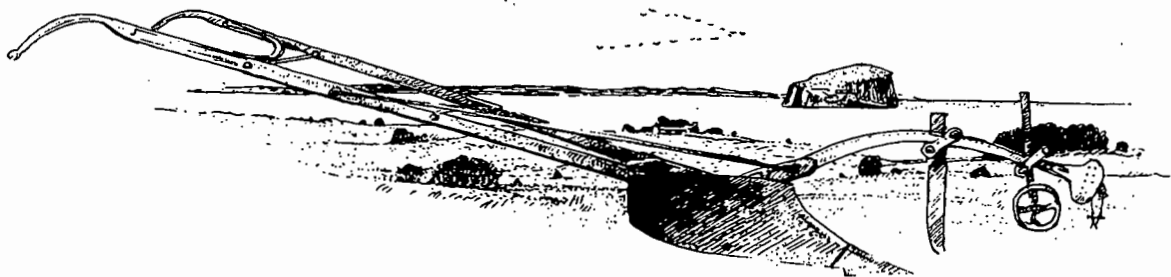




E.L.A. & F.N. Soc.



TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LoTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

VOL. XX

1988

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LoTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

TWENTIETH VOLUME

1989

ISBN 0140 1637

HADDINGTON
PRINTED BY D. & J. CROAL LTD.
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
WRITINGS RELATING TO THE RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE	<i>By A. M. Mitchell</i> 1
TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE	<i>By David Moody</i> 11
THE KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD AT TRANENT, 3 APRIL 1757	<i>By Alexander Murdoch</i> 21
WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY IN EAST LOTHIAN	<i>By John P. Shaw</i> 33
BALLENCRIEFF: A TENANT'S OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT	<i>By Leah Leneman</i> 59
APPENDIX—	
Annual reports of the Council of the Society, 1986-7 and 1987-8	1
List of Office-Bearers and Members of the Society	6

ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS

A. M. MITCHELL lives at 6 The Finches, Muirfield Road, Gullane.

DAVID MOODY lives at 8 Heugh Road, North Berwick.

ALEXANDER MURDOCH lives at 33 Scotland Street, Edinburgh 3.

JOHN SHAW works at the Royal Scottish Museum, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

LEAH LENEMAN lives at 19 Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh 10.

WRITINGS RELATING TO THE RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW IN GULLANE

by A. M. MITCHELL

BACKGROUND

The origins of the old St. Andrew's Church, Gullane, have not yet been ascertained. Christianity reached Scotland in Roman times. Ninian, in the 4th Century, building on this foundation, established a church in South-west Scotland, and a theory exists which suggests that from this beginning, Christianity spread to the country of the Goddodin. King Lot of Lothian, a man of the Goddodin (alternative name Votadini) people, had his stronghold at Dunpender (Traprain Law) in the 6th Century. Legend, in which there is usually some small degree of truth, has it that Thenog, his daughter and mother of St. Kentigern (St. Mungo) was a Christian. St. Baldred founded a religious house at Tynninghame in the 8th Century and from there periodically went out on preaching missions. Gullane could therefore have come under Christian influence as far back as the 6th Century or the 8th Century.

From the 7th Century until early in the 11th Century, Lothian was part of the kingdom of Northumbria — and as such, came under the jurisdiction of the see of Lindisfarne and later, that of Durham. The establishment of the Scottish border, as we know it, in 1018, brought about changes. In 1127 the Bishop of St. Andrews claimed jurisdiction over all the churches in the Lothians.

Until the 12th Century, Scottish churches (according to I. B. Cowan) "were based on institutions of the minster type" with priests from them serving a large district or parish. In the 12th Century things began to change when lay landowners (mainly of Norman origin) began building churches on their lands and providing priests to serve them. Gullane may have been one of these new foundations, but Chalmer's *Caledonia* shows that a dedication to St. Andrew in a very old church indicates that it dates from the 9th Century. When a Norman lord was granted land on which was an old church, he very often accepted it as part and parcel of his demesne.

GULLANE CHURCH, 9th TO 17th CENTURY

9th Century In the 1930's part of the arm of a stone cross was found in the vicinity of the ruins of the old Parish Church of Gullane. The

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

stone carving (now in the Museum of Antiquities) has been dated as 8th-9th Century A.D. The book *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* shows the Church of St. Andrew, Gullane, to have a dedication dating from the 9th Century.

12th Century Early in the 12th Century, the De Vaux family came to East Lothian — David I encouraged many of his Anglo/Norman friends to settle in Scotland.

1127 The Bishop of St. Andrews claimed jurisdiction over Lothian Churches.

1124-53 At some time during these years Cistercian nuns were established at South Berwick. They acquired the rights to some of the dues and tithes of the Church of Golyn prior to 1170.

1170 William De Vaux (De Vaux or De Valibus) granted the patronage of Golyn Church to the Canons of Dryburgh Abbey to finance the church of St. Nicholas on Fidra, with some reservations. Certain rights were kept by the nuns of South Berwick. De Vaux's son William, kept the right of the rectory of Golyn during his lifetime. William, the father, gave to the church of Golyn the meadow which was adjacent to the church and the manor of Golyn. For some reason the De Vaux family seems to have had a particular interest in Dryburgh Abbey which was founded in the 1150's and which came under the jurisdiction of St. Andrews.

1176 The Church of Golyn was rated at 80 mercus in the Taxatio of East Lothian.

13th Century John De Vaux (son of William and brother of William the priest) and William, Bishop of St. Andrews, confirmed the above grants. John was a man of considerable power, being Seneschal to Alexander II's Queen, Marie de Coucy.

1221 The Church was confirmed by the Bishop of St. Andrews to the usages of Dryburgh "In Proprios Usus Concessus". The Abbey of Dryburgh was entitled to the greater part of the income from Gullane Church and the vicar who looked after the parish was paid from the residue. William De Vaux, apparently the nephew of William De Vaux, parson of Golyn, founded at Dirleton the Chapel of All Saints (although Chalmer's *Caledonia* shows an Alexander De Vaux to have been the founder).

As was customary at this time, where a parish area was large, smaller chapels would be built to accommodate parishioners living at a distance from the Parish Church. When this happened the

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

Parish Church received payments from the subsidiary chapel and those parishioners attending the chapel were obliged to attend the Parish Church at set times of the year. Accordingly, when in 1221, William De Vaux founded the Chapel of All Saints at Dirleton, he agreed to pay annually to the Church at Golyn, one stone of wax (presumably for making candles).

Sir Walter of Congleton, his wife and the men of Congleton who had the privilege of attending a chapel (founded by an earlier Lord of Congleton) at Chapel, Congleton, were obliged to attend the Parish Church at Golyn at the festivals of St. Andrew's Day, Christmas, Easter and at Penances and Sacraments. *William de Golyn* provided the priest for this chapel and in return received all offerings and oblations made there; the Chapel of St. Andrews, Dirleton, paid one pound of frankincense annually to Golyn. In the settlement of dues payable, the arbiter was William, Bishop of St. Andrews.

1225 Andreas, rector of Golyn held some ground which was made over to *Osmundus de Golyn*. Osmundus was possibly rector or parson of Golyn or he may have been just a local resident. William sometimes shown as Willelmus or William de Golyn De Vaux in 1170 and therefore brother of John (see below) is mentioned in Dryburgh Liber at 1225. He was involved between 1221 and 1228 in the dispute with the nuns of South Berwick over their income from Golyn Church and lands at Kingston — most of which rights they relinquished.

1240 Alexander De Vaux confirmed the patronage of St. Andrew's, Gullane, to Dryburgh. (It seems that each time someone succeeded to the estate, he confirmed Dryburgh's right to the revenue of Gullane).

1242 The Bishop of St. Andrews, David de Bernham, dedicated the church as a rectory but later the same year reduced the status to that of vicarage, served by a canon of Dryburgh and one secular priest. This secular priest was to receive 12 merks per year. De Bernham dedicated scores of churches up and down the country about this time. These were not dedications of new churches.

It is worth repeating here, that the Ancient Monuments of East Lothian date the ruins as dating from the second half of the 12th Century with alterations in the 13th and 15th Centuries.

c1250 Abel de Golyn was archdeacon of St. Andrews 1250-54. On the death of David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews in 1253,

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

an imcomplete Chapter of the cathedral of St. Andrews elected Robert de Stuteville as the new Bishop. The young King, Alexander III wished to appoint as the new Bishop his Chancellor, Gamelin. He sent as his envoy to the Pope Innocent IV in Rome, Abel de Golyn, one of those excluded for some reason from the electing Chapter. The Pope refused to confirm Stuteville's election, but instead of agreeing to Gamelin's appointment, consecrated Abel on 1st March, 1254 as Bishop of St. Andrews. This appointment was unpopular in Scotland. Abel did not live long after his journey to and from Rome, dying in the same year, possibly on 31st August, 1254. Dowden, in his "Bishops of Scotland" suggests that Abel de Golyn was also a canon of Glasgow Cathedral, a papal Chaplain and a man trusted by the Pope.

1260 Included in rulings by the Bishop of St. Andrews on the possession of Parish Churches by Abbeys is a reference to Golyn. "So far as the matter concerns Dryburgh, the Abbot and Convent were allowed to serve their parishes of Kilrenny, Saltoun, Gullane and Channelkirk with their own canons should the secular vicars prove troublesome. Otherwise they were obliged to make appointments at stated stipends." (Dryburgh Abbey Guide Book).

1268 A perpetual vicarage was created, being held from time to time by canons of Dryburgh. (This means that all revenues from the Church went to Dryburgh which thereafter paid the salary of a local priest or supplied one from its own canons).

In this year the stipend was 12 merks.

1282 Adam de Golyn was Archdeacon of Lothian. An Archdeacon held a very important post. To quote Dowden, "as Bishop's eye, he had the supervision of all parish clergy in his archdeaconry." In Adam's case his territory was that of Lothian which stretched from Stirling, to the Calders, to Smailholm, Berwick, and back to Stirling via the Forth coastline.

1290 The Abbot of Coldingham, in his capacity as Collector of Tithes of Scottish Benefices in aid of the Holy Land, collected duty from the Abbot of Dryburgh in respect of Golyn Church. The revenues of Golyn Church were valued at £48. This money was collected to finance the Crusades.

During this Century, the first stone castle at Dirleton was built, using stones from a quarry near Gullane.

14th Century At some time during this Century, the nuns of South Berwick completely relinquished their claims to any revenue from Gullane.

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

- 1316 Gullane is mentioned in connection with the tax due in an account of "visiting expenses".
- 15th Century** James Crawford, Perpetual Vicar of Golyn (i.e., a priest supplied by Dryburgh Abbey to take charge of Gullane Parish Church and a canon of the Abbey) sent money on behalf of the Church at Gullane for the tax known as Annates, to Rome. The money was taken on behalf of James Crawford by Thomas Penneven, vicar of Cader, Glasgow.
- 1440 James had previously been involved in a little bit of scheming. In order to have his brother Nicholas appointed to the charge of Hownem, James "promised to pay money to a certain person." Nicholas was duly appointed but James did not keep his part of the bargain. He then feared he was guilty of simony. Pope Eugenius IV was asked on his behalf to absolve him and to appoint him anew to the perpetual vicarage of Golyn, vacant since 1436
- 1444 In this year the Chapel at Dirleton, also dedicated to St. Andrew, was made collegiate by Sir Walter Haliburton. The Haliburton family were by this time the owners of the lands of Dirleton, having acquired them through marriage in the 14th Century. During the late 15th Century, the structure of the old church at Gullane was altered, a transept being added, projecting from the north wall.
- 16th Century** In this year, presumably on death or resignation of Abbot Andrew Liddesdale, there was an unsuccessful attempt made by the canons of Dryburgh, to have appointed as their Abbot, one David Finlayson. Finlayson, a canon of Dryburgh, was also the vicar of Gullane. James IV ignored the request. He appointed Andrew Forman, a powerful churchman and diplomat, as Commendator in place of an Abbot. The appointment of Commendator was a means whereby the king could secure an appointment, with a good income, for a man of his own choice. Sometimes a Commendator was a churchman, but in many cases the man appointed was one of the king's relatives. The Prior ruled the Abbey in the absence of the Commendator.
- c1523 Sir Andrew Congalton founded an altar in the Parish Church to the Trinity.
- 1535-55 Several entries from "Rentals of Dryburgh" show that rents from Gullane were paid in kind, e.g., queit (twa' bol), beyr (XIJ bo), aites (VIJJ bo). (i.e., wheat, barley and oats).

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

- 1548 Ninian Hamilton was presented to the vicarage on 19th November, 1548.
- 1560 Dues payable by Golyn to Dryburgh were paid in cash (L151), not kind.
- 1560-74 It would appear that George Haliburton, a canon of Dryburgh, was vicar of Gulen in 1560. He is also said to have been in possession of the vicarage in 1566 and 1572.

The need for reform in the Roman Church was recognised within the church; priests were badly educated, poorly paid, high positions within the church were given to friends and relations of the king — lots of things were wrong. Not having the patience to await the changes which were, in fact, coming from the existing church, many priests changed sides. George Haliburton seems to have been one of them, as indeed, was John Knox himself. From 1560-67 a small stipend was being paid to Maister David Makgill, vicar of Gulen by Dryburgh. In 1567 Robert Lauder is known to have been "Reader" at Gullane. In 1574 George Haliburton reappears — this time as "Reader."

Early in the Reformation there were not enough ministers of the Reformed faith to go round, so in many areas one trained minister supervised a number of Readers, each Reader looking after a parish. George's supervisor was the minister of North Berwick — Thomas Makghie.

George was shown in the Dryburgh records as "deceased dene and vicar" before 1591, but the parish report of 1627 states that "George Home has ane husband land ther callit the Kirkland of Gulane, fewed to him be the old viccar Dein George Halyburtoun decimis inclusis".

- 1576 Thomas Makghie became himself minister of Golyn. We know quite a lot about him and also about his son Andrew. Thomas Makghie was transferred from the church at North Berwick and admitted to the church of Golyn. He is known to have been a student at St. Andrews University from 1568-9 and was a member of the General Assemblies of 1582, 1586, 1587 and 1590. "He refused to sign certain articles drawn up by Secretary Maitland in 1585 and dissented from annulling the sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Adamson in 1586. He was one of those Commissioners of the Secret Council of 1589 for the maintenance of true religion in the Constabulary of Haddington. He was 'judged well versed in the Scriptures and prompt to

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

confound his enemies of truth with the Word of God and guid doctrine'."

He demitted Golyn vicarage in 1599 but was still alive in 1603.

1599 Andrew Makghie succeeded his father Thomas, as minister of Golyn. Andrew graduated M.A. from Edinburgh University on 12th August, 1591 and was admitted as assistant and successor to his father at Golyn on 22nd December, 1597. On his father's demission he was presented to the vicarage by James VI on 23rd May, 1599, being installed in June 1599. Three years later he married Alison Lauder of Elbottle. He and his wife had seven children; one son succeeded him as minister of Dirleton, and one became minister of Aberlady. His daughter Isobel married the minister of Pencaitland, while another daughter Helen, married the minister of West Linton.

17th Century The oft-quoted story that the vicar of Golyn (Andrew
1612 Makghie) was deposed by James VI because of his smoking tobacco, seems to have no foundation. By 1612 the Kyrk was deemed to be inconvenient as the majority of parishioners who by then lived much nearer to Dirleton; the church and churchyard "were being continewallie over blawn with sand." "... nather the kirk serves commodiouslie for convening of the parochiners nor yet the kirk yaird for their burial besydes mony utheris inconventes ...". Therefore the "hail parochiners of the said kirk of Gulane" petitioned King James for permission to transfer the church to a situation in Dirleton. They were to "transport the stanes hail tymmer work ... to the said toun of Dirleton for biggin of ane new kirk ...". A full account of this can be found in the *New Statistical Account* of Haddingtonshire, 1841.

It was another 21 years before the manse was also transferred from Gullane. Maister Makghie must have been disappointed by this delay as he himself reported in his report of 1627 "... he (the minister himself) hath ane manse and ane gleib in Gulane, a long myle from the kirk at Dirleton ...". In another instance again in his own words, he describes the sad state of the glebe and complains that his stipend is not sufficient "pairtlie in respect of his onerous charge of the congregation and pairtlie in respect of his numerous famile having a wiffe and seven children to sustain."

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

While the foregoing brings together many facts not previously collected in one essay, it is not conclusive. In the Dryburgh Rentals, for example, are detailed lists of tithes payable from Golyn in the mid-16th Century. There must be much to be found out regarding Gullane at the time of the Reformation. Further research may yet bring to light more facts of the old Parish Church. A few general points are added here.

1. There is a locally held opinion that at some time the Parish Church of St. Andrew in Gullane was collegiate. I have found no evidence of this and sought advice from the Department of Medieval History at St. Andrews University. I quote their reply. "I think that you are quite right to reject any suggestion that the Church at Gullane was ever anything other than a parish church run by a vicar after 1268."

2. The terms rector and perpetual vicar and vicar require definition as used in Pre-Reformation churches. The rector (or parson) was the person or monastic body who had the right to the income of the church. In the case of the rector being an individual, he himself could act as vicar or he could make such an appointment. The salary paid to such a vicar was often very small.

In the case of the rector being a body, such as, in the case of Gullane (from 1268) the canons of Dryburgh, a perpetual vicarage was created. This meant that the salary of a local secular priest was paid by the canons of Dryburgh or that they supplied a priest from their own ranks — the Perpetual Vicar. The vicar was the local clergyman.

3. The responsibility of the fabric, etc., of the Church before the Reformation was divided between the rector and the vicar and his parishioners. The upkeep of the chancel, and the cost of the necessities of the altar, devolved upon the rector. All other repairs, etc., were the burden of the vicar and his parishioners.

Churches had their books, often finely decorated. The Missal and Breviary were most important in the daily life of the Church, but until the Aberdeen Breviary was compiled, the Scots used the same form of Service, slightly adapted, as that in use in Salisbury Cathedral. In 1507, however, James IV decreed that the book of Salisbury should be abandoned and that a Scottish form of Breviary be brought into use. No doubt Gullane would thereafter use the Aberdeen Breviary which incorporated stories of Scottish saints and their feast days. In 1543 the Bible in the Scots vernacular was sanctioned by Parliament.

4. Medieval secular clergy were not distinguished by their clothes. While a certain gravity was looked for, little heed seems to have been taken to this expectation, as a 13th Century statute states that clergy should not wear "red

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

or striped clothes, nor clothes conspicuous for too great shortness" — dark-coloured apparel was expected. In the mid-16th Century, when priestly standards were deteriorating, a statute was drawn up banning unseemly dress by clergy — no top boots, double-breasted or oddly cut coats, or coats of bright colours. Dress in churches was to be a long cassock reaching to the ankles . . . and so on. Beards were forbidden and only round caps were to be worn as headgear — there were definite instructions that these 'bonets' were to be removed in church!

5. Summary of clerics known to have been associated with Golyn Kirk:

Osmundus de Golyn	c1221
Andreas de Golyn	c1221
Willelmus de Golyn	c1225
Abel de Golyn	c1250
James Crawford	1440
David Finlayson	1509
Ninian Hamilton	1548
David Makgill	1560 & 1567
Robert Lauder	1567
George Haliburton	1560-74
Thomas Makghie	1576-99
Andrew Makghie	1597

Translated to Dirleton in 1612

6. Some chapels connected with Golyn:

- St. Patrick's, Freshwater Haven.
- All Saints', Dirleton 1221.
- St. Andrew's, Dirleton. In existence by 1221.
- Congleton, before 1224.

