the Kirk of Salt Prestown from 1618 onwards, other occupations of the family including mason, webster (old name for weaver), and ship-owner. The significant feature is that, irrespective of how many of these firms were in operation at any given time, a supply of water would be essential. On the 1799 map there is a well shown in a location which places it in the vicinity of the present Inchview Coachworks. This is confirmed on a plan prepared in connection with the first sewage scheme, that plan being dated 13 November, 1883, when the building situated on the corner at Cuthill was referred to as 'Well House'. Many a household in Prestonpans is still graced by items of pottery from this period, and it was appropriate that the local Cooperative Society Minutes of 21 January 1929, should record a decision that the Diamond Jubilee of the Society should be marked by the gift to each member of a teapot, suitably inscribed, preferably of local manufacture, and the minute of 28 January, 1929 refers to sample teapots being put before the committee, it being agreed to order fireproof ones from Messrs. Belfied. Other potteries appeared on the maps under study were located in the Brickfield (now known as the Pennypit) and at the junction of Ayres Wynd and Kirk Street (hence the name Pottery Close) which stretched from Kirk Street to the High Street east of Ayres Wynd. This site is now occupied by the main Post Office. These old maps not being to scale it is possible that these last two mentioned potteries could be one and the same, although Peter McNeill does make reference to the production of brick and tile at the site now known as Camperdown Villas, hence, possibly the name Brickfield. The proximity of the Red Burn may also have encouraged the potters, as it possibly also gave encouragement to the developers to set up the coal mine commonly known as the Penny Pit, or, to accord the proper name, Northfield Colliery. Certainly, on

the 1907 Ordnance Survey sheet there appears, slightly east of the burn, a tank, possibly to store water from this burn after settling of sediment. The high mineral content of the water probably accounted for its name. Slightly east of the burn ran the mineral railway line which was a branch line starting from a point 347 yards (316 metres) west of Prestonpans Railway Station, thence laid so as to cross the path locally known as the Blue Knowe before turning to proceed north towards the line of Redburn Road then east again to finish at Northfield Colliery.

Little trace is left of this mineral railway, but it is interesting to take a walk up the Blue Knowe, then to turn left shortly before the railway bridge. Following the path which runs parallel to the railway, it will be noticed that, where the pathway narrows as it nears the railway, the distinct ridges left after the removal of the sleepers can be easily picked out. In addition to this 'clue' it is noted that the fencing which forms the north boundary of the field, and in direct line of Redburn Road, contains a double gate. This probably is fair indication that this was the point where the mineral railway crossed the road on its way to Northfield Colliery.

Reference has already been made to the wells at Burnrigg belonging formerly to John Fowler, Brewers. Within the actual brewery in the High Street there were possibly two wells, these being referred to by Peter McNeill. The fact that he did not mention the Burnrigg wells might indicate that these were sunk later than 1902, the year of publication of his book. The brewery, founded in 1720 seems to have depended on these wells, and possibly other wells in the immediate vicinity of the works. Unfortunately no flow records are available, but suffice to quote from *Prestonpans and Vicinity* that "The brewing liquor is drawn from a well, 80 feet (24.5 metres) deep, situated in the old brewhouse, which has supplied the brewery for two centuries, and is of the finest quality".

The many other industries which flourished in the town must have depended on local supplies, therefore it will be obvious that, for industrial and domestic use, water was at a premium.

The 1883 map prepared in connection with the first sewage scheme shows the location of several more wells throughout the town, these being at the following locations:

1. South side of High Street on the opposite side of the road from the road leading down to the sea, this road being shown on most maps as Ormiston Place, but on the 1883 map it is referred to as Black Bull Wynd, the Black Bull being a well known hostelry.

- 2. Midway down the lane west of the present Co-operative Society Office.
- 3. North side of High Street, west of the lane leading down to Rock Cottage.
- 4. Midway down Rosemount Lane, on right side of the lane.
- 5. North side of High Street slightly east of the junction with Rosemount Lane. Set close to the road at a point which is now the east edge of the piece of grassland containing the Burns Shelter.

