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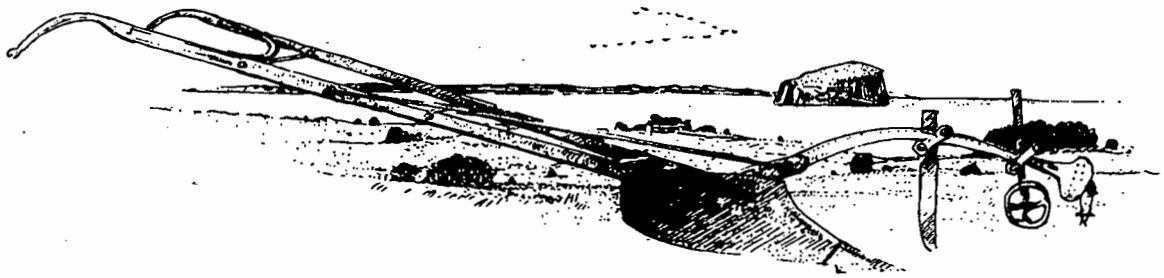

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OF THE
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FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY EXCURSION — MANSIONS AROUND HADDINGTON — 13TH APRIL 1991

By STEPHEN BUNYAN

INTRODUCTION

The word mansion means more than just a large house, though sometimes it is used in that sense. It suggests an official residence like the mansion of the Lord Mayor or the Manse of the Minister; the Oxford Dictionary has both words under the same entry. It also suggests the main residence of an estate and the idea of such a house being sub-divided or containing accommodation for a complex hierarchy of servants. It may mean a block of flats, usually service flats in a city and indeed division into flats has proved the salvation of many country mansions in recent times. The most well known use of the word indicating multiple dwelling comes from the Bible "In my father's house are many mansions".

Haddington in the middle ages was a Royal centre with a palace in which a Scottish King, Alexander II, was born. Few traces of medieval domestic building remain, but there would have been important dwellings in Haddington. Later mansions were built in the town by the local gentry and others. Some of them would come in from the surrounding countryside from time to time to stay in the town. The dwellings we are going to consider range in date from Bothwell Castle, formerly in the Hardgate, dating from the late 16th or 17th century, which was described at the end of the 19th century as one of the best specimens of old Scottish domestic architecture, and which was still a sizeable ruin

in 1926 but which has now completely gone, to the Bank of Scotland in Court Street, built in 1802.

HADDINGTON HOUSE

Haddington House in the Sidegate is the oldest dwelling in the town. The building contains two features from the medieval period, a beehive oven and a large stone sink, but the house as we see it was largely built by Alexander Maitland, Chamberlain to the 2nd Earl and only Duke of Lauderdale in the 17th century. The porch dated 1680 has his initials and those of his wife Katherine Cunningham. They were married in 1657 which may correspond with the older features of the house including the turret door on the garden side. The long wing with its Venetian window was added in the 18th century and the oriel window early in the 19th century.

The house was occupied then by James Wilkie of Ratho and Gilchriston, "old Mr Justice Wilkie" who died in 1825 aged 92. He became, in 1783, the first agent of the Bank of Scotland in Haddington and may have conducted business in the house. The house had fallen into partial decay and was rescued by the Earl of Wemyss and the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society. It was then bought privately and restored by Schomberg Scott to become Headquarters of the Lamp of Lothian Trust in 1970. The garden has since been recreated by the Haddington Garden Trust.

KINLOCH OR GILMERTON HOUSE in the Hardgate dates from the early 18th century. It is built in rubble with crow-stepped gables and has a Dutch chimney gable and slate roof. If reflects the links between Scotland and Holland.

COUNTRY HOUSES

Round Haddington, and indeed throughout the county in the 18th and 19th century were gentlemen's estates. These varied in size and importance. Some were linked to other estates in other parts of the country. Each had its mansion house. These varied; some were modest old tower houses usually extended in the 17th or later centuries. Some were great houses built in the 18th or 19th centuries sometimes on the

site of an old tower. They were built in an age when the rich could afford, and were expected, to live in a grand mansion. Some have survived in the families of their original owners who take great pride in them and are making great efforts to sustain them. Some are cherished by new owners who live in them as homes. Some have found new uses in our present age and have survived externally if not always internally. Some, sadly, have totally gone and survive only as a memory to older residents and in photographs in local libraries or elsewhere.

One important factor in the growth of the great houses was the increased agricultural prosperity in the 18th century. This did not happen by chance but was the direct result of the work of the improvers, the improving lairds, who carried out schemes of agricultural improvement during that century. The East Lothian lairds were to the fore in this movement and they were fortunate in the potential of the land they owned.

The measurement of their achievement is difficult for us to guess, looking at the prosperous landscape with mature woodland which is the result of their efforts, but there are clear accounts of the poverty in Scotland at the end of the 17th century and of the bleakness of the landscape. Such a transformation was made at Tyninghame from 1705 by the 6th Earl of Haddington. He pointed the way in tree planting and the creation of shelter belts.

These lairds were a close knit inter-related group profiting from each other's example and experiences. One such group was made up of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton 1692-1766 and his son Andrew 1722-1799 who developed Saltoun estate. Milton's brother-in-law was Sir Francis Kinloch, 3rd Bt. of Gilmerton 1676-1747 who was noted as an improver as early as 1729 and Sir David Kinloch, his son, 5th Bt. 1710-1795. They were both connected to the families of Foulis of Ravelston and Woodhall and the Justices of Crichton. All these families were keen improvers and were almost certainly influenced by John Cockburn and the Earl of Haddington. The improvements they were all carrying out included enclosure, leading to improve agricultural practice, tree planting, drainage and building of new model villages and steadings and finally to great houses for themselves which demonstrated their new wealth and provided a location for the collection of furniture, paintings and objets d'art which they could now afford.

THE EXCURSION

Athelstaneford and Gilmerton

Our first visit was to Athelstaneford village. We looked at the village and its history in some detail but it is as the model village built by Sir David Kinloch just before the Old Statistical Account was written by the Rev. Geo. Goldie in 1799, that it fits into our story.

The Kinlochs came to East Lothian in the 17th century and the family have lived at Gilmerton ever since. Francis Kinloch was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1677-79 and was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1686.

The main part of the old house probably dates from his time. By 1729 Sir Francis Kinloch the 3rd Baronet, was mentioned by MacIntosh of Borlum as a noted planter and improver.

Sir Francis Kinloch's work was carried on by his son David. He provided a new Church in 1780, a manse, a school and school house at cost of £600, £400 and £200. He then encouraged people to settle in the village with feu tacks of 38 years, after which the properties reverted to the estate. As a result of this enterprise, we are told the village was transformed. Formerly the dwellings were no better than small dirty dark hovels, now they were all neat commodious houses, generally with two apartments, and well lighted (ie. by windows).

The old Manse demonstrates in stone the social position of the Minister in the Scottish village and parish and justifies the link between the words Manse and Mansion.

From the model village looking much as David Kinloch must have known we go to Gilmerton the elegant mansion in fine parkland which Sir David Kinloch is credited with having built c1750 but he did not succeed his brother until 1778. The house is very similar to the Drum built by William Adam. John Aitken was the mason at Gilmerton. The new work is a fine classical building of three storeys, with a fine armorial pediment and three urns. The previous house remains to the rear. The porch and balcony were added by William Burn in 1828 who also made some internal alterations and built the lodge.

MANSIONS AROUND HADDINGTON

Lethington or Lennoxlove

From Gilmerton we went to Lennoxlove. This is a very old property with a long history.

Lethington was granted by Hugh, son of Sir John Gifford, to Robert Maitland, Lord of Thirlestane. This was confirmed by David II in 1345. While there may have been an earlier tower, John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale in 1626 gave the credit for the building to his ancestors. Certainly at Lennoxlove we have a great house or mansion growing around an ancient tower house, a massive lofty L-shaped building with thick walls and fine vaulting. Extensive additions were made by John, 1st Earl and by his son, John, 2nd Earl and 1st and only Duke of Lauderdale, Charles II's Minister. The Duke also enclosed the park with a wall and built three gates of which the northern one survives. The Duke was able to entertain the Duke of York and a party of 2,000 at Lethington from 21st November-4th December 1679.

The estate was purchased in 1703 by the trustees of Frances, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond and passed to the Blantyre family. The name Lennoxlove came into use at that time. The house passed to the Blantyre family and then to Major Baird of Newbyth who restored the banqueting hall. The Duke of Hamilton purchased Lennoxlove in 1947 from the Baird family. The furniture and pictures tell the story of the Hamilton family which played an important part in Scottish history but not in East Lothian or at Lennoxlove until recent times.

The late 14th Duke and Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton have played key roles in the community ever since they came to live in East Lothian, not least by their inspiration and contribution to the foundation of the idea of the Lamp of Lothian and the restoration of St. Mary's Church in Haddington. The tireless work of the Dowager Duchess has ensured the restoration of many important buildings in Haddington and the continuation of a programme of artistic events of the highest quality.

Amisfield

From Lennoxlove to Stevenson, skirting as we do, the grounds of Amisfield, formerly the seat of the Earls of Wemyss and March. The property was purchased in 1713 by Col. Francis Charteris. In 1745 the

Hon. Francis Charteris who had just married Lady Frances Gordon was involved with Cope's Army proceeding to Prestonpans on his way to the new Amisfield. During the great war, the Lothian and Borders Horse, and later other regiments, were accommodated in huts in the park while the mansion house was reserved for officers. The house was demolished in 1924.

Stevenson

The estate of Stevenstoun features in a charter granted to the Cistercian Nunnery of Haddington in 1359. In a charter of Robert II the lands were granted with the consent of the Prioress to William de Douglas of Straboc. Stevenson was destroyed on 16th May 1544 by a raiding party of Hertford's Army which set out from Haddington with that intention and which also destroyed Markle, Traprain, Kirklandhill, Hetherwick, Belton and Eastbarns before encamping at Dunbar to destroy it the following day. Stevenson was rebuilt after this destruction and is one of the few surviving properties in Scotland built on a grange plan. It is a square framed courtyard which originally had a main entrance to the south with a kitchen to the east of that. It originally had four turnpike stairs in the corners and three survive. Some of the windows have glazing grooves which confirms a date of about 1560. About that time it belonged to William Maitland of Lethington, Queen Mary's Secretary of State.

In 1624 Stevenson came into the possession of John Sinclair, younger son of Mathew Sinclair of Longformacus. He had made a fortune as a merchant in Edinburgh, and in 1636 was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia. The estate remained in the hands of the Sinclairs until this century. Much of it was sold in 1907 after the death of the 9th Baronet but his widow lived in the house until 1931. The Sinclairs were largely responsible for the present appearance of the house. Sir Robert Sinclair the 3rd Baronet who died in 1713 carried out a series of alterations. He took down the south wall and rebuilt it several feet further out to provide a suite of rooms for entertaining. At the same time the grand staircase similar to that at Holyrood Palace was built. Further alterations were made in the 19th century by Sir John Sinclair who died in 1863. The property was acquired in 1931 by William Brown Dunlop who lived at Seton Castle but he never occupied it. The house was occupied by a unit of Polish soldiers during the Second World War and was returned to

William Dunlop in a very poor state. He died in 1946 and Dr John Dunlop and his sisters unertook the restoration of the property. This involved hardly any alteration to the main house but occupation and re-orientation to make life in such a house possible without the servants who had been taken for granted in earlier times. The house would normally have a large staff. On one occasion in 1843, thirteen charwomen had been hired from Haddington at 3d per day to prepare for the return of the family from their estates in the North. The arrangements were inconvenient: eg. a long passage and staircase separated the kitchen from the dining room. Later alterations made substantial changes in the laundry wing and the coach house to make them, together with the cottages and bothy, into attractive modern houses. This work was carried out by Mrs Mary Tindall. The garden was also in a state of dereliction and a vast amount of effort and imagination was devoted to it so that today Stevenson stands handsome, civilised and loved surrounded by shrubbery, lawns and flower beds extending a welcome to all.

Haddington — Some Later Buildings

From Stevenson to Haddington to look at some later buildings of note. At the extreme west end of the High Street is one of the architectural gems of East Lothian. In 1750 a Haddington mason Robert Reid bought a tenement of houses and a garden and petitioned the Dean of Guild Court to rebuild. He built a flamboyant little building with a palace front. It has high quality Corinthian decoration. The upper floor was once occupied by Robert Dods, Surgeon. This began a long medical connection with the property. In 1797 the stable was bought by Hay Smith who probably pulled it down and built the new house in the garden that was to be the home of Dr John and Grace Welsh. For a time Hay Smith carried out the business of the Bank of Scotland from this property.

Next, to the house in Court Street (now occupied by the Bank of Scotland). It was built in 1802 for Sheriff Clerk Henry Davidson, probably by James Burn. It is an important classical building with urns, sphinx, decorative panels in high relief and flanking pavilions. It has justly been described as a classical composition of great elegance. It was bought by the Bank in 1855.

On the other side of the street are two public buildings related to our story. The first is the Corn Exchange, built in 1854, a development which reflected the increased prosperity of the landed gentry and their tenants. The second is the Court House and Council Buildings, built by William Burn in 1833, which is, traditionally the site of the Royal Palace where King Alexander II was born on 24 August 1198. Part of a Norman building was still on the site in 1833, an illustration of which is in Gray & Jamieson's *Short History of Haddington* (p. 120).

Finally we may glance back to the elegant town house built by William Adam in 1748 but to which in 1788 a number of East Lothian gentlemen added an assembly room to enhance the social life of their class. The present steeple was built by J. Gillespie Graham in 1831. The elegance and high quality of the later Georgian buildings compared with the simple but pleasing vernacular of Haddington House where we began demonstrates the economic change that came to East Lothian and Scotland in general in the century and a half or so which separate them.

EAST LOTHIAN GRAVEYARDS

By ISLAY M. DONALDSON

The churchyard in Scotland, as in England, was a post-Reformation development; before then, only the nobility and the higher clergy were accorded monuments and those monuments were over their tombs within churches and cathedrals; ordinary parishioners were interred in the churchyard outside "where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap", without memorials. The spirit of democracy and independence which came with the new ideas made the artisan, the farmer and the lesser gentry feel that they too deserved commemoration after death and there was a general movement of interest from the church to the churchyard, a fresh concept as a place for recorded burials. Churchyard memorials, whether freestanding structures, monuments built into the churchyard walls, headstones or tablestones were creations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reaching their most finished development in the eighteenth.

This progression from church to churchyard was more marked in Scotland than in England; the Reformers laid down that churches must be austerely plain with no distracting adornment and that no burials must take place within them. This rule was adhered to with only a few exceptions, such as the memorial to a merchant William Seton inside St Mary's, Haddington, and Lord Hume's mural monument which adorned Dunbar Old Parish Church, and its successor before its late conflagration. The prevalence of family "aisles" in Scotland which are not "aisles" at all but often irrelevant wings built on to churches — the Dalrymple aisle at Morham, the Binns aisle at Abercorn, the Stair aisle at Kirkliston are examples — shows how ingeniously local families evaded it and achieved burial and commemoration under what could be considered part of the church roof and therefore within the church, although in fact a specious if often elegant addition to it.

EAST LOTHIAN GRAVEYARDS

Because ornament within the post-Reformation Scottish churches was forbidden, the stonemasons who carved the first churchyard memorials were encouraged by their patrons, the prosperous farmers and artisans who commissioned the memorials, to lavish upon them the skill and artistry which might otherwise have been given to church architecture; what was virtually a new art form attracted in many cases the highest quality of workmanship. For this reason Scottish graveyards are of exceptional interest. The stonemasons brought to them their experience as builders and carvers of decoration on mansions, palaces and castles, and adapted it to their new trade with a freshness and willingness to experiment which produced remarkable effects.

This is especially true of the Lothians, and of the three, East Lothian is the richest. It was the county of Scotland which was in the forefront of agricultural progress; its farms were fertile and enlightened landowners were eager to introduce new ideas from England — the rotation of crops, the use of turnips for winter fodder and more efficient farm machinery. Prosperous farmers made for prosperous bakers, tailors, blacksmiths and butchers, and this general prosperity encouraged by sermons inculcating sturdy self-reliance increased the desire for worthy memorials, not out of pride but as a way of acknowledging the power of God over life and death and faith of Man in His goodness and wisdom.

There was abundance of stone in East Lothian, chiefly sandstone in all shades from grey to cream and pink and red, ideal for working into memorials. Stonemasons also abounded, knowing and perhaps having worked on the county's fine mansions — Gosford, Winton, Yester, Tyninghame, Stenton, Stevenson — and likely to be familiar with styles being used in Edinburgh, with renovation of Holyroodhouse, the building of Heriot's Hospital and Hopetoun House rising in West Lothian. From practice on stone window-surrounds, porches, classical pillars and barley-sugar columns, plain or fluted pilasters, pediments and arches, they could devise basic structures to suit the various tastes of their new clients; the common pattern of the older Scottish gravestone, with columns on each side holding up a triangular or rounded pediment and enclosing the inscription, is not unlike a doorway or a window, perhaps a doorway or a window into another world, if the symbolism be taken to its fullest extent. They must also have known the commonplaces of Renaissance detail in stone or woodcarving, the little naked boys called putti who could conveniently pass as Christian cherubs, the cherub-heads with wings

coming from their ears, the mournful elegantly-arranged draperies, the swags and festoons of fruit and flowers, all of which could be adapted as symbolic decorations and emblems for gravestones and funerary memorials. When some of these concepts crossed the Border from England, they took on distinctively Scottish characteristics; English cherubs, for example, are always little children, sweet and almost sugary, but Scottish cherubs are sometimes adults or even old men, and Scottish putti even when naked are sturdy little Scots boys, muscular and plain-faced — and very often they are provided with loincloths or even more decently clothed in coats and breeches. There is a splendid example of this giving of a Scottish accent to a classical image in the churchyard of St Mary's, Haddington; an eighteenth century stone belonging to a gardener shows a pair of sturdy horticultural youngsters holding up for admiration, instead of classical laurel or acanthus leaves, the carrots and turnips they have grown, and between them a cartouche depicting the reel wound thickly with string which a gardener uses to make sure that the rows of vegetables he is planting will be straight. (This handsome gravestone is interesting for another reason; in the late nineteenth century its original inscription had been shaved away and replaced by an inscription relating to a nineteenth century glazier and his family, an economical arrangement which the authorities occasionally found; it remains nevertheless the stone of an eighteenth century gardener, although its date has been lost.)

Beginning crudely to explore the new possibilities open to them in memorials, the stonemasons gradually increased in confidence until by the early eighteenth century Tranent and Pencaitland churchyards could boast the finest tablestones in Scotland, and some headstones to match. It would be pleasant if one could chart a gradual progress to perfection, but stonemasons like all human beings are too diverse to be neatly summarised in this way. There are departures back into earlier crudity alongside the greater achievements, and most churchyards exhibit examples of early as well as later style, whatever their date. Some clients may have been less sophisticated than the stonemasons, or else less skilful stonemasons may have been cheaper. None of the carvers signed their work as English craftsmen did, and it is impossible to attribute individual stones to any definite carver's name, but one of the pleasures of exploring graveyards in any area is that of finding stones designed in similar styles and recognising the same hands and designs in different places and on different stones. One grows to feel they are old friends.

EAST LOTHIAN GRAVEYARDS

Each area in Scotland seems to have developed a distinctive local pattern which, without becoming universal or even dominant, can be found in noticeable numbers of stones within the area. Near the Moray Firth and its hinterland, one finds recumbent slabs copying the old retangular pre-Reformation paving slabs within churches; two examples of this can be found in Tranent, but these are genuinely old stones of ecclesiastics removed from the church during rebuilding and placed in the churchyard; they both bear handsome incised crosses, a symbol never found on post-Reformation gravestones in Scotland because of its Popish associations; one of them belongs to Andrew Craufurd, vicar of Tranent c.1490. In Nairn, Moray and Banff this older tradition survived and continued well into the eighteenth century. The east coast of Fife favours tablestones coped into the shape of a roof, with inscriptions on the flattened top or the sloping sides. On Tayside one finds mock heraldry, with a knight's helmet and its elaborate mantling enabling the stonemasons to indulge in strong curling and twisting patterns, holding a shield which instead of a genuine coat of arms may bear a plough, a loom or some other device indicating a calling or trade. Galloway has slant-eyed angels with high cheekbones and lightly-cut patterns of thin smooth stems and leaves. The western highlands, belonging to a Celtic tradition, uses for its graveslab decoration incised swords, men in armour, galleys, castles, and some interlaced patterning as in the Book of Kells. East Lothian chooses for its gravestone theme the figures of putti representing sowers and harvesters, sometimes singly but more often in pairs, along with other putti waving palm branches, pointing to inscriptions, or following some agricultural activity. It is both appropriate and satisfactory that a country at this time mainly agricultural should adopt such a simple classic image, one which has Biblical precedent in Christ's parable of the sower and yet is able to blend easily with the hourglasses, coffins, crossed spades and darts, skulls and bones which the stonemasons had to use for funerary decoration since the cross and the saints had all been thrown out by the Reformers along with Christmas and Easter.

The most elaborate and splendid of these representations of the passing seasons and the work of sowing and harvest which accompanies them in a rural pre-industrial community is to be found in Tranent, in one of the two Seton tablestones, dating from 1706. The top surface of this massive sandstone structure is decorated with a deeply-cut pattern of sea-creatures — mermaids — their bodies and tails writhing intertwined, possibly a play on the family name Seton; a small headstone to a

George Seton in Dirleton churchyard dated 1756 is similarly decorated with mermaids.

It is on the sides of the Seton tablestone in Tranent (Plate 1a) that the sowing and reaping can be seen taking place (Plates 1b and 2a). A stout little putto, hand in bag of corn slung round his side, is sowing the seed, the growth of which is suggested by two blades of corn springing up behind him; another winged putto flies in front of him, waving an elegantly billowing piece of drapery which may be taken to represent the balmy winds which along with the sun will encourage the seed to germinate and ripen. At the other end of that side of the tablestone two more figures carry on the process; a thin clothed lad with a worn scythe represents the harvester, and another naked putto with two sheaves of corn replacing hands (a favourite East Lothian device, a kind of architectural epigram) brings home the harvest. The bag from which the first putto is taking the corn is poorly represented; this is not the fault of the mason. It was the custom to carry the seed in a sheet slung over the sower's left shoulder and gathered in his left hand; this must have been awkward for the sower, and even more awkward to carve elegantly. On the other side of the tablestone are two more illustrations; two putti on the left stand admiring the sun shining above them, one of them holding out a piece of fruit; two others on the right enjoy the bread which has been baked from the corn; one carries a long French-looking loaf while the other has his hands to his mouth, greedily eating. The liveliness of the figures has lasted well in spite of the centuries.