REFERENCES

- Liber de St. Marie de Dryburgh*, (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 15, 18, 23, 25, 233, 245, 329, 333, 358 and preface X19.
- Reports of certain parishes of Scotland, 1627*, (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1835), p. 115.
- The New Statistical Account Vol. II*, (Edinburgh, 1845), pp. 216-217.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Hew Scott, Vol. 8 (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 90-92.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevii ad annum 1638*, D. E. R. Watt, (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 292, 305, 310.
- Caledonia*, George Chalmers, (Paisley, 1887-94), vol. 3, 436, 437; vol. 4, 518, 519.
- Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Ian B. Cowan, (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 78 and 79.
- Bishops of Scotland*, John Dowden, (Glasgow, 1912), pp. 15, 16.
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, vol. IV, D. MacLachlan, Editors, (Glasgow, 1983), pp. 233, 265.
- The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, Annie I. Cameron, (St Andrews Publications, 1934, published O. U. P.), p. 124.
- Scottish Parish Clergy at Reformation 1540-1574*, Charles L. Haws, (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 102, 103.

OLD CHURCH OF ST ANDREW IN GULLANE

Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers; their Stipends, (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1830), p. 10.
An Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400-c. 1600, Peter McNeil and Ronald Nicholson, Editors; (Atlas Committee of Scottish Medievalists, 1976), p. 37 and general.
The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland (East Lothian), 8th Report, (Edinburgh 1924), p. 15.
Domestic Life in Scotland 1488-1688, John Warrack, (London, 1920).

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

Some eighteenth-century examples of love, marriage and divorce

by DAVID MOODY

The intimate side of history — personal and domestic relationships — has recently been the subject of debate, as much by anthropologists and feminists as by social historians. This article considers some East Lothian examples in the light of some general trends that have been identified.

From anthropology comes the notion of a peasant economy — one in which a small upper-class landowning elite dominates a scattered rural populace.¹ Scotland in the eighteenth century was beginning to diverge from this model, of which one characteristic has been said to be the 'permanence of the peasant's affection for his property and the transience of his attachment to human life'. The same writer contrasts 'the grief of upper-class men at the loss of their wives' with the 'indifference of the popular classes'. Another argues that only at the start of the nineteenth century did grief become fashionable and decent — 'the grief manifested on such occasions was evidence of the love one bore to the deceased person; and marriage was supposed to establish or sanctify a sentimental relationship between the partners'.²

Well before the nineteenth century, there is East Lothian evidence of love and grief on the part of the upper classes. '... Tears stream from my eyes and my heart is stung with a loss where even hope affords no comfort ... I never left her for an hour but with reluctance ... I think of her over and over I catch hold on every thought' writes Sir Hew Dalrymple (born 1712) to a countess on the death of his wife Margaret, daughter of Peter Sainthill, surgeon, Garlickhill.³ I hope you will pardon me for this trouble', he explains, 'when I tell you she was my wife my dearest friend that she was the pride of my heart and the happiness of my days she was the constant monitor to me to follow honor virtue and disinterestedness'. The couple had been married for four years (they were married in 1743).

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

A 'sentimental relationship' is also evident in the letters of James Kinloch in the early 1730s to his wife Margaret Fowlis. 'There is not a day that passes that you are not a hundred times in my thoughts' he says, 'you are dearer to me than all the world'. In this case our approval of these expressions is tempered by the knowledge that her Romeo was skulking abroad for some unspecified offences. 'You will be hearing a great many stories in toun which you must look over without minding that you hear them' he warns her in 1731; whilst she, still without her man in 1734, brings an action of *declarator of marriage* against him, of which more below.⁴ This James Kinloch succeeded to the baronetcy of Gilmerton on the death of his father, Sir Francis, in 1747. Foster's *Peerage*⁵ states that he died abroad (in 1778) leaving non-naturalised children by a Swiss wife, so presumably he never did return to Margaret Fowlis.

But what of the argument that love and grief were exclusive to the upper classes? Such an interpretation would be an example of a process often observed — a percolation down the social scale of behaviour and customs, in areas, such as dress, meals and holidays in the south of France. Some were certainly conscious of class barriers. John Bartholomew, who had had a seven year liaison with Margaret Aitken, daughter of Robert Aitken, wright at Parkend near Dunbar and on whom he fathered two children, was prepared to pay her an allowance, but dismissed her claims that he promised marriage as follows: 'It is not a very probable story that a Gentleman possessed of a pretty considerable fortune and liberally educated . . . would treat and entertain the chamber maid in an Inn in so familiar a manner or that he would be so very foolish as choose so amiable a Lady for his wife'.⁶ He added that 'it was not her high station which enticed . . . [him] . . . to make his addresses to her but the handsomeness of her person and other accomplishments which in many instances over reach equality or superiority of station'. Not much evidence of love here (this was 1792) for anybody of any class, but if Mr Bartholomew seems particularly odious, compare his view with that of the most famous peasant, Robert Burns: 'The welfare and happiness of the beloved Object, is the *first* and *inviolable* sentiment that pervades my soul . . . As to the herd of the Sex, who are good for little or nothing else, I have made no such agreement with myself . . .'.⁷

If we can perhaps dismiss Mr Bartholomew as a parvenu and no aristocrat, there is still plenty other evidence that upper class behaviour was not that different from what was found elsewhere. For a start the peasant economy model sees the economic basis of marriage as a general feature, not just

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

restricted to peasants; and East Lothian family muniments stuffed with marriage contracts indicate just this. To give one example, Hay of Belton notes (with glee?) the 'fortune' proposed to be paid with Lady David Hay on her marriage to Lord David Hay.⁸ Upper class marriages were land transactions.

It has been suggested that love among the aristocrats was mainly extra-marital. 'Even unmarried girls were suspected of having lovers; among married women the practice was too common to stir comment. Sexual adventurousness was possible for a wealthy, primogenitary class that stuck to the rule of 'securing a male heir of known parentage . . . ' is how one writer put it.⁹ Whether 'sexual adventurousness' can be equated with love or a sentimental relationship is the kind of question that threatens to land all generalisation about intimate behaviour in a quagmire, but be that as it may, we can certainly find plenty of evidence for it. For the 'stir of comment' we again need to go no further than a Hay of Belton letter countering rumours of an affair with the Countess of Wigtown.¹⁰ Alexander Carlyle gossips about Kate Vint, the landlady's daughter of Lucky Vint's tavern in Prestonpans, who 'was a mistress of Lord Drummore, by whom she had two sons'.¹¹ Note that he says 'a' mistress and not 'the' mistress; and it is also worth reflecting on the fact that this Lord Drummore (a judicial title) was an uncle of Sir Hew Dalrymple who expressed such noble sentiments at the start of this article.

Drummore's relationship does appear to have been relatively steady, which is more than can be said of those of his neighbour and legal colleague Lord Grange of Preston, described by Carlyle as 'much addicted to debauchery'. He had, says, Carlyle, a secret door to his gardens where 'he had occasionally admitted fair maidens to solace him for his sufferings from the clamour of his wife'. Lord Grange's was of course a notorious case: he is reputed to have debauched and married his wife under compulsion; and she replying with attempts on his life (according to his story) and a prey to drunkenness, he secretly abducted her to St Kilda where she lived, it appears, on water and crusts. Meantime he celebrated her funeral (in 1732) drawing this rebuke from Thomas Hope of Rankeilour: 'I own I have expressed myself on several occasions, and doe still think that the carrying off of that unfortunate lady, in so violent a manner, was cruel and barbarous . . . ' ¹² Lady Grange's case is a reminder of the fact that the status of wives, however aristocratic and however liberated, was dependent on the goodwill of their spouses. Even in the mid-nineteenth century Lord Fraser was defending the right of the Earl of Dysart to deny his wife linen, to shut up the water closets, to make her sleep on the

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

floor, dine off a chest of drawers and to push her out of rooms, and approving the court's decision to grant her separation only because he 'so far forgot himself as to hold his wife down on the floor forcibly for an hour'.¹³

From these unfortunate women we turn with relief to Elizabeth Scott of Musselburgh, who seems to have been in the unprecedented position (for a woman) of manager of a large cotton manufactory. Gay, pretty and enterprising, she predictably fell prey to jealous gossip, particularly in connection with her 'gallantries' towards a Mansfeldt Cardonnel, who was alleged to be the father of her children:

Captain Messenburgh laid seige to the Castle
Commissioner Cardonnel poured in Hard Shot
Doctor Carlyle said Why Not ¹⁴

And the Lord have mercy upon poor Dr Scott.

Dr Scott, one is pleased to say, was entirely happy with his wife's behaviour and supported her in her action for defamation against her foul-tongued neighbour.¹⁵

An interesting illustration of the situation of lower-class women is the seduction of Mrs Helen Adam, in which the motives of the seduced are also open to question. She entered the household of Sir Andrew Lauder of Fountainhall as 'a gentlewoman or housekeeper' in November or December 1761.¹⁶ On 17 December she decamped to Edinburgh with the laird's son, Mr William Lauder (born 1739) after he made addresses 'professing the most sincere love esteem and regard for her'. That day the couple were married by a minister (episcopalian — therefore an irregular marriage) procured by Lauder. Alas for the course of true love, by the end of December the same gentleman was rifling the chest at Fountainhall to get his hands on the certificate, and a few days after was bundled off to the East Indian army. The injured lady having gone to court to claim him as her husband (and £150 alimnt per annum from his family), his defence was 'that any person even of the meanest judgment should be inclined to marry his father's servant upon an acquaintance of 12 days was what no person could believe', and that he was 'of so weak a capacity' as to be 'unable to impose upon any person, far less a woman of the pursuer's craft and subtility'. Her counsel's spirited rejoinder was that she had arrived at Fountainhall on 16 November, not 5 December as claimed, which left 'very sufficient time, in all conscience, for a regular courtship'; and if the defender was of such weak mind 'the King's Army seems to have been an improper occupation for him'!

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

Whether we see here the fury of a woman scorned or the manoeuvring of a gold-digger is difficult for us now to judge, though it is interesting that she won her case, despite her disadvantages of class and sex. Lauder does appear to have been easily led, and lacking in the skills of promising not too much and not too little so well displayed by John Bartholomew.

Processes of declarator of marriage such as the above and the earlier cases discussed of Kinloch and Bartholomew were a consequence of the rejection by the Church of Scotland of the idea that marriage was a sacrament (against the vested interests of the profession). A couple could become married merely by an exchange of vows followed by intercourse or by cohabitation as man and wife. Such marriages, unrecorded in the parish registers, were deemed irregular or clandestine; and their existence was still being justified by the Scottish churches in their evidence to the Royal Commission on Marriage Laws (1865), on the ground that they mitigated against concubinage and illegitimacy¹⁷. The lack of clarity as to if and when any particular couple had or had not married led to the distinctive processes of declarator of marriage, by which one party attempted to obtain from the court a decree establishing the matrimonial state.

One would expect that this recourse would most commonly be the resort of women pregnant, destitute or jilted, as in the cases already examined. The majority of pursuers indeed were women, and perhaps this facility did give Scots women chances to fight for their rights denied to their contemporaries in the south. There is certainly an increase in the number of cases through the century, suggesting a growing independence and self-confidence, albeit the numbers are still very small in absolute terms.

The most amusing East Lothian case was however brought by a man, Archibald Malcolm, surgeon at Lugton, against Anna Murray, daughter of the deceased Charles Murray, writer in Haddington, in 1763¹⁸. Malcolm included an action for damages for good measure, as he had purportedly "refused the profitable match" of a "superannuated lady with several thousand pounds" only to see his "wife" subsequently marry a Canongate merchant (note once again the equation of marriage and money).

Malcolm's wooing certainly had style. On learning of her marriage he inserted the following advertisement in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*:

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

A young and beautiful lady famous for living as much or more after the spirit than after the flesh is said . . . to have committed matrimony with a suburban shopkeeper of no great fame or fortune, to the no small grief of a gentleman in the country who had offered her marriage a hundred and a hundred times — O Tempora O Mores.

He had surely spoiled his case by going into print with the assertion that he had only *offered* marriage, and his evidence to the court is equally erratic and endearing. He had, he claimed, proposed to her in her mother's house in Haddington in 1759 and been accepted (without witnesses). She had also accepted a ring from him and (in 1762) a "picture done for me in miniature as a pledge of myself". The ring she belittled in court as of "small value" and "received in an unsigned anonymous letter" — sent, to boot, whilst the pursuer's wife was still alive! She, or rather her guardian lawyers dismissed Malcolm as 'a frequenter of balls and penny weddings in Haddington' who has 'for sometime thro' idleness and want of employment been a sort of vagrant or stroller (a surgeon in the 1760s need be nothing more grand than a barber).

One suspects the fatherless young lady (no spring chicken though if she is the same Agnes Murray recorded in Haddington parish registers as born 13 January 1729, to Charles Murray and Mary Johnstoun) had been a trifle carefree in her affections, till the sterner counsels of her lawyer guardians brought her to her "senses". However in this, as in other processes, our tantalising acquaintance with the protagonists' private affairs, carefully manipulated by the lawyers, is insufficient to allow other than subjective reactions.

The rejection in Scotland of the concept of marriage as a religious sacrament also meant that divorce was possible. Permissible causes were few, adultery or impotence being by far the most common, but processes were brought to court, in contrast to England where a private act of parliament was required. Around 340 processes were brought during the eighteenth century from all over Scotland — an insignificant number compared with marriages. What does seem more significant is the increasing rate through the century — 68 cases between 1700 and 1750, a further 34 between 1750 and 1770, but over 200 in the last 30 years of the century¹⁹. The rise outstrips any increase in population, and like the increase in declarators of marriage already noted supports the case that the concept of the "sanctified sentimental relationship" began to permeate society at this time. The number of women seeking divorce is almost as high as of men (about 10 men to 7 women); obviously they were

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

now less willing to heed the strictures of legal academics such as William Hay who opined that "an innocent wife does not normally petition for divorce because of her husband's adultery, because the woman has no power to correct her husband by words and blows, as the husband can correct his wife, because there is less danger of scandal arising among the people from the man's action than from the woman's and there is less danger of doubtful parentage of the offspring" ²⁰. A final interesting feature of these divorces is that the parties are drawn from all classes — even those as lowly as chapmen travellers, servants, day labourers and ale sellers, which is evidence against the theory of wide divergencies in behaviour in different classes.

It is astonishing how often India crops up in marital problems. Lauder's timely exit has already been mentioned. Christian Knox of Dunbar brought a process of adherence against Robert McLeish, a Dunbar brewer who had deserted her and gone to India in 1782 after eight years of marriage ²¹ and two East Lothian divorce cases also involve the East. One — the case of John Yule, mariner of Prestonpans in 1749 — is also one of a disproportionate number involving military, naval and seafaring men ²². One can understand why when one learns that in 1743 John Yule took a sloop from Prestonpans to Campvere, then proceeded to England, where he signed a passage to the coast of Guinea. He returned to England only in 1745 and immediately shipped thence to the East Indies. His wife, in her judicial declaration before Prestonpans kirk session on 30 November 1749 "being asked if her husband was still alive, answered she could not tell, for it was a year past the Eighteenth day of December last, since she had a letter from him but that she had reason to believe that he was dead". Meantime she was pregnant by Robert Selkirk, salt watcher at Cockenzie.

Today some would perhaps consider Mrs Yule a paragon of virtue to have remained faithful (if she had) for 6 long years of absence. Our uncertainty about her is partly due to the elephantine lumberings of the law when dealing with divorce in this and in other cases (the declarators of marriage are much lighter and wittier). The standard phraseology for the adulterer "keeping fellowships, company and society to godless, lewd and wicked men/women" and the hold-all dates for the act(s) of adultery, cited as "1743 in the month of January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December, 1744 January, February" etc up to 1749 conjure up pictures of all kinds of sexual licence, masking, perhaps, one act of intercourse or one stable relationship. The case of Ann Calderwood, spouse of Joseph

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

Enzier, plasterer at Yester (1738)²³ appears even more dramatic because of the relative mobility of the couple and an ensuing catalogue of possible locations for adultery. One is reminded in her case of the liberalisation of divorce — in the previous century the court refused to grant applications “unless upon the evidence of witnesses who saw the parties in the very act of adultery”²⁴. The servant who testified against Ann Calderwood certainly did her best — she “observed by means of four glass loinsins [?] in the Door from the kitchen to the Gentleman’s room which leads to the Defender that Candle was putt out and she heard a noise like a jerking of a chair and heard some whispering betwixt the gentleman and the Defender but no distinctly as she could know what they said”.

The second divorce process involving India was brought by Euphemia Hepburn against her husband Matthew Poole in 1773²⁵. He was a baker who tried his luck in India and failed, and returned to take up a mistress, Peggy Hawkins, a laundress in Hampstead, by whom he had two children. His letters to her from Prestonpans are affectionate enough though without the articulacy of Sir Hew Dalrymple or James Kinloch, as might be expected. “Keep your Spirits easy and your mind to yourself” he writes, signing himself “your loving and affectionate Husband”. He committed the fundamental error however of giving one of these letters to the person who drove the Prestonpans stage coach to post at the General Post Office in Edinburgh — “but the coachman knowing that Mrs Poole was then in Scotland, and suspecting something improper was concealed in this letter he delivered up the letter”. It would be an interesting world if we demanded such moral propriety from our postmen today. Mrs Poole claimed that she was driven to bring the action through “her sorrows and Interest of the Family” whilst the defence based its case on her acquiescence — if a wife continued to cohabit with an adulterous husband, she was legally deemed to have accepted it. There were also further accusations of his visiting houses of bad fame in the Netherbow and contracting venereal disease.

What general conclusions can be drawn from this evidence? On the question of class differences, it is difficult to judge. We have no lower-class expressions of grief to match Dalrymple’s nor love letters to equal Kinloch’s, but few among the ‘lower classes knew how to write. And even if they did, for many their lot of grinding labour would not have given them the leisure for letters. Leisure indeed may be the nub of the matter — the cultivation of finer feelings does require an ambience of prosperity and free time for reflection. The economic argument is also equivocal. The female coal bearer and agricultural

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

bondager may have been economically dependent on their menfolk, but economics (different economics but economics all the same) were at the heart of upper class marriages. It is also a moot point whether an economic basis of marriage is necessarily inimical to loving feelings — in any class.

The crux of the problem is surely the many different possible meanings of the word "love". In one sense, those at the very bottom level of society could be said to honour the concept with the greatest spontaneity, for the peasant mentality has little relevance for those who have no property at all. Habits here may have been very "modern" in the indifference to formal marriage and the tolerance of children by various fathers. Such attitudes certainly were prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century. Because of lack of data for the eighteenth it is impossible to say whether this was a phenomenon linked to the increase in landless labour and an industrial workforce of a permanent tradition — we are left only with vague statements in the Statistical Accounts (Dunbar for example: "*What can be done to better the condition of the people?*" remains to be answered. *Improve the morals of the people* seems to be the best reply"). By morals eighteenth-century churchmen as often as not meant fornication). The class difference that does exist is typified in the fact that Prestonpans kirk session pursued Mrs Yule for adultery but we do not find them discussing Lord Drummore's misdeameanours. In this hypocrisy perhaps lies the rub — that class prejudice and economic interest demanded that the lower classes be not fully human beings — hence incapable of finer feelings.

Other striking points from these cases are the weight attached to one's "station" in deciding on suitable partners (most people today marry into the same social class, but are less conscious that they are doing so) and the quite extensive mobility of all ranks, both within Britain and abroad. There was obviously more opportunity, and resulting stress on marriages (in some ways more than today, when jet-set spouses can at least communicate by phone and would not dream of being apart for 6 years and still expect a marriage to be intact). The law appears to be adapting to the new circumstances (adulterers could be hung in the seventeenth century) and one is surprised by the self-confidence with which at least a few from the lower classes enter into litigation with their superiors. The variety of human behaviour is also striking, such that one views with suspicion any generalisations about the emotional limitations of our forebears.