The hamlet of Prestonlinks, east of the town had a pump situated at the rear of the houses, and is shown on the 1894 Ordnance Survey sheet. This, of course, was prior to the opening of Prestonlinks Colliery. The entry in the records of the Geological Survey for the colliery refers to water pumped from underground as follows:

*Prestonlinks Colliery.* Rate of pumping 480,000 gallons (2182 m<sup>3</sup>) per day, with a hardness factor of 4590. Used for coal washing and in ash drains. The colliery began operations in 1903, but is now demolished, having given way to the Cockenzie Power Station, the building which commenced in 1962.

The Prestonlinks Colliery referred to in the Geographical Survey was the second colliery on this site, the first attempt to extract coal having been abandoned. The first colliery is marked on the 1855 map, whilst the 1894 Ordnance sheet merely indicated the old air shaft. This Ordnance sheet also indicated an old coal pit at the west of Port Seton Links, although we do not often associate Port Seton with the coal industry.

We can now move on to the question of the need for a public water supply which faced those responsible for the affairs of the town in the latter part of the 19th century. An answer had to be found if the town was to continue to flourish, and the health of the population improve.

#### Water Characteristics

In order to promote an easier understanding of the problems facing the designers of a public water system it might serve to devote a short part of this paper to these problems. Rain, purest natural form of water though it is, is really a very weak acid, having dissolved carbon dioxide and traces of other chemicals from the air. Where the rainfall has quickly drained into a reservoir it will pick up a limited amount of other chemicals from the ground, or from the bed of the stream leading to the reservoir, so the level of acidity will have risen slightly. However, where the rainfall has sunk into the ground, then

continued to pass through the various strata before becoming part of an underground lake, the acidity can reach greater proportions. This acidity, whether from a reservoir or from a pumped supply, can be neutralised by the addition of other substances such as lime, the aim being to present to the public a water which is either acidic or alkaline. Sediment in the raw water is removed by a settling process which takes place naturally as the water lies in the reservoir, or by filtering of the water using one, or more, of the filtration methods available. The most common method in earlier water schemes was to allow the water to pass slowly through layers of special sand, a process which also removed most of the bacteria present. The main objection to this system was that the throughput of water was slow, and that filter beds had to be taken out of action occasionally to allow the top of the sand bed to be skimmed because impurities had clogged up the surface. More modern methods were gradually introduced such as pressure-filtration, where the water is passed through steel drums containing special sand under pressure. An ingenious arrangement of paddles within the drums allows the sand to be cleaned without the removal of the sand, the flow of water being reversed to wash away the impurities. Techniques are constantly improving as the demand for more water grows.

#### Pressure

Every consumer expects an adequate flow of water at all times. The system therefore has to be planned with two main points in mind, the height above sea level of the resevoir or area storage tank from which the water will be supplied, and the height above sea level of the premises to be supplied. The difference between these two levels should indicate the pressure available. This however is theoretical. In practice, the available pressure is reduced by the friction of the water passing through pipelines; the bends or changes of direction of a pipeline, the control valves on the pipeline, and the internal state of the pipe itself, all add to the friction loss. The demands made on the system at certain peak periods can also cause a reduction in pressure. As records of flows are studied daily, it is often possible to tell when a favourite television programme has ended, as the increase in demand for water shows a high peak on the chart, from the immediate rush to make the tea, use the toilet, or run a bath. On the height of premises above sea level, as the Ordnance Survey sheets show these heights at various points in each area it is not necessary to actually measure that height. The levels shown are known as Ordnance Datum (O.D.) and the position where the survey team has carried out its calculations is often denoted by the sign of an arrow pointing upwards with a horizontal line across the top of the arrow. These signs are chiselled on the wall near ground level and are

known as Bench-marks (B.M.). One which springs to mind can be seen at the junction of West Loan and Preston Road, immediately opposite Hamilton House. As examples of the information given on the Ordnance Survey sheets, the following is a selection of the heights above sea level throughout Prestonpans (1973 Survey Sheet):

High Street at corner of Royal Bank	6 metres - 20 feet
Prestongrange Manse	16 metres - 52 feet
Longdykes Road	20 metres - 65 feet
Prestongrange Road (top)	<sup>24</sup> metres - 79 feet
Polwarth Terrace (top)	34 metres - 111 feet

The sea level used in connection with Ordnance Survey is the mean sea level at Newlyn, Cornwall.