At one end of the tablestone there is a strongly-carved skull and beneath it crossbones, symbolic of the power of death, with a worn riband declaring "Mors est ultima rerum", but at the other is a kindly cherub-head, symbolic of eternal life. This dual representation is a commonplace all over Scotland. Our forefathers were intensely aware of death — it was an ever-present reality — but they also trusted in the mercy of God and the hope of heaven promised to faithful servants, and for this reason they placed both symbols on their tablestones. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the skull and bones are usually carved high on gravestones, suggesting that they are dominant, as the idea of death was dominant in the sermons and literature of the time, but as the years pass the cherub-head rises to the top of the stone where its head and wings fit excellently into rounded or triangular pediments, and the skull, with or without bones, is relegated to the bottom, the lowliest,

Plate 1a. Seton Tablestone, Tranent. 1706.

Plate 1b. Sowing in spring, Seton Tablestone, detail.

Plate 2a. Harvesting in autumn, Tranent. Detail on Seton stone, 1706.

Plate 2b. Harvesters and Cherub-head, East Saltoun, 1754. Stone of John and Margaret Nimmo.

least emphatic position, suggesting that a change has taken place in contemporary religious thought. Later still, with the advent of the classical revival, Augustan deism and Robert Adam, the skull disappears altogether.

An excellent depiction of a sower by himself is to be found in Humbie churchyard (Plate 3), where he occupies the pediment between bouncy S-scrolls and stands above neat fluted pilasters and an hourglass on the lower half of the stone. His date is 1719, and this time he is

Plate 3. Sower, Humbie, 1719.

not a classical putto but clothed in breeches, with the corn-sack slung over one shoulder. His legs are strong and so carved as to suggest movement forward; he moves his weight from right to left leg to make the next step and his right hand is just about to emerge with the handful of seed he is about to scatter. It is a deceptively simple piece of vernacular sculpture.

The memorial at East Saltoun to a family of farmers (Plate 2b) is rather more sophisticated; prosperous they must have been, since this is the pediment of a tall free-standing monument enclosing with walls on either side a family plot — and correspondingly difficult to photograph. This time two elegant young gentlemen are clad in the coats and breeches of the time, 1754, with the buttonholes of their coats clearly delineated and every hair in place. Their hands are represented, as at Tranent, by sheaves of corn, so they are bringing home the harvest, and very pleased with themselves they look, their lips almost pursed with family pride, although unfortunately the one on the left has lost part of his face, perhaps because of a flaw in the stone. Between them is a cartouche with the initials of the heads of the family, John Brown and Margaret Nimmo, his wife, framed in luxuriant long luscious well-defined leaves, pushing strongly upward and sideways, emblems surely of rich soil and good cultivation. At the top is a cherub-head with two well-carved wings and a bib of feathers under his chin — and precisely the same rigidly-righteous expression of pride as appears in the young men. Was it the desire of the farmer to have his angel resemble his harvesters, or was the mason having a little joke? The stiff motionless stance of the figures and the poise of the angel contrast well with the movement and energy of the upward-thrusting leaves; as rural carving, it is strong, smooth and skilful.

Another stone at East Saltoun (Plate 4a), although less sophisticated than that of the Browns, may have been carved by the same hand; the cherub face that crowns the oval space where initials may once have been has very much the same proportions and expression. On each side of the angel is a clothed figure of country lads; the one on the left has a bag of corn by his side and is therefore a sower, while his mate on the right has his left hand delineated as a sheaf of corn in the customary manner and the other right hand raised to brandish what appears to be a victor palm-branch or perhaps merely an extra-large cornstalk. Both figures are more roughly carved than those on the Brown memorial, but their date is 1765, eleven years later. Their breeches, their

Plate 4a. Sower and Harvester, East Saltoun, 1769.

sturdy legs and their gesturing arms carry more life than do the two fine gentlemen, whom we cannot really imagine bearing the burden and heat of the day. Below the blank oval is a tiny elfin face barely visible — the Green Man, the fertility god, one suspects, — and another cherub head squeezed in but still with the same expression as the one above, but what catches the attention is the abundant profusion that tumbles down each side. Great bell-shaped flowers pour out, as from a cornucopia, fat pears, to meet — almost collide with — fruits from similar flowers pushing up from below. Do they represent the rich produce of the earth enjoyed during the farmer's life, or his present delights in heaven? Presumably they could symbolise both at once. There is a resemblance to the cornucopias to be found pouring out their store at Tranent; on one headstone there, that of a butcher, the fruits emerge so exuberantly from each side that the cherub at the top of the stone seems crushed between them and indeed a little anxious.

At Pencaitland there is a dateless stone, roughly carved but of very much the same pattern (Plate 4b), which suggests either than the same hand or some other imitating the same hand was the carver. It is an old

Plate 4b. Sower and Harvester, Pencaitland. Date lost.

stone, with probably three-quarters of its bulk sunk into the ground; it does not have fruit and flowers, but the leaves which frame its blank cartouche are not unlike the leaves on the Brown pediment at East Saltoun, though cruder; the two figures of sower and harvester are made in the same stance (although the one holding the palm-leaf or corn-stalk has a monstrous hand) and the more primitive cherub-head seems to be striving to attain the same imperturbable expression.

Also at Pencaitland, an exceptionally tall mural monument on the exterior of the church wall (Figure 1) dated 1733, offers a great variety of puzzling decoration. The pediment is extremely elaborate, with an urn at its apex and a very small figure with wings blowing a small horn. It stands on scrolls which are part of the mouths of two small but well-carved cornucopias with flowers emerging, but this suggestion of plenty is contradicted by the two skulls facing in opposite directions which are immediately above. The curving sides of the pediment have small cherub-heads perched upon them, one wing up and one wing done. Beneath, the space for the inscription is framed by well-cut Corinthian columns, each flanked by a console in Jacobean strapwork (one crumbling) with floral

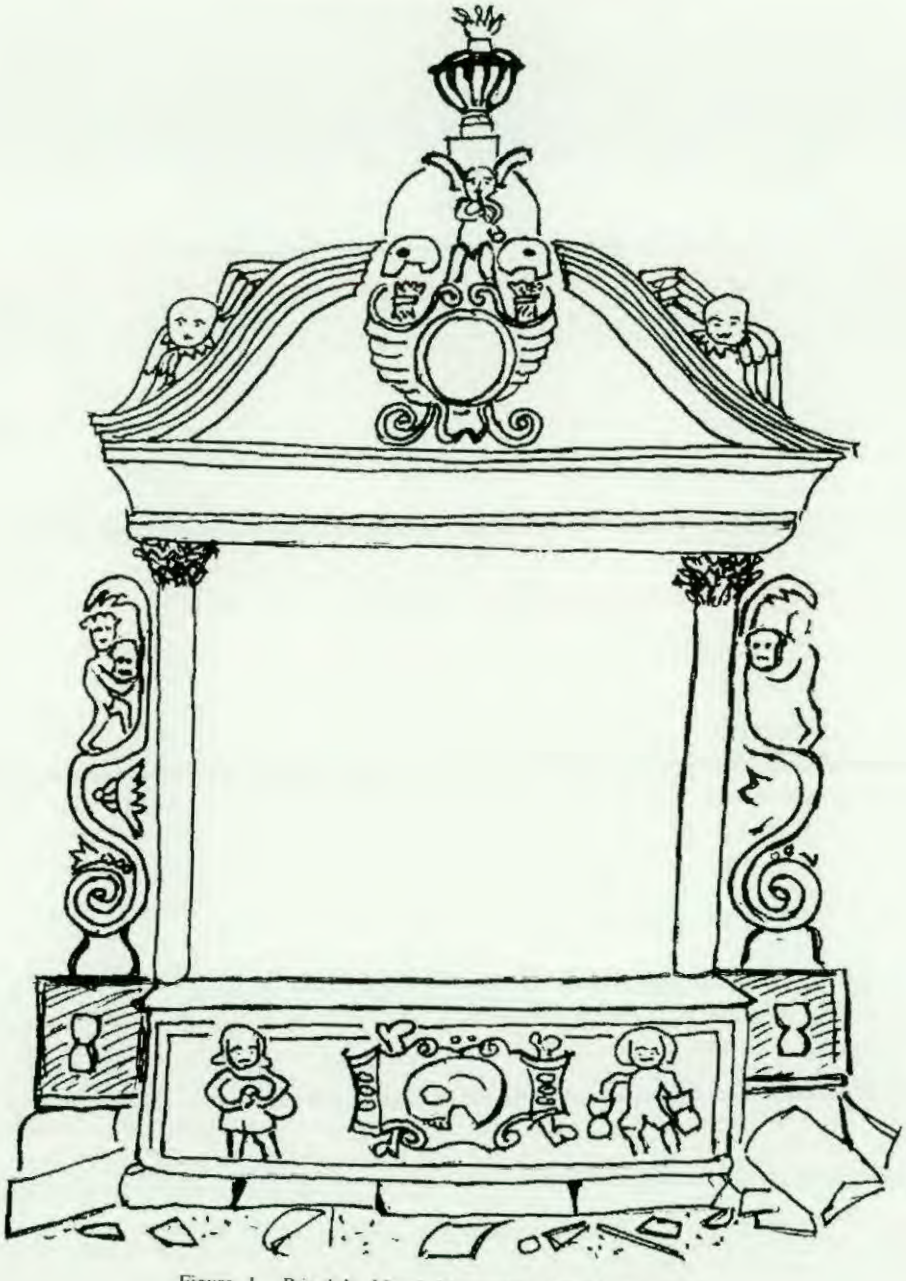

Figure 1. Pringle's Mural Monument, Pencaitland, 1733.

ornament and a putto jauntily bearing a skull. At the base of these there is an hourglass. Right at the foot of the monument, a rectangular chest-shaped extension bears a skull and bones held in a pattern with a sower to right and a harvester to left.

The presence of the sower and harvester denotes a family of farmers; their name is Pringle; and the size of their memorial suggests that they were of no small importance. The presence of so many small symbols on a large background is unusual. The urn, a classical image with flames issuing from it, signifies eternal life; closed, it would have meant death. The little figure underneath with its tiny musical pipe is surely too comically trivial a personage to be the Angel of the Last Trump summoning souls to judgement, yet if he is not that, what is he? The skull carried by the surviving putto is not in harmony with its cheerful appearance, yet the carving of these small individual figures is of good quality. Perhaps the Pringles wished to have everything they fancied put in place in their memorial and the stonemason had to oblige; it is hard to conceive of a stonemason, given such a large space to work on, making it so much a matter of small contradictory items. The memorial displays ingenuity, skill and wit, but it tries to say so many different things that one admires rather than understands it. Colin McWilliam, in the Lothian volume of The Buildings of Scotland, calls it "crude but ambitious"; crude it is not, but ill-conceived and over-ambitious are fair comments.

Pencaitland, as well as several good tablestones, boasts one that is magnificent (Plate 5a). It is not as large as the two at Tranent but perhaps because of this is carved with greater delicacy; a profusion of acanthus leaves adorns its sides and ends and large bones are caught in well-carved scrolling; the chamfered edge of its upper surface has a delicate leaf-pattern, a variant on the egg-and-dart. Dated 1724, it was erected by a nephew to his uncle who had lived to be one hundred and five, and the end holding the neat cherub-head commemorates John, Ann and Rachel, children "procreat between" the nephew and his wife. The other end has a Green Man face presiding over a blank round cartouche.

The sides, like those of the 1706 Seton tablestone at Tranent, have two figures on each. They do not have any single theme but seem irrelevant to one another; one wears a skirt and breeches (a kilt) and carries a small saltire flag; another in coat and breeches perhaps carries a large sword, the third is a winged putto naked except for a loin-cloth

Plate 5a. Tablestone, Andrew Ker, Pencaitland, 1724.

Plate 5b. Tablestone, Humbie, 1732.

and playing music on a pipe; the fourth in coat and breeches bears the remains of a staff. There is a delightful element of fantasy in these pleasant incompatibles; to add to this, the complicated panels, heavily carved,that adorn each of the two long sides bears a Green Man head with a Father Christmas beard made out of leaves.

A very different tablestone at Humbie returns more soberly to the theme of the sower and harvester (Plate 5b). Instead of the usual four or six legs, it is supported by one solid slab at each end, and the four outward-facing edges of these each bears a Scottish farming figure, all similar, all matching, but each depicting a different function (Figure 2a). Stoutly-clad and solemn, they gaze out fixedly at the beholder; one is a sower, with his very loose cloth bag slung and held by his left arm, and his companion on that side of the stone shoulders flowering or fruiting branches or handfuls of corn-stalks. The other side has a figure with arms at rest in a calm rounded pose, his fingers just touching, and at the other end a figure whose hands are sheaves of corn in the familiar idiom. Their reticent chubby faces are so plain and their legs in homely breeches are so firmly planted on the soil that, although as sculpture they are naive in comparison with those at Pencaitland, they have a dignity and composure that are memorable.

Inveresk in contrast has a more sophisticated headstone (Figure 2b) of which the date has been eroded; it is eighteenth century judging by its style. Its pediment bears a sower, left hand among the seed, right hand in the act of scattering it, with many curliecues following the sloping curves of the pediment, which is also echoed by finely-spaced lines confidently cut in the stone. On each side of the pediment there reclines a putto flourishing the usual palm-branch or corn-stalk, worn away by time along with their heads. On the lower two-thirds of the stone there is convincingly-carved drapery depending from and between cannonball-knobs, framing the vanished inscription; panels right and left of the drapery each contain a putto larger than the sower, one blowing music on a pipe and the other holding a fragment. Higher up, between the feet of the sower and the curve of the drapery,there is a Green Man face, deliberately crushed between the two levels to create an expression of malevolence; his eyes are barely visible in dark shadow and two teeth protrude over the folds of the "cloth". The gentleness of the putti, the interlaced S-scrolls and the grace of the draperies contrast well with this surly image and throw it into prominence; this is one Green Man that cannot be overlooked; the stone has been carved by a master; it is sad

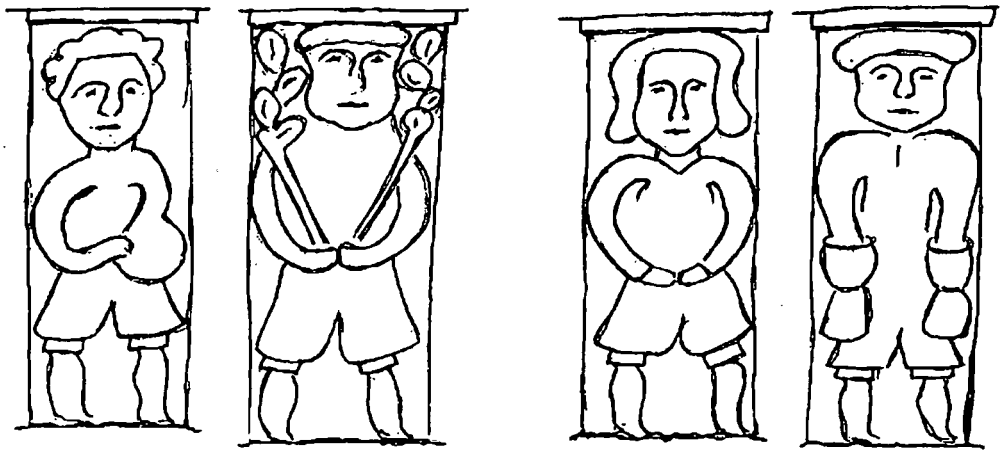

Figure 2a. Farming Figures, Humbie, 1732.

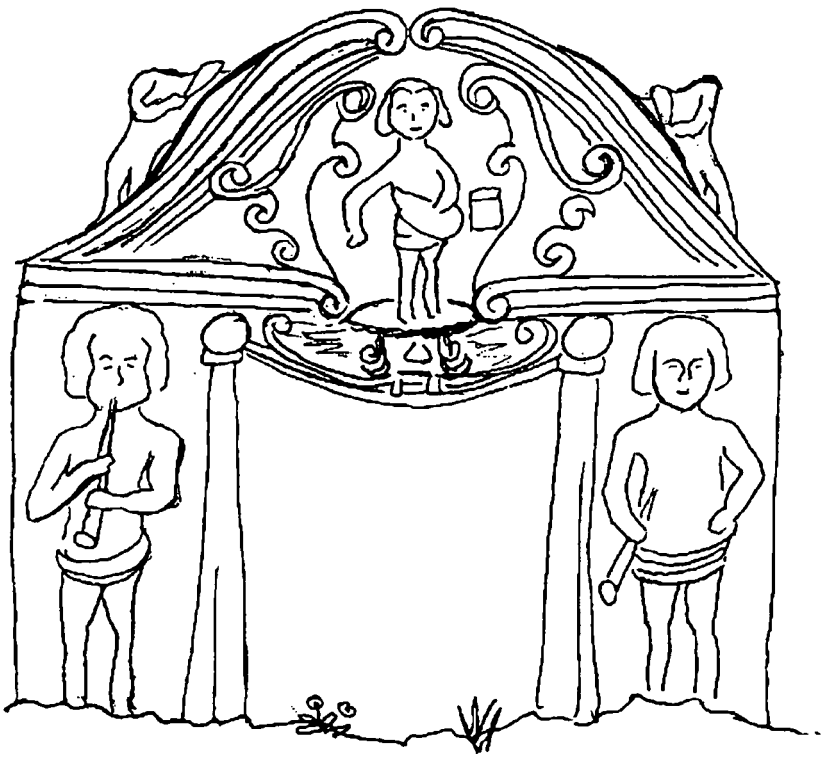

Figure 2b. Headstone, Inveresk. Date lost.

that we cannot give it a date or a family name. The frequency with which the Green Man appears on so many gravestones — on so many Lothian gravestones out of all Scotland — is a phenomenon which will be discussed later.

Two less striking stones come next in the catalogue. At Gladsmuir, a headstone dated 1727 bears two fat pot-bellied putti with no garments at all (Figure 3a); they both have corn-sheaves for hands and their arms bent realistically away from their bodies to suggest the weight they are carrying. Simple ovals and circles decorate a fairly plain surface; but this is a stone which has tilted backwards over the years and on its reverse there is a group of more complex figures; once again a family of farmers has prospered. On the other hand, at East Saltoun (Plate 6a) a figure which seems underfed is to be seen, in the act of sowing seed, on a stone of which the date has been lost. The little lad with his bag, his very short breeks and his legs like sticks makes one think of Wolf Cubs during Bob-a-Job week, but the foliage which waves in acanthus-like fronds on each side of him is strong and vigorous, and the cherub-heads on each side of the pediment, one wing up and one down as in the mural monument on Pencaitland church, are carved with considerable skill and suggest that each stonemason perhaps had a speciality. The pot-bellied harvesters at Gladsmuir and the thin-legged sower at East Saltoun may have been carved by a man who was not good at figures but

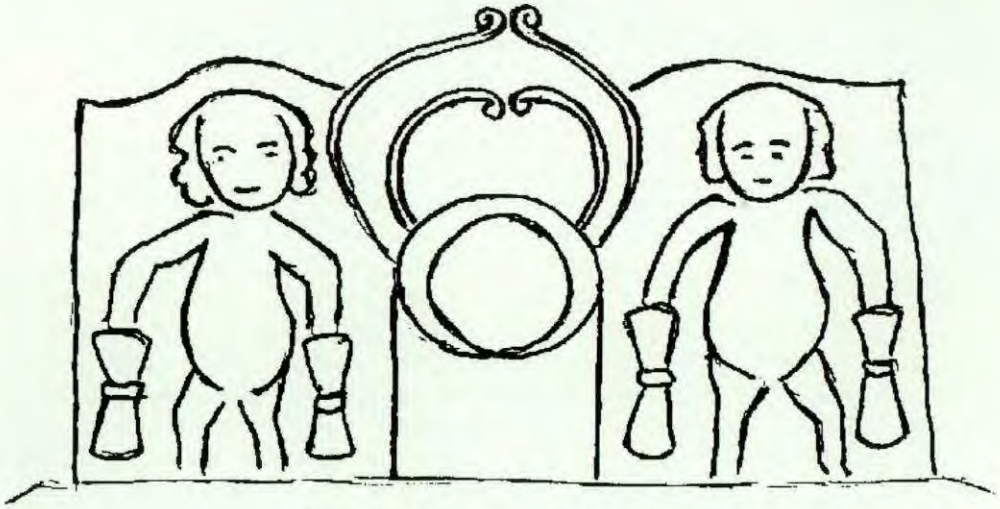

Figure 3a. Harvesters at Gladsmuir, 1727.

Plate 6a. Sower, East Saltoun. Date lost.

competent with other things; at Abbey St. Bathans a weaver and a shepherd have been carved by a creator who was skilled at coats and buttonholes but not so happy with heads and faces. As one explores, these little idiosyncrasies of the unknown nameless stonemasons become increasingly familiar and endearing.

Other sowers and harvesters are to be found elsewhere. Alexander Williamson, a farmer in Tranent graveyard whose headstone (1708) has not worn well over the centuries, has a clothed sower in its pediment and other putti beside and below, two waving palm-branches and two pointing to the worn inscription. The Hynd wall monument in Tranent (1718) has a sower and a harvester at its base, the two other almost unrecognisable examples may be seen on a battered grey headstone against the same wall. There are possibly many others. Dunbar and Athelstaneford both have large sowers and harvesters, broken at the waist so that only the lower halves of their bodies survive, identifiable by the position of their remaining arms and legs. The damage must have taken place many years ago, for the surfaces of the broken figures are weather-worn and darkened like the carved remains. Modern vandals for the most

part attack Victorian stones; they, being held together by cement between the base and the gravestone proper, are more easily knocked over and smashed, although this is small consolation.

As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, severely classical patterns became fashionable; some handsome stones, plain and elegant, are to be found, but they are foreign to the indigenous forms carved in local stone, patterns imported from sources outside the area. Victorians and Edwardians introduced alien materials — marble, polished granite, crosses and flowers made from imitation "stone", Celtic crosses, sentimental angels pointing aloft or bestowing wreaths upon those commemorated. Graveyards containing these intruders, chosen readymade from the patternbooks of monumental masons, have a piebald appearance; the new materials do not harmonise with the local landscape as the older stones had done. Modern graveyards understandably demand neat uniformity of size and appearance; the local stonemasons are no longer employed; fashions have changed; our graveyards are less interesting to the wayfarer — and there are no more Green Men.