TOGETHER LIKE A HORSE AND CARRIAGE

REFERENCES

1. An idea first developed in Redfield, Robert, *Peasant Society and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1956.
2. Quotations from, firstly, Shorter, Edward, *The Making of the Modern Family*, Collins, 1976 and secondly, Flandrin, Jean-Louis, *Families in Former Times*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
3. SRO GD 110/1305. The letter appears to be a draft, with the recipient an unnamed countess. Date is presumed to be around 1747. Dalrymple remarried in 1756. The biographical information is from the *Scots Peerage*.
4. SRO: CC8/5/4 Margaret Fowles v James Kinloch, 1735.
5. Foster, Joseph, *The Peerage Baronetage and Knightage of the British Empire for 1882*, Nichols & Sons: Chapman & Hall, [n.d.].
6. SRO: CC8/5/20 Declarator of marriage & legitimacy: Margaret Aiken & George Bartholomew v John Bartholomew, 1792.
7. Quoted in Fitzhugh, Robert T., *Robert Burns: the Man and the Poet*, W. H. Allen, 1971.
8. SRO: GD73/1/126.
9. McGregor, O. R., *Divorce in England*, Heinemann, 1957 quoted in Fletcher, Ronald, *The Family and Marriage in Britain*, Penguin, 1966.
10. SRO: GD73/1/6.
11. Carlyle, Alexander, *The Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle*, T. N. Foulis, 1910.
12. 'Letters of Lord Grange', In *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Volume 3rd, Spalding Club, 1846.
13. Fraser, Patrick, *Treatise on Husband and Wife, according to the Law of Scotland*, Volume II, T. & T. Clark, 1878.
14. i.e. Alexander Carlyle, who gave evidence on her behalf in the process.
15. Elizabeth Scott v Helen Douglas or Mrs James Baillie: Defamation of character, 1783-94. Case analysed by Habib, Vanessa, 'An Eighteenth-Century Cotton Manufactory in Scotland: Elizabeth Scott in Musselburgh.' In *Scottish Industrial History*, 1985, Volume 8, Part 1, pp. 2-19.
16. SRO: CC8/5/9 Declarator of marriage: Helen Adam v William Lauder, 1762. Mrs Adam's aliment of £150 per annum compares very favourably with the settlement of £24 or £25 which John Bartholomew proposed on Margaret Aiken in 1792 (the latter also having a child to support).
17. As researched by Boyd, Kenneth M., *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family, 1850-1914*, John Donald, 1980.
18. SRO: CC8/6/24 Declarator of marriage and damages: Archibald Malcolm v Anna Murray, 1763.
19. Figures reached by counting processes listed in Grant, J., *Consistorial Processes and Decrees 1658-1800*, Scottish Record Society, 1909.
20. Hay, William, *William Hay's Lectures on Marriage*, Stair Society, 1967.
21. SRO: CC8/5/20 Declarator of Marriage and Adherence: Christian Knox v Robert McLeish, 1792. A misreading in Grant's *Consistorial Processes* . . . gives the date of their marriage as 1724. Perhaps he would have been entitled to be fed up with her after 68 years! In fact they were married in 1774.
22. SRO: CC8/6/17 Divorce: John Yule v Catherine Cumming, 1749.
23. SRO: CC8/5/4 Divorce: Joseph Enzier v Ann Calderwood, 1738.
24. Fraser, Patrick. op. cit.
25. SRO: CC8/5/13 Divorce: Euphemia Hepburn v Matthew Poole, 1773.

THE KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD AT TRANENT, 3 APRIL 1757

by ALEXANDER MURDOCH

'A Fellow of this stamp so fierce & disorderly, was a very bad member of civil society, but very fitt to be a soldier, in which Employment his Disobedience and contempt of authority might be tamed by proper Discipline and his Intrepidity might be serviceable to his Country.'

(Francis Garden, later Lord Gardenstone)

Sometime after 1 am on Sunday, 3 April 1757, George Wood was killed by a soldier's bullet in his house at Tranent. A party of soldiers and constables had come in the middle of the night to serve a warrant which would detain him for impressment into the British Army, under the terms of an Act passed by Parliament in 1756 (20 Geo. II c4). This act allowed local commissioners to select 'such able-bodied men as do not follow or exercise any lawful calling or employment, or have not some other lawful and sufficient support and maintenance' as suitable for service in the army, each locality being assigned a quota of men. The act had been passed to secure men for the army after the outbreak of the 'Seven Years War' between Britain and France (with Prussia as a British ally, and Austria, Spain and Russia allied with the French), brought to a close in 1763. It was to be a global conflict, fought in India and North America as well as Europe, and the need to raise men for the military was acute.

George Wood, was by many accounts, a poacher. 'A man of bad character and of desperate resolutions', was the way he was described in court, and that was the description offered by the Crown lawyer prosecuting his killers.¹ On the other hand, at the time of his death he was in possession of a paper signed by Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank, of Ballencrieff in the parish of Aberlady, stating 'that Wood was employed by him to Breed setting Dogs upon his own ground' and as such had that lawful and sufficient support and maintenance which would exclude him from those who could be impressed under the terms of the act.² In fact, Wood had been apprehended at Haddington about the 26th

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

of March by two constables and two dragoons, after a warrant had been issued against him on 22 March. Wood was released, however, after he had shown Elibank's paper to Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, J.P., and to the Provost of Haddington, who was also a J.P.

Wood had only been released on the promise that he would appear before the local commissioners for the implementation of the Act, who were responsible for the 'western district' of East Lothian (the parishes of Tranent, Ormiston, Salton, Gladsmuir, Presonpans, Pencaitland, Humbie and that part of the parish of Fala which lay in East Lothian). They were to meet at Prestonpans on the 29th of March. In addition, Wood had been given an indication that not all the commissioners (who were all J.P.s or Commissioners of Supply) would be influenced by his paper from Lord Elibank. Previous to Cockburn of Clerkington and the Provost of Haddington interviewing him on 26 March, the constables and dragoons who had detained him later testified that they had sent Lord Elibank's paper, by messenger, to William Law of Elvingston, Sheriff Substitute of East Lothian. The messenger returned from Law's house with the verbal message 'that he had nothing to do with the protection', 'and as they had Wood, they might keep him'.³

It was only the violence of Wood's reaction to this news that led the constables (the Advocate depute who prosecuted those who had killed Wood, Robert MacQueen, would describe constables at the trial as generally 'the lowest officer of the Law, and too often of the dregs of the people') to send for Cockburn of Clerkington.⁴ They testified later that Wood had told them, one imagined emphatically, 'that if he had them in the fair fields, he could lay them all flat.' After his release, Wood and his captors went to a nearby alehouse, where Wood had told the company 'that he knew very well that it proceeded from Mr. Law that he was to be prest into the Military, But that he would find means to return and swore he would shoot him',⁵ and 'that if he was Impressed to be a soldier he knew to whom it was owing and that he would make his best Endeavours to return home, but God have mercy on his soul, and that was Willie Law'.⁶

One of the constables present at this incident also testified that he was told to produce Wood at the commissioners' meeting at Prestonpans on the 29th of March, and that he found Wood at Cockburn of Clerkington's house. Wood came to the door and told him 'that if he was bid to go by Lord Elibank he would go, if not, he would not, and added that if any man offered to apprehend him, either he or the man attempting to apprehend him, should die on the spott'.⁷ The constable, in fact, had been sent to Cockburn of

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

Clerkington's house by the Sheriff Substitute, who was also one of the commissioners for the enforcement of the press act in the western district. He and three other commissioners at that meeting (one of the other was William Grant, who sat in the Courts of Session and Justiciary as Lord Prestongrange, and who had been Lord Advocate of Scotland from 1746 to 1754) treated Wood's failure to appear as contempt, and issued another warrant for his apprehension.⁸ The local constable at Tranent, however, a shoemaker named John Simpson, was loath to apprehend Wood, and actually warned him by messenger that he had a warrant for him. Wood accordingly kept away from Tranent during the day, but evidently continued to shelter at home with his wife and four children at night.

This was not the end of the matter, however. Another copy of the warrant was issued at Haddington to a constable there, presumably by Sheriff Substitute Law, though it was delivered to the constable by Sheriff Clerk John Sibbald.⁹ The constable, John Runciman, 'aged twenty two or thereby', had been one of those who had apprehended Wood at Haddington on the 26th, and insisted on receiving assistance. Accordingly, another constable from Haddington, John Rammage, and a Corporal and eight dragoons from Captain James Somerville's troop of Lord George Sackville's regiment, then quartered at Haddington, were dispatched to Tranent with Runciman. On arrival there Runciman also insisted on 'calling in', as he put it later, at the house of John Simpson, the local constable, 'to raise him out of his Bed who was not very willing to go along with him and who gave as a reason for it, That he thought himself that some of them would be destroyed in the attempt, and his wife added that she was certain, there would be dead men among them,' for Wood had 'three charged pieces in his house'.¹⁰

The group nevertheless proceeded to Wood's house, where they stopped at the foot of the forestair. Runciman, Rammage and Simpson, along with dragoons Stephen Dunford and Edmund Jones, went to the top of the stairs and rapped at the door. Wood answered from within by asking who was there, to which one of the constables replied, 'friends', and when Wood demanded to know their business, one of the constables urged Wood to give himself up peacefully 'for that they would do him no harm, and when he was at Haddington he had a good many friends who would speak for him and get him off'. Some of those present testified at the trial that Wood answered 'civilly', that he would come, others did not recall a response. The Corporal in charge of the dragoons, Samuel Onion, aged 21, later testified that dragoon Jones had offered to shoot the lock off the door, but swore that he told Jones 'to let it alone, it being the constables Business to give orders to make open doors'.

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

Though there are minor discrepancies in the testimony later given by the constables and dragoons present, they all relate that after a period of silence Wood called out from within the house, either that 'he was now ready and that he would blow them to heaven or hell', or 'now for you, I'll drive you either to heaven or hell'.¹¹ Wood thereupon discharged a musket loaded with shot, which blew a hole in the door, and, according to constable Runciman's vivid description, 'some of the splinters of wood struck upon Stephen Dunford the pannels (ie, defendant's) breast, who then said it was near enough, and the shot with which the gun was loaded, rattled like hail again a wall in the opposite side of the street'.

Accounts of what happened afterwards vary. It was the middle of the night. It was cold. The constables' and soldiers' average age was about 22. Despite their knowledge beforehand that Wood was armed, the fact that he had actually discharged a shot would have affected everyone present. Constable Runciman had gone down the stairs to consult with Corporal Onion about forcing the door. The corporal ordered his men to unscrew their bayonets and load their weapons. While doing this, one of the soldiers in the street accidentally set off his musket. At this point the two soldiers at the top of the stairs fired into Wood's house. The soldiers claimed at their trial that the constables, Rammage and Simpson, ordered them to fire. The constables denied giving any such order. Runciman, who was not charged and gave testimony at the trial, swore that he heard John Simpson 'mention the word fire, but whether it was to order the soldiers to fire or not to fire he cannot be positive'.¹² Corporal Onion later testified that after Dunford and Jones had discharged their pieces he ordered them to come down the stairs to rejoin the rest of the party, 'and not suspecting any mischief had been done, he desired the Constables if they intended to execute their warrant that night, to do it presently, for it was a Cold night and he could not keep the party any longer. That Wood's door was at this time opened by a Boy from within who cried out his father was killed' which Onion 'did not believe till he saw several of the neighbourhood gathered about the House and when he went up the stairs with some of the men along with him, upon going in he saw George Wood lying dead and his gun beside him'. Wood's wife was wounded. The four children, the eldest of whom was the fourteen year old boy who opened the door, were all unhurt.

No matter what Wood's character, the violent death of a man at the hands of soldiers of the Crown, in his own home and with his family present, was certain to be an 'unpopular act. Three days after Wood's death Lord Belhaven reported the 'unlucky accident' to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton. He wrote that Wood 'was reckoned a Common Poacher, and was obnoxious to several

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

gentlemen in our shire . . . However it is a melancholy accident, and I am very sorry for it, he has left several small children.' 'People who judge coolly & reasonably', Belhaven wrote, 'don't blame ye Dragoons'. He admitted 'that some of our neighbours, whome I don't chuse to name, have been so imprudent as to protect & countenance ye defunct' (meaning Wood. Belhaven used 'defunct' as an euphemism for 'dead').¹³

Others took a less tolerant view than Belhaven. The third Duke of Argyll was at this time acknowledged as the politician most influential in Scottish affairs. Lord Milton's son, Andrew, who would become M.P. for East Lothian in 1761, at this time sat in Parliament for the Haddington district of burghs, and acted as secretary to the Duke of Argyll. His letter to his father of 12 April 1757 reacted to the news of Wood's death: 'The Accident at Tranent is very unlucky at this Juncture, I am afraid The Constable and his Party cannot easily be justified: when they found the door locked, they had no right to demand admittance, or to endeavour to break into the House. Such an attack would kindle a great flame in this part of the Country' (meaning England).¹⁴ By unlucky, Fletcher meant that he and Argyll were in the midst of negotiations with the elder Pitt's ministry which would lead to the raising of the highland regiments that would so distinguish themselves in America during the war. In the process, by promising easy recruiting in Scotland, they were gaining great credit with both Pitt and King. The murder of potential recruits was not going to help recruiting in Scotland, particularly as Wood's death was the sort of incident which grew in the telling. Note that Fletcher accepted that the soldiers were trying to break into the house, and indeed terms their actions an 'attack'. His reference to England was occasioned partly by some of the troubles attendant upon the introduction of Pitt's militia act in England, which was the beginning to arouse quite serious popular resistance.¹⁵

Fletcher was not alone in his response. In particular, Lord Elibank, Wood's protector, was furious at the news of his death. Elibank had been a Jacobite in his time, and in 1757 probably took a political position close to that taken by the rural Tory gentry who were so sympathetic to the elder Pitt. He wrote a blistering letter to Sir John Philipps, at that time M.P. for Petersfield. Philipps had also been a Jacobite, who had worked with Elibank and Elibank's brother Alexander Murray in the radical, and Jacobite, Westminster election agitation of 1749-1751. In early 1757 Philipps had been a supporter of the fragile Devonshire-Pitt ministry, which fell in April, to be replaced by the incongruous but successful coalition between the Duke of Newcastle and the elder Pitt which would hold office until 1761. Philipps took up the matter of Wood's death with Lord Barrington, Secretary for War throughout this period of ministerial

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

instability. Barrington in turn wrote to the 'Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland', Lord George Beauclerk, calling for a full account of what had happened.¹⁶

Beauclerk's report of 6 May 1757 emphasised that it was based upon 'the judicial declarations of every person who had access to know anything of that matter', which were in the possession of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Robert Dundas of Arniston. He also emphasised that the corporal in charge of the party had not given the order to fire, 'and the two Dragoons who discharged their Pieces were upon the first Examination into the affair look'd upon to be so little Culpable that they were admitted to Bail'. Another point in his report was that 'no *child* or *other* Person' was hurt. In short, the military had not abused its powers: 'all H: Majesty's servants of the Law with whom I had occasion to Converse on the subject look'd upon the part of the dragoons as the Meer result of their duty.'

Beauclerk's report gives some idea of Lord Elibank's determination to bring someone to justice for Wood's death. He was credited with 'address and Influence enough' to get the dragoons and the constables taken into custody, to await trial in detention. 'Indeed I always heard that Lord Elibank was happy when he could lay hold of any opportunity which could tend to Enflame the minds of the People and obstruct the measures of the government, tho' I still imagined he would have some regard to Truth, especially in an affair where he must suppose his Lies be detected.' 'Most People here', Beauclerk continues, 'assign the Cause of Woods Fate to Lord Elibanks endeavours to skreen a man said to have been very obnoxious to the gentlemen of the County, in general, and one who, as is said, came in every Respect within the Description of the Recruiting Act.'

Despite Beauclerk's opinion, the Lord Advocate did proceed with a prosecution before the Lords of Justiciary in Edinburgh. The trial took place between 18 July and 2 August 1757. Though Beauclerk's remarks indicate that the Scottish law officers did not want to alienate the military, Elibank must have had enough support to convince the Lord Advocate and his deputies that a trial was necessary. All four of those who had been at the top of the forestairs when the shots which killed George Wood were fired were charged with murder, in an indictment framed in language strongly reminiscent of the Old Testament: 'as Blood defileth the Land and the Land cannot be cleansed of the Blood that is shed therein, but by the Blood of his that shed it . . .'¹⁷ The constables were accused of exceeding their authority. The soldiers' claim that they had fired only on orders from the constable was dismissed in terms

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

which suggest the kind of pressure brought to bear in favour of prosecution. One could not 'consider the military as meer machines and no more accountable for their actions than the Guns in their hands. They are rational creatures. The Law considers them as such, and must account for their actions accordingly.' The group was not under any threat from Wood, argued the Advocate depute prosecuting, therefore any aggression on their part was unlawful.

The constables were defended in a revealing paper by Francis Garden, an advocate who in later years would acquire some fame on the bench as Lord Gardenstone, and some fame as an improving laird for his efforts at Laurencekirk in Kincardineshire. Garden was also known in later life as the only Court of Session judge to associate himself with the movement for parliamentary reform in Scotland in 1783-1784. The entry relating to him in Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* reflects this, observing that 'he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government', contrasting this with 'the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors in the middle of the eighteenth century'. Garden's assessment of George Wood in 1757 allows us an opportunity of considering his own paternalistic outlook towards 'the people' and 'the stately coldness' of the Scottish landed class at that time in their dealing with their 'inferiors'.¹⁸ Garden's remarks are thus quoted at some length.

This person George Wood, was well known to the Justices of the peace in East Lothian. They agreed that he was a most proper person to be impressed for the service. He had, in the strongest sense of the words, no lawfull Employment. He followed an idle vagrant sort of life and the only occupation he had was unlawfull. He was a notorious potcher and was often accused of Trespasses, by breaking Inclosures and other offences of the like nature. He was with all able bodied young and of a daring spirit, which discovered itself chiefly in a most desperate contempt of the Law and the warrants of civil magistrates.

To Show that he was a person of this Character and Behaviour, many instances might be condescended on, That, upon occasions, when he was challenged for destroying Game and breaking into Inclosures, he threatened and intimidated the persons who complained of him, Threatened to shoot the Constables and actually deforced them when they came to execute warrants against him, particularly that he, some years ago, violently deforced the deceast George Runciman, a Constable who had a warrant to apprehend him; That upon another occasion, he deforced three or four Constables, whereof

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

James Bone was one, and in several other instances of the same nature.

A fellow of this stamp so fierce & disorderly, was a very bad member of civil society, but very fitt to be a soldier, in which Employment his Disobedience and contempt of authority might be tamed by proper Decipline and his Intrepidity might be serviceable to his Country.¹⁹

This sort of reasoning carried weight with the jury of Edinburgh merchants and tradesmen assembled for the trial, for they, 'by a great majority of voices' found all four of the defendents not guilty, a verdict reported with triumph to the Secretary for War in London by Lord George Beauclerk.²⁰ Beauclerk claimed that Elibank had made great efforts 'to enflame the minds of the people', and even wanted to have the dragoons executed.²¹ He was not a little bitter at the violence of the feeling towards the dragoons by Elibank and his supporters, as he claimed that the application for military support for the constables would not have been accepted if Cockburn of Clerkington, evidently one of those who protected Wood, had not complained in February that the military was not supporting the J.P.s and Commissioners in overcoming 'Contempt of Publick Authority'.²² The verdict meant unconditional release for both the constables and the dragoons. Lord Elibank had failed to bring anyone to account for George Wood's death.