Other questions which face the planners of a water system are the growth, or decrease, rate of the population to be supplied, the industrial trends, and the potential demands made by the marketing of new aids to the standard of living, e.g. dishwashers, disposal units, and similar appliances. A crystal ball would certainly be of use to the water engineer.

#### Prestonpans Water Works

Haddington Courier. 1876. 'Prestonpans Police Commissioners have, after mature consideration, resolved to supply the inhabitants with a sufficiency of good water.

Two schemes have been proposed:

- 1. To bring water from the Tyne, through Ormiston and Tranent, supplying both places in the passing. The Tranent Commissioners are unfavourable.
- 2. To bring water from a mine, midway between Preston and Tranent, the proprietor of the mine having given his cordial assent.

The latter scheme is likely to be adopted.'

The 'mature consideration' was followed by speedy action, as, on 16th July, 1878, the scheme was inaugurated. Known locally as the 'Black Well' scheme, the work, was superintended by a Mr McQueen at a cost of some £900.

The well, situated upwards towards Bankpark, was an outcrop of the coal seam known as the Bankton Level, and the flow of water had been a saving

grace to the locals during periods of drought. As was to be expected, the water was high in mineral content, so it was considered essential that some form of treatment be given. A pipeline was laid from the source to the filter beds which were of the Slow Sand type, the filters bed being duplicated in order that one bed at a time could be taken out of commission for cleaning. The location of the filters was 208 yards (189 metres) east of Bankton House, and 138 yards (126 metres) south of the centre of the railway track between Edinburgh and London. The filtered water was conveyed some 100 yards (91 metres) to a covered storage tank north-west of the filters, a short distance from the boundary of the railway property. The filters and storage tank are plotted on the 1907 Ordnance Survey sheet. The capacity of the storage tank was 130,000 gallons (590 m<sup>3</sup>), the available flow being calculated as to allow a supply of thirteen gallons (59 litres) per head of population per day. The distribution of water was through pipes varying in size from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 4 inches (the modern equivalents are 65 mm and 100 mm). The introduction of the scheme was a great boon to the population, albeit the water quality still was of higher mineral content than would have been desirable.

The officials of the town kept a watchful eye on the situation, and, in view of the rise in population of 809 between the years 1881 and 1901, considertion had to be given to a further improvement in the supply system. It is interesting to note from the 1901 census the following figures:

Number of families	706
Number of inhabited houses	597
Number of empty houses	39
Houses under construction	32

It seems strange that some houses provided accommodation for more than one family, when other houses were uninhabited.

It was agreed that consideration again be given to bringing a supply from the Lammermuirs, possibly in conjunction with Cockenzie and Port Seton. Messrs. W. & M. Copeland, of Glasgow were invited to submit designs for the project, and, in 1908 the plans were submitted for approval, the estimated cost being £16,000. Agreement was reached between the burghs, and the Prestonpans Combination Water Trust came into being. The limits of supply were determined as the burghs and the landward areas of the two constituent members plus other subjects suitably placed near, but outwith, these agreed limits. Briefly the limits could be explained thus; Morrison's Haven to a point east of Port Seton on the coastal road, turning inland at the end of Port Seton

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Links and heading south for a distance of 350 yards (318 metres) before turning west to head back to Port Seton to include the burgh, the line of limit passing approximately through the area now used by Cockenzie School as a playground. the boundary continued westwards to With slight deviations, include Prestonlinks; the next change of direction, took place at a point in the fields at present owned by Elvingston Estates, where, some 100 yards (91 metres) short of East Loan, and in a direct line from Winfields House, the boundary again turned south to head for Preston; there it turned east above Schaw's Hospital to take in both sides of the road as far as Meadowmill, on the return leg of which it moved inland to include Bankton House and the Railway Station; thence west to the end of Prestongrange estate, where it again turned north on a line of the roadway commonly known as Manager's Brae, and so back to our starting point.