The foliate head or face of the Green Man is common-place in old English parish churches and cathedrals, decorating roof bosses, screens, capitals, fonts, bench ends, arm rests and misericords, a sinister grotesque made from carved leaves, sometimes disgorging foliage from its mouth. It is identified with Jack in the Green of May Day, Jack o' Leaves, the Wild Man, the figure who dies and is revived in mummers' plays, the "leafy man" in folk festivals, Robin Hood on inn signs of "The Green Man" so common in England. It is a symbol of fertility, of death and regeneration, of spring growth after winter, dating from pagan times in Italy, Germany and France as well as in England, a favourite device of the mediaeval carver. Some modern ecologists claim it is theirs, but it is a satyr rather than a kindly spirit, its true inwardness hard to define; it grins like a demon from acanthus, ivy or vine leaves, often protruding a derisive tongue, and defies explanation. One can see why the early Christian church took it over as a symbol of death and resurrection, just as it took heathen festivals and made them Christmas and Easter. Harder to understand are the Green Man's macabre manifestations, diabolical rather than benevolent, to be found in Southwell Minster, Ely, Ripon and Exeter Cathedrals, and so many English country churches.

It would at first glance seem unlikely that such a disturbing and pagan image would survive at all in Scotland after the Reformation,

which deliberately destroyed even beautiful and innocent figures as idolatrous. Its spread into Scotland is not dated; isolated examples are to be found at Melrose and on two misericords at Dunblane which have somehow escaped the Reformers. There are many among the carvings in the interior of Roslin Chapel, and two can be seen on the exterior of St Mary's, Haddington, both disgorging foliage, one in the parapet to the left of the west door, the other in the parapet of the north wall.

More unexpected than the Green Man in architecture is his proliferation on Lothian gravestones well into the eighteenth century. The foliate face on headstones and tablestones, or a grimacing face in conjunction with sweeping leaf-scrolls, seems a local eccentricity. That it was considered seemly and decent is clear. Outside the west door of St Mary's, Haddington, the recumbent stone of the Rev. William Dunbar who died in 1711 bears two such grimacing faces, and two more adorn a 1728 tablestone just round the corner on the south side of the church (Figure 3b). There is another at Bolton, intertwined with the wings of the angels on each side of him (Plate 7). There are so many at Tranent that they seem to jump out from all sides when one begins to look for them, even on the 1706 Seton tablestone with the sowers and harvesters, tucked away behind the decorations on each side, and more flamboyantly on the second Seton tablestone by the church; there they have an ugliness and grossness which is repellent, and utterly different from the delicate little angel figures carved on the legs, as if done by another person. At Whittingehame, one tablestone bears four animal-like faces

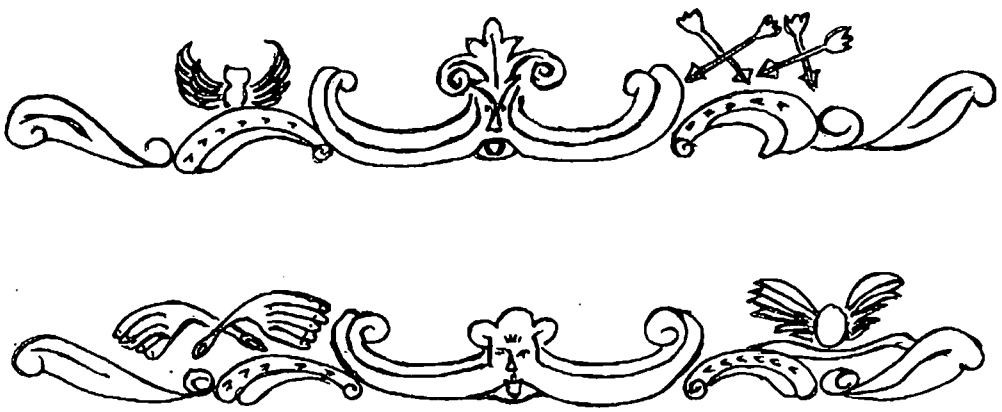

Figure 3b. Sides of Tablestone, Haddington, 1728.

Plate 6b. Green Man on Tablestone, Gladsmuir. Date lost.

Plate 7. Green Man, Bolton. Date lost.

among its vegetation, one at each corner; at Gladsmuir, on an elegant tablestone a sinister whiskered malcontent thrusts out a menacing tongue (Plate 6b). Later and fuller research may reveal the significance of these faces and track down whatever folk memory held them in such affection. There are several separate examples on the 1667 monument in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, to six generations of Milnes, Master Masons to the Kings of Scotland.

Plate 8. William Fender's headstone, Tranent, 1740.

To banish the mingled grimness and fascination of the Green Man a group of putti may serve, carved in Tranent in 1740 for William Fender, a builder and stonemason (Plate 8); it is noticeable that builders and stonemasons have the finest monuments, which is only fair. This headstone is a splendid example of what might be called "Tranent baroque"; the wealth of ornamentation in this one churchyard makes it uniquely rich. A gentle putto holds out the flowing drapery so that we may read the inscription; the graceful folds lie firmly and heavily on the skull, the emblem of death, smothered and unheeded down on the ground; two others, naked but discreet on the pediment, each leans an elbow on the strong scrollwork framing the cartouche, lost in not unhappy pensiveness, one foot on a skull and the other resting among pears and grapes that spill over the edge of the pediment; a winged cherub-head presides over all, and down the pilasters on each side of the stone, caught up in dainty bows of ribbon which keep them in place, there fall bell-flowers, large daisies, flowers and more grapes, cancelling out the ugliness of death. To this assurance and faith the citizens and stonemasons of East Lothian have gradually grown, and there we may gratefully leave them.

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THE STEPHENSONS OF LONGYESTER: AN EAST LOTHIAN FARMING DYNASTY

By HARRY D. WATSON

Among the Tweeddale papers in the National Library of Scotland is a copy of the "sub-tack" or lease of Longyester farm, near Gifford, granted by John Hay of Hopes at Whitsunday, 1792, to the brothers Joseph and Thomas Stephenson of Alwinton in Northumberland.[1] A detailed account of this document was given in an article entitled "Longyester Farm and the Agricultural Revolution in East Lothian" in Volume 18 of the Transactions (1984). An account of the author's genealogical researches into the Stephenson family was published in the *Journal of the Northumberland & Durham Family History Society*, Volume 10 (1985).

Both brothers were newly-married men when they took over Longyester farm. Boyd's Marriage Index shows that Joseph married Margaret Renwick in 1791, and Thomas married Mary Ord in 1792 — both at Alwinton. Mary's brother John Ord "of Sharperton Edge" witnessed the abovementioned lease.

Joseph and Thomas's neighbours in East Lothian included their elder brother William, the tenant of Quarryford Mill farm in the neighbouring parish of Garvald. All three brothers owed their positions to the good offices of their father William Stephenson senior, the tenant of Langburnshields, near Hawick, who seems to have been a man of some standing in Border farming circles. When this old patriarch died in 1807, aged 77, the *Kelso Mail* referred to him respectfully as "... a gentleman whose abilities, and successful improvements as a store-farmer, have been seldom equalled."

William's younger sons did not inherit his longevity, for Thomas died in 1799, followed by Joseph in 1803. William junior agreed to look

after his deceased brothers' interests, but before long Joseph's widow Margaret Renwick had fallen out with him. She accused the trustees appointed in her husband's will of cheating her out of her rightful share of his estate, and when they appointed an overseer to help her run the farm, she sent him packing within the year, declaring that her sons were all the help she needed.

In 1809, three years before the expiry of the Longyester lease, Margaret brought an action of compt, reckoning and payment in the Court of Session against Joseph's trustees. The hideously complicated legal battle which ensued was to drag on intermittently for another thirty-odd years, "falling asleep" and being "reawakened" on several occasions by Joseph and Margaret's descendants until finally — long after the deaths of the original principals — a settlement was reached. The positive aspect of these years of acrimony, at least for the historian-cum-genealogist, is that the resulting documentation, now in West Register House in Edinburgh, provides some fascinating insights into the life of a prosperous farming dynasty in late 18th/early 19th century East Lothian.[2]

At the start of their lease, Joseph and Thomas had divided the arable part of Longyester between them: Joseph taking the East Mains and Thomas the West Mains, while their common stock of sheep grazed the pasture.In addition to Longyester the farms of Cairnyhaugh and Riddle Lodge were stocked with sheep, and shortly before his death Joseph and his friend (and future trustee) James Lee had jointly taken over the remote hill-farm of Soonhope. Even Lammerlaw, the highest point in the Lammermuirs, had been stocked with "five score and fifteen gimmers" (year-old ewes).

The inventory of the stock and farming utensils at Longyester, carried out in 1803 for Joseph's trustees, revealed "sixty-seven score, seventeen sheep of different kinds, and twenty-eight score fourteen lambs", valued in all at £1,949, 10s; "twenty six-year-old stirks (young bullocks), four two-year-old queys (heifers), one cow, sixteen calves, two cows, ten two-year-old stots (older bullocks)", valued at £641; "eighteen horses and one foal", worth £324 3s; "corn and hay" to the value of £161, and "Wood, barn, looms and labouring utensils" valued at £119 9s 6d — making a grand total of £3,195 2s 6d. The total for Soonhope came to £783 10s.

As for the four-page inventory of Joseph's household furnishing and plenishing, it bears out the contention of the social commentator George

Robertson, in his *Rural Recollections* of 1829, that "... in the end the simple establishment of the rustic husbandman came to emulate that of the more polished citizen of the capital; insomuch that the gorgeous sideboard, the wine-cooler, the sofa or settee ... were now component parts of the furnishings of the farmer's mains."[3]

The carpeted parlour of East Mains of Longyester boasted a weather-glass and a map of East Lothian, while even the knives and forks rested in three mahogany cases in a mohagany cupboard. The eight chairs in the parlous were covered with haircloth.

Joseph's twenty-odd books were as might be expected, a judicious mixture of the useful, the improving and the entertaining. As he sat at his mahogany writing-desk of an evening, he may have had cause to consult his "Compleat Letter Writer", while his three dictionaries would certainly have helped him find the *mot juste*. Four volumes on geography, two gazeteers and a "Survey of Britain", Volume 2, suggest an open-minded curiosity about the world outside East Lothian; while "State of Britain", "Thoughts on Education", "Aristotle's Master peice" and "Scotland's opposition to the Popish Bill" are indicative of concerns transcending the mundane worries of crops and livestock.

Copies of the Catechism and of Chalmer's Sermons would have been Sabbath reading (strangely, there is no mention of a family bible); but "Bruce's Travels" and a two-column edition of Burns were probably for relaxation on a wet winter's night. To make them more palatable still there were always the twenty bottles of wine, five bottles of whisky and a "small Cask whisky from Edinburgh whole" revealed in the inventory, which Joseph might have supped from a variety of rummers, wine-glasses, ale-glasses, wine-decanters "with sliders" or indeed from his "fine punch-bowl". To avoid having to make too many trips across the room he could have availed himself of his "mounted Server with four bottles", or even "one ditto with six ditto".

Joseph and Margaret's children were too young to be of much use on the farm immediately after their father's death, but Margaret was fortunate in having the services of her husband's illegitimate son Hugh Stephenson, who — rather unconventionally — seems to have lived at Longyester as part of the family. Many of the documents preserved in the Court of Session records testify to Hugh's role in the management of his father's farms. On the day of Joseph's funeral, 21st May 1803,

"There was produced by Hugh Stephenson and put into the Desk four account Books relative to the farm kept by him." By 1807 he had his own house, and on 25th May of that year the trustees gave him £50 "to furnish his house & for hirding Stock & on Interest."

Joseph's will provided for clothing allowances for all his children, including Hugh, until they reached the age of 21; but a payment of £11 1s made to Hugh on 25th May 1805 was objected to on the grounds "that Hugh was now of age": which means he was about 19 years old at the time of his father's death.

Hugh was entrusted with the management of Soonhope, in which Joseph's trustee James Lee still had an interest, and a number of documents testify to this: e.g. (1st June 1807) "To Hugh Stephenson to pay carriage of wood to Sundhop, £3"; (27th May1809) "Cash to Hugh Stevenson to Settle w[t] the Hirds at Soundhop, £33 2s."

The responsibilities of farm management seem to have weighed heavily on the young man's shoulders, as we can judge from a rather plaintive letter addressed to Mr. Lee from Soonhope on 10th March 1809:—

> "You will be surprised that I have not wrote you before this time how the Stock was doing but as the weather has been good I know that you would be the more easy."

Hugh had just heard that Mr. Trumble of Carfrae Mill was about to compound with his creditors, who would be lucky to get half-a-crown for every pound they were owed:—

> "He is due to me 7£ if you could try and make the best of it you can and Chouse your Our the want of that 7£ has put me a great deal about. As the weather is good I hope you will come out and see about a great many things you may depend your presence would put a great many things into order and would be very nessary [sic] at Sunhope.
> I am ever yours
> Hugh Stevenson —
> P.S. I beg as a particular favour you would come out."

More poignant still is the following bill paid by Hugh to John Welsh, surgeon in Haddington —

> "Dec. 21st 1804 — To a blister — a box healing ointment an Express visit at night & pulling a Tooth in the month of February — £1 1."
> Dr. Welsh was, of course, the father of Jane Welsh Carlyle.

Clearly the Stephensons were a force to be reckoned with in the East Lothian farming scene, but there is also evidence that their influence may have extended beyond the bounds of that county. In Chapter 1 of his book "The Highland Clearances", in a section dealing with the history of the Cheviot sheep, John Prebble writes:— "Encouraged by the success of two Northumbrians who had brought the animal as far as East Lothian, other men had taken them on over the Highland line."[4]

Prebble's source is a pamphlet written in 1795 by John Naismyth of Hamilton on behalf of the Society for Improvement of British Wool, and entitled "Observations on the different breeds of sheep and the state of sheep farming in the southern districts of Scotland". A copy of this work is available for consultation in the National Library of Scotland.[5]

Mr. Naismyth begins his perambulations in the Lammermuirs, and comments that the dominant type of sheep here is the native "black-faced moor kind", or "short sheep". However, an experiment is under way to try out the "long hill sheep of the east border, now known under the name of the Cheviot breed."

> "This has been done," he continues, "either by bringing in a new flock, or putting the fine woolled long rams to copulate with the short ewes: But this has not yet been long enough pursued to establish fully the comparative advantages or disadvantages of each kind; and those who are doubtful of the propriety of changing their stock, await the issue of the experiments making by their neighbours."

These words of caution are immediately qualified by a long footnote which continues on to the following page:-

> "At Whitsunday 1792, Mr Hay of Hopes, in East Lothian, subset a farm to two brothers Messrs James (sic) and Thomas Stevensons

from Northumberland, who are thoroughly acquainted with the management of a breeding farm, and particularly with the Cheviot breed of sheep."

Despite some confusion over the names, Naismyth is clearly referring to *Joseph* and Thomas Stephenson of Longyester, whose sub-tack of that farm was indeed, as we saw earlier, dated Whitsunday 1792.

Mr. Hay's initial scepticism about the four-footed incomers was soon dispelled:—

"Mr. Hay informs, that, when he saw this breed of sheep brought up on these farms, he entertained considerable doubt of the success of the experiment; and fortunately an opportunity soon offered, of seeing a correct comparative trial betwixt them and the black faced sheep.

"Mr. Hay's principal shepherd, and who had been long with him, was continued upon the farm by the Messrs Stevensons; and he kept his own flock of the black faced breed (The wages of every shepherd consists of so many sheep, which pasture along with the flock of his master).

"In autumn 1792, when the season for laying sheep had arrived, it was found that the Cheviot breed had throve remarkably well, and were, in general, in better order than the black faced sheep belonging to the shepherd."

Productivity was also up:—

"*2dly*, The ewes and the lambs that had been fed in the best pastures, although the pasture was apparently very bare, were found to be very fat; and a much greater number of them, than of the black faced ewes, had twins.

"*3dly*, Upon inquiry, Mr Hay found, that the Messrs Stevensons had a greater number of sheep and of black cattle upon this farm than ever he had kept.

"*4thly*, The wool of the Cheviot breed sells from 19s. to 20s. per stone; and Mr Hay used to sell the wool of his black faced sheep,

> from 8s. to 10s. per stone only; and he adds, that from his granting permits, as a Justice of the Peace, for the transport of the wool of the Messrs Stevensons, he finds, that they have cut, upon the whole, a third more wool from their stock than his black faced kind ever yielded.
>
> "They generally cut from 2s 6d. to 3s. worth of wool from each sheep of their feeding flock; and their feeding wedders give from 4s. to 4s 10d. worth of wool each."

The Stephenson brothers were not lacking in self-confidence:—

> "The wool of the Cheviot breed has increased in quantity, and improved in quality upon this farm; and last year the Stevensons offered a competition with the best Northumberland wool from that breed."

The traditional practice of "salving" or "smearing" (here, "laying") their sheep's fleeces, as a means of keeping out the wet and preventing parasites, was still carried out by the Stephensons:—

> "The mode practised by the Messrs Stevensons, in *laying* their sheep, is, by a mixture of 8 pounds (of 22 ounces) of butter to a Scotch pint, (fully two English quarts) of tar".[6]

The two brothers' practice seems to have been conservative here, for smearing was more usually carried out on Blackfaces than on Cheviots. The Napoleonic Wars would eventually make the price of Baltic tar unacceptably high, but tobacco juice proved to be an acceptable substitute.[7]

The Cheviot was a notoriously restless animal, and the brothers believed in giving free range to its wanderlust:—

> "The Messrs Stevenson never milk their ewes after weaning the lambs: *2ndly*, They never *fold* them: *3dly*, They have sowed out the whole of the hill pasture; and it is no part of their plan ever to have any part of it in tillage. In short, they never suffer the sheep to be disturbed, or in the smallest degree restrained in travelling over their pasture."

(Once the footloose nature of the Cheviot had been enshrined in print in this way, it was inevitable that its champions would seek to "clear" as much unproductive land as possible to make way for it).

We saw earlier that Joseph and Thomas had a flock of gimmers on Lammerlaw. Mr. Naismyth comments:—

> "The Messrs Stevenson have lately taken a new farm called *Lammerlaw*; which is the highest hill in this county, and is entirely covered with heath; upon this farm they have also introduced the Cheviot breed; and, so far as their short experience goes, they say they have reason to expect they will thrive even on that high ground. But they add more tar to the mixture for the laying of the sheep kept upon these high grounds."

John Prebble's oblique reference to the Stephensons as the men who inspired the northward movement of the Cheviot is rather too simplistic, for there were Cheviots beyond the Highland Line before 1792, and indeed it was in that same year that Sir John Sinclair introduced into Caithness a flock of those sheep for whom he had coined the very name of "Cheviot".[8] Nevertheless, the Stephensons' success must have impressed their neighbours and business contacts in the Lothians and Borders, and Naismyth's pamphlet — together with Sir John's good example — may have encouraged other "improving" lairds and store-farmers to try their luck with the "new" breed in the North. To some extent, then, the Stephensons might be said to have played their part in the chain of events which was to lead to the Highland Clearances.[8]

Of Joseph Stephenson and Margaret Renwick's three surviving sons, two were to follow in their father's footsteps: William becoming a farmer at Soonhope, and later at East Linton, while Robert, after farming for a time at Whitelaw, became a cattle salesman in Edinburgh, then a farm steward at Alderley Park in Cheshire and Penrice Castle, near Swansea.[9]

The third brother, Thomas, became a "surgeon" (i.e. general practitioner) in Alnwick and Gifford, and followed his father's and uncle's example by dying at a distressingly young age. His children Joseph and Thomasina came under the wing of their uncle Robert, and joined him in pursuing "summonses of wakening and transference" against the luckless children of Joseph senior's late trustees well into the 1840s ("They are

all very sick of it, as well they may", Robert's lawyer wrote to him at Alderley Park on 10th September 1841).

As for Hugh Stephenson, his later movements are unknown, and there is some evidence that he may have been supplanted at Soonhope by his half-brother William by 1814 at the latest.

Another Joseph Stephenson, the son of Thomas Stephenson and Mary Ord, married Isabella Bertram, the daughter of another prominent East Lothian farmer, and became a "surgeon" in Duns. His headstone in Duns churchyard reveals that his mother lies beside him, having survived her husband by forty years to die in 1839, aged 78. Joseph was only 37 when he died in 1835, and *his* son Thomas, an ironmonger in Edinburgh, died of "phthisis" (i.e. T.B.) in 1860, aged 34.

Another of Thomas and Mary's sons, John Bertram Stephenson, became a chemist with premises at 37 George Street, Edinburgh — now the offices of the *Times Scottish Education Supplement*. But his career is overshadowed by that of his son Dr Thomas Stephenson D.Sc., F.R.S.E., founder-proprietor of the pharmacists' journal *The Prescriber*, president of the Rotary Club of the British Isles and president of the Gilbert and Sullivan Society of Edinburgh. In 1918 Thomas Stephenson was sent on an extended tour of the U.S.A. and Canada to lecture on British War Aims on behalf of the Ministry of Information.[10]

Christopher Smout has written of "the Lothian gudeman's grandson, sending his son to University and his daughter to Edinburgh boarding-school, driving his wife in a carriage, and reading his way to prosperity".[11] If the later urban middle-class Stephensons seem a far cry from their rural ancestors, there is nevertheless a clear line of intellectual succession from those intelligent, innovative tenants of Longyester farm who applied their scientific bent to their own trade of farming, thereby helping to change the landscape of their adopted country.

REFERENCES

1. N.L.S. MS. 14755, fol.186-7
2. West Register House, Court of Session deeds, CS46/1852/AUG 34. I am grateful to Professor Rosalind Mitchison for alerting me to the existence of these documents.
3. Quoted in T. C. Smout *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (Fontana paperback, 6th ed.,1985), p.292.
4. John Prebble *The Highland Clearances* (Penguin, 1969), p.26.
5. N.L.S. 3/418, pps.3-4, and footnotes

6. This was a common mistake about the Scotch measure, which was very near to three English pints.
7. In an Appendix to *Observations on the different breeds of sheep, and the state of sheep farming in some of the principal counties of England* (Edinburgh, 1792), commissioned by the Society for Improvement of British wool, Mr. Kerr Richardson of Morebattle writes:- "The purpose of smearing, or salving, is now beginning to be better understood; and there is reason to believe that a mixture of tobacco liquor and spirit of turpentine, with a little brimstone, answers the great object of smearing, (which is that of killing the vermin and preventing the scab,) fully as well as tar and butter." (pps.58-9, fn.). According to James Handley, in *The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1963), p.143:— "Milking the ewes and smearing the sheep were practices that were not so common with Cheviots as with the Blackfaces."
8. "... the Society sent three Border store farmers to examine the state of the sheep farming in England (see note 6 above), and to their report (Sir John) Sinclair added an account of what had been known as 'the long hill sheep of the east Border' but to which he gave the name of Cheviot from the hills where they were chiefly to be found. The title was rapidly taken up." (Handley, *op.cit.*, p.98)
9. Genealogical information taken from Court of Session deeds (note 2 above) and *Monumental Inscriptions of Berwickshire, pre-1855* (Scottish Genealogy Society). The author of this article is a great- great-great-grandson of Hugh Stephenson of Longyester and Soonhope.
10. *Scottish Biographies 1938*; *Who Was Who 1929-40*; obituary in the "Scotsman", October 31st, 1938.
11. Smout, *op.cit.*, p.293.