Why would Elibank want to keep a man like George Wood out of the army? Personal friendship? Perhaps. Principle? Of a sort. Elibank had spent his life in political opposition and had a love of what might be called contrariness. His friend, John Ramsay of Ochertyre, who had become acquainted with him when they were both young men undergoing legal training, remarked of him that 'far from being wedded to established systems, he was as fond as any philosopher of the age of striking into unexplained paths which had nothing to recommend them but novelty and fashion. Indeed, such was his eloquence and ingenuity in conversation over a bottle, that one would have concluded truth to be paradox and paradox truth.'²³ Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, recorded in his memoirs that Elibank 'had a mind that embraced the greatest variety of topics, and produced the most original remarks. He was rather a humorist than a man of humour; but that bias of his temper led him to defend paradoxes and uncommon opinions with a copiousness and ingenuity that was surprising.'²⁴ It was surely no coincidence that Elibank, defender of George Wood, would emerge as one of the principal agitators for the extension of Pitt's militia law to Scotland when this proposition began to gather real support in Scotland in 1759 and 1760.²⁵

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

The author of this essay has documented a similar case in Moray and Banff from 1759, when a local laird, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, extended his protection to several men who wished to avoid being forcibly enlisted into a regiment that was being raised on the Duke of Gordon's estate.²⁶ It seems probable that Gordon's later attitude was at least partly a response to the oppressive implementation of the Press Act over the winter and early spring of 1757. There is a letter, in the Laing Manuscripts at the University of Edinburgh Library, from a John Gordon at Elgin to Gordon of Gordonstoun, dated 25 Nov. 1757, reporting on a meeting of commissioners for recruitment in Moray under terms of the Press Act. The gentlemen at this meeting, wrote Gordon, were resolved 'not to send out a parcell of greedy constables to take up people at random, and alarm and oppress the countrie as last year . . .'²⁷

Lord Elibank and Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun were both attracted to 'country' and 'patriot' principles, to use terms prominent in the political language of the day. They saw the London ministry as corrupt and time-serving, ignoring the views of the real backbone of the country, local landowners like themselves, living on their estates, involved in local affairs, and bearing the burden of the land tax. Politicians like William Pitt expressed their outlook, or seemed to in 1757 when he first assumed high office, with his appeal for disinterested public service in opposition to political corruption and the growth of the influence of the Crown over Parliament. He was also an advocate of a militia rather than a standing army recruited by means like the Press Act of 1756. Thus it is well to remind ourselves that Elibank and country gentlemen like him, while well enough disposed to 'the people', were defending the liberty of the subject as enshrined in the ancient (and English) constitution.²⁸

Of course, Lord Elibank's protection did not do George Wood much good. The 'Act for speedy recruitment' was an ugly one, giving wide scope for commissioners and constables to settle old scores. Wood seems to have been a victim of this. William Law of Elvingston would later help bring to trial a group of dragoons who attacked local people near Musselburgh in 1760, but in this case he seems to have marked Wood down for impressment and was determined that he would not escape.²⁹ No doubt Wood had often fallen foul, as a poacher, of Law's authority, and Wood's aggressive behaviour would have made him memorable as 'a troublemaker'. The records that survive are all prejudiced against him. Even the Advocate Depute prosecuting the case was defensive about Wood's character. The only witness who might have given a different view of events, Wood's wife, was only allowed to give evidence after vigorous protests from the defence, and then could only say that she could not remember what had happened exactly because it had all happened so quickly. Francis

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

Garden, defending, had said that Wood was a young man, but the Parish of Tranent Bill of Mortality notes Wood's age at his death at 45, the maximum age allowed for those liable for impressment, and commissioners for the Press Act in most localities tried to avoid pressing men with children to support. Lord Belhaven and Lord George Beauclerk had both noted that Wood was 'obnoxious' to gentlemen of the shire. The fact that one of them was Sheriff Substitute William Law evidently sealed his fate.

The case of George Wood illustrates how closely intertwined were judicial and executive responsibility in eighteenth century Scottish local government. Lord Prestongrange, one of the four commissioners for the western district of East Lothian who granted the warrant for Wood's apprehension at Prestonpans on the 29th of March, was actually allowed to sit as one of the Lords of Justiciary trying the case relating to Wood's death. It should also be noted that there was no appeal from the Court of Justiciary to the House of Lords in London, unlike the cases in civil law which came before the Court of Session. Another one of the commissioners for the western district of East Lothian who granted the warrant for Wood's arrest, William Law, was of course the judge presiding over the court with primary jurisdiction over the case, the Sheriff Court of East Lothian.

'Whatever other may assert', Lord Elibank wrote in December 1759 to Charles Townshend, the ambitious English M.P. who was married to the dowager Countess of Dalkeith, 'you know, that Scotland has never hitherto enjoyed real Liberty.'³⁰ Elibank was writing more than two and a half years after George Wood's death, but his involvement with Wood reflects this belief. Though Francis Garden presented Wood as 'a very bad member of civil society', Elibank and those who supported him emphasised Wood's rights as a British subject, and the danger of allowing those rights to be subverted, even in time of war.

NOTES

I am very grateful to Professor Linda Colley and Dr Eveline Cruickshanks for taking the time to comment on an earlier draft of this paper, and share with me their knowledge of Lord Elibank's political connections with English Tories and English Jacobites. This is a better essay than it was because of their generous assistance. Others who were kind enough to comment on an earlier draft of this paper include Dr John Brims, Dr William Ferguson, Professor Rosalind Mitchison, Dr John Robertson and Professor Richard B. Sher. Naturally, I alone am responsible for the views expressed in this essay.

The reader should be reminded that although 'East Lothian' is the term used throughout, the area was known as 'Haddingtonshire' or 'the county of Haddington' in the eighteenth century.

1. Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO), Court of Justiciary Papers, Books of Adjournal, JC, 3/31, p. 248. The entry relating to the trial of John Simpson and others for the murder of George Wood is

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

recorded on pp. 244-331. Quotations and information given in the text which are not footnoted are taken from this source.

Wood's death is recorded in the Parish of Tranent Bill of Mortality, now at the SRO, CH. 2/357/21. On p.12 he is described as a 'Potcher' and his age is given as 45. I am grateful to Professor Rosalind Mitchison for directing me to this source.

2. National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Letterbook of Lord George Beauclerk, MS 13497, p. 63. Dr Paul Kelly, formerly of the NLS, first directed me to this valuable source.
 3. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 320, testimony of John Runciman, constable; and p. 326, testimony of John McRae, innkeeper.
 4. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 258.
 5. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 320, John Runciman's testimony.
 6. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 327, testimony of Robert Baird, constable.
 7. As note 6.
 8. NLS, Letterbook of Lord George Beauclerk, MS 13497, p. 64. There is a discrepancy between the account of Wood's death given by Beauclerk, the context of which is explained later in the text, and the evidence given at the Court of Justiciary trial, in that Beauclerk reported that Cockburn of Clerkington sent Wood to Sheriff Law, while the evidence given by the two constables who apprehended him at the time is quite clear that Cockburn was only called in after Law's verbal instruction to ignore Elibank's paper had been received: SRO, JC. 3/31, pp. 320 & 327.
 9. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 317. The warrant is in JC. 26/160 at the SRO, and under its terms Wood could be apprehended by any constable of the county.
 10. JC. 3/31, p. 317. Simpson and Wood obviously knew each other. Simpson earned his living as a shoemaker, and the Tranent Bill of Mortality records that Wood was buried on 4 April, with the 'Best shoemakers' mortcloth.' SRO, CH2/357/21, p. 12.
 11. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 318, John Runciman's testimony, p. 321, testimony of Corporal Samuel Onion, p. 278, Information for John Simpson and John Rammage, by Francis Garden, pp. 278-9.
 12. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 318.
 13. NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16698, fo. 158, John Hamilton, 4th Lord Belhaven, to Lord Milton, 6 April 1757. Belhaven's brother, James Hamilton, was Sheriff depute of East Lothian at this time and had appointed William Law as his Sheriff Substitute. In my last contribution to this journal (cited in note 29), I confused (on p. 43) Lord Belhaven with his brother, who became 5th Lord Belhaven in 1764. He was succeeded as Sheriff depute by William Law. For more detail on the Sheriff depute and his substitutes, see Ann E. Whetstone, *Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1981).
 14. NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16519, fo. 188, Andrew Fletcher, younger, to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton of the Court of Session.
 15. J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1965), pp. 290-302.
 16. NLS, Letterbook of Lord George Beauclerk, MS 13497, pp. 63-65. This copy of Beauclerk's letter to Barrington begins by acknowledging a letter from Barrington dated 29 April, which enclosed 'the Copy of a Letter from Lord Elibank to sir Jn Phillips in relation to the killing of one George Wood'.
- For details on Sir John Philipps see Sir L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (London, 1964), III, p. 274; Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60* (paperback edn, Cambridge, 1985); Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (London, 1979).
17. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 247. The language is that of Robert MacQueen, author of the principal written submission by the Crown against the constables and dragoons. He would acquire notoriety more than three decades later presiding, as the judge Lord Braxfield, over sedition trials before the same court.
 18. Robert Chambers (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (first published 1834, third edition 1875); H. W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (reprint edn. London 1969, first published Glasgow, 1912); W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 245; B. Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, Industrialization. Scotland 1746-1832* (London, 1981), p. 76.
 19. SRO, JC. 3/31, pp. 274-5.
 20. SRO, JC. 3/31, p. 327.
 21. NLS, Beauclerk Letterbook, MS 13497, pp. 87-88, Beauclerk to Barrington (copy), 2 Aug. 1757.
 22. Ibid. p. 64, Beauclerk to Barrington, 6 May 1757.
 23. John Ramsay of Ochertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Allardyce (Edinburgh, 1888), I, p. 319.
 24. Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography*, ed. J. Hill Burton (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 279. Another edition, by J. Kinsley, appeared in 1973 under the title *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times*.
 25. John Robertson, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 108, also pp. 97, 106, 109, 118. Also see Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 224, 227, 232, 244, 255, 257-8.

KILLING OF GEORGE WOOD

26. A. Murdoch, 'More Reluctant Heroes: New Light on Military Recruiting in North East Scotland, 1757-1760', *Northern Scotland*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (1985), pp. 157-68.
27. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Laing Manuscripts* (1925), II, p. 418.
28. Historians still bicker about the meaning of contemporary terms used in eighteenth century political discourse, particularly words such as 'Court' and 'Country', or 'Tory' and 'Whig', or 'Patriot'. H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 121-194, gives a cogent account.
29. A Murdoch, 'Beating the Lieges: The Military Riot at Ravenshaugh Toll on 5 October 1760', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists Society*, Vol. XVII (1982), pp. 39-47.
30. Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Townshend Papers, Lord Elibank to Charles Townshend, 21 Dec. 1759. There is a microfilm of the Townshend Papers at the SRO.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY IN EAST LoTHIAN

by JOHN P. SHAW

In Scotland the power of falling water has been used to drive machinery since at least the twelfth century.¹ Few places were far from uncultivated uplands, and the streams which descended from them gave ample falls on which mills could be built. The alternatives — windmills and horse mills — played only a minor part.² Steam power, so often associated with the Industrial Revolution, was not successfully adapted to drive machinery until the 1780s and not for more than another fifty years did it gain ascendancy over water power.³

Though Scotland as a whole was well placed to make use of water power, considerable variations could be found from locality to locality. Within the small county of East Lothian, three zones can be identified. The southernmost, the Lammermuir Hills, had ample potential in the headwaters of the Whitadder but its elevation, at over 750 feet, and its poor soils, discouraged settlement. Until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries much of it was set aside as common land.⁴ The northernmost zone, north of the Tyne, provided good, low lying arable, was densely settled but had only two streams of any size: the east and west Peffer Burns. Even these offered very limited falls.⁵

In contrast to the Lammermuir Hills and the sparsely drained lowlands, the intermediate zone offered excellent potential. The Tyne and its southern tributaries, the Biel Water and the Brox, Dry, Thornton and Dunglass Burns all derived part of their volume from the uplands and in their short descent to the sea provided good falls. Even within this zone, however, many of the best sites were occupied by long-established grain mills which, understandably in a predominantly arable district, had prior claim (Figure 1).

The range of potential users, other than grain milling, was great (Figure 2). The earliest, the fulling of woollen cloth, had reached Scotland by the 14th century⁶ and between 1550 and 1700 more than 300 fulling or "walk" mills were at work.⁷ Water powered paper mills, smelting mills, saw mills and mine draining engines first appeared in the late sixteenth century and iron forging

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

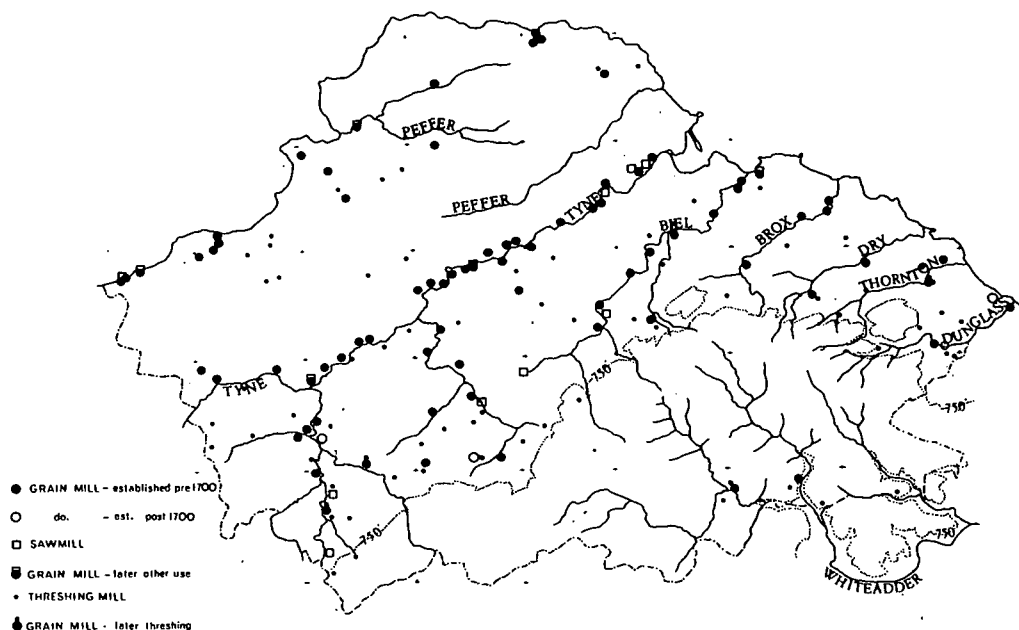


Figure 1. Non-industrial users of water power. Most of the best falls, between the Lammermuir Hills and the northern plain, had been colonised before 1700 by grain mills. The modest, seasonal needs of threshing mills were met by damming and diverting minor watercourses.

mills in the early seventeenth.⁸ During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, powered mechanisation in the textile industries was extended to include almost every process in manufacture.⁹ A multiplicity of minor uses — bark milling for tanneries, snuff milling, gunpowder milling and flint grinding for potteries — occupied a scatter of water powered sites across Scotland.¹⁰ By the 1850s water powered threshing mills were very common: there were 81 of them in East Lothian alone.¹¹ Associated with these developments was an accumulating competence in mechanical engineering, in which three generations of the Meikle family — James, Robert and Andrew, and George — played no small part.¹² Given access to this range of technology and the skills to put it to use, the pattern which developments took depended on the interplay of additional factors: the interests of landowners who controlled land and water rights, the availability of capital to develop sites, the presence of a labour force, access to raw materials and the existence of accessible markets. During the period when the use of water power was at its height, between 1730 and 1830, East Lothian was fortunate in having landowners well disposed towards industrial development. In many instances, more especially before the 1790s, it was they

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

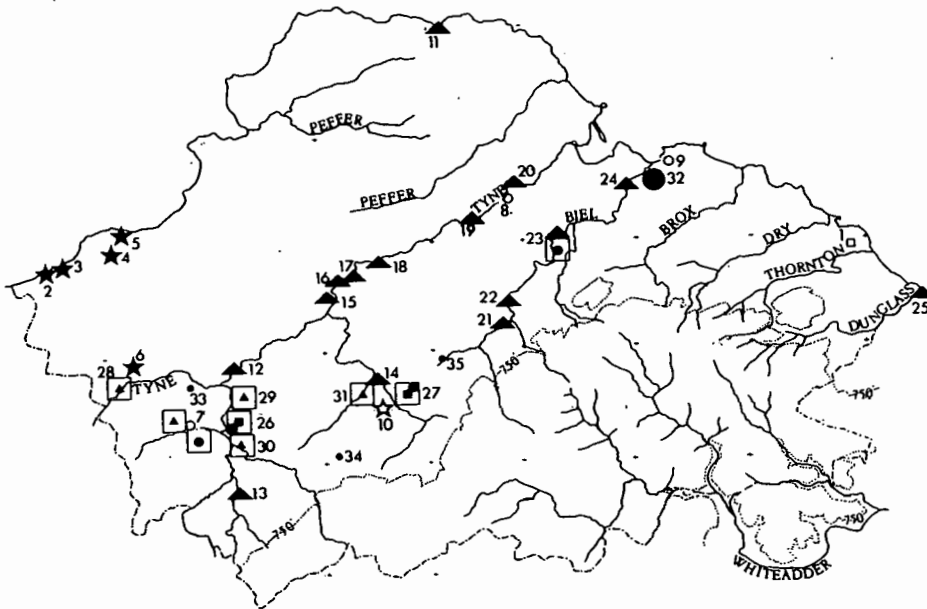


Figure 2. Industrial users of water power. *Coal engine*: (1) Thornton. *Flint mills*: (2) Morison's Haven, (3) Cuttle, (4) Seton Town Mill, (5) Seton Sea Mill, (6) Ormiston. *Distilleries*: (7) Kinchie (ex-bleachfield/lint mill), (8) East Linton. *Brewery*: (9) Belhaven. *Tile Works*: (10) Yester. *Walkmills*: (11) North Berwick, (12) Spilmersford, (13) Humbie, (14) Bothams/Yester/Gifford, (15) Clerkington, (16) Haddington, (17) Haddington (Tarred Wool Company), (18) Newmills, (19) Hailes, (20) Houston, (21) Garvald, (22) Papple, (23) (New)grange, (24) Belton, (25) Duncraig. *Lint Mills*: (26) Saltoun, (27) Gifford (ex-paper mill), (23) Grangehaugh (walkmill site), (7) Kinchie. *Bleachfields*: (28) Ormiston, (29) Saltoun, (30) Saltoun (Barley Mill), (7) Kinchie, (31) Gifford. *Cotton and flax spinning mill*: (32) West Barns. *Paper Mills*: (26) Saltoun (ex-lint), (27) Yester. *Sites of unknown use*: (33) Wester Pencaitland (thread mill? quarry?) (34) Stobshiell, (35) Bara wood.

who provided at least part of the capital to develop sites, though merchants and manufacturers were prominent in instigating large scale developments, on their own behalf or conjointly. At the opposite end of the range tradesmen or agricultural tenants might put their own capital into financing small scale ventures.

For all but the largest projects access to labour posed no great problem. Skills could be acquired in service or, exceptionally, in new technologies, through training schemes. Raw materials, in the form of wool or flax for textile mills, rags for paper mills or even potatoes for starch mills could be had locally. Coastal ports, from Morison's Haven to Dunbar assisted the import of Baltic flax or Kentish flint, besides giving seaward access to markets. The proximity of Edinburgh and the provision of a much improved road network gave easy

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

landward access. On this basis East Lothian, or at least its central zone, had the potential to attract users of water power other than estate or farm based grain, saw and threshing mills. To what extent was this potential realised?