The remit to the designers of the project was that, in addition to increasing the quantity of water available so as to serve the increased area and the growing population adequately, the quality of the product should be improved. The decision to look to the Lammermuirs, with their abundant water of reasonably low acidity, solved the major problem. The source selected was on the Kidlaw Burn, 5 miles (8 kilometres) south-west of Pencaitland. A reservoir was built, to be known as Lammerloch, a trunk main laid to Tranent, where, on the opposite side of the road from Tranent Mains Farm, a filter and storage complex was erected. This complex still remains, although no longer in use. From Tranent Mains, a 6" (150 mm) main was laid to Prestonpans and a 5" (125 mm) main laid to Port Seton. The Ordnance datum of the reservoir position, 500 feet (151 metres), and of Tranent Mains, 200 feet (60 metres), allowed ample pressure to the consumers, both domestic and industrial, and the scheme in general allowed the local officials to look ahead with confidence to the future development of the town.

#### Rules and Regulations

In common with other water authorities, the Prestonpans Combination Water Trust, in 1909, published its *Rules and Regulations*. The authority for such regulations was the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1897, and the Waterworks Clauses Acts of 1847 and 1863. The basic aims of these rules was to prevent waste, misuse, and contamination of a public water supply, in addition to which there was a list of the special charges pertaining to certain consumers. A selection of these charges indicates life at this time:

Water for a steam engine	£2.2.0 per	annum
Cow (in milk)	2/6d per	annum

Pony used in trade 2/6d per annum Water for industry taken through meter 1/- per 1,000 gallons (4.5 m<sup>3</sup>)

Every tap ball-valve or similar water fitting had to be pressure tested and stamped with a special mark. Facilities for testing were the special departments set up by the Edinburgh and District Water Trust, or the Glasgow Water Trust.

#### Later Developments

As is usually the case during periods of conflict, the 1914-18 war put paid to any great developments, but, at the cessation of hostilities the population was still growing, despite the sad loss of many of the young men of the town. By 1921, the figures, as shown on an earlier page, had risen to a total for burgh and landward area of 5154. A similarly extraordinary high birth rate period was recorded at the conclusion of the 1939-45 war.

In 1922 a decision was taken that the Prestonpans Combination Water Trust should unite with other similar bodies, the advantages being the integration of existing supplies and forward planning to a higher degree than would have been possible while operating as small units. The East Lothian Water Board served the county well in using available resources and in the planning of future developments in the county. Abstraction of river water of the Whiteadder, the water being pumped from the source to a nearby reservoir, preceded the building of a proper reservoir at Whiteadder. Additional local storage facilities were built, the advent of Cockenzie Power Station making heavy demands upon the distribution system with a requirement of upwards of 750,000 gallons (3409 m<sup>3</sup>) per day. The Nuclear powered generator at present being constructed at Torness also has necessitated special arrangements. In the period between the building of these power stations, the control of water supplies in East Lothian has changed hands on two occasions. The Water (Scotland) Act of 1967 had the effect of reducing the number of water authorities in Scotland to thirteen, with the East Lothian Water Board becoming part of the South East of Scotland Water Board, together with the following:

Berwick County Council Coldstream Town Council Edinburgh Corporation Galashiels Town Council Innerleithen Town Council Kelso Town Council Melrose Town Council Bo'ness Town Council Duns Town Council Eyemouth Town Council Hawick Town Council Jedburgh Town Council Lauder Town Council Peebles County Council

Peebles Town Council Selkirk County Council West Lothian Water Board. Roxburgh County Council Selkirk Town Council

In addition to the thirteen boards set up on a geographical basis, there was formed the Central Scotland Water Development Board, the remit of which is to supply the water boards in Central Scotland in bulk as required, the main source being Loch Lomond. The reduction of the nineteen water suppliers in South-East of Scotland to one major unit allowed greater flexibility of operation with specialist functions such as a Civil Engineering Design Section, a Laboratory with the latest test facilities, an Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Section, and a team of Inspectors readily available to assist with supply problems.

Tremendous progress was made throughout the whole area of Supply during this time, and it was with some regret that the board came to an end in 1974 when the present system of regional government was instituted. The effects were to remove the Borders Area from the limits of the former South-East Water Board, and to re-draw several of the former county boundaries; thus, for instance, Musselburgh came into East Lothian.

The Central Scotland Water Development Board was left untouched by the reorganisation. Basically the greatest effect of the Act was to bring water supplies again under the complete control of local government, and to ally the water and drainage services, at least for administration matters. The total union of these two functions as far as the actual service is concerned can never take place because of the necessity at all times to avoid any possibilities of a threat to public health.