KIRKHILL HOUSE, DUNBAR

By HERBERT COUTTS[1]

Kirkhill House, Queen's Road, Dunbar (National Grid Reference NT68667841) stands at the south-eastern edge of the former royal burgh. Built of carboniferous limestone from a local quarry, it is an early-19th century, three-storey villa of coursed square rubble, with an Ionic doorpiece, quoins and a Scotch slate roof. In the interior, the rooms are of classic Georgian proportions and many original features survive. The first and second floors are reached via a curved stone staircase, with handsome cast iron balusters and a mahogany handrail. With the exception of a small, make-shift looking bathroom extension to the rear, probably constructed in the early 20th century, the house has not been subjected to major alterations. Behind it are two ranges of stonebuilt outhouses with pantile roofs (including a coach house with cellars beneath, a stable, dovecot, W.C., coal house and barn), and a walled garden. The house has been listed as being of special architectural or historical interest.

When my wife and I purchased Kirkhill from the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers Ltd. in 1978, we were informed by a Dunbar resident of long standing that it had been built for the Duke of Roxburghe's factor, when members of that noble family occupied Broxmouth House to the south of the town. As our disposition recorded that Portland Cement had acquired Kirkhill from the ninth Duke in 1961, this explanation seemed plausible. Eventually, a growing curiosity to discover something about the people who had lived, and died, in the property during approximately 150 years led me to write to the present Roxburghe factor in Kelso. His response exploded the local theory as to the house's original *raison d'être* — the factor had never been resident in Dunbar and little was known about Kirkhill at the Roxburghe estates office. In a way, this negative reply represented something of a challenge. Taking it up has involved research in, among other places, the office of the East Lothian Courier, the East Lothian History Centre, Register House,

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New Register House, West Register House, Edinburgh Central Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Monuments Record and the Library of the Royal College of Physicians of Scotland. This paper summarises the results.

Kirkhill House was built by James Kellie, M.D. In November, 1825 he purchased "three acres and a half or thereby English measures of arable land, formerly described in the writs and Title Deeds thereof as containing four acres, lying on the Kirkhill of Dunbar ..." from the Trustees of the late John Gray of Graysfield.[2] Presumably construction work began in the following year. James Kellie had a slightly exotic background, though one that was not particularly unusual for the Dunbar of his day. He was born in India, his father, also James, being a captain in the service of the Honourable East India Company. However, it was no accident that Kellie spent his professional life in Dunbar and that his father was buried there.

In his classic work *The Surnames of Scotland*, George F. Black states: "A family named Kelle, long resident at Dunbar, apparently derived their name from an old spelling of KELLO, which hardened into a separate sumame. Cudbert Kelle was tenant of Eistbarnis of Dunbar, 1559 and rendered to Exchequer the accounts of the burgh of Dunbar, 1563. In 1590 Alexander Kellie was bailie of Dunbar. Captain John Kellie was retoured heir in certain lands in Berwickshire, 1659 and Nicol Kellie was burgess of Dunbar, 1688."[3] Also, the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland records that on 22 February 1567/8 Sir Thomas McGill, archpriest of Dunbar, was authorised to feu the kirklands of the archpresbytery to, among others, "Johnne Kellie, elder."[4] Clearly, Dr. Kellie was the product of an old-established Dunbar family. Evidence of his immediate antecedents comes from a weathered recumbent gravestone lying alongside his own headstone, located on the south side of Dunbar parish church. This reveals that Dr. Kellie's father (died 1808) was the son of John Kellie, a Dunbar shipmaster, and Janet Higgins (died 1795). Janet's father, Archibald Higgins (died 1772) to whom the gravestone was originally dedicated, lived to 76 years of age and had been the Town Clerk of the burgh.

Although he was born in India, a reference in the 1851 Census return for Kirkhill House indicates that James Kellie studied medicine at Edinburgh. The list of medical graduates of the University records the graduation in 1814 of "Jacobus Kellie, ex India Orientali."[5] His thesis

dealt with apoplexy (stroke). In this there is a strange irony as his death certificate shows that it was apoplexy which brought on his demise forty-one years later. Shortly after he qualified, Dr. Kellie began to practise in Dunbar, and as his gravestone indicates he was to serve the needs of patients in the town "for a period of forty years". He seems to have been in no hurry to take a bride but eventually, in an entry dated 16 May 1824, the Dunbar Parish Church Register records: "James Kellie M.D. of this Parish and Mary Wauchope of the Parish of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh were regularly proclaimed this day and the two following Sabbaths and married on the 1st June at Edinburgh by the Rev. Dr. Gordon."[6]

On the basis of information gathered from Dr. Kellie's gravestone, and the census returns for Kirkhill House for 1841 and 1851, it is clear that his wife, who was the daughter of an Edinburgh merchant, bore him ten children, all bar the first (James) being born while the Kellies occupied Kirkhill. Three of them died in childhood: Mary (age 6), Joanne (age 12) and Margaret (age 2). The others were James, Elizabeth, George, Martha, Archibald, Harriet Charleswood and Andrew Wauchope. Dr. Kellie seems to have been prudent with regard to his financial affairs. As his family grew in number, the Register of Sasines shows him purchasing properties in various parts of Dunbar. By the time of his death, his holdings included former common land at Gallowgreen and Kirkhill; a large group of houses at Dawell Brae (with 17 individual occupants — fishermen, fishwives, labourers and a publican); two slaughterhouses; a group of houses at Shore; a yard, curing house and six houses in Common Close, High Street; a further three houses, a shop and cellar in the High Street; and a house nearby the Castle. Undoubtedly, he had been something of a property magnate.

Since he was a figure of some importance in the community, it is no surprise to find that Dr. Kellie served on Dunbar Burgh Council. In the minutes of the Council he first appears as a candidate for election on 2 May 1834.[7] A vacancy had occurred on the death of Councillor Robert Brown and Kellie was one of the nominees to fill it as an interim Councillor. The election involved voting only by the sitting councillors, rather than the general constituency of the burgh. On this occasion, Kellie was not elected, but when the normal elections took

place in November of the same year he was successful. In all, he served on the Council for sixteen years, and in so doing made a significant contribution to its work on behalf of the local populace.

Unfortunately, Dr. Kellie's eventual decision to resign, intimated on 12 June 1850, seems to have been provoked by a dispute which arose between him and the Council. It had its origins in his purchase of about eight acres of former common land, known as the East Common or Kirkhill, which extended along the sea shore to the east of the town. The land in question had passed out of the ownership of the Council in unfortunate circumstances.

About 1843 the Burgh Council had borrowed £5,600 from James Balfour of Whittinghame, the bulk of the money being used to meet the proportion of the cost which fell to the Council when, in conjunction with the Board of White Fisheries for Scotland, they constructed a new harbour (the Victoria harbour) for the town.[8] In 1845 some of the Council's creditors called for payment of the debts due to them. Mr. Balfour's heir, James Maitland Balfour, agreed to advance to the town a further sum of £3,400 for this purpose, on condition that a heritable bond of corroboration should be granted to his father's trustees in regard to the previous debt of £5,600 and that a bond and disposition in security should also be granted for the new loan. The properties conveyed as securities included West Barns Mills, the Inner Common and the East Common or Kirkhill. As was usual with such heritable bonds, the power of sale was granted in the event of the Council failing to repay the sum borrowed. In 1848 James Maitland Balfour decided to make use of this power as the Council had permitted the payment of interest to fall into arrear and had taken no steps to repay the loans. Dr. Kellie bought the Kirkhill, which adjoined his house and existing land, in February 1849 for £650.

Involving as it did former common land, the sale would not have been popular in the town, and matters were soon to go from bad to worse. At the Council meeting of 13 June 1849 a letter from the Duke of Roxburghe's factor was read in regard to "the enclosing of the Kirkhill" by Dr. Kellie.[9] This had clearly alarmed the Duke, and the Council too were concerned at the news. They asked that Dr. Kellie furnish details for their consideration in order "that the right of the Community may be attended to . . ." It is not known how he replied, if at all, but on 19 July the Council considered two letters from the agents

of the Duke of Roxburghe urging them to apply for an interdict to halt the enclosure work. The Council remitted the matter to Provost John Kelly and Councillor Sawers for detailed consideration. The minutes record "there is no time to lose, Dr. Kellie having resumed his operations".

It is apparent, however, that Dr. Kellie was not without supporters on the Council. At the following meeting (on 8 August), Councillor Hume, seconded by Treasurer Richardson, moved that all further interference with Dr. Kellie's "operations" should be discontinued, but the motion was defeated. Later at the same meeting, Councillor Sawers reported that an interdict had been taken out on behalf of the town by two burgesses (James Raeburn and Peter Nisbet, junior) and by the Duke of Roxburghe.

Essentially, the Council's case was that although the Kirkhill had been properly purchased by Dr. Kellie, the burgesses continued to retain a range of rights in respect of it as it was common land vested for ever in the burgh of Dunbar by a royal charter of 1618.[10] These rights included the right to pasture their cattle on the Kirkhill, to remove "sea-ware" (seaweed) from the seashore, to quarry sand from the hillside and take gravel from the beach, to cut grave-turf from grass ground within the Kirkhill, to freely use the footpaths and roads passing through it, and to walk over it for recreation. For his part, the Duke of Roxburghe claimed on behalf of himself, his mother the Dowager-Duchess, and their "tenants, cottars, and dependants", the right of "roadway for carts, horses and foot-passengers through the Kirkhill." In other words, the Burgh Council and the Duke of Roxburghe wished the situation to remain precisely as it had been before Dr. Kellie purchased the land. The stage was set for a major legal battle.

In taking the unusual step of instituting legal action against one of their fellow councillors, the Council were not only responding to the urgings of the Duke of Roxburghe but to the popular mood in the town. An indication of the strength of feeling against Dr. Kellie is given by a poem, written by Robert Mennon (1797-1885), known as the "Ayton Bard", who lived in Dunbar from 1850 to 1869.[11] Entitled "Neptune's Revenge: Or, The Downfall of Dr. K....ie's Dike", the poem portrays Neptune as railing against "the bold presumptuous fellow" who had encroached upon his domain, "Wi' that dwarf wa' o' lime an' stanes!". The sea god sympathises with the people of Dunbar in their plight:

"Ah, poor Dunbar folks weel may say,
Ye're hampered in 'tween bank and brae,
Where free ye're faithers used to dwell,
Ye havena room to move yersel'!
If farrer up he'd built his wa',
I wadna said a word ava'
But on the spot where, ilka day,
My loyal subjects sport an' play,
An' what gaes deepest to my heart,
That he should fortify the part
Against the sea, wi' a mole-hill,
As if it were a prattlin' rill!"

The poem ends with Neptune, assisted by the north-east wind, hurling the sea against the offending wall:

"But sic a night o' wind an'rain,
I hope we ne'er may see again
Thousands were buried in the eeps,
An' K...ie's dike was laid in heaps."

Despite the general hostility to Dr. Kellie, Treasurer Richardson, who had opposed the interdict, continued to protest against the course being pursued by the Council. At their meeting on 31 August 1849, he pointed out that they had not even taken the elementary step of seeking "the opinion of Counsel" (an advocate) on the matter.[12] When this advice was eventually obtained, the Burgh Council's attitude towards Dr. Kellie softened markedly; presumably they were advised that they were on shakier legal ground than they had assumed. On 21 November they appointed a Committee to "endeavour to come to amicable terms with Dr. Kellie". In February of the following year the Provost reported to the Council that he had not called the Committee together as the Duke of Roxburghe's agents had advised "that such communings with the Doctor were likely to do harm." The agents had made an offer of compromise to Dr. Kellie but this had been rejected, and so they intended to continue with the legal action.

The case was finally heard in Edinburgh by the Lord Ordinary, Lord Dundrennan. His judgement of 27 February 1851 represented a crushing defeat for the Burgh Council.[13] He found against Messrs. Raeburn and Nisbet and instructed them to pay Dr. Kellie's legal expenses. Also, he

pointed out that their claims had been considerably weakened by the fact that unlike Dr. Kellie, whose complete title to the Kirkhill he upheld, they were not property holders in Dunbar but were "mere burgesses and inhabitants." Treasurer Richardson's warnings had come home to roost. Had independent legal advice been obtained by the Council before the action was begun, the error of pursuing the interdict in the names of burgesses who were not property holders almost certainly would have been avoided. As to the Duke of Roxburghe, Lord Dundrennan authorised his claims to be considered by a jury but commented that there was scarcely a dispute between the Duke and Dr. Kellie as the latter had accepted the Duke's rights of road or way through the lands of Kirkhill.

The initial response of the Burgh Council to the Lord Ordinary's judgement was to contest it before the Inner House of the Court of Session.[14] But, at last, sense prevailed and the Council and the Duke of Roxburghe decided to settle with the doctor out of court. Under the terms of the Minute of Agreement between the parties, reported to the Council at their meeting on 13 June 1851, the Council were required to pay Dr. Kellie for the "sea-ware" (seaweed) taken from the seashore of the Kirkhill since his date of entry to the property. This was in addition to the sum of £109 4s. (£22 5s 4d of which was tax), which the Council had to pay the doctor to meet his legal expenses. For his part, Dr. Kellie agreed that the citizens of Dunbar could have the same right to use the cart road and footpaths across the Kirkhill as the Duke and Dowager-Duchess of Roxburghe and their tenants. The *cause célèbre* of "Kellie's dike" was over and the doctor had been vindicated.

James Kellie died on 5 June 1855, aged 59 years. His death certificate states that the cause of death was "apoplexy, with paralysis for fifteen days". There would appear to have been no warning of his illness as he died intestate. The inventory of Dr. Kellie's movable estate and effects, recorded in the Court Books of the Haddington Commissary Court on 13 February 1856, indicates that his household furniture, bed and table linen, drugs, surgical instruments, etc. were valued at £123 4s.[15] Debts owed to him included fees from seventeen patients ranging from £25 17s owed by James Taylor, Pitcox and £6 1s 2d by Peter Aitken, Dunbar to 12s 6d by John Forman, Lochend. Rents due from the various properties that he owned amounted to £76 5s 2d.

Kirkhill House was inherited by Dr. Kellie's eldest son, James, an Assistant Surgeon in Her Majesty's 86th Regiment of Foot. He sold it,

and the Kirkhill common land, to the Duke of Roxburghe in 1856.[16] The valuation rolls show that Mrs. Kellie stayed on at Kirkhill as the Duke's tenant in 1856-57, but in 1857-58 it is listed as being empty. The doctor's widow had moved out never to return but this was not to be the end of his family's connection with the house.

The 1861 Census for the parish of Dunbar listed Mrs. Kellie as being resident in Church Street, at the head of a sizeable household. This comprised her unmarried daughters Elizabeth (age 33), Martha (age 29) and Harriet C (age 18), son Andrew W (age15), a scholar, grandson Charles W (age 5), interestingly described as having been born in Arabia, granddaughter Josephine M (age 4), nephew George Wauchope (age 21), a commercial clerk in the wine trade, Sophia de Cartnet (age 25) born in Jersey and governess to the grandchildren, and Margaret Nicholson (age 17), a servant. Three years later, on 30 September, Mary Kellie died of bronchitis, aged 60.

Information gathered on the lives of Dr. Kellie's children provides an interesting backward glance at the days of the Empire. As is so often the case with medical men, two of his sons followed in his footsteps to become doctors. His eldest, James, as has been already indicated, served as a surgeon in the army. His obituaries record that he qualified at Edinburgh University in 1846, was appointed assistant surgeon in 1848, surgeon in 1857, surgeon-major in 1868 and retired in 1880 with the honorary rank of Brigade-Surgeon. He was at the siege and capture of Dhar in 1857, served with the 17th Lancers in Rajpootana and Central India, and was also present at the action at Zeerapore in December, 1858 (medal with clasp). He died at 32 St. James' Square, Notting Hill, London on 22 April 1894, aged 69 years. Dr. Kellie's second son, George, was surgeon of the steamer "Phlegethon" in the service of the East India Company and died, suddenly, on 4 August 1854 off Akyab, aged 25.

There is no evidence that his remaining sons were doctors but they both continued the family link with India. Archibald, his third son, died at Dar Jeeling, Bengal on 1 November 1879 aged 39 years. His youngest son, Andrew, died at sea on his way home from India on 26 June 1891, aged 44 or 45. Among the Kellie daughters, only Martha seems to have gone abroad. She married a John Fisher and died in Jamaica on 28 June 1868, aged 36 years.[17] The other two, Elizabeth and Harriet, stayed in Dunbar and were to renew the family link with Kirkhill House.

The valuation rolls indicate that after Mrs. Kellie moved out of the house in 1856-57 there was a sequence of relatively short tenancies (Miss Isabella Sandilands, 1858-59; empty, 1859-60; Thomas Pilkington 1860-61 to 1863-64; empty, 1864-65; Thomas Mack, late farmer, 1865-66; Major George Dowell, 1866-67 to 1870-71) until Miss Elizabeth Kellie became the occupant in 1871-72. In 1882-83 she was joined by Catherine Kellie (perhaps a niece) for one year only. Then in 1886-87 her sister Harriet appears for the first time. The two spinsters are shown as joint tenants from that date until 1897-98. As the family gravestone records that Elizabeth died in 1895, it is rather a surprise to find her still listed as a tenant in subsequent years. The rolls show that Harriet, Dr. Kellie's youngest daughter, continued to occupy the house until 1917-18. She died on 26 April 1918. Her niece, Mabel Kellie, who had looked after Harriet in her old age, stayed on at Kirkhill until 1919-20. When she moved away this finally severed the family's connection with the house which Dr. Kellie had built almost a century before.

Two people survive who remember the last days of the Kellies at Kirkhill House. Mr. William Nisbet (born 1910), now of Sussex, but the son of a well-to-do Dunbar family, whose great-great-grandfather married a Kellie, recalls visiting Kirkhill as a child. Like the Kellies, his family had strong Indian connections. He lived with this grandmother at No.1, Roxburghe Terrace, nearby Kirkhill. He recounts: "During the First World War, the cellar under the coach house was used as an air raid shelter from the Zep (Zeppelin) raids. They used to pass over the house on their way to bomb Edinburgh."[18] Dunbar's oldest long-term resident, Miss Isabella Hudson Grahame (born 1888), remembers visiting the walled garden to the rear of Kirkhill as a child. She was able to point out Mabel Kellie to me in a photograph, dating from 1916-1917, of a group of Dunbar ladies who served refreshments to the troups stationed in the town during the First World War. She described Mabel as "small and dainty", with a dancing kind of step. She had an "educated accent" and was "very trig".

Following Mabel's departure, Kirkhill was occupied by a string of tenants for the next forty years (Commander Edward D. Dury, O.B.E., R.N.R., 1920-21 to 1928-29; Robert S. Sharpe, solicitor, 1929-30 to 1942-43; empty part of 1943-44; Hugh Ross, stationer and newsagent, 1943-44 to 1947-48; William Turnbull, engineer, 1948-49 to 1951-52; Daniel Smith jun, draper, 1952-53 to 1961-62). The house was bought by Portland Cement in 1961 along with land in the ownership of the Duke of

Roxburghe to the south of the town. It was on the latter that the Company established its quarry and cement works, which still operate down to the present. Members of the company's staff occupied Kirkhill until 1977-78 (David B.N. Baird, 1964-65 to 1965-66; Dennis E. Arnold, 1966-67 to 1967-68; Eric R. Symonds, 1968-69 to 1973-74; empty 1974-75; James D. Lamb 1975-76 to 1976-77; Alan G. Murdoch 1977-78).

What has been gained by investigating the history of my house? Research has provided a glimpse of the world of Kirkhill's builder and his family. A world of laughing children, of anxiously-awaited letters from India, of domestic bustle, of house calls to patients, of gossip about local politics, and of the strain and worry that inevitably attend a long-drawn-out legal battle. A small footnote has been written to the history of Dunbar and a local family, once prominent but since forgotten, have been re-discovered.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to acknowledge, with gratitude, the considerable assistance given to him by John Steele of Dunbar in carrying out the research for this paper. Without Mr. Steele's help, it would have been very much the poorer.
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4. Donaldson, G. (ed), *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, Vol.VI, AD1567-1574* (H.M.S.O., 1963), pp.39-40.
5. *List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from 1705 to 1866* (University of Edinburgh, 1867), p.58.
6. SRO OPR706/8 16 May 1824.
7. SRO B18/13/9.
8. SRO CS46/84 July 1852.
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10. SRO CS46/84 July 1852.
11. Mennon, R. *Poems: Moral and Religious* (Edinburgh, 1869) pp.159-161. I am most grateful to Mrs. C. Roberts of the East Lothian District Library Service for drawing this poem to my attention.
12. SRO B18/13/10.
13. SRO CS46/84 July, 1852.
14. SRO B18/13/10.
15. SRO SC40/40/11.
16. SRO RS27/2054 p.16.
17. Information obtained from Dr. Kellie's gravestone.
18. Letter from William Nisbet to Herbert Coutts, 15 January 1987.

THE EPISCOPAL TRADITION IN EAST LOTHIAN

By STEPHEN BUNYAN

A development of the paper given at the Annual General Meeting of the Society in St. Anne's Church, Dunbar.

There is a great deal of misapprehension about the position of bishops in the Scottish Church after the Reformation. When the Scottish Parliament broke with the Pope in 1560, adopted a Calvinist Confession of Faith and forbade the celebration of the Mass, its actions were technically illegal since Queen Mary had forbidden it to deal with religion. In any case it did not abolish bishops, and these continued within the Church, with varying levels of power and authority, except for the period of the Great Rebellion and Interregnum, until 1690. For much of the seventeenth century bishops worked in harness with the system of presbyterian church courts.