On an industry by industry basis, a useful distinction can be made between major users — principally the textile industries — and minor users. The earliest of the minor users was the coal industry. Writing in the 1670s, George Sinclair states that water power was widely used to drive two types of colliery drainage engines: one with plates mounted on a continuous chain and ascending through a hollow pipe, the other with buckets mounted on the chain.¹³ Elsewhere, Sinclair writes of curious engines for raising water from the Earl of Winton's coals,¹⁴ but more positive evidence comes from Thornton in Innerwick parish. At some date prior to 1678, large quantities of timber had been used to construct a system of dams and elevated troughs to serve an overshot wheel at Thornton coalworks. The iron chain, twenty-three fathoms long, had thirty buckets attached to it, each bound with three iron hoops.¹⁵ The investment appears to have been made by Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, for by a tack dated 30th November 1678 he leased his coal and salt works to Sir William Murray of Newton and William Nicolson.¹⁶ The condition of the works at their entry is unclear, but by October 1682, with Wedderburn and his son in debt, and litigation underway between Wedderburn and the lessees, it was clear that all was not well:

"To speak . . . of the conditione of these works, they are so ruinous and decayed that (if not prevented) in a very short tyme they will either totally ruine and decay or else come into such a conditione as they cannot easily be recovered without great charges and expenss, ffor the aquaduct from the head therof . . . is for the most part furred and shott together. The dammheads with there slouces broken down and decayed. The short trowes fixed upon Innerwick bridge for carrying the water over Innerwick burn are totally overturned and lying upon the ground, and the timber belonging thereto all if not the most part stollen and miscarried. The long trowes which carries the water from the aquaduct to the wheill are in so chattered and ruinous a conditione that if not speedily helped they will altogether perish and decay. The water wheill in so defective a conditione that shoe will not weill be able to move without reparatioue. The great iron chaine so weakened and bouked . . . that it hardly can be of any use till it be laid in a forge. The buckets being 28 or 30 are all wanting except 8 or 10 which are in no good conditione. . . . The iron-work of the axelttrie such as gudges, chainie bands and other iron work belonging thereto all of them defective."¹⁷

Under a three year tack of 1682 Wedderburn was to have repaired the coal and salt works, but it seems that "the coal was a burden and charge upon the estate, being entirely worn out."¹⁸ Years later, in 1698, an attempt was made to recoup the cost, to no avail.¹⁹

The industries which grew up on the main body of the East Lothian coalfield, in the west of the county, relied on chemical rather than mechanical processes. Salt making was by far the oldest of these, to which was added glass making in the 17th century and soap works, acid works and potteries in the

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

18th century.²⁰ Potteries used flint in preparing glazes and as a body in the manufacture of stoneware.²¹ Flint was ground in large water filled vats, in which quartz boulders were rolled around by rotating arms. In the 1790s there was a tidal powered flint mill at Morison's Haven and another mill, driven by a colliery level at Cuttle, both serving adjacent potteries.²² Further east, on another colliery level, two more flint mills on the property of the Earl of Wemyss were active in the early 19th century. The mill at Sea Mill of Seton appears on an undated plan of that period and is recorded in the Ordnance Survey Name Books (1853) as disused.²³ This is probably the mill used by Hamilton Watson, earthenware manufacturer in Prestonpans, whose assets were under sequestration in 1838. An inventory and valuation, taken in that year, includes 15 tons of mill stones (i.e. the quartz boulders), a flint barrel, a charge of lead ore (used in glazing), a barrel of Cornish (china clay), a charge of best glaze and 2½ tons of ground flint. The machinery was valued at £150, implying that it had been provided by Watson himself rather than by the Earl of Wemyss.²⁴ The other mill, on the farm of Seton, seems to have fallen out of use in the late 1820s.²⁵ A fifth mill appears on a plan of 1831 of Ormiston, close by the bleachfield, but further corroboration is needed to confirm its existence.²⁶

Why did the flint mills close down? Without offering any conclusive grounds, two developments might be put forward as potential contributory factors. At some time between 1806 and 1830 the Burgh of Musselburgh had set up a flint mill on the Esk as a speculative venture;²⁷ in the 1830s at least one west coast pottery was importing flint ready ground.²⁸

Brewing and distilling provided another minor use for water power. Traditionally malt for brewing had been thirled to grain mills but in the eighteenth century commercial brewers, and later distillers, broke free of this astringency to set up malt grinding facilities of their own. Instead of millstones they used steel mills or, later, roller mills, but, despite the prominence of East Lothian in both brewing and distilling, evidence of the use of water power is scanty. It may have been used at the Glenkinchie Distillery, established between 1825 and 1853²⁹ and is thought to have been used at an extensive distillery at East Linton in 1835.³⁰ Belhaven Brewery, built on the site of one of the Burgh of Dunbar's mills, has a water wheel which can still be seen.³¹

Potatoes (and to a lesser extent cereals) provided the raw material for starch making which, like brewing and distilling, was an important East Lothian industry in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The textile industry provided a ready market and small scale works required little capital to establish, but there

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

is little to suggest that water power was widely used in East Lothian. An advertisement for a works near Dunbar (probably West Barns) in 1793, lists twelve vats and "a good mill for breaking potatoes" but does not identify the power source.³² By implication water power was used in starch making at a former Haddington woollen mill early in the 19th century, but this appears to be an isolated instance.³³

The last of the minor applications originated in East Lothian 150 years ago. The provision of sub-soil drainage was an important element in agricultural improvement, preparing the way for field machinery, yet the pace of hand production and the cost of hand made drainage tiles slowed its implementation. The problem caught the attention of the Marquis of Tweeddale.

"His frequent opportunities of observing the tile-moulders at work in his own immediate neighbourhood induced him to think of something that might facilitate their manufacture. Three men were then generally employed in . . . forming oblong sheets to suit the size of the mould. It was with the view of making these oblong pieces of clay only that the inventor conceived the idea of rolling them out; but when he saw that the first attempt was successful, he immediately conjectured that the same machine would turn out a complete web of clay and at the same time give the necessary bend of a drain tile — thus at once producing them in a perfect form."³⁴

In August 1836 the machine, in model form, had its first public showing at the Royal Highland & Agricultural Society's Perth Show, and on 9 December 1836 the first of two patents was taken out on "making tiles for draining, also house-tiles, flat roofing tiles and bricks."³⁵ A water powered tile making machine, with kiln, was set up in the grounds of Yester House and 270,000 tiles and soles were manufactured during the 1837 season.³⁶ The works was still in operation circa 1850, by which time a proliferation of tile and pipe machines had come into use.³⁷ The Yester works is the only one in East Lothian at which water power is known to have been used: today very little remains of it.³⁸

Of these minor uses, the success of coal mining owed very little to water power. In many cases levels could be driven to drain workings and from the early eighteenth century steam pumping engines became available. For the potteries, flint grinding was a necessary if peripheral aspect of their work. Brewing, distilling and starch making were significant local industries over a long period, but did not rely on the availability of water power. Lastly, the Yester tile works may have been something of a fluke. Of the hundreds of later works established in Scotland very few used water power, preferring to employ horse mills or steam engines. Had it been necessary the Marquis of Tweeddale could have done likewise.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

The real significance of water power in East Lothian's industrial economy lay in its use in the textile industries. Scottish textile mills have a history which dates back to the 14th century. The most laborious process in the making of woollen cloth came after weaving. The warp and weft fibres were matted together by pummelling the soaked cloth with the feet, a process known as fulling or, in Scotland, as walking. Walk mills imitated the process by means of wooden "feet", mounted on hinged "shanks" which were alternately raised and released by cams on an axle.

The early progress of fulling in East Lothian has yet to be investigated, though a number of mills — Belton³⁹, Bothans⁴⁰, Biel Grange⁴¹, Haddington⁴², Hailes⁴³, Houston⁴⁴ and Newmills⁴⁵ can be traced back to the sixteenth century. Others, at Clerkington⁴⁶, Duncanlaw⁴⁷, Dunglas⁴⁸ and Gifford⁴⁹ are recorded in the seventeenth century. Four further mills, at Humbie⁵⁰, North Berwick⁵¹, Papple⁵² and Spilmersford⁵³, known to have existed in the eighteenth century, may date from earlier times; only two fulling mills, at Gifford⁵⁴ and Haddington⁵⁵ are known to be of eighteenth century origin.

The mechanisation of fulling provided an incentive to cloth production and a source of income, direct and indirect, to the landowner on whose estate the mill stood. The mill itself might employ only one or two people, but it yielded a money rent and might encourage weavers to settle. They in turn generated additional rent. From elsewhere in Scotland there is evidence that walk millers became clothiers, marketing as well as fulling the cloth and, indirectly, providing a market for fleeces and employment in spinning and weaving.⁵⁶ Normally the walk mill was built at the landowner's expense. Responsibility for repairs was shared between owner and tenant. Thus, when David Grierson took a lease of Belton Walkmill, in 1704, he undertook "to provide all the small timbers . . . and all the workmanship", while Hay of Belton, his landlord, undertook to supply all the "great timber" such as wheels and axletrees.⁵⁷ The maintenance of dams and watercourses fell to the estate's tenants who might also be required to have their cloth fulled at their landlord's walkmill.⁵⁸ A similar urban thirlage operated at the burgh of Haddington's walkmill in 1750.⁵⁹ Each walkmill would have its own croft of land, grain from which would be thirled to the owner's corn mill and out of which the customary dozen kain hens would have to be supplied for the owner's household.⁶⁰ A remarkable detailed set of accounts for the building of a large walkmill at Gifford in the early 1720s gives a fascinating insight into how materials and labour were marshalled. Sandstone cut from quarries at Garvald and Quarryford Mill was carried by cart to the site. Two pairs of men carted over a hundred loads of lime which together with the stone

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

was used by two masons (both from Gifford) to build the mill. Of the timber required, ten oaks, two elms and a birch tree were cut nearby; additional timber came from the wood yard. The eight thousand nails used were provided by the local smith who also made locks, hinges and small ironwork and relaid worn tools. Two wrights working at different periods put in one hundred and three days' work; they and their five assistants installed floor boards, beams, seventeen windows, six doors and a staircase. A gang of ten day-labourers helped the craftsmen, excavated lades and carried the one hundred and forty-seven loads of stone needed for the damhead.⁶¹

All of these mills had been small scale ventures, finishing coarse cloth woven by local custom weavers or, at the very most, providing a base for local clothiers. Newmills, to the east of Haddington, was quite a different concern. The walkmill at Newmills had been replaced by two corn mills in the late sixteenth century.⁶² One of these was converted back to fulling circa 1640, when a partnership including Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble and James Riddell (an Edinburgh merchant) set up a manufactory for fine broadcloth, under parliamentary encouragement.⁶³ Under further legislation a new manufactory was established in 1681, with Sir James Stanfield (who now owned the site) and Robert Blackwood (a prominent Edinburgh merchant) as its principal partners.⁶⁴ For a moderate rent Stanfield leased to the company his walkmill "and all his office-houses, which are many great and spacious".⁶⁵ The greatest of these must have been the "great manufactory storehouse", on the south side of the village of Newmills, which was 101 feet long, 21 feet wide within the walls and three storeys in height, a very large building for its time, comparable in size to the textile mills of 100 years later.⁶⁶

The triumphs and ultimate failure of the Newmills manufactory are well charted elsewhere;⁶⁷ in the present context it should be remembered that for all its size most of its work was carried out by hand. Besides the walkmill, there are references to a large twisting mill,⁶⁸ a cochineal mill,⁶⁹ and a gig mill for raising cloth, though there is no evidence that these were water powered. After a protracted period of winding up, the plant and machinery were sold off on March 20th 1713.⁷⁰ The lands were purchased by Colonel Charteris and renamed Amisfield. The manufactory site and its associated village were cleared, leaving no evidence of this important piece of Scotland's industrial history.

The establishment of the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures, in 1727, should have provided a new beginning for the woollen industry, but in the event, perhaps prudently in view of English interests, its attentions focused on linen.⁷¹ Doubtless the small, local fulling mills continued to operate, as they

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

had done for a century or more. Haddington managed to retain an interest in wool, with its clothiers drawing on the Board's modest woollen fund from 1729.⁷² Three of these — Alexander Maxwell, Henry Hepburn and William Lawson — undertook to manufacture 2000 stone of wool into cloth during 1750, in return for a premium of 1/- per stone.⁷³ In the same year, 1750, they were joined by other parties, notably Lord Milton and Lord Deskford, in a company with a stock of £6000, divided into 120 shares. Its title, which it took from its raw material, was to be the Tarred Wool Company.⁷⁴

Immediately, the company found itself "at a great loss for want of a waulk mill".⁷⁵ In June 1750 Alexander Maxwell, petitioned the Board, "proposing to send Robert or Andrew Meikles to England to procure models of the best walkmills used there for enabling them to erect a proper one, if the Board would defray the expense of the journey and of the model".⁷⁶ To this the Board agreed. Having visited England and returned with models of the best English walkmills,⁷⁷ Andrew Meikle identified a suitable site to the west of Poldrate Mill. The site had already been offered to James Spalding for a flax dressing mill, but Lord Milton was able to use his influence to secure it for the Company.⁷⁸ The burgh council unanimously agreed to accommodate "so beneficial a trade as the manufactory of tarred wool", provided that it did not impinge on the trade of the burgh's own walkmill.⁷⁹ The mill was built and was said to answer "extremely well".⁸⁰

By 1758 the first company had collapsed and given way to a new one.⁸¹ The new partnership comprised landowners, such as Lord Milton and Lord Colstoun, a merchant (William Cadell) and a local minister. Management was in the hands of George Sawyers and Henry Hepburn, clothiers in Haddington.⁸² By August 1759 all the share capital had been called in, including more than £500 needed to buy the walkmill from the old company.⁸³ Additional machinery was installed: a 'willow' to prepare wool for carding and a friese mill to give a burred finish to the cloth.⁸⁴ During droughts the town's malt mill ran by day and the walkmill by night.⁸⁵

The new company lasted longer than its predecessor, making broadcloths and blankets. According to differing accounts, the Tarred Wool Company lasted until 1775 or 1789.⁸⁶ The earlier date seems the more likely, for in that year the manufactory building was advertised for sale or let. The description contained in the advertisement gives a detailed picture of the equipment at the mill:

"... in the first floor, a dye house with three large boilers, dyestuff-cellar and drying stove, a fulling mill with two fulling stocks, press shop with two presses, a shear shop containing two pairs of

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

shear-boards, etc. In the second floor, a weaving shop, burling shop, reeling and warping room, freizing mill, scribbling room with a good ware room and lodging room for the manager. In the upper floor, a drying house forty feet by twenty feet, and wool lofts eighty feet by twenty feet".⁸⁷

The confusion over the date of the company's disbandment may stem from the fact that one of its members, George Sawyers, took over its running in 1775 and continued to make high quality blankets until 1789.⁸⁸ After Sawyers' departure, the mill was sold to William Wilkie, who brought skilled workers from Yorkshire and attempted, unsuccessfully, to continue the woollen manufacture.⁸⁹ In 1795 he leased the premises to Hay Smith. Smith installed additional machinery to grind mustard and dyestuffs, including indigo.⁹⁰ In 1803 he went bankrupt and the mill was leased to James Dawson, who used it as a woollen manufactory with two fulling stocks and carding, raising and scribbling machines.⁹¹ The manufactory seems to have closed down for good in 1814, following a dispute over water rights; the town's own walkmill continued to operate until mid-century when, for want of business, it too closed.⁹²

The interest shown by the Board in helping the first company was an isolated instance. Linen continued to dominate its concern until the 1780s, when new technologies offered the prospect of mechanisation in the carding and spinning of wool. During the next fifty years mechanisation was extended to every other process in woollen cloth manufacture and the Board finally shifted its attention from linen (now in the hands of large scale manufacturers in east central Scotland) to wool. Its heaviest investment went towards supporting innovative clothiers in the Borders and Clackmannanshire, but the new technology also produced a rash of small scale projects. East Lothian's share in this was unexceptional.

In 1798 James Kirk, ex-foreman with an Edinburgh firm of woollen manufacturers, petitioned the Board for help in setting up a woollen manufactory at Gifford, asking for help to buy a carding machine and for repairs to the walkmill, on which he had a lease.⁹³ Seven years later another manufacturer, John Weir, was offered £50 towards teasing, carding, slubbing and spinning machinery at the same site.⁹⁴ He or a namesake appears in Pigot's Directory for 1837 as woollen manufacturer in Gifford.⁹⁵ In 1813 Peter Christie was offered £70 for having erected carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing machinery at Garvald, apparently in a newly built mill.⁹⁶ Finally in 1819 George Turner set up a manufactory at Humble Walkmill, with a teaser, two scribblers, a carding machine, a spinning machine and two looms, costing in all £292. This too was grant aided.⁹⁷

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

The revival, if such there was, was short lived. The industry soon centralised on the Borders, Clackmannanshire and North Ayrshire in large scale, heavily capitalised units. In 1799 there had been five walkmills at work in East Lothian.⁹⁸ By 1853, despite new investment, there was only one woollen mill left — a three storey steam powered mill in Haddington.⁹⁹ The others lay in ruins; little, if anything, remains of them today.

Water power came to the linen industry much later than to wool. In the early years of the 18th century a few sites were using machinery to dress flax in preparation for heckling, the equivalent of carding. The Board of Trustees gave assistance to research, which by 1730 had produced rollers for breaking flax and revolving wooden arms to scutch it, both driven by water power.¹⁰⁰ This became the basis for the lint mill, more than 700 of which were built in Scotland during the next hundred years.¹⁰¹ At the other end of manufacture, in bleaching, two methods were used: a Dutch one, suited to fine fabrics and using only manual techniques, and an Irish one, better suited to coarse cloth and the subject of a gradual powered mechanisation from the 1730s onwards. In both flax preparation and linen bleaching, the Board provided grants towards research, training and construction plus periodic encouragement through wages for lint millers. Mechanisation of the intermediate processes came much later: spinning from 1787¹⁰² and heckling and weaving from the early 19th century onwards.¹⁰³

Flax dressing got off to a difficult start in East Lothian. In 1730 the Burgh of Haddington had asked the Board for help in building a lint mill, but no mill was built.¹⁰⁴ During the 1730s and 1740s the Board made payments to lint raisers and lint boors at Ormiston, Haddington and Aberlady.¹⁰⁵ Lint raisers received an annual salary of £7.50, later £15, while lint boors were given a lump sum of £140; £100 of this was for buying flax over three years, and £40 went towards the cost of a lint mill. Raisers and boors had to raise or buy flax, and needed access to a lint mill at which to dress it, but by the late 1740s there was still not a single lint mill in East Lothian. The poor match between paid workers and lint mills was a widespread problem and in January 1749 the Board issued an ultimatum to the effect that all lint raisers without mills were to find one by Christmas or face dismissal.¹⁰⁶

The last of the Haddington raisers was John Park.¹⁰⁷ Originally from Livingston, he had been trained by the Board at Hospital Mill, Fife.¹⁰⁸ By June 1747 he had left Haddington for Saltoun, on Lord Milton's estate.¹⁰⁹ Milton was well connected, and as a leading member of the Board of Trustees may have had a part in Park's additional appointment as a lint boor in July 1747.¹¹⁰ Through Milton the lint mill problem was solved: early in 1749 — two weeks

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

before the Board's ultimatum — one was being added to the machinery of Saltoun bleachfield,¹¹¹ and by 1750 there was a separate lint mill a little way upstream.¹¹² John Park performed well, but by 1749, just when a lint mill was finally being provided, he had left.¹¹³ His successor's record was not so good. James Spalding, who had built Scotland's first successful lint mill back in 1730, retained close links with the Board and persuade Lord Milton to take on Daniel Spalding, possibly a son or a nephew. Judging by the Board's minutes he did well and remained on its pay roll as raiser and lint boor until at least 1753.¹¹⁴ Seen through the Saltoun papers the picture is quite different. In 1750 Spalding had trouble in finding land to grow flax on and when he finally succeeded the rent was paid by the estate. In 1751, having borrowed £3 from a neighbour to pay wages, he had to ask for £5 to pay it off and keep going. In 1752 James Spalding, clearly embarrassed by Daniel's behaviour, wrote to Lord Milton offering to indemnify him for any spending which Daniel could not account for.¹¹⁵ Eventually, in 1756, Robert Laing took a tack of the mill and by 1760 had converted it for paper making.¹¹⁶

Against this undistinguished record, Lord Belhaven's lint mill stands out in stark contrast. He too was a member of the Board of Trustees, and in 1750 had a mill built near Grangehaugh on his Biel estate.¹¹⁷ In 1751 Thomas Finlason junior, tenant and flax dresser at Newton, in the same parish, signed a twenty-one year lease on the mill and underwent a rigorous training in flax raising and dressing through the Board's training schemes.¹¹⁸ In place of a rent, he was to hand over half of the mill's profits, minus the cost of repairs.¹¹⁹ In the same year he was appointed as a lint raiser and lint boor, with respective obligations to raise ten and twenty acres of flax.¹²⁰ These he fulfilled.¹²¹ The mill also took in flax grown by others, scattered across the eastern half of East Lothian.¹²² Between 1751 and 1756 Finlason not only managed to turn in a modest profit on a low volume of business, but also won a £5 premium in three successive years for submitting "the most distinct abstract".¹²³ Figures for 1762-65 also show a profit.¹²⁴ Finlason continued to receive a salary from the Board right up to 1758 when raisers ceased to be paid as such.¹²⁵ Even after this he was one of three lint millers paid at £5 per annum, a sum which he last had in 1763.¹²⁶

In 1765 he signed a new lease on the mill at £4 per annum.¹²⁷ That winter the mill burnt out. Finlason restored it at his own expense, in recognition of which his tack duty was waived.¹²⁸ A survey of lint mills in 1772 gave a good report of Grangehaugh Mill, indicating a large, well-run mill, despite its small volume of business — 159 stones of flax, crop 1770.¹²⁹

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

Under a new lint boor scheme, in 1772, both Finlason and James Wood, a heckler from Stenton, were accepted for posts but were unable to secure the necessary housing and accommodation.¹³⁰ In view of the favourable survey report this is not easily explained, but whatever the problem was, it had still not been solved by 1774 when Finlason was dropped from the scheme.¹³¹ Worse was to come. In October 1775 East Lothian and Berwickshire experienced severe flooding¹³² and in November, having sustained heavy losses, Finlason was forced to relinquish his tack.¹³³ No more is heard of him.