Integration and inter-linking of supplies of water continue, it now being possible to supply, for instance, the Musselburgh area, either from Rosebery (Midlothian) works, or from East Lothian via a new linking main laid between Ormiston and Chalkieside storage reservoir which is situated near Carberry estate. Loch Lomond water can now feed into the Barnton area of Edinburgh. Is what was once considered a dream, a water grid throughout Scotland, slowly becoming a reality? The latest source under development is the Megget Scheme, the first phase of which scheme was officially opened in September, 1983. The capacity of the scheme is, at top water level, to store 13,508,000,000 gallons (61,400,000 m<sup>3</sup>) utilising water from the immediate catchment area and in future from St Mary's Loch. The two stages of development will, eventually, give an

additional 22,500,000 gallons  $(205,000 \text{ m}^3)$  per day. The initial phase cost £48 million, a far cry from the £900 of the Black Well scheme or the £16,000 of the Prestonpans Combination Water Trust scheme. The trend is to everincreasing consumption and it is estimated that the beginning of the 21st century will see a demand for water of 88 gallons (400 litres) per head per day, compared with the 13 gallons (59 litres) available from the Black Well. As the demand grows the task of upgrading the network of pipelines must continue. The foresight shown by their predecessors must be continued by the water authorities in the planning and funding of projects. We have been left a heritage of good water supplies, and it is up to the present and future generations to ensure that this is passed on.

# THE RESTORATION OF THE OLD CASTLE, EAST SALTOUN, 1979-81

### by RACHEL A. HEDDERWICK

It has been suggested that members of the Society might be interested to read about the restoration of The Old Castle, East Saltoun.

I had decided I would like to restore a little bit of Scotland's Heritage and when I was left some money by an aunt who had been very interested in the National Trust for Scotland, now seemed to be the time. The year was 1977 and for the next two years, with the help of the N.T.S. I looked at old houses, mills, factories, farm buildings and smithies from Galloway to the Borders and Fife. Most were too big or too dilapidated for me to consider — I still hankered after a Tower House, not knowing then how difficult they are to modernize with plumbing and electricity.

Anyway, when I was about to give up the search, The Old Castle at East Saltoun was advertised. Never a castle but possibly an early school or manse and certainly used as a barracks at one stage — there were marks where bunk beds had been in the top storey. Latterly it had housed one or two families at various times but now the roof was beginning to give way, the last family had been rehoused and a closing order had been put on the building. It was rescued by a Mr and Mrs Roberts, who bought it from the Fletcher Estates and then engaged Mr F. Giffen, A.R.I.B.A. of Aberlady to draw up plans and apply for grants. They got a grant from the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland and one from the Local Authority which were eventually transferred to me. The Roberts were then sent elsewhere on his business and the Old Castle was put on the market again. There was tremendous interest in it — I seem to remember the lawyers saying that they had had about thirty-three viewers. My lawyers came to view and agreed I should put in an offer. This was accepted and in March 1979 I was the owner of a fairly ruinous building.

Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, Vol. 19 1987

#### THE OLD CASTLE

The contract for the restoration was given to Messrs Rosie and Howells who had already worked with Mr Giffen and who, though mainly joiners, were able to recommend a builder, John Walls, and also plumbers and electricians etc.

But work, of course, does not immediately start! First the architect and I had to consult over the plans and decide on the alterations I wanted. The main alteration was the decision to built up the tumbled down cottage wing, which at that moment was the remains of walls with two wooden garages built inside the area. The previous owners were going to turn it into a walled courtyard but I needed a proper garage and so it was decided to rebuild it to form a garage and a utility room, a decision I am very glad of.

The walls of all the buildings are rubble and the south gable had a bad crack down it due to large fires in the old range at that end. I have been told it was a favourite gathering place for the village youth long ago as the outside wall was so warm! Then I wanted two new windows in upstairs bedrooms and the back door had to be moved so new rybates and sills were needed and new stone had to be found that would match and be approved by the Historic Buildings Council. The stone was finally found at Lazenby in Dumfriesshire and was cut to size by McGlashans of Edinburgh, who being very busy were not able to deliver it for some months.

The other conditions that the Historic Buildings insisted on were 1. the building to be recessed-pointed with warm-coloured gritty sand and hydrolic-lime mortar to their specification; 2. that interior doors, windows and shutters, if they could not be re-used be to the original design and that the cornice in the sitting room be an exact copy. Finally, that the main old feature of the interior, the circular staircase, be retained.