After 1690, when, because of the unwillingness of the episcopate to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary, the office of bishop was legally abolished within the Scottish Church, two thirds of the clergy were pushed out of their churches and many of them formed, with their flocks, a substantial dissenting body. In 1712 a limited amount of toleration was enacted, which allowed those who would take the oaths to hold services and to use the Anglican liturgy. This Act met the needs of the clergy and congregations who had come to Scotland from England, but most of the episcopalians in Scotland were Jacobite in sympathy and so non-juring. After the '15 they could not hold services for more than eight persons and after the '45 this was reduced to four. Clergy in Scottish orders were not allowed to take the oath. From both the English and Scottish strands the modern Episcopal Church has grown.

In East Lothian several clergy loyal to the Episcopal tradition continued, for a time at least, to minister after the Revoltuion of 1688-9. This was the case in the parishes of Pencaitland, East Saltoun, Bolton

and Yester. In Haddington there were two ministers; one George Dunbar, remained loyal to episcopacy and continued to hold services in St. Mary's until his death in 1713 while the other, James Forman, who died in 1702 conformed to Presbyterianism.

Dunbar's tomb can be seen in the churchyard close to the west door. It bears the date 1711, but the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* gives the date of his death as 23rd October 1713 and the date of his successor as 1714. John Gray, a native of Haddington who had been appointed minister of Aberlady in 1684, was a non-juror in 1688 and was deprived on 12th September 1689. He returned to Haddington where he lived comfortably, being a man of substance, considered himself to be the minister of Aberlady when he added a codicil to his will in 1717, the year of his death, left his splendid library to the burgh and was buried in a tomb in the then ruined choir of St. Mary's, which can now be seen in the restored church.

The situation of the episcopalians is also illustrated by the experience of William Denune of Pencaitland. He was born in 1656, became minister of the second charge in Haddington in 1683, and of Pencaitland in 1685. He was a grandson of Sir Hector Monro of Foulis and had Jacobite connections. He was apparently nervous about his position. In several letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine, Dr Alexander Monro, an episcopalian who had been nominated for the bishopric of Argyll in 1686 but not appointed because of the Revolution, and who was deprived of the office of Principal of Edinburgh University on 20th September 1690, asks him to tell Denune that he need not be afraid to write to his friends. But in the political climate of the time Denune may well have been wise to be cautious, as indeed Monro had to be. Denune died in office on 27th January 1704.

In Musselburgh, not then of course part of East Lothian, the Rev. Arthur Miller was ejected from the church but with the connivance of the Town Council allowed to remain in the manse. He continued to minister to a separate congregation and had established a chapel by 1704. He continued to minister until he went to Leith in 1709. He was made bishop in 1718, and in 1727 Bishop of Edinburgh. Episcopal worship continued in Musselburgh, for Miller was succeeded by Robert Colt, a member of the family of the lairds of Inveresk.

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Episcopalians benefited from the Toleration Act, and the '15 did not seem to affect the situation in Musselburgh. William Forbes, incumbent at the time of the '45 was a staunch Jacobite and used the 1637 liturgy. Prince Charles stayed the night after the battle of Prestonpans at Pinkie House, and Mr and Mrs Forbes were presented to him. In 1746 church and parsonage were destroyed by Cumberland's troopers returning from Culloden. There is sketchy evidence that Forbes continued to minister until 1771, perhaps coming out from Edinburgh to a house in Sharp's Land, now 8 Pinkie Road, which was the meeting place until 1785. During this time the Rev. John Falconer, a 'qualified' priest, also ministered in Musselburgh and Dalkeith, from 1754-1757, to the army and to non-jacobite episcopalians.

In 1711 the Rev. William Smith became parson and built himself the house still known as the Parsonage. The penal laws were still in force but he was supported by the Duke of Buccleuch and the Marquis of Tweeddale. In 1785 a pleasing chapel was built in Millhill and a tolerant solution existed in the town between Smith and Dr Carlyle. Smith had good connections and influential supporters and secured as assistant and successor, Thomas Langhorne, who also became his son-in-law. Langhorne introduced an organ and a surplice. He supplemented his income by receiving pupils. Two years later he leased, and in 1829, purchased Loretto House. From this beginning Loretto School developed. Mr Hugh Hope drew up a bill removing the disability preventing priests in Scottish orders holding positions in the Church of England. This was introduced to Parliament by the Duke of Buccleuch, a trustee of the Musselburgh congregation and the proposal was made to build a new church. Sir Archibald Hope provided the site at Pinkie Gate and the church was built (in French Gothic style) by Paterson and Shiells of Edinburgh.

The Loretto boys continued to attend St. Peter's in the morning until 1876 when a chapel was built in the school. In the afternoon they went to Dalkeith Chapel where a professional choir sang fine music at evensong. A day school was established by the Church in 1871, at first at No. 2 High Street, and later in the old Millhill Chapel, bought back for the purpose by Sir John Hope. The school was handed over to the education authority in 1919 but the church continued its interest in the school.

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In 1927, during the incumbency of the Rev. Thomas Hannan, 1891-1938, Links Lodge was bought as a Rectory. It served until 1945 when the present house in Windsor Gardens was bought. Between 1906-9 a mission was established in Fisherrow.

In 1939 St. Andrew's Prestonpans, which had been in the area assigned to Musselburgh in 1911, and where a congregation was established in 1914, but which for twenty years had been run as a mission from the Cathedral, asked to be taken over by Musselburgh. The building at Prestonpans was originally supplied by Holy Cross Church in Edinburgh and was clad with stone in 1952. This link continues. The congregation in Musselburgh is now firmly established. A hall was built in 1952 and the church has recently been extensively renovated.

At the time of the death of Mr Dunbar in Haddington in 1711 the episcopalians rented a building in the Poldrate. We know that John Gray occasionally preached in this humble episcopal meeting house and from him we learn that the minister's name in 1714 was John Wilson. It was clearly a permitted congregation under the Toleration Act.

In a letter arranging for the sale of the chapel in the Poldrate in 1707 it was referred to as the chapel for the English congregation. The congregation was divided into two parts. There were country dwellers from as far afield as Dunbar and beyond, from Tranent and from Yester. These people attended their local churches and had occasional visits from their preferred minister for baptisms and marriages. In Haddington there was a local congregation supplemented by soldiers and with marriages and baptisms for them and marriage for runaway couples from England. It seems likely that in the eighteenth century the clergy were ministering to both juring and non-juring episcopalians with the latter mainly in the country districts. In 1765 negotiations were begun to secure a new and important site.

The site of the present church is the site of the great Franciscan friary. The church, said to have been of wondrous beauty was known as the Lamp of Lothian. It had, however, been demolished at the Reformation by the Burgh council and the site had been sub-divided. By 1769 it had all been secured and by March 1770 the church had been completed. It cost about £800, of which half was given by Francis Charteris, later *de jure* Earl of Wemyss. £300 was raised by subscription and £100 by loan from Simon Sawers. In 1792 the church was described

as a very elegant chapel. It was reconstructed in 1843 and as there had been no bishop in 1770 was then consecrated. The bishop was Charles Terrot, the former rector, who had suggested in 1814 that the chapel should come under the Scottish episcopate. In the period 1856-63 the cost of maintaining the rector was largely borne by Robert Hay of Limplum and Nunraw.

Further alterations to the chapel were proposed in 1898 and the pews were reduced in height. In 1930 the Romano-Byzantine chancel was built by B. N. H. Orphoot with a reredos by C. d'O. Pilkington Jackson, and two galleries were removed. The church was redecorated in 1962 and again refurbished after the disastrous fire in 1988. The fine Rectory was built in 1819 and the Hall in 1892/93. The former building is comparable in scale to a parish manse of the period and reflects the growing security of the Episcopal congregation in the local scene.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, because Musselburgh was then in the neighbouring county, Holy Trinity was the only Episcopal church in East Lothian. The situation was to change during the ministry of Canon Wannop who came to Haddington in 1855. He was responsible for establishing congregations in North Berwick and Dunbar. Soon after his arrival he started to conduct episcopal services in the burgh school room in North Berwick, which were well supported. It was decided to build a church. Three gentlemen identified themselves with this project; Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple Bt., the Rt. Hon. R. C. Nisbet-Hamilton and Mr George Hope of Luffness.

The decision by these men, and by others like them, in other areas, had important implications for the parish churches. The established Church had already been badly affected by the Disruption of 1843 and the resultant setting up of the Free Church which had taken away many lively members. Now many of the gentry, who, as heritors, were financially responsible for maintaining the parish churches, manses and stipends as well as other commitments in the parishes, began to build, support and attend Episcopal churches. They had to continue until 1925 meeting their obligations in full to the parish churches when teinds were fixed at the value at that time. Some of them kept up a dual arrangement of attendance especially where the distance to the Episcopal church was too great for regular attendance in a pre-motor car age. In some cases the priest took services in the mansion house, and one

proprietor in the area, Mrs Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, the daughter of R. C. Nisbet-Hamilton, built a large chapel at Biel.

In North Berwick Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple donated the site, and his fellow trustees undertook to build the church. It was the work of the architect John Henderson, 1804-62, the architect who built Trinity College, Glenalmond. The church was consecrated on 23rd October 1862. Within a year of its completion it was decided to enlarge the church to cope with the summer seasonal visitors. The trustees continued their generosity by agreeing to provide a parsonage and stipend and in 1868 the Rev. F. L. D. Anderson was admitted as first incumbent. The church was further extended in 1883/4 by the architects Seymour and Kinross to provide seating for a total of five hundred and twenty seven, and again by them in 1890, for a further two hundred and fifty.

The porch was added by Sir Robert Lorimer in 1917. R. C. Nisbet-Hamilton died in 1877 and as he had no son, his place as trustee was taken by the Earl of Haddington. Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple died in 1887: his heir was not an episcopalian, and he was succeeded as a trustee by Henry T. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy, who had married Constance Nisbet-Hamilton, heiress of Biel and Archerfield and the daughter of R. C. Nisbet-Hamilton, one of the original trustees.

By this time St. Baldred's was firmly established. It received many generous donations. There was a strong determination to keep the services liturgically moderate to make them generally acceptable, a compromise usual in rural areas. In 1922 it was decided to use the Scottish liturgy. In 1930 two female members were elected to the vestry. The sittings were recently reduced by converting part of the church into a hall area. The congregation is still vigorous and has a fine musical tradition.

From 1890 Gullane, part of Mrs Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy's Archerfield estate, was developed as a residential and holiday area, and a separate church, dedicated to St. Adrian, was established. It started in 1909 as a mission from North Berwick, became an independent mission in 1911, and almost at once got its own rector. The congregation worshipped at first in an iron church, but on the 14th December 1925 the foundation of the new church by Reginald Fairlie was laid. The church, built of beautiful flush pointed rubble, was opened and consecrated in 1927. The Rev. J. Denholm, who became rector of St. Baldred's in 1969, also became

rector of Gullane in February 1970, since when the congregations have been linked.

Canon Wannop's second great venture was in Dunbar. In 1874 evening services were started in the Corn Exchange. They attracted eighty worshippers, the same number as the regular congregations he had attracted in North Berwick. In view of this response it was decided to hold weekly services. In 1876 the congregation decided to build an iron church on Bakerscroft, the site of the present Day Centre. It cost £500 and was supplied by Francis Morton and Company of Liverpool. It was described as the most neat and complete thing of its kind, Gothic with buttresses, porch and a belfry. It was lined with grained timber and had a fine range of windows, including an east window filled with stained glass. It had central heating and a vestry. The Countess of Haddington gave an oak Communion table and there was a fine silver Communion set by Cox and Sons of London. In short, as was said at the time, 'it had every appointment necessary to ensure the comfort of the congregation and the effective performance of his duties by the incumbent'.

Having established the mission, Canon Wannop resigned from it in 1878 and the Rev. C. P. Incledon was appointed priest in charge. In 1885 the decision was made to build the present church dedicated to St. Anne, but the rector, J. A. Broad, resigned and the work did not begin until after the appointment of his successor, the Rev. D. McColl in 1887. The site was secured, plans were drawn up by H. M. Wardrop, funds were raised and the foundation stone was laid by the Earl of Haddington on 5th November 1888. H. M. Wardrop did not live to complete the task and the work was carried on by Sir Rowand Anderson, the leading architect of the day. The church was opened for worship on 21st May 1890 by Bishop Dowden. It was consecrated on October 18th 1892. The church had two hundred and fifty sittings at that time and they were all taken. Further attempts were made to raise money but the church was never fully completed. The tower remains truncated, some stone work is still uncarved and the niche for St. Anne stands sadly empty. Some further improvements were made. The severe aspect was modified by the installation of a fine organ built by Henry Willis in 1896, the gift of Mrs Ramsay of 5 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. The screen originally intended by H. M. Wardrop was installed in memory of J. W. A. Anderson and his wife Christine. The reredos intended by Rowand

Anderson instead of a large east window was never installed and a long curtain now fills the space.

After the Great War a war memorial was erected. Then the decision was made to build a small chapel dedicated to St. Andrew. It was later embellished in memory of the late R. J. Bruce, rector from 1906-37. When Biel chapel was demolished the Rev. Edmund Ivens established a chapel dedicated to St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. This was modified by the Rev. David Rimmer and again in 1990 as a part of the centenary refurbishment of the church. The fine Rectory, designed by Walker Todd, was built in 1912 as a result of a tremendous fund-raising exercise, instigated by the rector, the Rev. R. J. Bruce. When the Rev. E. M. Ivens retired on 15th August 1979, after a long ministry and almost exaclty one hundred years after the appointment of the Rev. C. P. Incledon, the congregation became a linked charge with Holy Trinity, Haddington. The rector of Holy Trinity, the Rev. David Rimmer, became also rector of St. Anne's with a team ministry to serve both congregations. This is to be augmented by the appointment of a curate to be resident in Dunbar in 1991.

The present rector of both charges is the Rev. Canon Alex Black. In the early days the congregation was dominated by the local gentry who were largely responsible for building the church and supported by local episcopalians. Soon, however, Dunbar developed as a holiday resort and this increased congregations in the summer. At a later stage it had the effect that many locals disappeared and were replaced by summer visitors. At first there was a very small military presence in Dunbar but this changed with the building of the barracks in 1913. St. Anne's played an important role ministering to the military in both wars. The barracks, the country houses and the hotels have largely gone and with them the summer congregations. The regular congregation falls short of the eighty whose presence launched the venture in 1874, but the centenary of the church was celebrated by a congregation in good heart. The highlight of the celebrations was a festival evensong when Richard Holloway, the Bishop of Edinburgh, preached to a capacity congregation, which included the Earl of Haddington whose great grandfather had laid the foundation stone in 1888.

Mention has already been made of St. Margaret's Chapel at Biel, built by Mrs Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy in 1883. The chapel seated one hundred and two and was richly furnished. Regular services were

discontinued after her death in 1920. The fittings of the chapel were bequeathed to St. Anne's, Dunbar, by an arrangement made in 1922 by Lt. Col. Grant and Gilbert Ogilvy. They were largely left in situ until the chapel was demolished by Admiral Brooke. At that time the west end of St. Anne's was made into the chapel dedicated to St. Margaret. A service was held on the site of the chapel at Biel in August 1979 to mark the long association with St. Anne's and the retirement of the Rev. E. M. Ivens from that charge. Services were also held at Winton Castle which Mrs Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy had inherited from Lady Ruthven in 1888, and where she mainly stayed after the death of her husband in 1909. At first they were in the entrance hall but after he inherited the estate, Gilbert Ogilvy fitted up a room as a chapel, where services continued until after World War II. Improved transport then made it possible for those who attended them to attend Holy Trinity.

Canon Wannop also established a mission at Tranent. A church was built at the west end of the town, dedicated to St. Germain. This mission, like that at Prestonpans, was run for a time from the cathedral. The church was burned down. For a time early morning services were held in the church hall of Wishart-St. Andrew's Church. Members of the congregation joined St. Andrew's Prestonpans in 1963, though services were held in Tranent until the death of Mr Porteous in 1975.

Episcopal churches, especially in the country, tend to be associated with the gentry, and certainly in the past they were largely supported by them, but the congregations were sustained by determined individuals of all classes. Such determination was shown both by the sight of the Duke of Buccleuch's carriage outside the house of Sharp's Land, Musselburgh c.1771, and by the presence of a caravan in Tranent in which a faithful few worshipped. We have come a long way from the recollection referred to in the Centenary History of Holy Trinity, Haddington, of how the members who walked to church waited outside the gates to curtsy to the gentry as the carriages drove in in order of precedence. Members of gentry families are still to the fore but they are likely to be sharing menial and other tasks with everyone else.

Episcopal churches tend still to be known as English kirks. Certainly they are in full communion with the Church of England. Certainly they offer and provide a spiritual home for many English people, but the Church is firmly rooted in Scottish tradition and in recent years has played a significant role in the development of ecumenical attitudes.

EPISCOPAL TRADITION IN EAST LOTHIAN

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PRESTON MILL: A REASSESSMENT

By G. J. DOUGLAS

This article aims to shed some light on the development of the machinery at Preston Mill, and thereby in general at other mills. It is based largely on knowledge gained over the past 15 years in preparing graphic records of grain-mill machinery. These records take the form of scale drawings, annotated sketches, descriptions of materials used, function, type and maker; a photographic record is also carried out to complement the drawings and notes, (see Plate 1 and Figure 1).

Plate 1. Preston Mill. View from South West.

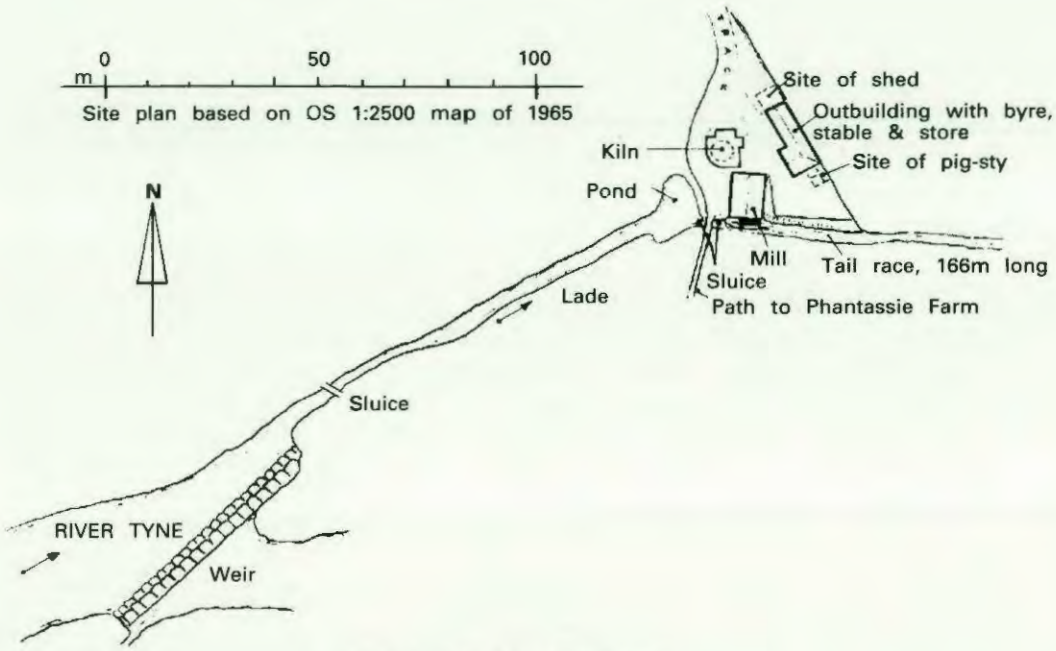

Figure 1. Site plan, Preston Mill.

The NTS booklet claims that Preston Mill is "one of the smallest and oldest in Scotland". The mill building certainly is old, although the masonry, which shows at least four phases of building, can only in part date to the 17th century; the machinery, however, is certainly not old. It is a well established fact that many of the grain mills of Scotland occupy very ancient sites. Their siting was dependent upon, first, a need for the service they provided, that is, a grain-growing locality, and, secondly, the availability of a constant water supply. Once constructed, the connecting system of lades and dams was seldom altered and thus the mill site became established. The sound rubble-built walls, often rebuilt on these established sites, were constructed with materials and skill that produced enduring structures. At Preston the first mill building on the site was probably a very humble structure, and may have consisted simply of a masonry wall at the waterside, the remainder of the building being wood-framed with a thatched roof. Nevertheless, the machinery contained within any mill building does not by any means remain constant: it changes through simple wear and tear and through the need for repairs

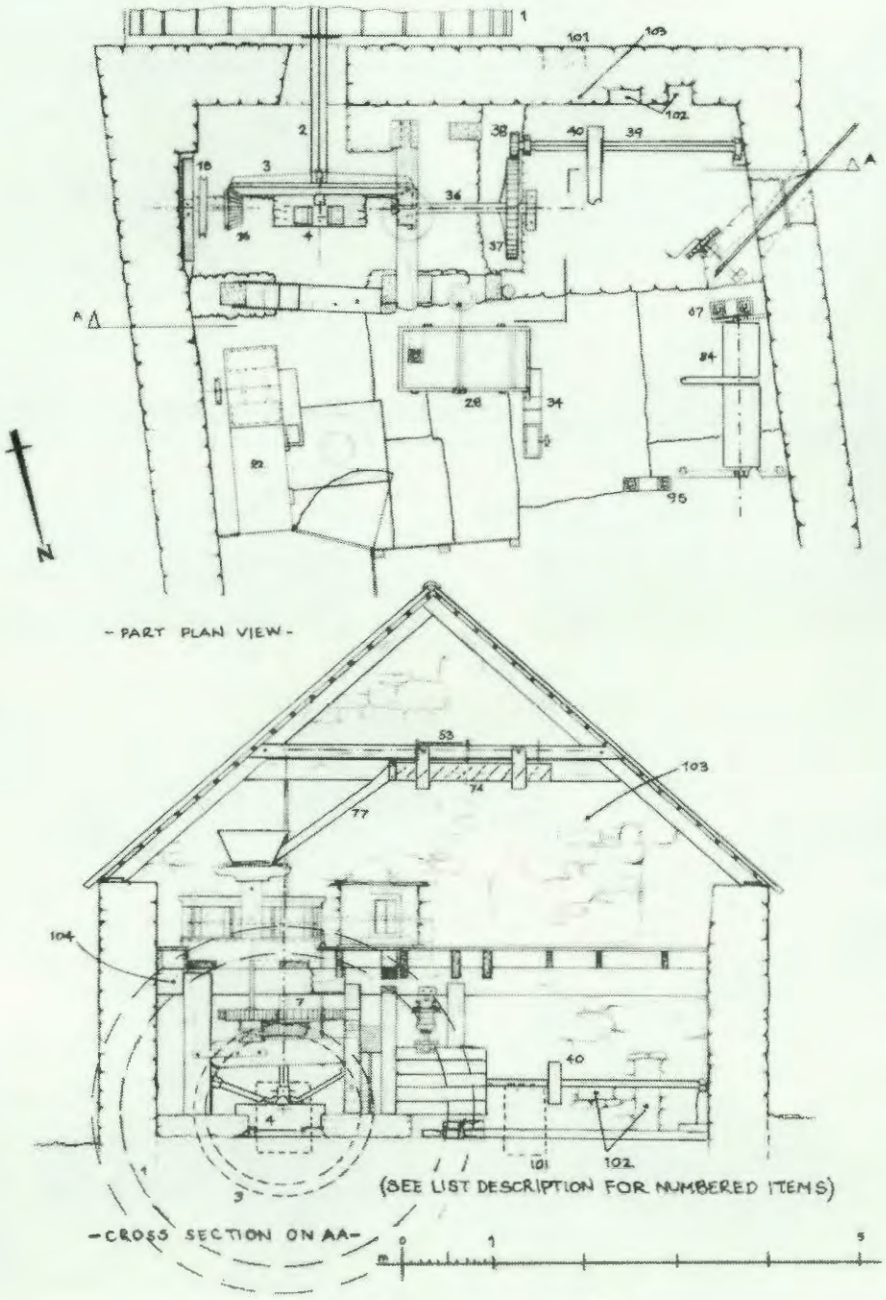

Figure 2. Mill machinery, Preston Mill.