By January 1778 the mill had been taken on by Angus McPherson.¹³⁴ McPherson, like Finlason, had been trained by the Board and had made a good job of a difficult assignment in Berwickshire.¹³⁵ McPherson did well at Grangehaugh, having apprentices sent to him in 1782 and 1785, a rare privilege.¹³⁶ His successor, John McPherson, received two more apprentices in 1794.¹³⁷ John McPherson seems to have kept the mill going until 1832, though there are suggestions that its usefulness decreased as flax cultivation declined.¹³⁸ East Lothian was never a major flax growing district, and for a lint mill to have been kept at work for eighty years is quite remarkable. All the more remarkable is that after 150 years of neglect much of the building still stands. The gap between Finlason's and McPherson's occupancy of the mill, and the need thereafter for a mill in the west of the county, may have prompted the establishment of two more mills, at Gifford and at Kinchey. After an unsuccessful approach by William Wood, bleacher at Gifford, the disused paper mill there was converted into a lint mill by David Rattray, flax dresser, in 1781.¹³⁹ His efforts were rewarded with a £20 grant from the Board.¹⁴⁰ In January 1793 the mill was up for sale¹⁴¹ and may have ceased to operate thereafter. The Kinchey lint mill was built by William Christie, stampmaster at Ormiston, and was in operation by February 1780. For this he received a grant of £40.¹⁴² In 1798 a further grant, to cover repairs, was turned down and the mill appears to have been given up.¹⁴³

At best, lint mills provided encouragement for, and employment in, the cultivation, dressing and spinning of flax. The initiative to build, no doubt strengthened by the Board's grants, came from landowners initially, but later from textile trade employees also. The Board's training schemes went a long way towards meeting the need for skilled workers, and its payments to raisers and lint boors may have helped them to become established. Access to raw materials posed a constant problem: in East Lothian it proved difficult to persuade farmers to cultivate more than an acre or two of this troublesome crop. Marketing, through the estate or through markets and fairs, seems to have

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

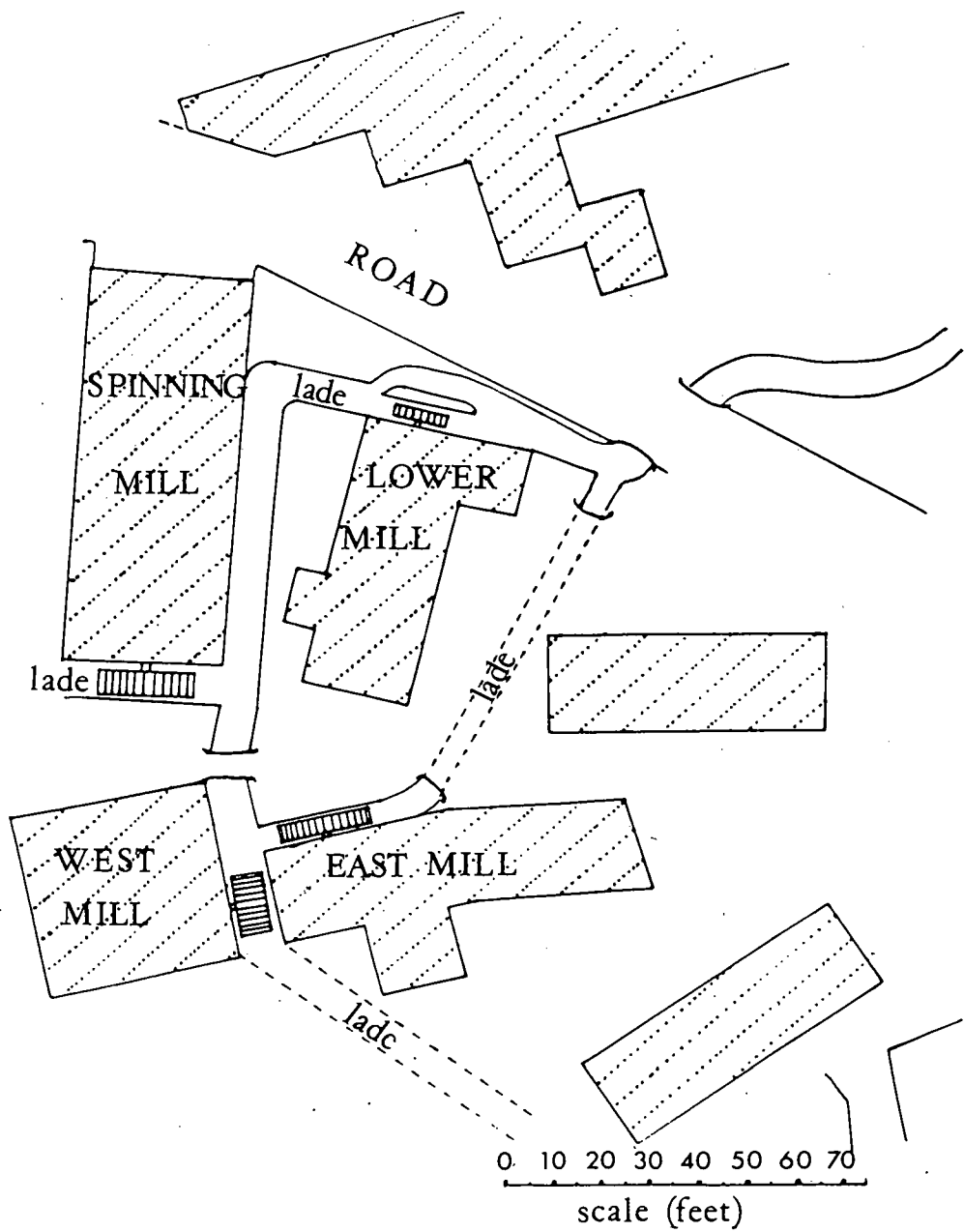


Figure 3. Mills at West Barns, early nineteenth century. Source: Stevenson Plans, NLS Ms. 5864 No. 2.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

been less problematic, least so if heckling or even spinning were organised from the mill.

By the 1790s flax cultivation and the lint mills which served it were on their way out. In their place came imported flax, spun on machinery in large scale commercially built mills. The merchants and manufacturers behind the new mills were in open hostilities with the landowner-dominated Board of Trustees over regulations designed for hand spinning.¹⁴⁴ The Board, for its part, refused to provide grant aid to mills using imported flax, though it is unlikely that such paltry sums would have been of interest to their promoters.¹⁴⁵

During the 1780s and early 90s there was an explosive diffusion in the location of water-powered flax and cotton spinning mills.¹⁴⁶ At Haddington, interests still lay with the woollen industry, but the Dunbar merchant family, the Falls, built a flax and cotton spinning mill at West Barns, where they had a long lease on a group of grain mills.¹⁴⁷ A plan in the Stevenson Collection, at the National Library of Scotland, shows a two storey building of about 83 feet by 34 feet, with an overshot wheel of about 21 feet in diameter (Figure 3).¹⁴⁸ The fact that little is known of its fate suggests that it was short lived, though an insurance policy for 1793 indicates a high valuation.¹⁴⁹ With the exception of a later, hand powered works at Belhaven,¹⁵⁰ this was East Lothian's only venture into flax and cotton spinning. By 1800 cotton spinning was being concentrated in west central Scotland and flax spinning in Fife and Angus.

The bleaching of linen cloth had long since undergone its own, quiet, industrial revolution, in which East Lothian played its own modest part. In Scotland the term "bleachfield" was applied to anything from a patch of grass to an extensive mechanised complex costing thousands of pounds to build. Difficulties in identifying water powered sites are further complicated by the presence of two distinct bleaching methods, the Dutch and the Irish, only the latter of which used machinery.¹⁵¹ Of the seven commercial fields in East Lothian, the Haddington bleachfield and the Dunbar Bleaching Company's field appear not to have used machinery.¹⁵² Gifford bleachfield, founded *circa* 1753, may have used machinery¹⁵³ and the remaining four — Ormiston, Kinchey, Saltoun and Saltoun Barley Mill — were all water powered.

The earliest bleachfield mills, in the 1730s, used power to drive washing mills. To these were added rubbing mills in the 1740s, beetling mills (for beating cloth) from about 1750 and pumps and presses later in the century.¹⁵⁴ Ormiston bleachfield, with its associated field at Kinchie, was the first in Scotland to use water power and was founded in 1731.¹⁵⁵ Its founder, Alexander

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

Christie, had already had fifteen years working experience in Ireland and had the backing of Cockburn of Ormiston.¹⁵⁶ In 1733 a delegation from the Board of Trustees was impressed by what it saw at Ormiston:

"Their bleaching house is large, and the coppers, keeves, pumps, tubs and tuke miln of very good workmanship, very conveniently disposed and adapted to their several uses, for making the lees, boyling the cloath therein, beating it afterwards and for bowking and sowering it . . . besides the bleaching house they have built a large ne[a]t house with all conveniencies for lodging themselves and servants, in which is a lapping room, and a place for making and keeping soap, . . . and joining to this house a room where cloath is beetled; and a weavers shope or booth with about half a dozen looms".

The Board offered Christie £200 and a further £100 to buy and set up a Dutch linen press.¹⁵⁷ Christie left Ormiston in 1734 to set up another bleachfield at Tulloch, near Perth, but his brother John stayed on.¹⁵⁸ Control of the Ormiston field had passed to Andrew Wight by 1743 and was still in his family in the 1830s.¹⁵⁹ Under the Wights the field also took up cloth printing and received a further £200 in grants.¹⁶⁰ Although John Christie had left Ormiston, he retained his interest in the Kinchie field until at least 1761, during which time he was rewarded for inventing a drying house, gave directions for laying out a bleachfield at Cullen and took on apprentices at the direction and expense of the Board.¹⁶¹ By 1775 the field was in the hands of John Simpson, but its subsequent fate is unknown.¹⁶²

In 1748 yet another Christie, Joseph, set up a small bleachfield at Saltoun Barley Mill, on Lord Milton's estate, receiving £100 towards it from the Board of Trustees.¹⁶³ A trainee from the nearby Saltoun bleachfield, Archibald Horn, married Christie's daughter and eventually took over the field.¹⁶⁴ He added a beetling mill to the machinery in 1762 and in the 1790s was providing employment for seven workers.¹⁶⁵ The ultimate fate of the bleachfield is unclear; it appears on an estate plan of 1805 but is not mentioned on Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler's 1825 map of East Lothian.¹⁶⁶

One of the problems to which the Board turned its attention was the need for training in the complex and highly skilled techniques of bleaching. Between 1738 and 1748 training in the Dutch bleaching method was given at Provan Mill bleachfield, near Glasgow.¹⁶⁷ Latterly this proved inconvenient and an alternative was sought, whereby both Dutch and Irish methods could be taught. Saltoun bleachfield, a little downstream from the Barley Mill field, provided the ideal setting. Lord Milton, on whose estate it was built in the late 1740s, was a prominent member of the Board of Trustees and the driving force behind the British Linen Company,¹⁶⁸ on whose behalf the field was built and operated. Furthermore, it was one of the few fields to use both methods.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

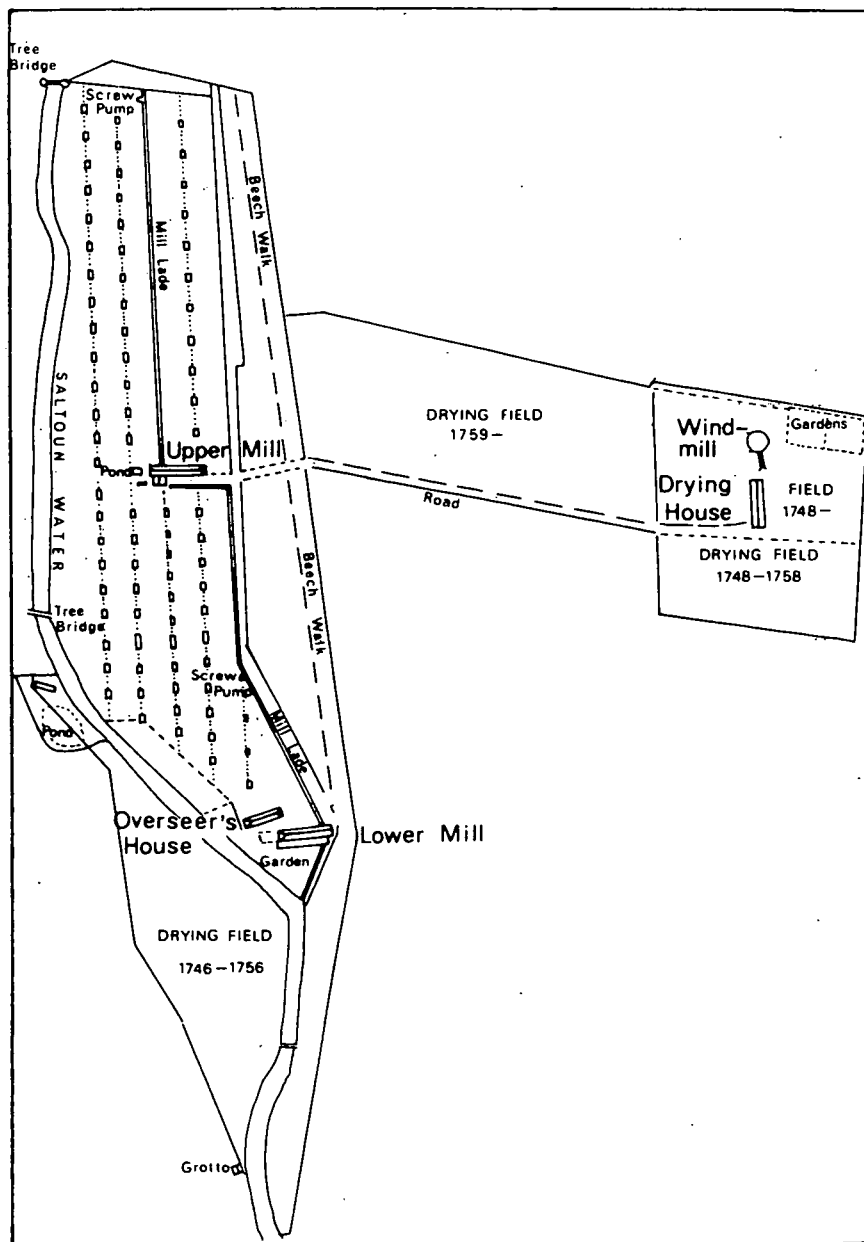


Figure 4. Saltoun Bleachfield *circa* 1760. Source: Saltoun Papers, NLS Acc. 2933.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

As Saltoun bleachfield has already been the subject of a major article in the *Transactions*,¹⁶⁹ little need be said of it here. At Saltoun the Board provided training for twenty 'apprentices' between 1751 and 1765. The quality of their training is reflected in their finding employment as managers or part owners of some of the best bleachfields in Scotland.¹⁷⁰ The field itself was large and well equipped (Figure 4). The Meikles, both Andrew and Robert, were engaged to construct machinery at its two mills,¹⁷¹ by 1773, when it was advertised for sale, this amounted to three water wheels, three washing stocks, two sets of bubbling boards, three beetling machines and two rollers.¹⁷² The construction of the field required at least 400 cart loads of materials: tiles and bricks, timber, scaffolding, iron, stone, sand and lime, from Lord Milton's own estates or brought in through ports as far afield as Dunbar and Leith.¹⁷³ Lord Milton laid out more than £2,000, interest free to the Company, on building the field and charged no rent until it became profitable.¹⁷⁴ He died in 1764. Profits fell and the Company's interests shifted from linen to banking. In 1772 it accepted an offer for the field from Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton's son. He sold off the machinery and twenty years later the bleachfield, which had once employed 100 workers, had become a "delightful" pleasure ground.¹⁷⁵ East Lothian's bleachfields seem to have been a better than average group. They had the backing, moral and financial, of landowning patrons such as Lord Milton and Cockburn of Ormiston. The skills brought in by the Christies got the bleachfields off to a good start while the training function of Saltoun field helped to disseminate and sustain these skills. Access to unbleached cloth was made easier by a network of local agents, to whom a small commission was paid.¹⁷⁶ Saltoun Barley Mill bleachfield had fifteen of them in 1793, as far west as Edinburgh, as far south as Kelso and east as far as Dunbar.¹⁷⁷ However, when the linen industry of south east Scotland went into decline so too did the East Lothian bleachfields. Today, to my knowledge, no physical trace survives of this once important rural industry.

The last of the major industries to be considered is paper making. The industry was introduced to Scotland in 1588 or 1590, using water power to pulp rags.¹⁷⁸ During the 17th century there were intermittent attempts to extend it to other sites, but production seems to have been geared to making low-grade paper.¹⁷⁹ High quality printing and writing paper continued to be imported from England. Towards the end of the 17th century an attempt was made to produce fine paper, as part of which East Lothian acquired its first paper mill.