During the summer of 1979, I visited the Old Castle frequently, and introduced various friends to it. The general reaction was one of horror! Fancy thinking of living in a house with pigeons nesting in the attic and fungi sprouting everywhere in the ground floor! Only cold water and minimal electricity! Quite mad! but they had no vision and I could see that it would be comfortable when finished. I tackled the bit of garden furthest from the house and had it treated with Tumbleweed and rotovated. It had been a very productive vegetable garden previously but even in two years it had become a wilderness. I planted fruit trees and cultivated a vegetable patch.

It was not until February 1980 that work really began - the inside

#### THE OLD CASTLE

partitions were ripped out and the upper floor beams replaced so that the walls were tied together before the roof came off. At this point all there was standing was four walls and a staircase. The interior looked very odd with the round staircase standing by itself — it was made of wood with lath and plaster surrounding it.

The roof was replaced with trussed rafters, sarking, roofing felt and then battens for the tiles. Beforehand there was no sarking as is usual in old buildings and one could see daylight through the tiles. I wanted the old tiles retained instead of the suggested Coxhill red clay pantiles. Unfortunately the first tiler threw the original tiles to the ground and they were all smashed. However it proved possible to obtain sufficient old tiles locally to do the job. By the autumn the roof was complete except for the tiles which did not go on till January, but work could now go on inside in more comfort. The masons however had a horrible winter opening up the old window in the sitting room, cutting the new openings and pointing the whole building. The Old Castle is very exposed to the winds as they found out.

By February a year after the work began the house externally looked very well, retiled, new window openings cut and new windows fitted everywhere and painted white. Mr Giffen had insisted that old chimneys should be used so there are now seven old chimney cans between the two chimney heads! Now the masons began on the garage and utility room and the joiners got on with lining the interior walls with polystyrene insulation between wooden uprights, a polythene vapour barrier as well before putting on the plasterboard which eventually was plastered at the same time as the cornice was made in the sitting room to the original design.

The plumbers came in and fitted a bathroom on both upstairs floors and a cloakroom under the stairs on the ground floor. I had said I wished to cook on gas, so it was decided to do all the heating by Calor gas instead of oil. The boiler and hot water tank were installed in the basement under the sitting room. The floor of this room has the only sprung wooden floor which has been sanded and sealed. The floor at the other end of the house is mastic asphalt on existing concrete.

The electricians had wired the house before the interior walls were lined and I had the T.V. aerial connection brought down inside the wall also so that there was little to show on the walls. For the same reason the downpipes from the gutters were brought down on the gable ends.

#### THE OLD CASTLE

Once the walls were plastered, starting from the top floor, I began emulsioning helped by various friends; schoolboys particularly enjoyed this! I had decided to have all the walls and paintwork white and apart from the dining room and kitchen: that is how it has remained.

Mr Rosie, the main contractor, said I would get in by the end of April 1981 so I arranged to move on May 16th, but there was still quite a lot to be done in the way of fitting the skirting boards, kitchen units, etc. I camped on the top floor till all was more or less ready and the men all went off for the Trades Holiday. The two joiners who had been working here for over a year and done a very good job, returned afterwards to do the final jobs. The rubbish was removed from the garden and I had my first visitors staying in July.

On 26th September 1981, I opened the house in aid of the National Trust for Scotland Golden Jubilee Fund and in two afternoons 115 people saw over it. Again in 1982 I opened one Saturday in aid of the Royal National Lifeboat Institute and over 70 came to see the house. By this time there was some garden to view also.

Despite my friends' pessimism, the Old Castle has turned into a very pleasant, easily-run house. There have been very few snags and to my surprise and pleasure the house won a Certificate of Commendation from the Saltire Society in 1981 and the main award in 1985 from the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland so it now has a bronze A.P.R.S. plaque on the front wall alongside the 18th century Historic Building plaque.

If any member feels they would like to see a little house as opposed to the grand ones we have all enjoyed visiting. I would be very pleased to arrange a day.