Plate 2. Preston Mill, detail of inside face of water wheel hub and shaft showing split hub and shrink-ring.

Plate 3. Bonnington Mill, Detail of inside face of water wheel hub and shaft showing split hub. Shrink-ring removed.

and replacement, as well as through the demands of changing technology and changing agriculture. Increased crop yields required improved machinery to cope with the greater volumes of grain. Repairs often are not merely replacements, but improvements, which used modern design trends, improved materials and a wider range of components. (See Plates 2 and 3 and Figure 2).

The existing machinery in Preston Mill is of a basic, no-frills type, that is, it is not fully automated and relies upon manpower to perform many of the functions. Nevertheless, it illustrates well the haphazard, piecemeal nature of the machinery layout and the repairs that have been found necessary to keep the mill commercially viable. Some of these features include the water wheel, which is a replacement, along the shaft. The design of the wheel is similar, though on a smaller scale, to that at the much larger Bonnington Mill, Newhaven Road, Edinburgh, while the hub of the pit wheel at Kiloran Mill, Colonsay, Argyll, is similar to the hub design at Preston Mill. All three mills use split hubs with steel-shrink rings to secure the hub to its shaft. Also the raked paddles used at Bonnington and Preston Mills are a recent feature. The Bonnington and Colonsay Mills castings are marked and have been made by Alex. Mather, Fountainbridge, Edinburgh. The Post Office Directories show that this company was operating from this address at some date after 1856, and certainly by 1860, although the company was established in 1844. The claim that the Preston water wheel was made at Carron Iron Works, Falkirk in the 1760s, can thus be discounted; mills of that period were very unlikely to have had all-iron wheels of that design. Likewise the "Cockler" a rotary grain dresser (Descriptive List No. 84), made by Boby of Bury St. Edmunds, England, is of a late 19th century, or even 20th century design. The existing winnowing machine frame (No. 22), meal fanner (No. 34), and grain bruiser (No. 43), have actually been made since the National Trust took over the mill in the early 1960s. In the case of the winnowing machine and meal fanner, plywood was used for the rebuilding, illustrating the use of modern materials. Ball-bearing plummer blocks, bright mild steel shafting, and the use of electricity to light the building also illustrate the use of improved materials, design and equipment. The stone bed (No. 104), the stout wooden framework that carries the mill stones, drive and bridge pieces, is probably the oldest surviving part of the machinery; it bears the marks of many changes in the form of redundant slots and bolt holes. There are also redundant sockets (No. 102), and a curved recess (No. 103) in the inner face of the south gable wall, possibly indicating the position of parts of a former

stone bed. The existing bedstone for the grinding stones (No. 42) is actually a former runner, or top stone.

It can thus be seen that the machinery of Preston Mill is of no great age. However, it would be wrong to expect antiquated machinery in a mill which continued in production until the middle of the 20th century, and in one of the foremost grain-growing areas of Scotland. To find machinery of a more primitive and older type it is necessary to look to those areas where there are fewer commercial pressures for technological advance. Indeed, in these areas it became more economic to import grain by newly improved communications and marketing. Examples of older style machinery can be found in mills in Dumfriesshire and Galloway (Borgue Mill, for example, is an excellent example of early 19th century machinery, dating from *c.*1814 and disused by the end of the century) and the Orkney Isles (for instance, Hookin Mill, North Ronaldsay, where there is the only known example of a lantern gear still in position in Scotland, a lantern gear consisting of two flanges or discs, connected by a number of equally spaced round bars that form the gear teeth). Both these examples are primarily of wooden construction.

Grain production increased rapidly in the nineteenth century, principally owing to land drainage, plough improvements, improved grain types, the development of the threshing machine (begun at nearby Phantassie Farm) and the advent of reaping machines. These mechanical improvements in turn led to greatly increased demands for efficient milling machinery. So, with only a few exceptions, most of the surviving mill machinery in Scotland dates from a period between the second quarter of the 19th century and the 1920s.

Another feature of Preston Mill that calls for special comment is the detached circular kiln with circular drying-floor. The existing floor, 4.7m in diameter, is constructed of perforated cast iron plates 0.3m square and supported on a grid of iron bars laid 3m above the fire boxes; this floor replaces one of perforated fire clay tiles, also 0.3m square and marked Stanley Bros Ltd., Nuneaton. In its probable original form, however, the kiln would have been similar to the design and materials used in small farm kilns, where the drying floors were of wood and straw. Because of the ever-present fire risk, such kilns were kept at a distance from the relatively expensive mill machinery and equipment, much of which at that time was also of wood.

Other mills with detached grain-drying kilns that have circular floors and are housed in circular-plan buildings include: Luffness Mill, Aberlady, East Lothian (NAT479809); Limekilns, Dunfermline, Fife (NT076834); Caverton Mill, Eckford, Roxburghshire (NT749257); Millhill Mill, Arbirlot, Angus (NO601407); and Mill of Peattie, Kettins, Angus (NO226367). Grain-drying kilns with circular floors attached to the mill buildings are found at Parkhill Farm, Newburgh, Fife (NO245185), Upper Mill, Barry, Angus (NO534349), and Mill of Balhary, Alyth, Perthshire (NO253471), while grain-drying kilns that have circular floors and are houses in detached square-angled buildings have been recorded at Bridge of Tilt, Blair Atholl, Perthshire (NN877664), and Boysack Mill, Inverkeilor, Angus (NO624491).

One further significant feature about the existing mill building and kiln at Preston is their offset angle. It is possible that this came about during a major re-build of the mill, at which time it can be assumed the positions of the waterwheel and kiln were fixed. It is likely, therefore, that the new arrangement required a chute from the grain-drying kiln floor directly into the mill building, and that to achieve this it was most convenient to reconstruct the mill at an offset angle, thereby creating its irregular shape. The existing chute enters the mill at its north west corner, where it terminates in a convenient bagging spout. (Figures 3 and 4).

APPENDIX

Descriptive list of machinery and equipment (Figs. 2, 3 and 4)

1. WATER WHEEL: Low breast shot paddle wheel, 4.1m (13'-5") diameter and 0.97m (3'-2") wide.
2. WATER WHEEL SHAFT: Iron 150mm square, outside bearing journal 100m diameter x 120mm long, and runs in an iron bearing block. Inside bearing journal 100mm diameter x 120mm long, and runs in a half bearing set into block, item 4.
3. PIT WHEEL: Cast iron, split square hub with flanged joints, keyed to shaft, item 2. Six 'T'-section arms. The gear is cast in six equal-length sections and the ends are bolted to the outer ends of the arms. Outside diameter of gear 1980mm, 108 teeth, each of 150mm face width.
4. WOODEN BEARING BLOCK: 360mm wide by 300mm deep by 1000mm long, with bearing for water wheel shaft, and thrust bearing for upright shaft item 6.
5. WALLOWER: Cast iron, four arms, 580mm diameter, 31 teeth.
6. UPRIGHT SHAFT: Iron, 100mm square up to upper floor level, where it terminates at a rigid coupling, (round shaft continues up to roof space).
7. GREAT SPUR GEAR: Mortice gear, one piece cast iron frame with six 'T'-section arms, overall diameter 1420mm, gear rim is 110mm wide, 90 wooden teeth, gear hub 140mm wide.
8. STONE NUT: Cast iron, four flat arms, square hub. 600mm diameter, 36 teeth.

9. MILLSTONE DRIVE SHAFT AND SHELLING STONES: Drive shaft, iron 55mm square. Shaft runs in iron thrust bearing with brass insert; bearing bolted to bridge piece. Millstones, monolithic, about 1.37 diameter, with wood and sheet metal cover. Wooden grain hopper above, 0.8m square by 0.7m deep. Two outlets from millstones, item 9A into winnowing machine when used for shelling grain, or item 9B into bagging spout when hashing grain for animal feed.
10. FLAT BELT PULLEY (dust harp drive): Wood, 250mm diameter by 100mm wide.
11. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 65mm wide.
12. FLAT BELT PULLEY (dust harp drive): Cast iron, with flange at each side, 150mm diameter by 100mm wide.
13. CRANK SHAFT (for dust harp movement): Iron shaft, 40mm diameter and iron crank with 65mm throw. Shaft carried in wooden bearing at top and iron thrust bearing at base.
14. FLYWHEEL: Cast iron, 250mm diameter by 40mm wide.
15. DUST HARP: Wooden case, sheet metal screen, feed via spout, item 9A from shelling stones. Two outlets, one into a dish for the dust and the main outlet for husk and groat into the winnowing machine. Dust harp suspended by two wooden springs and two leather straps.
16. BEVEL GEAR: Cast iron, four arms, 380mm diameter, 22 teeth.
17. IRON SHAFT: 50mm square, runs in wooden bearings.
18. ROPE BELT PULLEY: Wooden pulley, single groove, 690mm diameter by 80mm wide, rope groove 45mm deep.
19. DRIVE BELT: Synthetic rope, 8mm diameter.
20. ROPE BELT PULLEY: Wooden pulley, single groove 305mm diameter by 70mm wide, rope groove 40mm deep.
21. FAN: Five blade impeller, each blade wood, 530mm long by 240mm wide by 10mm thick. Fan 880mm diameter. Blades fixed to wooden arms on a 20mm square iron shaft, which runs in wooden bearings.
22. WINNOWING MACHINE: Wooden built, plywood, principal or first outlet for large groats into a sack located in an iron tub set into the floor. The second outlet for small groats on to the floor, the husks go out of the end of the machine and into the husk cupboard.
23. STONENUT: Cast iron, four arms, 600mm diameter, 36 teeth, square hub.
24. MILLSTONE DRIVE SHAFT AND GRINDING STONES: Drive shaft, iron 50mm square, lower end carried in cast iron thrust bearing with brass insert. Millstone, burr stone, 1.37m diameter (existing bed-stone is a former runner stone). Three-ended drive bar. One outlet into the meal sieve. Wooden millstone cover with wooden hopper above, 1m square by 0.6m deep.
25. FLAT BELT PULLEY (drive for meal sieve and fan): Iron pulley with belt retaining flange, 310mm diameter by 65mm wide, and woven fabric drive belt 50mm wide.
26. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Wooden pulley 175mm diameter.
27. CRANK SHAFT (for meal sieve): All iron, 45mm square. Crank throw 45mm. Fixed to shaft, below crank a 240mm diameter by 40mm wide flywheel, shaft runs in wooden bearings.
28. MEAL SIEVE: Wooden case with three sheet metal screens, case suspended from four wooden springs attached to the floor joist above.
29. ROPE BELT PULLEY (drive for meal fan): Two speed drive, wooden pulley, lower pulley 330mm diameter, upper pulley 240mm diameter, both 55mm wide, rope groove 40mm deep.
30. DRIVE ROPE: Nylon, about 10mm diameter.
31. ROPE PULLEYS: Iron, with sheet metal guide plates, pulleys 100mm diameter by 20mm wide, all carried on an iron bracket fixed to the floor joists above.
32. ROPE PULLEY: Iron, 150mm diameter by 20mm wide, rope groove 25mm deep.
33. MEAL FAN IMPELLER: Four bladed sheet metal impeller, 200mm wide by 410mm diameter. Blades bolted to square iron shaft, shaft runs in wooden bearings.
34. MEAL FAN: Small fanner (to remove dust from fine meal). Wooden built, from plywood, floor mounted.
35. BEVEL GEAR: Same as item 16.
36. IRON SHAFT: 100mm square, runs in wooden bearings.
37. SPUR GEAR (mortice gear): Iron frame with square hub, six 'T'-section arms, 66 wooden teeth, overall diameter 1220mm.
38. SPUR GEAR: Cast iron, 290 diameter and 15 teeth.
39. IRON SHAFT: 60mm diameter, runs in ball bearing plummer blocks.
40. FLAT BELT PULLEY (grain bruiser drive): All iron, split rim and hub, 480mm diameter by 130mm wide, six arms 20mm diameter.
41. FLAT BELT PULLEY (on bruiser): Cast iron, four curved arms, 500mm diameter by 100mm wide.

42. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 100mm wide.
43. GRAIN BRUISER: Wooden frame, iron rollers and levers. Iron rollers, with heavy section rims, rollers 0.3m and 0.6m diameter by 0.28m wide. Fixed to iron shafts 38mm and 51mm diameter. Shafts carried in cast iron plummer blocks with brass bearings. Bruiser located on first-floor level.
44. BAGGING SPOUT: Wood, 0.2m square, fixed to the underside of bruiser frame, outlet at ground-floor level, into sack.
45. RIGID COUPLING: All iron, flanges 250mm diameter, 30mm thick, with six square head bolts 16mm diameter.
46. IRON SHAFT: 60mm diameter, lower end, just above item 45, runs in wooden bearing.
47. RIGID COUPLING: All iron, flanges 150mm diameter, 25mm thick, with three hexagon head bolts 12.5mm diameter.
48. IRON SHAFT: 51mm diameter, top end runs in wooden bearings fixed to cross member in roof space.
49. BEVEL GEAR: Cast iron, solid, 250mm diameter by 80mm wide, 23 teeth.
50. BEVEL GEAR: Cast iron, four 'T'-section arms, circular hub, 480mm diameter, 44 teeth.
51. IRON SHAFT: 60mm diameter, runs in wooden bearings.
52. DOG CLUTCH: All iron, body 160mm diameter, and slides on shaft to engage the cable drum.
53. CABLE DRUM: Cast iron, free on its shaft, body 150mm diameter and 530mm wide, end flanges 255mm diameter by 15mm thick. Over the hatch in the floor and attached to wooden cross members in the roof space, cast-iron pulley 300mm diameter by 100mm wide with deep V-shaped groove, for sack lifting rope.
54. SACK HOIST ROPE: Hemp rope 25mm diameter, with a short length of chain at the end for fixing to the grain sacks.
55. CLUTCH LEVER: Iron, 1400mm long by 50mm wide and 10mm to 20mm thick. Operated by a system of cords and pulleys from the sack hoist hatches.
56. BRAKE AND LEVER: Simple wooden block type brake, brake band 230mm diameter and 48mm wide, brake blocks 150mm long. Brake lever is a welded steel fabrication 300mm long, controlled by a system of cords and pulleys from the sack hoist hatches.
57. BEVEL GEAR: Cast iron, four flat arms, 300mm diameter by 70mm wide with 30 teeth.
58. BEVEL GEAR: Cast iron, 160mm diameter by 70mm wide with 15 teeth.
59. IRON SHAFT: 38mm diameter, runs in wooden bearings.
60. SPUR GEAR: Cast iron, four cruciform section arms, 340mm diameter by 50mm wide with 52 teeth.
61. SPUR GEAR: Cast iron, solid, 140mm diameter by 50mm wide with 22 teeth.
62. IRON SHAFT: 38mm diameter, runs in iron plummer blocks with brass bearings.
63. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, four curved arms, 350mm diameter by 110mm wide.
64. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 62mm wide.
65. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, four arms, 300mm diameter by 80mm wide.
66. IRON SHAFT: 44mm diameter, runs in flange bearings with brass bushes.
67. BUCKET ELEVATOR: Brings cleaned grain from the cockler item No. 84 below and discharges into an auger through a wooden spout. Wooden elevator case 150 by 180mm sheet metal buckets 100mm by 50mm by 80mm at 200mm centres, and bolted to a woven fabric belt 100mm wide.
68. DISCHARGE SPOUT: Wood, guides grain from elevator, item No. 67 to auger.
69. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Split wooden pulley, 250mm diameter by 115mm wide.
70. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 65mm wide.
71. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, 200mm diameter by 70mm wide.
72. IRON SHAFT: 38mm diameter, runs in ball bearing plummer blocks.
73. BEVEL GEARS: Cast iron, 1:1 ratio, 150mm diameter.
74. AUGER: Wooden case 200mm square, with all iron auger on a 51mm diameter steel tube shaft.
75. AUGER OUTLET: Wooden spout into grain bruiser hopper.
76. AUGER OUTLET: Wooden spout into grinding stone hopper.
77. AUGER OUTLET: Wooden spout into shelling stone hopper.
78. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, three arms, 200mm diameter by 60mm wide.
79. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 60mm wide.
80. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, four arms, 380mm diameter by 80mm wide.
81. IRON SHAFT: 38mm diameter, runs in wooden bearings.
82. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Wood, 200mm diameter by 100mm wide.

83. DRIVE BELT: Woven fabric, 64mm wide.
84. COCKLER: A rotary grain cleaner (removes dirt, weed seeds, stones, sticks, straw, etc.). Maker R. Boby Ltd., Bury St. Edmunds, England. No. 15185; grain outlet via wooden chute into item No. 67. Outlet for dirt and weeds etc. on to floor below machine.
85. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Iron, split hub and rim, six arms, 330mm diameter by 100mm wide.
86. DRIVE BELT: Leather, 60mm wide.
87. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Wood, 130mm diameter by 80mm wide.
88. CRANK SHAFT: Iron, 38mm diameter, throw 25mm and runs in an iron bracket with brass bearings.
89. FLYWHEEL: Cast iron, six arms, rim 400mm diameter and 40mm wide.
90. CONNECTING ROD: Wood, 65mm wide.
91. SCREEN: Wooden case, 180mm deep by 1380mm long by 550mm wide. Two screens, three outlets, grain into wooden hopper below, and two outlets on to floor by the hopper. Screen case suspended from four wooden springs.
92. HOPPER: Wood, with controllable outlet into cockler item No. 84.
93. HOPPER: Wood, built on to the underside of the upper floor, top 1005mm by 1400mm and 1400mm deep, with spout into bucket elevator item No. 95. Hopper filled with dried grain from kiln.
94. HATCH: 400mm by 480mm in upper floor, for filling hopper below.
95. BUCKET ELEVATOR: Brings dried grain from hopper item No. 93 to screen item No. 91. Wooden elevator case 150mm by 170mm. Sheet metal buckets 70mm by 50mm by 80mm at 280mm centres, bolted to a woven fabric belt 100mm wide.
96. SPOUT: Wood, from elevator outlet to screen.
97. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, four arms, 220mm diameter by 75mm wide.
98. DRIVE BELT: Leather , 65mm wide.
99. FLAT BELT PULLEY: Cast iron, split hub and rim, four arms, 300mm diameter by 85mm wide.
100. IRON SHAFT: 32mm diameter runs in iron plummer blocks.
101. BLOCKED OPENING: Possibly for former water wheel shaft.
102. SLOTS IN WALL: Possibly for supporting former machinery.
103. CURVED RECESS IN WALL: Only at upper floor level.
104. STONEBED: Stout wooden frame that carries the millstones.

Note:— Bruiser and millstone hoppers can be charged directly from grain sacks.
The following items have been rebuilt since the National Trust for Scotland took over the mill: Millstone covers; hoppers and shoes; dust harp drive; dust harp and winnowing machine; spouts from millstones; meal sieve and fan; and the grain bruiser.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his thanks to his colleagues, Heather Graham and Kevin MacLeod for their assistance with the drawings, Miles Oglethorpe and Geoffrey Stell for help with the text, and Jim Mackie and Robert Adam for the photography. Thanks are also due to Frances Scott, Curator, and to the National Trust for Scotland for permission to carry out the survey and publish the results. All illustrative material is Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.

ADDENDUM

Since the above article was submitted for publication, new material answering several important questions has been supplied by Mr Bob Clark, Works Manager of Alexander Mather & Son Ltd.

First, Mather's job number 175, dated June 1910, was for Richardson & Gemmell of Haddington and relates to the waterwheel at Preston Mill. This information is contained on a drawing held in the Scottish Record Office, and forms part of a large collection of records belonging to the company.

Second, a drawing held by the company at their Loanhead works, and dated 1924, shows the mill operators to be Raffan Brothers. This drawing contains details probably relating to the installation or improvement of the cockler, associated hoppers, screen and bucket elevators.

Graham J. Douglas
1 July 1991.