In 1694 Nicholas Dupin and Denis Manes floated a company under the title of the Society of the White Writing and Printing Paper Manufactory of Scotland. Dupin, a French Protestant of considerable ability, had already floated

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

six companies in England, Scotland and Ireland.¹⁸⁰ A joint stock company was established with a capital of £4,200 Sterling, divided into 1,400 shares. Dupin and Manes were to pay £60 to secure a Scottish patent,¹⁸¹ £60 towards the construction of the company's first paper mill, at Gifford, and £30 for recruiting skilled workmen. John, Marquis of Tweeddale and Chancellor of Scotland, had leased the Gifford site to the company and, with twenty shares, equalled Dupin, Manes, John Learmond (an Edinburgh merchant) and his own son, Lord Yester, as the largest shareholder.¹⁸²

By a contract dated 16th August 1695, Dupin and Manes undertook to "oversee the building of two paper-milnes for makeing of white wryting and printing paper . . . and the buying and furnishing of all material necessities for the said milnes, . . . the one thair of at Yester and the other near Edinburgh . . ."¹⁸³ Besides these duties, they were to train skilled workers for each of the two mills.¹⁸⁴

According to an inventory taken in 1704, the Gifford mill had a vat (for suspending the fibres in water), a press (for squeezing liquid out of newly made sheets of paper) and eight timber or stone mortars, each holding three iron shod hammers, worked by water power. Paper, both white and grey, was made in imperial, crown and pot sizes.¹⁸⁵

Little is known of the functioning of the company. According to Scott,¹⁸⁶ the venture ended in difficult circumstances after a short period. From the little information we have, this would seem to have been the case. In 1697 a contract was signed with John, Marquis of Tweeddale, under which the company was to have the use of the paper mill during the lifetime of the Marquis and his son, at £100 Scots per annum.¹⁸⁷ The mill was then set in tack on a series of short leases. In 1715 the untimely death of the last tacksman, Peter Spence, forced the company to write off the backlog of tack duty due to it and resign the feu held from the Marquis of Tweeddale, along with the mill which it had built at its own expense.¹⁸⁸ In their representations to the Marquis, the partners of the paper company found no lack of reasons for their demise. They had been "imposed upon" by the "luxuriant schemes" of a foreigner, Nicholas Dupin, "to venture in the prosecution of . . . the paper manufactory, wherein wee advanced a considerable stock . . ., not only for the generall good of the nation, but likeways to our own privat advantage and profite. But this our society and company . . . hes had a ruineing consequence of the loss of our stock and interest of it, tho really the design . . . of the manufactory hes taken place, in so far as there is a demonstration that paper can be made here tollerably good and serviceable for severall uses; yet our being a company & the concern so

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

... divided in so many hands" has occasioned "a neglect of many things [that] might have been of advantage to the work", while "the multitude of persons concerned brought on a great expences and charges".

"It is also certain that the said Dupine, a foreigner, made very inadvertant bargains in the first settlement . . . ; the company payes a considerable few duty to your lo(rdshi)p for a very small piece of ground and upon which they have been at vast expences in erecting and building a paper miln and other necessaries about it; and have lykeways for several years been throwing out money in hope att length to overcome all deficulties and bring the manufactory to a bearing. But after all, throw the unsteadiness of a society and their uncertain attendance, assistance and advances, each trusting to and depending upon another, all at once failed".¹⁸⁹

This did not mark the end of paper making at Yester. Since at least 1700 the mill had been making banknotes for the Bank of Scotland; visits by bank officials are recorded in 1721, 1723 and 1729.¹⁹⁰ Since at least 1721, the mill was in the hands of the Watkins family, Edinburgh printers and papermakers.¹⁹¹ The family still held the mill in 1746 when, towards the end of a lease, Keith Watkins gave notice of his intention to quit, once he had found an alternative tenant. Watkins blamed cheap imports of English paper for his poor returns during the past few years and, like his predecessors, suggested that the rent was too high. However, he was prepared to stay on for a short while at a reduced rent.¹⁹²

Thereafter, the occupancy of the mill is not clear. In 1760 there was a libel action against Adam Robieson, tacksman of the Gifford mill, by Robert Laing who as tenant of Saltoun lint mill had converted it to make paper. Though brief, it highlights the difficulties in securing supplies of rags, essential in paper making, in a rural district. According to Laing, Robieson had called him a villain and a damned villain, and often repeated these opprobrious epithets, accusing Laing of luring away his rag gatherers (specifically two in East Linton), by offering them higher rates. The incident took place in Robieson's house, on Gifford Fair day, a fact which Robieson made good use of in his defence . . . "it being a fair day . . . the parties as usual upon these occasions had got themselves a little guddled, and accordingly the altercation passed betwixt them during which it is possible they mutually gave each other harsh names". While apologising for using the offending words — of which, he claimed, "he has not the most distant remembrance" — Robieson went on to re-iterate the claim that Laing *had* lured away his rag gatherers. However, a matter of life or death for paper makers was not of interest to the judiciary. A note amongst the papers

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

reads "upon the whole, there never was an action of scandall worse founded than the present . . .; it would be most absurd to maintain that what passes at or after a fair, amongst country people when they get drunk, is actionable as scandall". Both parties were told to go away and behave themselves.¹⁹³

A later tenant, George Douglas, is recorded as having left the mill by April 1768.¹⁹⁴ In November 1775 the mill was advertised to let, on the understanding that if no taker were found by Whit 1776, the machinery would be sold off and the mill offered for other purposes: distilling, brewing, woollen manufacture or barley and flour milling.¹⁹⁵ It is quite possible that the mill had still not found a new occupant by 1778, when the first moves were made to convert it for lint milling.¹⁹⁶

Laing's mill at Saltoun outlived its older rival by many years. In 1787 he had it insured for a mere £160 and in the 1790s it employed only eight people, indicating that it was a small mill.¹⁹⁷ It appears as mill No. 15 on a list dated 1825,¹⁹⁸ but not on the next list, dated 1832.¹⁹⁹ By 1835 there was no trace of it.²⁰⁰

The beginnings of the paper industry in East Lothian clearly stem from the Marquis of Tweeddale's involvement in the White Paper Company. During the 18th century many small paper mills operated in out of the way parts of Scotland, though this required an extensive rag gathering catchment area. The Laing Robieson dispute shows the friction which over-exploitation could cause. The importance of accessible raw materials — and markets — can be seen in the quite different turn of events on the Esk and the Water of Leith, a little closer to Edinburgh, where the industry took root and stayed. By 1825 the big mill owners on these rivers had highly mechanised mills and were putting the small, up-country mills out of business. One such mill-owner, Alexander Annandale, built a large steam powered mill at Beltonford — but that is another story.

Did East Lothian exploit its potential as a seat of water powered industry? The answer must be a qualified yes. There were several important and innovative sites — the woollen mills at Newmills and Haddington, the bleachfields at Ormiston and Saltoun, the paper mill at Yester, or even the lint mill at Grangehaugh. But much of this interest came from landowners, in a period when they still had a keen interest in the possibilities of rural industry. By the time that the pace of industrialisation began to quicken, in the 1780s and the 1790s, they had neither the inclination nor the resources to act unilaterally. East Lothian was the wrong place and lacked the right people for

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

the textile industries to flourish in the nineteenth century. In its day, water powered industry *was* important, but unlike farming or the coalfield industries of the western parishes it has left very few traces in the landscape. That, surely, must be a matter for regret.

REFERENCES

1. Shaw, J. P., *Water Power in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1984) p. 22.
2. On Windmills see Donnachie, I. L. and Stewart, N. K., "Scottish Windmills — an Outline and Inventory" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* XCVII (1964-6) pp. 276-290. Douglas, G., Oglethorpe, M. and Hume, J. R., *Scottish Windmills: A Survey* (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1984). Horse threshing mills are the exception that proves the rule. Though no accurate count has been taken, their numbers are thought to run into thousands. See Fenton, A. and Walker, B., *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1981) pp. 160-182.
3. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 543-4.
4. Adams, I. H. (ed.), *Director of Former Scottish Commonities* (Scottish Record Society, new series, Edinburgh 1971) pp. 92-99. Adams, I. H., "The Division of Dunbar Common" *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* (hereafter TELAFNS) 15 (1976) pp. 75-86.
5. The mill dam of Luffness Mill, at the mouth of the West Peffer Burn impeded drainage as far inland as Congleton, six miles upstream. Somerville, R., *General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian* (London, 1805) p. 302.
6. Shaw, op. cit., p. 45.
7. Ibid, p. 46.
8. Ibid, pp. 54, 62, 73, 87, 93.
9. Ibid, pp. 171-354, 513-532.
10. Ibid, pp. 463-477, 534-5.
11. Wilson, J. M. (ed.), *The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, London (Dublin n.d. circa 1875), II, pp. 16-17.
12. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 102-105.
13. Sinclair, G., *The Hydrostatics* (Edinburgh, 1672), pp. 298-300.
14. Sinclair, G., *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (Edinburgh, 1685). Dedicatory Epistle: "What curious mechanical engines has your lordship, like another Archimedes, constructed for your coal-works and for draining of coal-sinks".
15. Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO) GD6/1256.
16. SRO GD6/1251/1.
17. SRO GD6/1254.
18. SRO GD6/1261/3-4.
19. SRO GD6/1261/1-2.
20. Salt: Clow, A. and Clow, N. L. *The Chemical Revolution* (London, 1952) p. 11. Glass (1661): Ibid, p. 28. Soap (circa 1750): McNeill, P. *Prestonpans and Vicinity* (Leicester, 1902) pp. 113-4. Vitriol (1749): Clow and Clow, op. cit., p. 135. Pottery (1751): Signet Library. OSP F. 31:30.
21. Clow and Clow, op. cit., pp. 290-91, 318-19.
22. *Statistical Account of Scotland* (hereafter OSA) XVII, p. 74. Forrest, W. (Map of) *Haddingtonshire* (1799).
23. SRO RHP3387. Ordnance Survey Name Books (hereafter OSNB). East Lothian XXXVIII. 16 Tranent.
24. SRO CS96/807 (1838).
25. OSNB. East Lothian XXXVIII. 15 Tranent.
26. Hopetoun Papers. Plan of Ormiston, 1831.
27. SRO GD1/189/26 (1806).
28. SRO CS96/393, 153.
29. Hume, J. R., *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland I* (London, 1976) p. 121.
30. *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Hereafter NSA) II.22.
31. Fieldwork, 1981.
32. *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 September 1793.
33. Martin, T. C. (ed). "Old Haddington", *TELA FNS* XII, p. 58 (1970).

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

34. Boyle, R., 'On drainage and Pipe Machines', *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, (Hereafter *THASS*) new series (1853-5), p. 41.
35. *THASS*, XII (1839), p. 50. Woodcroft, B., *Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions* (London, 1969), No. 7253, No. 7757.
36. National Library of Scotland (Hereafter NLS) Acc. 4862/28/F.1, Aikman to Tweeddale, 7 April, 1838.
37. SRO GD28/3/1 (1851-2). Boyle, op. cit.
38. Shaw, op. cit., p. 510. Fieldwork.
39. Harvey, C. C. H. & Macleod, J. (ed), *Calendar of Writs Preserved at Yester House 1166-1625* (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1930), p. 99 (No. 274 (1504)).
40. Ibid. 257 (No. 955 (1598/9)).
41. *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1837), II. p. 628 (No. 597 (1534)).
42. Harvey and Macleod, op. cit., p. 165 (No. 555 (1539)).
43. SRO GD1/413/11 (1565).
44. *Inquisitionum ad Capellam domini Regis Retournam Abreviato* (Edinburgh, 1811-16), Haddingtonshire No. 4 (1585).
45. SRO GD 237/74/A (1557).
46. *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regnum Scotorum* (Hereafter *RMSRS*) (Edinburgh, 1877-1970), VII, No. 222 (1610).
47. Harvey and Macleod, op. cit., p. 312 (No. 1131 (1612)).
48. *Reports on Certain Parishes in Scotland 1627* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1835).
49. SRO GD28/1475 (1640).
50. SRO NG1/1/34 (1819).
51. SRO GD110/764 (1739).
52. SRO RHP2515 (1759).
53. Forrest, W. (Map of) *Haddingtonshire* (1799).
54. NLS Acc. 4862, Box 46 f. 1 (1723).
55. SRO NG1/1/11 January 3, 1752.
56. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 288-294.
57. SRO GD73/32(b) (1704).
58. On maintenance see, for example SRO GD73/7(b) (1706). On thirlage to walk mills see, for example, Gunn, C. B. (ed), *Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill 1655-1807* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1905), p. 139.
59. SRO GD1/199/82 (1750) Charter: Burgh of Haddington to the Tarred Wool Company. At no time will the Company have claim to all or any of the smallest part of the thirlage of the town's walk mill.
60. SRO GD73/32(b) (1704).
61. NLS Acc. 4862, Box 46 f. 1 (1723).
62. SRO GD237/77/H (1596). *RMSRS* VI No. 963 (1599).
63. *RMSRS* VIII No. 1547 (1630), *RMSRS* IX No. 2039 (1649): two grain mills called Newmills converted into one grain mill and one fulling mill. *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland* V. 497 and VI. 174 SRO GD1/395/2 (1644).
64. Gulvin, C. *The Tweedmakers* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 24-25. Gray, W. F. and Jamieson, J. H., *A Short History of Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1944), p. 47.
65. Scott, W. R. (ed), *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire 1681-1703* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1905), pp. lvi, 151n.
66. Gray and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 48.
67. Scott, op. cit. Gulvin, op. cit., pp. 18, 23-27.
68. Scott, op. cit., p. 159.
69. SRO RH15/102/1 (1693).
70. SRO RH15/102/1 Rental 1712. Scott, op. cit., p. lxxiv.
71. Shaw, J. S., *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 129-30.
72. Gulvin, C., "The Treaty of Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry 1700-1760", *Scottish Historical Review* L 2, (1971), p. 126.
73. SRO NG1/1/10 20 December 1749.
74. NSL Acc. 2933, Box 354, Contract of Co-partnery (1750).
75. SRO NG1/1/10 8 June 1750.
76. Ibid.
77. SRO NG1/1/11 20 May 1751.
78. Signet Library: Old Session Papers (Hereafter OSP) 485:25.
79. Ibid. SRO GD1/199/82 (1750).
80. SRO NG1/1/11 7 June 1751, 3 January 1752.
81. NLS Acc. 2933/354, General Meeting, New Tarred Wool Company, 6 April 1758.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

82. Ibid.
83. NLS Acc. 2933/354, George Sawers to Lord Milton, 20 July 1759.
84. OSP 485:25.
85. Ibid.
86. Gray, W. F. and Jamieson, J. H., op. cit., p. 116. OSP 485:25.
87. *Caledonian Mercury* April 19 1775.
88. Gray and Jamieson, op. cit., p. 116.
89. Martin, T. C. op. cit., pp. 57-8.
90. OSP 485:25.
91. Ibid.
92. Martin, op. cit., p. 58.
93. SRO NG1/29 7 March 1798.
94. SRO NG1/1/31 11 Decembere 1805.
95. *Pigot & Co's National Commercial Directory of the Whole of Scotland and the Isle of Man*, (London, 1837), p. 472.
96. SRO NG1/1/33 3 July 1813.
97. SRO NG1/1/34 29 June 1819. SRO NG1/60/67 (1820), Certificate of the Erecting of Machinery . . . at Humbie.
98. Forrest, W. (Map of) *Haddingtonshire*, 1789.
100. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., pp. 171-2.
101. Ibid, pp. 183-4.
102. Mann, J. de L., in Singer, C., Holmyard, E. J., Hall, A. R. & Williams, T. I. (eds), *A History of Technology*, (Oxford, 1956-9) IV, pp. 291-2, Warden, A. J., *The Linen Industry Ancient & Modern* (London, 1864), pp. 489-90.
103. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., p. 521.
104. SRO NG1/1/2 5 June 1730.
105. Ormiston: SRO NG1/1/3 10 November 1732: SRO NG1/1/6 11 March 1741: SRO NG1/1/7 7 March 1744: SRO NG1/1/9 18 December 1747, 18 January 1848. Haddington: SRO NG1/1/7 7 March 1744, 1 March 1745: SRO NG1/1/8 4 July 1746, 23 January 1947. Aberlady: SRO NG1/1/7 5 July 1745, 12 January 1748.
106. SRO NG1/1/9 18 January 1749.
107. SRO NG1/1/8 23 January 1747.
108. SRO NG1/1/7 2 November 1744.
109. SRO NG1/1/8 12 June 1747.
110. SRO NG1/1/8 12 June 1747, 17 July 1747.
111. NLS Acc. 2933/350, 1 January 1749, Accounts for fitting up Bleachfield at Saltoun.
112. NLS Acc. 2933/329/1, 11 December 1750. Daniel Spalding, Saltoun Lint Mill.
113. SRO NG1/1/9 3 February 1749, Saltoun is listed a vacant flax raising station.
114. SRO NG1/1/10 2 February 1750: SRO NG1/1/11 18 January 1751, 3 January 1752: SRO NG1/1/12 19 January 1753, 14 December 1753.
115. NLS Acc. 2933/329/1, 11 December 1750, 15 February 1751, 5 August 1752.
116. NLS Acc. 2933/224 (1756) Tack of Lint Mill of Saltoun to Robert Laing. SRO CC8/6/23 Action for Scandal, Robert Laing, tenant of the Paper Mill of Saltoun v. Adam Robertson, tacksman of the Paper Mill at Gifford (1760-61).
117. SRO NG1/1/11 13 July 1750.
118. SRO NG1/1/11 22 May 1751. Biel Papers, Bundle 9. Registered tack 21 May 1751 John Lord Belhaven to Thomas Findlayson. I am grateful to Charles Spence, Biel House, for permission to consult this and other Biel estate papers. SRO NG1/2/4 12 January 1750, 22 March 1751.
119. Biel papers, Bundle 9. Registered Tack, 21 May 1751. Belhaven to Finlayson.
120. SRO NG1/2/5 3 January 1752: SRO NG1/2/4 22 February 1751, 24 July 1750, 17 June 1751.
121. SRO NG1/2/5 3 January 1752.
122. SRO GD6/1275/2 Analysis of origin of lint, December 1751-August 1752.
123. SRO GD6/1275: SRO NG1/1/12 19 January 1753, 14 December 1753, 13 December 1754.
124. Biel Papers Volume 1, Rental, page 58.
125. SRO NG1/1/14 15 December 1758.
126. SRO NG1/1/17 27 April 1763.
127. SRO GD6/1616 Tack. John, Lord Belhaven to Thomas Finlayson.
128. Ibid, footnote, SRO NG1/19/1 East Lothian 1 (1772).
129. SRO NG1/19/1 East Lothian 1 (1772).
130. SRO NG1/1/20 10 February 1773.
131. SRO NG1/1/20 3 March 1773.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

132. *Caledonian Mercury* 9 October 1775.
133. Biel Papers Volume 1. Rental 4 November 1775.
134. SRO NG1/1/22 21 January 1778.
135. SRO NG1/1/18 18 March 1765: SRO NG1/1/20 10 February 1773, 28 July 1773.
136. SRO NG1/1/25 19 December 1785.
137. SRO NG1/1/28 15 January 1794.
138. SRO GD6/1769 Rental.
139. SRO NG1/1/22 22 July 1778: SRO NG1/1/23 4 July 1781.
140. SRO NG1/1/23 1 August 1781.
141. *Caledonian Mercury* 5 January 1793.
142. SRO NG1/1/22 2 February 1780, 1 March 1780.
143. SRO NG1/1/29 7 March 1798, 4 July 1798.
144. Shaw, J. P., op cit., pp. 161-2.
145. Ibid p. 261.
146. Ibid pp. 256-258.
147. Signet Library OSP vol. 290 No. 19 Brown & Johnston: Charles and Robert Fall took a 57-year lease in 1757.
148. NLS MS 5864 Stevenson Plans, No. 2, Four Mills of West Barns.
149. Butt, J., "Valuation of Scottish Cotton Mills by Sun Fire Office, 1795" *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, XXIII (1970).
150. Miller, J., *History of Dunbar*, (Dunbar, 1859), p. 315.
151. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., pp. 221-22.
152. SRO NG1/1/4 30 June 1738: SRO NG1/1/18 6 February 1767.
153. SRO NG1/1/12 15 June 1753.
154. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., pp. 222-26.
155. SRO NG1/1/2 7 May 1731.
156. Durie, A. J., *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 56.
157. SRO NG1/1/3 19 July 1734.
158. Durie, op. cit., p. 56.
159. SRO NG1/1/6 2 March 1743. Hopetoun Papers. Plan of a bleachfield and the Village of Ormiston, the property of Andrew Wight (1831).
160. SRO NG1/1/10 9 June 1749: SRO NG1/1/12 19 January 1753: SRO NG1/1/19 26 July 1768.
161. SRO NG1/1/10 12 January 1750: SRO NG1/1/11 18 January 1751: SRO NG1/1/12 19 January 1753: SRO NG1/1/11 24 January 1752.
162. SRO NG1/1/21 25 January 1775.
163. SRO NG1/1/9 17 June 1748, 6 January 1749: SRO NG1/1/10 9 June 1749.
164. SRO NG1/1/11 24 January 1752: SRO CC8/8/116 Testament, Joseph Christie, 3 December 1756.
165. SRO NG1/1/16 22 January 1762: SRO NG1/1/17 16 July 1763; OSA, X, p. 257.
166. NLS Acc. 2933 Saltoun Plans no. 1 (1805).
167. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., pp. 226-227.
168. Ibid, pp. 241-2.
169. Durie, A. J., "Saltoun Bleachfield 1746-1773", *TELAFNS* 15 (1976).
170. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., pp. 227-30.
171. Ibid, p. 242.
172. Durie, op. cit. (1976), p. 63.
173. NLS Acc. 2933/350 Accounts for building Saltoun Bleachfield.
174. Durie, op. cit., pp. 51-2.
175. Ibid, pp. 71-2.
176. Details of collecting points were widely advertised in the press between February and April.
177. *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 February 1793.
178. Shaw, J. P., op. cit., p. 54.
179. Ibid, pp. 55-7.
180. Shorter, A. H., *Paper-Making in the British Isles* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 16.
181. Waterston, R., "Early Paper-Making near Edinburgh", *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXV (1945), p. 65. NLS MS 1913 Scots White Paper Company, Articles of agreement, 27 November 1694.
182. NLS MS 1913 27 November 1694.
183. Ibid.
184. Waterston, op. cit., pp. 62-3.
185. NLS MS 1913 24 January 1704 Inventory of the Paper Mill at Gifford.
186. Scott, W. R., *Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910-12), III, pp. 184-5.
187. NLS Acc. 4862/151/1 Sasine, Giffordhaugh Paper Mill 19 May 1697.