The craftsmen who worked on the building

Architect Main Contractor and Joiner Rooftiler Plumber Electrician Plasterer Garden walls and pointing Garden A. G. Giffen, A.R.I.B.A. of Aberlady.
Messrs Rosie & Howells, Edinburgh.
P. Mirtle, 44 High Street, Haddington.
T. McDonald, 138 Causewayside, Edinburgh.
R. L. Skinner, 3 Spottiswoode Road, Edinburgh.
Alex. Weir, Edinburgh.
Messrs Ramage of East Saltoun.
D.K. Landscaping, Loanhead.

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## Review

# EGYPT ITSELF *The career of Robert Hay, Esquire, of Linplum and Nunraw 1799-1863* by Selwyn Tillett (S.D. Books, London, 1984, £12).

This work by one of the Society's members was published as a private venture in a limited edition. Some copies may still be available from the Bookshop of the British Museum. The author gives a fascinating account of the career of this East Lothian gentleman and antiquary who, after a career in the Navy, developed an enthusiasm for Egyptology. By the employment of his considerable income and talents, and by the employment of talented artists, he played an important and astonishingly vigorous role in recording the various monuments of ancient Egypt. His work was highly regarded by his contemporaries in the field, so much so that Sir Gardner Wilkinson described it as "Egypt Itself". Many of the monuments have since been defaced by time or by the hand of man. Hay's work, which still exists, though largely unpublished, is in many cases the best or sole record of them. In this context the book is a timely reminder to Egyptologists.

Its interest to us is more in the account which Tillet unravelled of his life style and family problems of this diffident East Lothian laird whose bride was a Cretan girl rescued from an Egyptian slave market; he brought her home and with her, and his growing family, established himself as an East Lothian landowner, playing his part as Justice of the Peace, as a heritor and a generous member and benefactor of Holy Trinity Church in Haddington. Hay was bedevilled by problems: of publication, of concern for his collection of antiquities, drawings and casts, and of trying to restore Nunraw as a family home. The problems remained largely unsolved at the time of his death, when he was a tenant of Amisfield. They were only partly solved by his heir. Robert Hay and his wife Kalitza are buried at Yester. Linplum and North Belton were sold to Mrs Hamilton Nisbet Ferguson of Biel. Nunraw was sold to Col. Wingate Grey. Hay's collection went largely to the British Museum and some of it eventually formed the nucleus of the Egyptian collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

S. BUNYAN.

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## ANNUAL REPORT

Council has pleasure in submitting its Annual Report for 1984-85.

The sixtieth annual general meeting of the Society was held in the Parish Church of Dirleton on Saturday, 19th May 1984. Dr Lindsay Errington and Mr Ralph W. Barker were elected on to the Council of the Society. At the conclusion of the meeting the Rev. Ian Fraser addressed the Society on the history of the parish and the architectural features of the church. After the meeting the members were entertained to tea by Dirleton Local History Group.

On the 9th June an outing to the North end of the John Muir Country Park was led by Alastair Clunas, the Park Ranger. On Saturday, 14th July members of the Society visited Thirlestane Castle and the Border Country Life Museum. They were received by Capt. the Hon. Gerald Maitland-Carew who outlined the background to the new trust, which had secured the future of the Castle. The Society was invited to Gosford House by the Earl of Wemyss and March, KT, Hon. Vice-President, on Saturday, 18th August. Lord and Lady Wemyss received the members and Lord Wemyss spoke about the building of the house. On Saturday, 15th September there was an outing to the Museum of Scottish Lead Mining at Wanlockhead to Leadhills Mine and village. Mr Geoffrey Downs-Rose received the party at Wanlockhead and Mr Richard Gillanders led the group at Leadhills. On Friday, 19th October the Society visited the Burrell Collection and on Thursday, 15th November Dr Margaret H. B. Sanderson met members at HM Register House, spoke about the history of the House and introduced a display (mainly of East Lothian material) which she had mounted. All these outings were well supported and the Society is, as always, most grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen who so generously give of their time and who make our programme so interesting.

Two lectures were arranged in the Poldrate Mill during the winter. In January Dr Cameron Easton of the Nature Conservancy Council gave an illustrated lecture on Sites of Scientific Interest in the Lothians and related problems. In February, Professor Rosalind Mitchison gave a lecture on the East Lothian Contribution to the Development of Poor Relief in 18th Century Scotland. Both lectures were given to appreciative audiences.