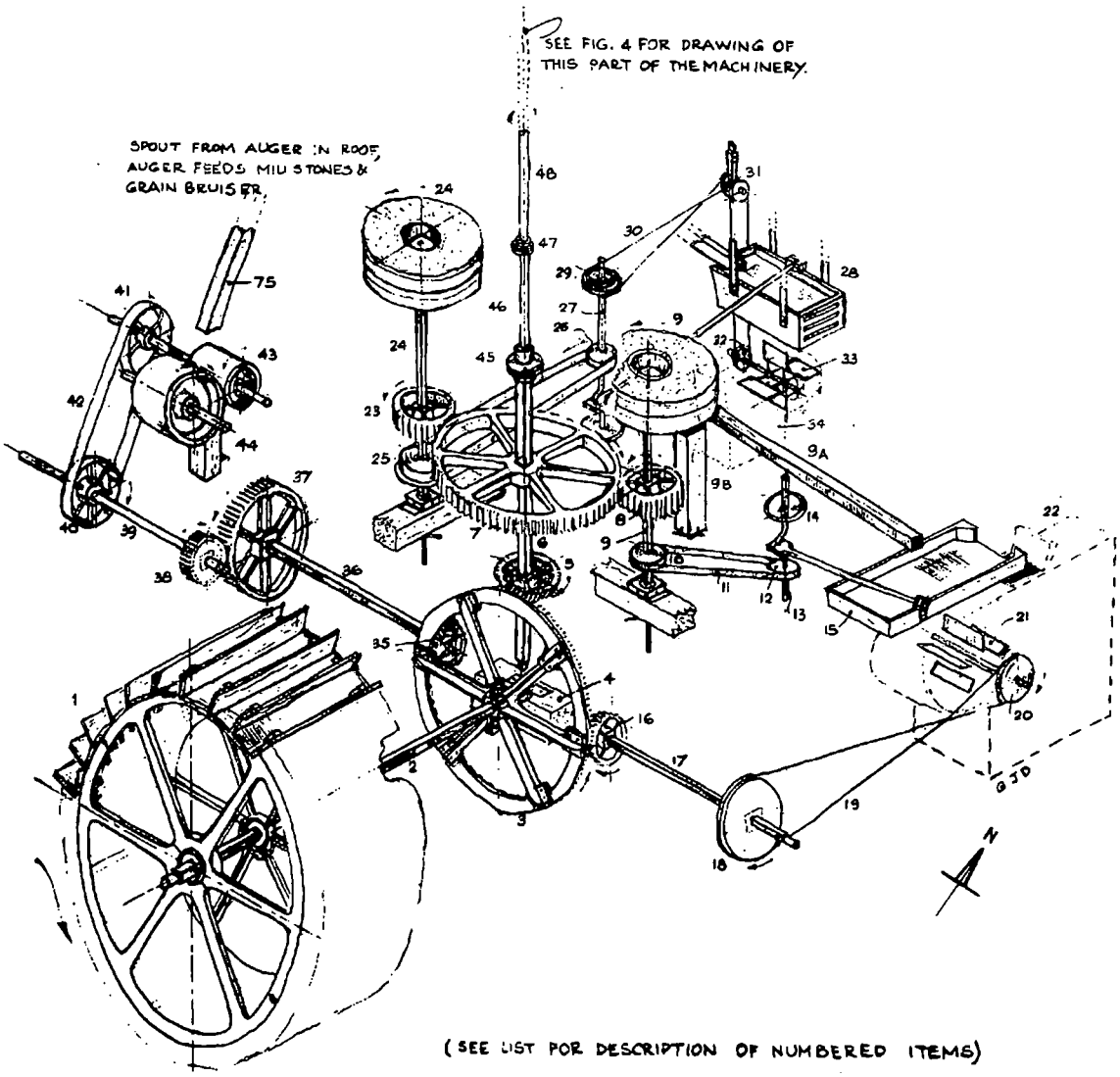

Figure 3. Part view of mill machinery, Preston Mill.

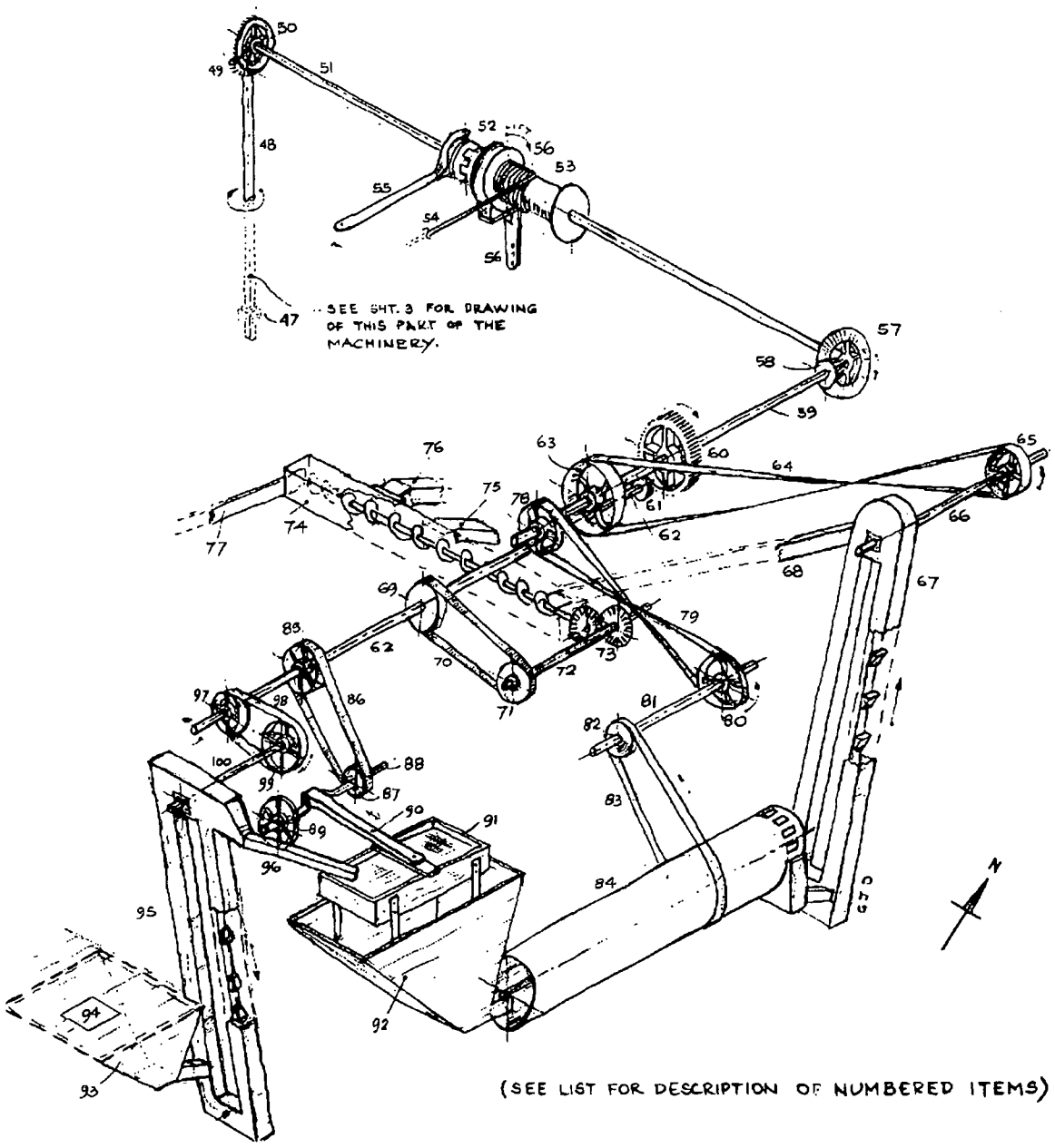

Figure 4. Part view of mill machinery, Preston Mill.

SUFFRAGETTES AND THE BURNING OF WHITEKIRK CHURCH*

By LEAH LENEMAN

From the spring of 1913 until the outbreak of war at the beginning of August 1914 suffragettes were held resonsible for some 29 acts or attempted acts of arson in Scotland.[1] Many of these acts of destruction excited feelings of indignation, horror and outrage, but the only one which caused widespread anguish was the burning of Whitekirk church in the early hours of the morning of 26 February 1914.

Some background is necessary to understand the fire-raising phenomenon. A society for the enfranchisement of women had been formed in Edinburgh in 1867, and the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage continued in existence from that year until 1918. In common with other suffrage groups, the Edinburgh National Society held regular meetings and sent petitions to parliament. By 1905 a new generation of women, headed by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, came to believe that such methods had outlived their usefulness and that new tactics were needed which would shock the electorate into realising how strongly women felt about the vote.

The Pankhurst-led Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) quickly spread to Scotland, and hundreds of women threw themselves into the movement, holding open-air rallies, interrupting and heckling speakers, and generally keeping the issue of votes for women constantly to the fore. Not all the new recruits to the cause believed in militancy, but an awareness of the issues let to branches of the non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being formed the length and breadth of Scotland. Unfortunately, an intransigently anti-suffrage prime minister (Asquith) and the complex internal machinations of the Liberal government[2] meant that the WSPU's original shock tactics failed and the

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hard core of militant suffragettes went on to commit acts of violence against property. Home-made bombs and fire-raising were considered legitimate acts of 'war' against the government, and very few of the women involved were caught.

The 'war' was an uncoordinated effort, with targets chosen at random. The idea that such isolated attacks on property (most of which angered insurance companies more than anyone else) could have forced the government into giving the vote to women was never a credible scenario, but those who remained in the WSPU (the more moderate elements having gradually broken away) believed it wholeheartedly. It was not really a question of logic or lack of logic but rather of desperation on the part of women who felt they had devoted years of their lives to the 'cause' only to end up seemingly no nearer to the goal than when they had started.[3]

The practice of forcibly feeding suffragette prisoners who went on hunger strike did not spread from England to Scotland until February 1914. The fact that Whitekirk church was burned down later that same month was not a coincidence, for two notes were found at the rear of the church, one of which stated, 'By torturing the finest and noblest women in the country you are driving more women into rebellion', while the other made a specific reference to forcible feeding.[4] In defence of the act, a WSPU member wrote, 'Hitherto in Scotland the authorities had refused to torture political prisoners, but no sooner had they introduced this medieval barbarity into the Calton Jail, than a medieval church was burnt in protest'.[5]

Was there a particular reason for Whitekirk to be chosen as a target? One researcher believed that there was a direct connection between the act and the earlier refusal of Haddington presbytery to receive a deputation of non-militant suffragists, which had angered many women. In other words, the presbytery's action led to a nearby church being chosen as a target for destruction. However, when one looks at the range of buildings attacked — mansion-houses, schools, railway stations, research laboratories etc. — it is hard to believe in any such connection. Naturally the suffragettes wanted to gain maximum publicity for their actions, and certain edifices were far more effective for this purpose than others. (The authorities were all aware of this: Holyrood Palace was closed to the public for the best part of a year as a security measure.) The destruction of a beautiful and greatly loved medieval church which

contained various treasures, including an old Bible, was clearly going to have an impact.

One individual who felt the loss with particular keenness was Lady Frances Balfour. Lady Frances, a daughter of the Duke of Argyll, was almost unique within the aristocracy in being an ardent worker for the cause of women's suffrage. Her involvement began in the 1880s, and though she had mixed feelings about militancy she was well aware of the extent to which it had galvanised the movement. Then, when militancy escalated into violence, she was equally aware of how many previous supporters were being alienated. The Balfour family seat was at Whittingehame, so Lady Frances had been a regular visitor to Whitekirk, which she loved greatly. Thus she had to contend with a sense of deep personal loss combined with bitterness and frustration at the harm she felt the destruction of the church had done to the cause she believed in so fervently. On 6 March she wrote to her son, Frank: 'I can hardly write to you of the other event of the week. It has made me both ill and unhappy. The complete destruction of Whitekirk by the suffragettes. It has roused the deepest feeling that has yet been felt'.[7]

Lady Frances also wrote a long letter to *The Scotsman* which was published on 2 March: 'To those who know East Lothian, Whitekirk stands as the centre of Celtic legend and of medieval life in Church and State ... To many its very dust was dear; to the most thoughtless of passing strangers it carried in its tranquil beauty the message of that cross which was graven high in its vaulted roof.' But — she went on — the idea that constitutional suffragists should give up their struggle because of this act of destruction by the militants was wrong: 'Would a Reformed Church have ever emerged if the true Reformers had been deterred by the evil deeds of those who robbed the Church of her goods, and despoiled her altars in the name of Christ and the Truth?'

The Scotsman reported on that date: 'Hundreds of people yesterday visited the ruins of Whitekirk Church, which was burned on Thursday morning by suffragettes. All smouldering portions of burning material have now been extinguished, and the roofless and scorched walls stand a melancholy proof of the success of the outrage.'

In the days that followed *The Scotsman* published a number of letters concerning the burning of Whitekirk (making it clear that they were only a small proportion of the flood of letters which had been

received on the subject). Lady Betty Balfour and Rosaline Masson, officials of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, made the same point as Lady Frances Balfour had done about the need to stick by suffragist principles in spite of such destructive acts by militants. Many of the letters were about the way non-militant suffragists should behave at this time, and *The Scotsman's* editor took up this theme in a leading article on March 5.

> There will be deep and general satisfaction in learning that a movement is already afoot for the rebuilding, and so far as possible, the worthy restoration, in whole or in part, of the Parish Church of Whitekirk, destroyed by what it would be an unmerited compliment to describe as an act of vandalism. The work of the vandal, as usually understood, is committed in ignorance and error; but in the piece of wanton mischief and sacrilege which has deprived Scotland of one of the most beautiful and precious relics of its ecclesiastical architecture and history there is an element of deliberation, the evidence of a hopelessly perverted and crazy attitude of mind, which has impressed the public, on this side of the Border at least, much more than any of the previous follies and crimes of the militant suffragists. It is recognised, and accepted as proved, that no argument addressed to the reason, or even to the self-interest, of those who have committed, or who are willing to lend approval and countenance to this outrageous act, can be of any effect. They are past praying for. The one hope of arrest to a course which, if persisted in, must bring disgrace and disaster on all concerned, is that those who perceive how far the claims of woman's suffrage are being prejudiced and compromised by the militants, should clearly and unequivocally dissociate themselves from these tactics, and, more than this, should show themselves ready to render reparation on account of their sex and of their cause.

Many more letters were published in the days that followed. Mrs. Catherine Blair of Hoprig Mains, Gladsmuir, wrote twice to defend the action, blaming the government for driving the women to these extremities.[8] At least one correspondent (Mary Gillies, 9 March) found Mrs. Blair's letter very reasonable: 'We must look from the act itself to the motive and cause of the act. It was no piece of wanton mischief, as some of your exasperated correspondents seem to suppose,but one of a series of desperately heroical attempts to secure a piece of ordinary

justice long overdue.' As for the pillorying which the non-militants had received, Nannie Brown (same day) wrote:—

> While making every allowance for natural feelings of grief and of indignation at the burning of the old Church of Whitekirk, it yet seems strange to me that so many of your correspondents should have shown in their letters such an entire lack of ordinary logic or of commonsense. To blame constitutional and law-abiding suffragists must seem to any cool, level-headed person the veriest absurdity. One might as well blame all the believers in the principle of Home Rule for Ireland for the many outrages which have been committed by some of its advocates. At this rate no one would dare to give any great movement public support.

The correspondence continued into the following week, the main thrust of the letters being again accusations that the non-militant societies had actively encouraged the militants, and indignant denials of this by constitutional suffragists.

What can be concluded from the reaction to the burning of Whitekirk church? The overwhelming impression one gets from the correspondence is a feeling of powerlessness. Militant suffragettes defended the destruction of the church because they felt themselves powerless to obtain the vote other than by forcing the government's hand by destroying property. The general public, aware by now that nothing anyone could say or do would stop the militants, vented their rage on constitutional suffragists, claiming it was up to them to stop their militant 'sisters'. The non-militants had no influence whatsoever on the WSPU and expressed their own powerlessness in the face of the destruction of Whitekirk and the alienation of support for their cause.

The militants continued their arson campaign in the months that followed and if the war had not broken out when it did there is no doubt that many more Scottish edifices would have been destroyed by fire. The truce on militancy called by the WSPU immediately war was declared put an end to the impasse and, four years later, when the government could no longer be accused of capitulating to terrorists, women householders over the age of 30 got the vote. Whitekirk church was rebuilt.

NON-RIGID AIRSHIPS AT EAST FORTUNE DURING WORLD WAR ONE

By IAN T. BUNYAN

Several landing grounds for aircraft were set up in East Lothian during the war — at West Fenton, Penston and South Belton — but the special interest of East Fortune was that it was used not just for aeroplanes but also for lighter than air machines or airships. Airships had certain avantages over aeroplanes. They could be airborne for long periods of time and they could hover. They were suitable for guarding warships against torpedo attacks. Germany was far in advance of Britain in the development and use of airships, and this was shown in April 1916 when a Zeppelin was over Edinburgh for two hours. The non-rigid airships did not possess a rigid metal frame: they were kept in shape by gas pressure. Rigid airships had been under development in Britain from 1911 but progress had been stopped for several years. They became ready for service only at the end of 1917, and eventually two were based on East Fortune, but most of the wartime airship activity at East Fortune was with the smaller non-rigid type.

There were four types of non-rigid airship used at East Fortune, the 'Coastal', the 'Improved Coastal', the 'North Sea' and the 'Submarine Spotter'. The Coastals had a 200 foot long envelope of rubberised cloth, silvered to reduce heat gain, which would reduce lift, and within it four ballonets or compartments into which air could be blown by the propeller to maintain the shape of the airship. The accommodation for a crew of four or five men was made by joining together two aircraft engines and fuselages below the gas bag. The airship had machine guns and could carry a load of bombs under the car. Steering was not easy but there was a rudder and elevators. The gas used was hydrogen. The airship was powered by two 150 h.p. engines. Experience was to show that it was

not adequate for work over or near the North Sea. Even before that it was recognised that for patrolling against submarines greater range and speed were needed. A somewhat larger airship, 210 feet long and with a gas capacity of 210,000 cubic feet, designed to be able to fly for 24 hours with a cruising speed of 45 m.p.h., the Coastal Improved class, was tried for a while. It had two engines, of 110 and 240 h.p. These airships carried flotation bags and a lifeboat. Their experience showed that they were altogether better suited for their work than the earlier Coastals. None were involved in any mishap at East Fortune or elsewhere.

Meanwhile a new and larger airship had been designed to replace the Coastals, the North Sea class, 252 feet long, gas capacity 360,000 cubic feet and with two 250 h.p. engines giving them a cruising speed of 42 m.p.h. This class had floats and could therefore alight on the sea. The crew numbered ten and worked in two watches. They were provided with cooking facilities and berths. The airships engines were not conveniently placed and for a time there were transmission problems.

A further class of airship was the much smaller submarine Spotter Zero, 145 feet long, gas capacity 70,000 cubic feet powered by a single 75 h.p. engine.

The first Coastal was lost within a week of its arrival in August 1916. Later arrivals were more successful. Early in 1917 the Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet ordered airships to rendezvous with the Fleet when it was west of 2 degrees east in the North Sea. They could be used for mine and submarine spotting. But a Coastal on duty with the Battle Cruiser Force was lost on July 16, though the crew were saved. The North Sea class, sent out to patrol with the Grand Fleet, also had trouble. One of these, NS3, along with a Coastal, C24, worked in co-operation with Edinburgh anti-aircraft batteries, but on return C24 broke her forward skid and her trail rope and had the experience of one of the ground crew being lifted up holding on to the outside of the car. A newcomer, NS1, had trouble in September 1917 when its elevator control broke: repairs had to be carried out in a rising wind and in the end she had to retreat and land at Longside, where she was stuck till late October with an engine coupling failure. NS3, sent out to work with the Light Cruiser Force, also had to land at Longside. The next day, when tracking the German fleet she had trouble with her port engine and with the coupling of the starboard one and approached Longside for help. Then the port engine's coupling also broke and she had to land on the

sea. The destroyer HMS Medea hauled her to harbour, whence she was walked to Longside.

In September also another Coastal, C20, which had lost a proportion of gas through a worn envelope, had so little lift left that she got stuck on patrol in bad weather and could make no headway. She was forced down over the Tay estuary and hit the sea, breaking the forward propeller. The crew managed to get her off the water by releasing the ballast but the engine noise made it appear likely that the crankshaft had been bent. An attempt at landing near Arbroath was made, but the rudder jammed, the engine stopped and the ship was blown up to 2,000 feet at a sharp incline of 20 degrees. To counter this all possible weight had to be brought forward. At dawn the crew managed to restore rudder control and bring her down to the water. Eventually HMS Ulysses towed her to Aberdeen with her engine totally failed. In the process of bringing her on land her envelope was pierced by a telegraph pole. She had to be deflated and sent home to East Fortune by rail.

In October the Admiralty started to run a hydrogen producing plant which was an advantage to the airships. Trouble with the North Seas continued. NS1 on patrol off the Farne Islands on December 11 had her starboard engine pump fail and was unable to make headway with only one engine except by going up to 2,500 feet. Once over land she was brought down in a field at Fenwick, with the help of farm workers, and was moved by soldiers to near a hedge, to which she was moored. But rising wind broke the mooring rope and caused the car to bang on the ground causing severe damage. She also had to be deflated.

Another North Sea, NS5, experienced temporary failure of both engines on December 12 and was blown out to sea. She was brought overland at St. Abbs but in the end came down at Ayton with her envelope torn by trees, and also had to be deflated.

On December 19 NS3, on escort duty with a north-bound convoy, had to abandon duty because of trouble in both engines, and land at Longside. Coastal 20 had an even worse flight on December 20 when her aft engine failed from fuel starvation on the way home from St. Abb's Head. She was brought over land but the landing party could not catch the trail rope and the forward engine failed. The coxswain climbed over the side of the car to examine the engine and found that the fuel pumps were not working so he had to transfer petrol by hand to the

service tank. He was then able to restart the engine and use the airship's drogue anchor to steady her. The destroyer HMS Oriana picked up the trail rope to tow the airship ashore but the rope broke. Eventually the airship was brought down on the sea by releasing gas, the crew picked up by the Oriana and the airship sunk by gunfire from the destroyer.

Coastal 25 deflated on the landing ground at East Fortune on 28 December: a propeller broke and punctured the envelope. On Feruary 1 1918 with a new envelope, she suffered engine failure over the Isle of May and had to land at Scryne, north of Carnoustie. Trying to get back to East Fortune on one engine she had to land at Balmackie and there her envelope was holed when she was blown against a tree. Repairs were done with sticky paper: the damage was slight.

The improved Coastals began to arrive at East Fortune in February 1918. By then the North Sea Class were causing concern. The long heavy transmission shafts were unsupported and likely to break down after 200 hours of running. Two officers produced a plan for reconstructing this class, replacing the engines with ones directly driving the airscrew, bringing the petrol tank inside the gas bag, which improved the streamlining of the ship, and putting the control car level with the engine unit.