WATER POWER AND RURAL INDUSTRY

188. NLS MS 1913 Register of Paper Company of Scotland: NLS Acc. 4862/151/1 Representation by the Paper Company to the Marquis of Tweeddale 1715. SRO CC8/8/86 Testament Peter Spence, 23 November 1714.
189. NLS Acc. 4862/151/1 Representation . . . 1715.
190. Waterston, R., "Further Notes on Early Paper-Making near Edinburgh", *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XXVII (1949), pp. 46-7.
191. Shorter, op. cit., p. 193.
192. NLS Acc. 4862/151/1 Keith Watkins to Marquis of Tweeddale 28 August 1746.
193. SRO CC8/6/23 Action for Scandal Robert Laing, tenant of the Paper Mill of Saltoun v. Adam Robertson, tacksman of the Paper Mill at Gifford (1760-61).
194. SRO GD1/16/1 13 April 1768, Tenants in Gifford.
195. *Caledonian Mercury* 6 November 1775.
196. SRO NG1/1/22 22 July 1778.
197. Thomson, A. G., *The Paper Industry in Scotland, 1590-1861* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 150 n. 61. OSA X p. 257.
198. Thomson, op. cit., pp. 202-3.
199. Anon, *Paper Mills in Scotland* (Edinburgh & Glasgow, 1832).
200. NSA II, pp. 119-20.

BALLENCRIEFF: A TENANT'S OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT

by *LEAH LENEMAN*

At the beginning of the twentieth century the drift from the land into the towns in both England and Lowland Scotland alarmed many observers, who believed that for the health of the nation and the good of the land a large rural population was essential.¹ One method which, it was thought, would help to achieve this end was the creation of a large number of smallholdings of various sizes on which men could labour as their own masters.

Scotland already had legislation allowing the breaking up of farms into holdings, but this applied only to the crofting counties and had been passed as a result of congestion in coastal townships and clamorous demands for more crofts, not because of fears of rural depopulation. From the beginning of 1906, when the Liberals came to power, every effort was made to pass a new Bill which would also cover the Lowlands. English legislation was passed without difficulty in 1908, as it was uncontroversial, giving county councils powers to purchase farms for the purpose of breaking them up into smallholdings. The Scottish proposals were very different as there was no question of purchase: the Bill aimed to allow a central body to create smallholdings on privately-owned estates, with the new holders possessing crofters' (renamed landholders') tenure. This guaranteed a 'fair rent' (decided by an outside body), fixity of tenure and the right to bequeath a holding, as well as the right to compensation for permanent improvements on leaving.

Such inroads into the powers of landowners had been considered necessary in the wake of Highland land agitation but were fought bitterly by Lowland proprietors. Nevertheless, the Small Landowners (Scotland) Act, 1911 succeeded in embodying this form of dual tenure so distrusted by Lowland landlords. The Board of Agriculture of Scotland was created to administer the

BALLENCRIEFF: OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT

smallholding schemes and the Scottish Land Court was created to set fair rents and also to consider objections to schemes by landlords and tenants.

For it was not only landowners who resented the new statute. In the Highlands the farms being broken up were for the most part large sheep farms, but in the Lowlands they were, of course, tenanted arable farms. Tenants could now be forced to give up farms where they had spent most of their lives so that these farms could be turned into smallholdings. They received compensation, but it was the disruption to their lives that tenants objected to.

An extreme case of opposition occurred at Ballencrieff, East Lothian, a farm between Haddington and Aberlady, which extended to 590 acres and which the Board of Agriculture considered suitable for 29 holdings (from 5-30 acres).² The lease had expired at Martinmas 1913, but the farm had been re-let for another year. James Glendinning, the tenant, presented his formal objections to the Board's proposal in September 1913. His grounds were (1) the farm had been cultivated according to the most approved methods of good husbandry and the soil maintained 'in such a high degree of fertility as to produce the largest possible crops of which the land is capable of bearing.' The farm buildings and the division of fields, he averred, were arranged in such a way that the farm could be profitably conducted only as a single large unit; (2) there was no existing demand or room for smallholdings in East Lothian; (3) a large staff was employed on the farm; (4) some of the farm servants had been there for many years and would suffer great hardship if turned away; none of them desired a holding; (5) 'Mr Glendinning objects to the whole scheme as being against the public interest and as an attempt to force small holdings into a district entirely unsuited for them and where there is no demand for them.'

The estate's agent offered the Board another farm, one which had a tenant willing to renounce his lease, in place of Ballencrieff, but the Board was determined to press on with this scheme. At the Land Court hearing in November the Small Holdings Commissioner made out a strong case for the need and desire for smallholdings in East Lothian a county noted for very large farming units. He also insisted that there would be more, not less, people employed on the farm if the scheme went through. Another point made was that Glendinning was not a resident tenant and had other tenancies as well. The Land Court Order empowering the constitution of new holdings was issued on 31 December 1913; on 29 August 1914 the Board informed the agents that they would proceed with the scheme and take entry at Martinmas of that year.

BALLENCRIEFF: OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT

In September 1914 the arbiter awarded the tenant £407:10 compensation with 4% interest and one-third of expenses. This was on the assumption that his tenancy ended at Martinmas 1914; if it was held to continue until Martinmas 1915 an additional £1500 was held to be due to him. Glendinning was allowed to continue stabling his horses and occupying some of the buildings for the remainder of the year. With the smallholders in possession and Glendinning still in the picture, an increasingly acrimonious correspondence developed between the Board and Glendinning's agent. The first bone of contention was the straw of crop 1914. The agent wrote on 18 December to say that some of the smallholders were using the straw which properly belonged to Glendinning, and if its use was persisted in he would 'take effective steps for vindicating his rights.' The second bone of contention was the Glendinning was using buildings other than the ones which the Board had permitted him to use. On 28 December the agent wrote that the holders were still using the straw, and that someone, apparently acting on the Board's instructions, had put a padlock on the door of the coach house. 'It is out of the question for your Board to endeavour to take up this high-handed attitude which they are doing, and the result can only be litigation if it be persisted in.'

The Board wrote to the Solicitor General to ask his advice. The reply was that 'the Board should now raise a Note of Suspension and Interdict against Glendinning craving to have him interdicted from obstructing the Board by himself or his servants in their proceedings to make the Land Court's Order effective and in particular to have him interdicted from entering or using the premises bought by the Board and not included in the accommodation reserved to him by the agreement in the Joint Minute.' On 9 January Glendinning's agent advised the Board that his client intended to remove the straw; the Board's solicitor replied that the Board had the proprietor's written authority to deal with the whole of the straw, and therefore any attempt on Glendinning's part to remove it would be resisted, and he would be held responsible for any loss, damage or inconvenience which he caused the smallholders by his action. Interim Interdicts were issued concerning both the straw and the buildings on 27 January. In February an agreement was reached whereby Glendinning was permitted to use some of the straw for his own requirements, and to utilise additional buildings. But this was by no means the end of the story.

Not only did Glendinning reclaim (appeal) with regard to the interdicts on the straw and the buildings — he lost on both — but he also raised a new action against the Board as to his right of tenancy of the farm for the year

BALLENCRIEFF: OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT

from Martinmas 1914 to Martinmas 1915 and for payment of the sum of £1500. The case was heard in November 1915. Counsel for the Board argued that a let of a farm made after the date of a Land Court Order empowering the constitution of smallholdings on it was illegal. However, the judge, Lord Cullen, held that until the Board actually intimated the date on which they would enter the farm, the landlord was entitled to let it in order to prevent it falling derelict, even after the date of the Land Court Order. The Solicitor General advised the Board to appeal against the judgment.

The appeal was heard by the Second Division of the Court of Session in January 1917. As far as their Lordships were concerned, the pursuer's claim hinged on his having had an absolute right of possession from Martinmas 1914 to Martinmas 1915, which they decided he did not have since his agreement with the proprietor was that the tenancy would continue only if the Board did not take possession Martinmas 1914. The Court therefore reversed Lord Cullen's decision and found for the Board.

In July 1917 Glendinning appealed to the House of Lords. In January 1918 the Lords reversed the Court of Session's judgment. The Lord Chancellor explained, 'From an early period in the law of Scotland tenancies would not terminate merely by the expiration of the lease. It was further required that notice should have been given to go.' Notice had not been given in this case, and as far as the Lord Chancellor was concerned the tenant had acquired an absolute and not merely a conditional right. The Board had to pay Glendinning the £1500 plus interest and expenses.

In July of that year Glendinning's agents wrote to the Board's solicitor asking for £900 for the straw. The Board contended that the value of the straw had been included in the £1500 award for loss of profits. This case was heard in March 1920 when the Court found for the Board. Glendinning appealed, but in January 1921 the decision was upheld. And that, finally, brought the sorry saga to an end.

The Small Landholders Act was not a great success at settling large numbers on smallholdings, and the above story illustrates the kind of disputes which cost the Board of Agriculture so much time and money. After the war the Land Settlement (Scotland) Act, 1919 included provision for purchase, and the Board found it much easier to buy Lowland estates than to create holdings on

BALLENCRIEFF: OPPOSITION TO LAND SETTLEMENT

privately-owned properties. They also made it a point on their estates to leave tenants in possession until their leases ran out, even if it meant a long wait before new holdings could be formed. At the same time, in the post-war climate tenants were much more likely to feel sympathetic towards the desire of ex-servicemen for holdings of their own. The bitter confrontations which marked cases like Ballencrieff were, for the most part, absent after the war.³

REFERENCES

1. See *Report on the Decline of the Agricultural Population of Great Britain, 1881-1906* (P.P.1906, XCVI).
2. The Ballencrieff story is based on material in the following files: SRO.AF83/975-978 & 982-984.
3. I would like to record my gratitude to the ESRC who are funding my research into Scottish land settlement; the resulting book is to be published by Aberdeen University Press.

ANNUAL REPORT

for 1986/87

The sixty second Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Town House, Haddington, on Saturday, 17th May, 1986. The officers were re-elected. Dr Taylor retired from the Council and was thanked for his contribution to it. Mrs H. Oliver was elected and Mr Wm. Campbell was re-elected on to the Council. At the conclusion of the meeting members visited Jane Welsh Carlyle House and were received by Her Grace Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton. Later they visited St Mary's Parish Church. They were welcomed by the minister, the Rev. A. Macdonell. Tea was provided and Mr and Mrs Wm. Ferguson led the party round the church.

On Saturday, 7th June, a large party of members visited the Bass Rock by kind invitation of Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Bt. Dr Bryan Nelson spoke about the birds and Mr Stephen Bunyan spoke about the history of the Bass Rock. On Saturday, 12th July, a visit was made to Heckies Hole and part of Tynninghame Estate. On Saturday, 16th August, the Society visited Rosslyn Chapel where Mrs Fiskien, the Curator, spoke about the history and architecture. On Saturday, 13th September, by kind invitation of Mr and Mrs James Findlay, the Society visited Newliston House, a late Adam mansion in West Lothian. On Wednesday, 8th October, Mr Herbert Coutts, City Curator, received the Society at Huntly House Museum and conducted members round the collections. All these outings were well supported and the Society is, as always, grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen who give so generously of their time and who make our programme so interesting.

Two lectures were arranged in the Poldrate Mill. In November Mr Ian Fullerton, Assistant Director (Landscape) ELDC, gave an illustrated lecture entitled Historic Landscape in East Lothian. In February Dr Lindsay Errington, Assistant Keeper British Art in the National Gallery of Scotland, gave an illustrated lecture — Artists in Lothian in the 18th and 19th centuries. Both lectures were given to large and appreciative audiences.

The Annual Dinner was held in the George Hotel, Haddington, on Friday, 20th March, when the speaker was Mr Thomas Huxley, Deputy Director of the Countryside Commission for Scotland. Mr Huxley gave a talk entitled "People and Places" in which he highlighted the contribution made in East Lothian to countryside matters. Eighty members and guests attended this enjoyable function.

Volume XIX of our Transactions is complete and material is invited for Volume XX.

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

ANNUAL REPORT 1986/87

back numbers of the East Lothian Courier. We continue to press for improved museum provision 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 288. In addition there are 13 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.

Programme 1987/88

13th June	Outing to Vogrie Estate, Gorebridge.
18th July	Outing to Innerwick and Oldhamstocks.
15th August	Outing to Dalmeny House and Church.
12th September	Outing to Penicuik House.
3rd October	Outing to Lauriston Castle.
12th November	Lecture. Early Inhabitants of Scotland by Caroline Wickham Jones.
18th February 1988	Lecture. Botany of the Lothians by Dr P. M. Smith.
25th March 1988	Annual Dinner. Speaker Professor F. T. Last.

ANNUAL REPORT

for 1987/88

The sixty third Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Parish Church of Prestonkirk, East Linton on Saturday, 23rd May, 1987 by kind permission of the minister the Rev. James B. Lawson, who welcomed the Society. The meeting was preceded by a visit to the Rennie Memorial at Phantassie where Mr Norman Cartwright spoke about John Rennie.

At the A.G.M. the officers of the Society were re-elected. Mrs I. Macdonald retired from the Council and in her place Mr Stuart Maxwell was elected. Mr Cox, Mr Hume and Dr Hutchison were re-elected on to the Council. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr S. Bunyan spoke about the History and Architecture of the Church and Mr David Ritchie spoke about the Rev. Hugh Jamieson, Robert Brown and George Rennie.

On Saturday, 13th June, the Society visited Vogrie estate where Mrs Claire Gordon outlined the history of the estate and conducted a field excursion. On the 18th July, by arrangement with the Rev. P. Reamonn, members visited Innerwick and Oldhamstocks Churches. They were received at the former by Mr Stuart Ritchie and at the latter by Dr Wm. O. Petrie. Mr and Mrs James Robertson entertained members to tea. On the 15th August, the Society, led by Mrs M. Tennant, visited Dalmeny House with its fine furniture from the Mentmore collection, the Rosebery pictures and the Napoleonic collection. They were welcomed by the administrator Mrs Morrison and received at the Church by the minister the Rev. Ivor Gibson. On the 12th September the Society visited Penicuik House where Sir John Clerk, Bt. spoke about the Penicuik House Preservation Trust and the Clerk family. He and Lady Clerk showed the house and entertained the members to tea. On the 3rd October, the society visited Lauriston Castle given to the nation by Mr and Mrs Reid. It contains their fine collection of furniture. They were received by Mr David Scarratt.

All these outings were well supported despite adverse weather on several occasions. The Society is grateful to those ladies and gentlemen who give so generously of their hospitality and time to make our programme possible.

On Sunday, 4 October the society contributed to Dunbar Local History Week and also commemorated Mary, Queen of Scots by making a Royal Progress to places connected with that Queen, in East Lothian. The Progress

ANNUAL 'REPORT 1987/88

was introduced by Mr S. Bunyan and led jointly by him and Mrs Isabel Lennie who, at short notice replaced Mrs Mona Tennent who was to have led the outing. At the conclusion of the Progress, and after tea at the Bellevue Hotel, a lecture entitled 'Mary, Queen of Scots' — Fact and Fiction — was given by Professor Emeritus Gordon Donaldson CBE, Her Majesty's historiographer in Scotland. To mark the week there was a special publication entitled *Dunbar Parish Church 1342-1987 Tribute to the Past, Hope for the Future* which contained three papers —

The Dunbar Monument in its Historical Setting by Gordon Donaldson
George Home, Earl of Dunbar by Stephen Bunyan
Dunbar Parish Church by Stephen Bunyan

Two lectures were arranged in the Poldrate Mill. In October, Caroline Wickham-Jones, gave an illustrated lecture on the early inhabitants of Scotland. In February Dr P. M. Smith gave a lecture on the survey 'Botany in the Lothians'. He encouraged members to participate in the survey.

The Annual Dinner was held in the George Hotel, Haddington, on Friday, 25th March when the speaker was Professor F. T. Last, formerly Director of the Institute of Terrestrial Ecology at the Bush, and now Professor of Forestry and Natural Resources at the University of Edinburgh and of Soil Sciences at Newcastle University. Professor Last's address was entitled 'The Future of Your Landscape'. 70 Members and guests attended this enjoyable function.

Volume XX of the Transactions is in preparation.

The Society continues its interest in various projects. It was involved in the micro-filming of back numbers of the *Courier* which has now been done, supporting an excavation on Traprain Law, it continues to keep a watch in planning applications, and continues to press for improved museum provision in East Lothian. It is a corporate member of various societies concerned with conservation.

The Council noted with concern the intention to sell Pressmennan Wood with the possible implications for public access and agreed to give a pledge to help the Scottish Woodland Trust's attempt to purchase it.

Council recognising the great contribution made by the naturalist John Muir, a native of Dunbar, particularly to the cause of conservation in the United States, decided to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of

ANNUAL REPORT 1987/88

his birth on the 21st April, 1988. It was agreed that the Society should offer to contribute some of the trees to be planted in the John Muir Country Park and that a lecture should be given in Dunbar by the Secretary.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 275. 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.

Programme 1988/89

Saturday, 4th July	2.30 Visit to Newbattle Parish Church and Newbattle Abbey.
Saturday, 9th July	2.30 Visit to Pinkie House and Newhailes.
Saturday, 20th August	2.30 Visit to Dunglass Collegiate Church.
Saturday, 10th September	2.30 Visit to Preston Tower and Cross and the site of the Battle of Prestonpans.
Saturday, 24th September	Visit to Berwick upon Tweed 11.00 at the Town Hall 1.00 at the Museum.