The Annual Dinner was held in the George Hotel, Haddington on Friday, 22nd March when the speaker was Professor I. B. Cowan of the University of. Glasgow who spoke about East Lothian in the 16th Century. Sixty-four Members and their guests attended this very successful function.

Volume XVIII of our Transactions is complete and the editor is to be congratulated on the continuing high standard. Members are reminded that our transactions are highly thought of in Academic Circles. Vol. 5 Scottish Economic and Social History, the Journal of the Economics and Social History Society of Scotland carries a favourable review of our Vols. XI-XVII 1968-82. Unwanted copies of back numbers of our Transactions could be given or willed back to the Society to meet occasional requests both by scholars and new arrivals to the County. This demand could increase with the growing interest in local history.

The Society continues its interest in various other projects. We are particularly interested in the developments in local history and local museum projects. We are represented on the North Berwick Museum Management Committee, and we are corporate members of various other bodies concerned with conservation. We continue to keep a watch on planning applications and on the level of service and maintenance in ancient monuments.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 253. In addition there are 11 insitutional members.

Our Transactions are also lodged in the Copyright Libraries and purchased regularly by others.
## ANNUAL REPORT

Council has pleasure in submitting its Annual Report for 1985/86.

The sixty-first Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the parish Church of Pencaitland on Saturday, 18th May, 1985. Miss Elizabeth Strachan and Mr John Porter were elected on to the Council of the Society. Mr Rennie Weatherhead was appointed Honorary Field Naturalist Adviser. At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Norman Murphy addressed the Society on the history of the church and its architectural features. After the meeting members were given tea by the Woman's Guild.

On Saturday, 8th June, Mr R. W. Barker led a Field Naturalist outing along the Pencaitland Railway Walk. On Saturday, 20th July, the Society was received at Manderston by Mr and Mrs Adrian Palmer. Mr Palmer spoke about the history of the house and he and Mrs Palmer conducted members round the house. On Saturday, 17th August, the Society visited Carberry Tower and Mr P. Burgess spoke about the house, its history and the present use made of it by the Church of Scotland. He also pointed out some of the specimen trees in the grounds. On Saturday, 21st September, Lady Maryoth Hay welcomed members to Forbes Lodge. She spoke about the Tweeddale family and showed her collection of family portraits. Members also visited Yester House, Bothans Church and Gifford Church. Miss V. Fletcher spoke about the history of Yester. On Wednesday, 9th October, Dr L. Errington arranged a visit to the National Gallery of Scotland where members saw water colours of East Lothian and the Exhibition, 'Tribute to Wilkie'. All these outings were well supported and the Society is, as always, most grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen, who so generously give of their time and who, by making their homes available, make our programme so interesting.

Two lectures were arranged in the Poldrate Mill. In November the visual aids section of the Haddington Camera Club mounted an audio-visual presentation with four items; Golden Grain, North Berwick Law, A Drop in the Ocean and a Trip Round Town. In February Dr John P. Shaw, author of the book *Water Power in Scotland 1550-1870*, gave an illustrated lecture, Water Power and Rural Industry in East Lothian. Both lectures were given to appreciative audiences.

The Annual Dinner was held in the George Hotel, Haddington, on Friday, 21st March, when the Speaker was Sir Jamie Stormonth-Darling, former director of the National Trust for Scotland. Sir Jamie's address was entitled 'The Challenge of Change'. Sixty members and guests attended this most enjoyable function.

Volume XIX of our Transactions is in preparation. We are also launching a policy of making available single articles to meet a growing demand from a wide public interest in local history. A very attractive cover has been designed by Alexander Cree.

The Society continues its interest in various other projects. We are supporting an excavation on Traprain Law and are involved in discussion about micro-filming Back Numbers of the Courier. We continue to press for improved museum provisions in East Lothian. We are corporate members of various Societies concerned with conservation. We continue to keep a watch on planning applications.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 282. In addition there are 10 institutional members. Our Transactions are lodged in the Copyright Libraries and are purchased regularly by others. Enquiries about the Society both from within and without East Lothian seem to grow.

Council intimates with sorrow the deaths in the course of the year, of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr Graham S. Bain and of Mr David Spence, who made such a valuable contribution to safeguarding the history of the mining industry in East Lothian.