By March 15 NS3 had sufficiently recovered from her December experience to start patrol again. On June 2 1918 she made a night flight over Edinburgh and then over the Grand Fleet at Rosyth to give the anti-aircraft batteries practice. She went up to 10,000 feet, a record for this class. On landing she was found to have a hole in her gas bag, probably from one of the fleet's guns. She did two days of towing trials for the destroyer HMS Vectis, and then embarked on her last flight. She was to meet a Scandinavian convoy off Aberdeen. At 9 p.m. June 21 oil was seen rising from the sea bottom five miles of Bervie Bay. NS3 dropped two 230 pound bombs and a destroyer depth charged the area. More oil came to the surface but no other material. It was later concluded that the oil had come from an old submerged wreck. NS3 travelled on south to the Isle of May but strong winds, estimated at 45 knots, defeated attempts to move inland. On her fifth attempt she was blown astern and up to 1500 feet. Damage was done to the car and it is probable that the nose of the airship collapsed. Before she could make a sixth attempt to get inshore she was blown down and struck the water. The car containing the engines, with the two engineers in it, was torn

off. She rose and bumped down again. The crew had had time to put on their lifebelts and when the crew car was forced under, three of them got out through the windows, two more in other ways. The survivors lay on the partly inflated gas bag for an hour till the destroyer HMS Moy appeared and rescued them. An attempt to tow the envelope had to be abandoned because the cables broke. The five missing members of the crew were never seen again.

On July 3 an Improved coastal C7 had an interesting experience. She saw a submerged shape approach the rear of a convoy near the Bell Rock so she dropped a bomb on it. What came to the surface was a large whale, badly damaged, which had to be further blown up by another bomb.

A new North Sea class NS7 had arrived at East Fortune on June 29 and gone on patrol three days later. On July 25 she photographed torpedo trials by HMS Furious. She also tested equipment for raising water ballast in flight. She was still operational when the war ended. By contrast Coastal 25, the longest serving of the East Fortune fleet, went off on transfer to Longside and two days later disappeared off Aberdeen leaving no survivors.

The last summer of the war was marked by the availability of the Chathill out-station, inland from Sea Houses, which was much used by the Submarine Spotters.

The end of the war saw East Fortune with several operational non-rigids, besides visiting ones stopping there on their way to Longside. Her operational ones included a newly arrived North Sea class No. 8 and an Improved Coastal also No. 8. She also had three deflated airships.

From the whole story of the non-rigid airships, it is not apparent that they made much practical contribution to the actions of the Grand Fleet which is not surprising for a pioneer development. These airships seem to have had to be rescued by destroyers more often than they gave aid to ships. Their problems seem to have come from two features. The engines were not reliable, and the large bulk (see plates 1-3) of the airships, underpowered when there was any engine trouble, meant that they were unable to hold a course against the strength of the winds of the North Sea. The Submarine Spotter, though much smaller (see plate 4), was conspicuously underpowered even when the engine was working. But

probably fewer lives were lost in these airships than would have been lost if aeroplanes had been assigned to carry out similar duties.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

Plates 1-4 are reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.

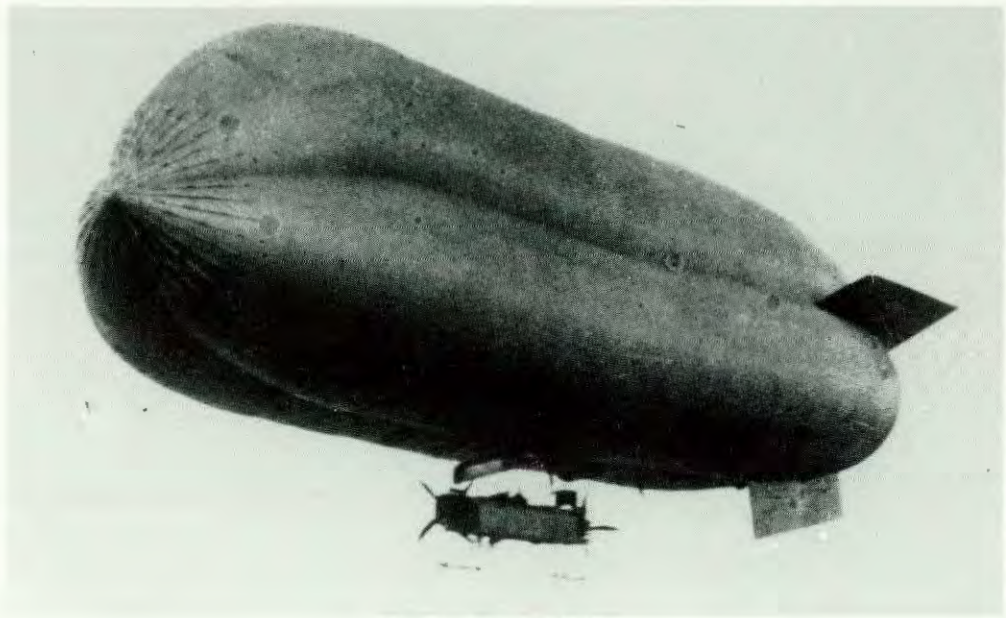

Plate 1. Coastal Airship.

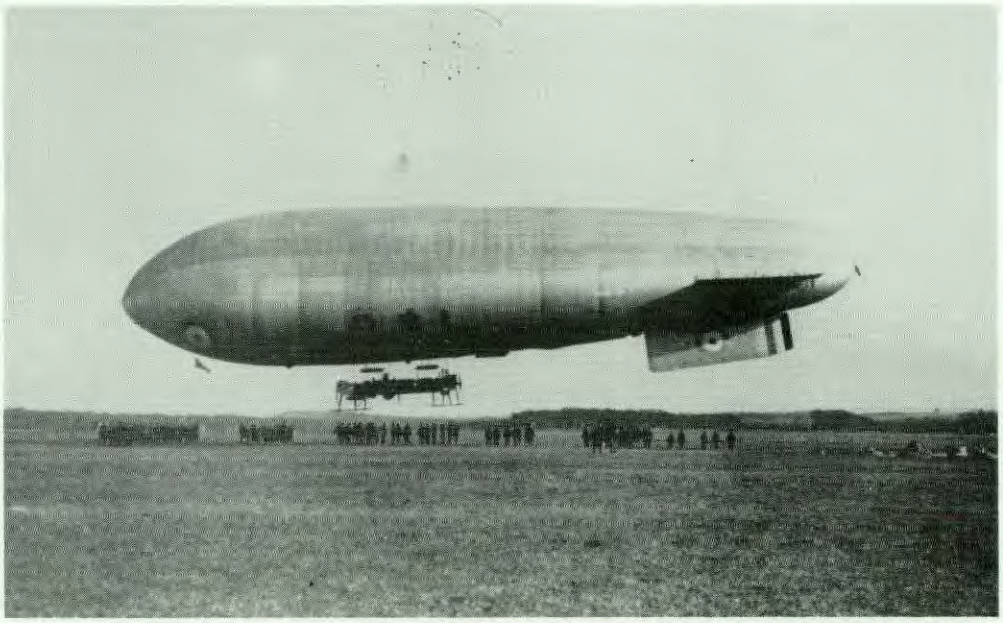

Plate 2 Improved Coastal Airship.

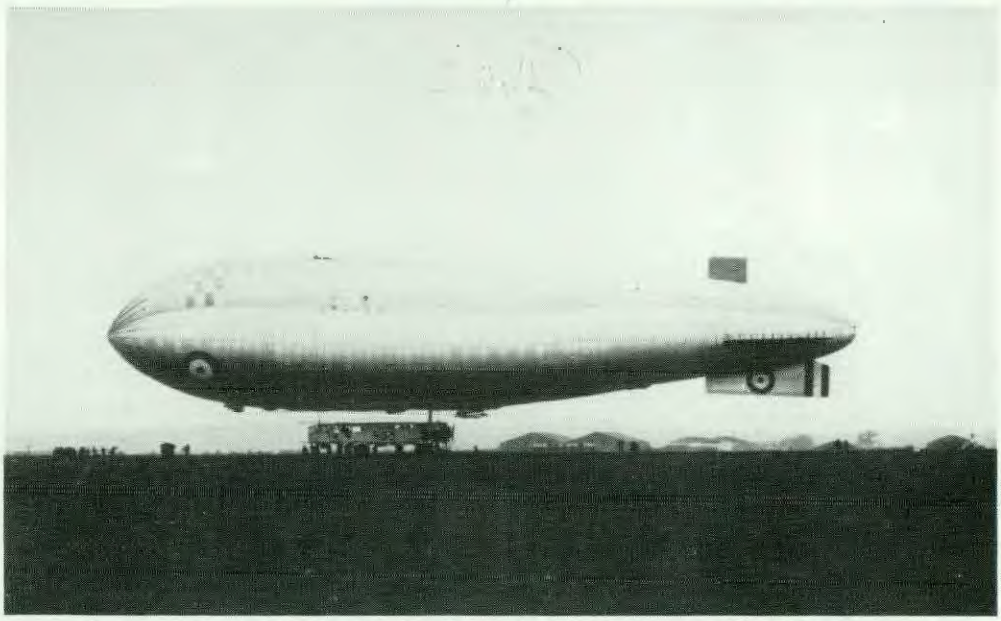

Plate 3. North Sea Airship. The largest non-rigid airship to operate from East Fortune.

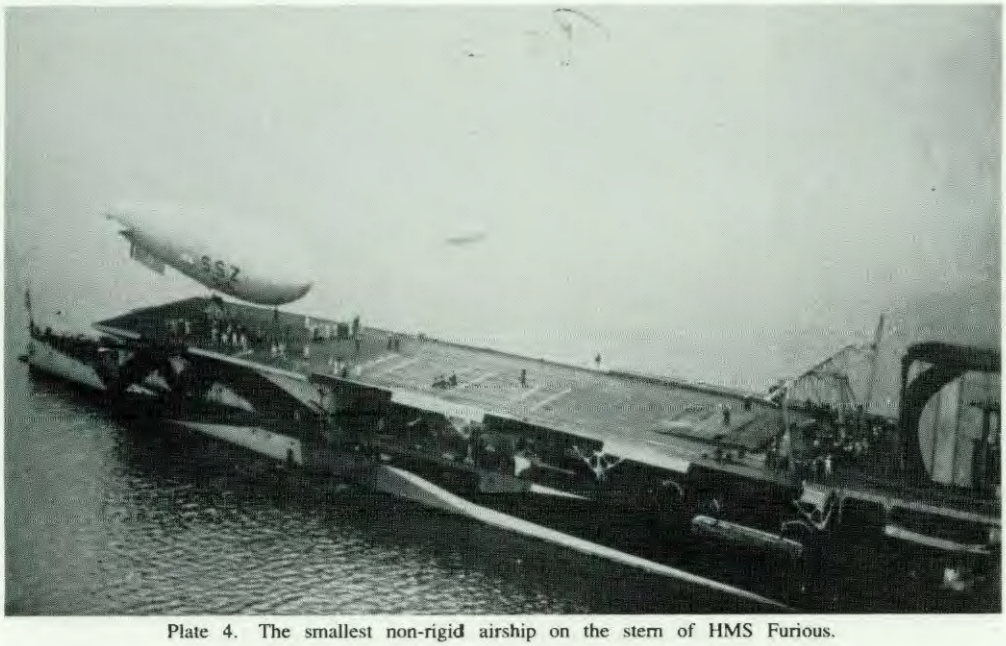

Plate 4. The smallest non-rigid airship on the stern of HMS Furious.

ANNUAL REPORT
for 1988-89

The sixty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the parish church of St. Mary's, Whitekirk, on Saturday 7 May 1988 by kind permission of the minister, the Rev. Kenneth D. F. Walker, M.A., B.D., who welcomed the Society.

At the AGM the officers of the Society were re-elected with one change. Mr Norman Cartwright, latterly a Vice-President and formerly Hon. Secretary of the Society, had indicated a desire to resign, and in his place Council nominated Professor Rosalind Mitchison who was elected.

Mr D. Law and Mr W. Campbell resigned from the Council. Mr J. Woolman and Mrs M. K. Tennent were elected in their places. Dr L. Errington and Mr R. W. Barker who had concluded one term were re-elected.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Rev. Kenneth Walker spoke about the history and architecture of the church.

On Saturday, 4th June, the Society visited Newbattle Parish Church, where Mr Phillip Crooks spoke about the church and its history. The Society then visited Newbattle Abbey College, where Mr Donald Mackay spoke about the origins and work of the college and the history of the building.

On Saturday, 9th July, members visited Pinkie House at Loretto School where they were received by the Housemaster, Mr Duncan Wyllie who spoke about the house and showed the main rooms. The Society was then received at Newhailes House by Lady Antonia Dalrymple who showed members over the house and spoke about its history.

On Saturday, 20th August, the Society visited Dunglass. Mr S. Bunyan spoke about the collegiate church and the estate. Led by Mr R. Forster together with Mr Bunyan and Mr R. Weatherhead, members then walked down Dunglass Burn to the sea and returned via Bilsdean. The walk revealed a wealth of interest.

On Saturday, 10th Septemer, Mr C. Tabraham led a visit to Preston Tower and Cross, two most interesting structures. Mr S. Bunyan then spoke about the Battle of Prestonpans on the site of the battle.

On Saturday, 24th September, an all day visit was made to Berwick on Tweed. In the morning members visited the Town Hall, its museum and prison block. In the afternoon they visited the Berwick museum mainly to see the Berwick part of the Burrell Collection. Some visited other parts of the museum, walked on the Walls and visited the parish church.

All these outings were well supported. The Society is grateful as always to everyone who contributed to their success.

Two illustrated lectures were given during the season. On Thursday, 10th November, Mr George Dalgleish of the Royal Museum of Scotland spoke about the Treasures of Bonnie Prince Charlie. This lecture and the visit to Prestonpans were the Society's contribution to the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. On the 9th February Mr Archie Baird spoke about the History of Golf in East Lothian. Both lectures were given to large and appreciative audiences.

The annual dinner in the George Hotel, Haddington, on Friday 10th March, was attended by over sixty members and their guests. Dr Alexander Fenton, Research Director of the Royal Museum of Scotland, gave an address 'Recording Local History, Diaries and the Reminiscences'.

Volume XX of the Transactions is complete and plans for volume XXI are in hand.

The Society continues its interest in various other matters. It gave financial support to the Scottish Woodland Trust in its purchase of Pressmennan Wood.

A lecture commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of John Muir, the naturalist who contributed so much to conservation in the United States, was given on 21st April 1988 by the Secretary. A similar lecture was given by him to the Friends of North Berwick Museum in February 1989.

Mr Bunyan represents the Society on the John Muir Park Management Committee and the Society is represented on the North Berwick Museum Committee by Mr M. Cox and Mrs J. Russell.

The Society continues to press for improved museum provision in East Lothian, and is vigilant over threats to our heritage of historic buildings and landscape.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 249. In addition, there are eleven institutional members. The Society's Transactions are lodged in the Copyright Libraries and are purchased regularly by others.

Enquiries about the Society from both within and without East Lothian seem to grow.

Programme 1989-90

21st May, Sunday — visit to Dunbar archaeological site.
10th June — visit to Pressmennan Wood.
8th July — visit to the Museum of Flight.
26th August — visit to Soutra Hospital.
9th September — visit to the Old College, University of Edinburgh.
On the evening of 9th November, there will be a lecture on the Dunbar archaeological dig.

ANNUAL REPORT
for 1989/90

The sixty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Winton House, Pencaitland by kind invitation of the Honorary President Sir David Ogilvy, Bt.

At the A.G.M. the officers of the Society were re-elected with one change, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Bt., K.C.V.O. was elected as a vice president, Mr J. Porter and Miss E. Strachan retired from the Council. Miss Strachan who had completed one term only was re-elected. Mr R. Forster and Mr C. Tabraham were elected in place of Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple and Mr J. Porter.

At the conclusion of the meeting Sir David spoke about the history of Winton and he and Lady Ogilvy entertained members to tea and then showed the house.

On 21st May members visited the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust's excavation at Dunbar and Mr Philip Holdsworth FSA, FSAScot. MIFA, the director, spoke about the significance of the excavation at a lecture on 9th November.

On 10th June, Mr Donald Bracewell led members on a visit into Pressmennan Wood which the Society had helped the Woodland Trust to purchase.

On 8th July the Society visited the Museum of Flight where Squadron Leader R. Major spoke about the history of the station and introduced members to the museum collection. On 7th September the Secretary attended a special meeting organised by the Chairman of the Trustees and the Director of the National Museums of Scotland to consider the future of the museum.

On 26th August in atrocious weather conditions, members visited the site of Soutra Hospital where Dr Brian Moffat explained the significance of the site and its great importance in the understanding of medieval medical practice.

On Saturday, 9th September members visited the Old College of the University of Edinburgh, where Dr Andrew Fraser, author of the recently published History of the Old College showed the rooms with most historic or architectural interest together with the main pictures of the University's collection.

On 8th February 1990, Dr Lindsay Errington, a member of the Council of the Society, and 1989 Slade Professor in the University of Cambridge, gave a fascinating lecture entitled William McTaggart in the Lothians.

The annual dinner in the George Hotel in Haddington was held on 23rd March and was attended by 50 members and guests. Dr John Imrie gave an address entitled Col. Crookshank and the Scottish History of Parliament. Col. Chichester de Windt Crookshank was MP for Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire from 1924-9 and from 1931-53 for Bootle. He was Hon. Treasurer of the Committee of the History of Parliament from 1936 and played a significant role in the project. He was President of this Society from 1948-50. He lived at Johnstonburn.

Vol. XXI of the Transactions is in preparation. The Society continues its interest in various other matters. Mr Bunyan represents the Society as a Trustee of the Lamp of Lothian and as a member of the John Muir Country Park Management Committee. The Society is represented on the North Berwick Museum Management Committee by Mr M. Cox and Mr J. Russell. The Society continues to press for improved museum provision in East Lothian and welcomes the decision to appoint a Museum Officer from September 1990. The Society is vigilant over threats to our heritage of historic buildings and landscape.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 219. In addition there are 11 institutional members.

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Enquiries about the Society from both within and without East Lothian seem to grow.

Programme 1990-91

9th June — visit to Kelso and Marchmont House.
14th July — visit to Aberlady Nature Reserve.
4th August — visit to Tranent Grave Yard.
8th September — visit to the Cornice Museum in Peebles and Neidpath Castle.
6th October — visit to North Berwick Law and Kintreath Mills in the Glen.
10th November — visit to Aberlady Nature Reserve.

Lectures

8th November — Soutra Hospital and the Augustinians in Scotland.
13th December — Photographing Scotland's Heritage.
14th February 1991 — S.S.I.'s in East Lothian.

ANNUAL REPORT
for 1990-91

The sixty-sixth Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar, on Saturday 12 May 1990, by kind permission of the Rector and Vestry.

At the A. G. M. the officers of the Society were re-elected unchanged. Mrs H. Oliver retired as a member of the council and in her place Mr Ian Hardie was elected.

At the conclusion of the meeting the Secretary gave a paper on the history of Episcopalianism in East Lothian in general and of St. Anne's in particular. The centenary of the opening of the building was on 21st May. Members then viewed the building and were entertained to tea in the hall.

On Saturday, 9th June members visited Kelso, where they were received at Walton Hall by Mr and Mrs R. Macdonald Scott. They heard and saw how Walton Hall and its garden had been restored. They were led on a town trail of Kelso by the Secretary and proceeded to Marchmont House where they were received by Brigid, Lady McEwen, who outlined the history of the House and showed how it had been adapted for the Sue Ryder Foundation.

On Saturday, 14th July and again, on Saturday, 10th November, members led by the Warden, Mr Peter Gordon, visited Aberlady Bay Nature Reserve. On the second occasion the impressive flock of Pink footed geese was seen.

On Saturday 4th August, Dr Islay Donaldson led a visit to Tranent Church Yard and introduced members to the fascinating range of tombstones in that church yard. The minister, the Rev. Mr Thomas Hogg, showed the fine 17th century Communion Cups and the interior of the church.

On Saturday, 8th September the Society visited Peebles. They first visited the Cornice Museum where Mr L. Grandison spoke about the Museum and the part played by his firm in various restoration projects. Mr Weatherhead led the group up the river to Neidpath Castle and the Secretary conducted the party round the Castle.

The visit to North Berwick Law on the 6th October had to be abandoned because of extremely heavy rain. The Secretary showed slides of Old Dunbar in the home of Mr R. Forster to the few members who turned up.

Three lectures were given in the course of the season. On 8th November, Gordon Ewart, B.A., F.S.A.Scot., gave a lecture on recent excavations at Jedburgh and Inchaffray Abbeys and linked the former to the excavation at Soutra Hospital.

On 13th December Mr. Geoffrey Quick, the chief photographer of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, outlined the history of the recording of the monuments, and in particular the part played by the late A. O. Curle. He gave some idea of the difficulties encountered in photographing the monuments and showed some excellent slides.

On 14th February Mr Nicholas Gubbins, Assistant Regional Officer for Lothian, of the Nature Conservancy Council, gave an illustrated lecture on S.S.S.I.'s in East Lothian.

The Annual Dinner was held in Kilspindie House Hotel, Aberlady, on Friday, 15th March and was attended by 60 members and their guests. Mona K. McLeod, M.A. F.S.A.Scot., a member of the Council of the Society, gave a fascinating talk entitled Scots Abroad in which she outlined the various parts played by Scots in world history from the Middle Ages to the present day.

Volume XXI of the Transactions is in preparation and should be published by May 1991.

The Society continues its interest in various other matters. Mr Bunyan represents the Society as a Trustee of the Lamp of Lothian, as a member of the John Muir Park Management Committee and on the Traprain Law Management Advisory Group. The Society is represented on the North Berwick Museum Management Committee by Mr M. Cox and Mrs J. Russell. During the year the Society has joined as a Corporate Member, both the John Muir Trust and the River Tyne Trust. The Society is anxious to promote museum provision in East Lothian and welcomes the appointment of the Museums Officer Miss Sue Jenkinson.

The Society is vigilant over threats to our heritage of historic buildings, landscape and nature habitats.

The society participated in Haddington Local History Week by arranging, in conjunction with East Lothian Library Service, a tour of Mansions around Haddington, when visits were made to Haddington House, Athelstaneford Village, Gilmerton, Lennoxlove and Stevenson Mansionhouses.

Membership of the Society has increased and at present it stands at 264. In addition there are 12 institutional members. These figures include one Hon. Life Member, 25 family memberships and one junior member.

The Society's Transactions are lodged in the copyright libraries and are purchased regularly by others. Enquiries about the Society, from both within and without East Lothian, seem to grow.

Programme 1991-92

Saturday, 8th June — visit to Duns Castle.
Saturday, 27th July — visit to North Berwick Water System at the Law and to the Kintreath Mills.
Saturday, 24th August — visit to Jedburgh.
Sunday, 15th September — visit to Tweedhopefoot for sheepdog demonstration.
Saturday, 19th October — visit to The Royal college of Surgeons.

Lectures

Thursday, 14th November — East Lothian Water Supply
Thursday, 13th February 1992 — East Lothian Historic Farm Buildings.