



TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
EAST LOTHIAN  
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD  
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

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TRANSACTIONS  
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SIR DAVID OGILVY, Bt.,  
3rd February 1914 - 16th June 1992

David Ogilvy was born in 1914. He came to Winton in 1920 when his father, Gilbert Ogilvy, inherited the estate from his aunt, Mrs Constance Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy. David was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Oxford. In World War II he served in the RNVR in unexploded bomb disposal and weapons development, both in Britain and Sri Lanka (Ceylon), but his life was largely spent in East Lothian as a laird at Winton and also serving the County and District as a Deputy Lieutenant and as a Justice of the Peace. He succeeded his father at Winton in 1953, and his uncle as 13th Baronet of Inverquhar in 1956. Winton remained his home. He married Penelope Hills in 1966. She shared his love of Winton and helped to develop the musical performances he had re-started, a tradition begun by his great-aunt and great-uncle.



David was very interested in, and knowledgeable about, family and local history and antiquities. He was a member of this Society and of its Council for many years. In his twelve years as President, he carried out his duties with unfailing courtesy and consideration, showing a real commitment to the aims of the Society, whose interests he had in the foreground of his attention. We have all in the Society benefited from his conscientious attention to detail, his willingness to sacrifice his time, and his warm personality. That this, as well as his other local concerns, was recognised, was shown by the vast congregation which attended his funeral service in Haddington, and the interment at Pencaitland on the 19th June.

The Society remembers Sir David with affection and offers its sympathy to Lady Ogilvy and their son Francis.

R.M.  
S.B.

# BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND THE ANNANDALE FAMILY FROM A PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

By *ALLY KNOX*

On Wednesday 26 March 1862 the estate of West Barns was offered for sale by public roup in Edinburgh. 'It contains 188 acres Imperial, or thereby, all arable except the orchard gardens and ground occupied by buildings. These lands are of the highest class and capable of producing the heaviest crops of all kinds. They have an extensive right to sea ware and are immediately adjacent to the Beltonford station of the North British Railway which passes through the property. The Estate is beautifully situated in a most desirable locality two miles westward of Dunbar. The lands are in a high state of cultivation; the dwelling house, farm offices and Engine house, are in all respects complete and substantial'.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, June 1862, the corn mills of West Barns came up for sale by public roup in the Court House of Dunbar. The mills had belonged to the town of Dunbar. The sale included 'the thirlage and whole machinery including an extensive water power, driving wheels of 18 feet by 12 feet with steam engine house. From the constant and large supply of very pure water which includes a very valuable spring and the proximity of the situation to the North British Railway, and to the harbours of Dunbar, these premises are well adapted for extensive paper or other manufacturing works'.<sup>2</sup>

In the nineteenth century there was an increased demand for paper to supply the Edinburgh and London printers and for business correspondence. As the demand continued to exceed the supply it was appropriate at this time to invest in papermaking.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

On the 12th August 1862 Alexander Annandale the paper manufacturer at Polton Mill, Lasswade Parish took possession of part of the lands and estate of West Barns. He bought from the magistrates of the Town of Dunbar the Corn Mills or West Mills of the village of West Barns, some houses, yards, water leads, the milldam and the waste weir to the Biel Water.<sup>3</sup>

On the 12th November 1862 he bought some more land and buildings in the West Barns village. It included two parks or enclosures, part of the mill lands of West Barns, a large piece of ground occupied as a bleachfield, with the large dwelling house, some outhouses and a small farm steading.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Annandale set about erecting an extensive paper mill over a four acre site in 1863, using red and white bricks obtained from William Brodie's Brick and Tile Works at nearby Seafield. Two large chimneys were erected, both over 100 feet tall and these two chimneys were to dominate the village skyline for over 100 years. On completion in 1864, flags were flown from their tops, and to add to the jollification youths of both sexes were pulled to the tops inside the structures by block and tackle. One wonders how the ladies dressed in crinolines managed such a feat.

The water needed for the production of paper was to be piped from the mill lade and the Thistley Spring and was to be contained in two brick-built holding ponds. The mill lade pond measured an acre square and nine feet deep; the spring water pond was half the size but of the same depth. On 31st December 1862 Alexander Annandale recorded the right or servitude of laying a line of pipes through the lands of Seagreens.<sup>5</sup> This allowed him to lay sewage pipes to carry the mass of the effluent to the sea.

The proximity of the North British Railway allowed the company to construct its own railhead with a spur leading straight into the heart of the paper mill. Three bridges had to be built, one over the mill lade and two over the Biel Burn. Bulky raw materials could be brought in by rail, and the main markets for the finished products — London and Edinburgh — could be easily reached.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

In the mid 1860s esparto grass came into general use as a raw material in paper making. It was imported from Spain and North Africa, but there are no records of landings at Dunbar. The other material used was rags, which were imported through Dunbar. Entries in the Harbour Book show ships such as the *Garabaldi* coming frequently with a rag cargo from Coningburg, the *Hesmine* from Hessel and the *Lavina* from Lisbon. There was of course also a local market for rags — it was often mentioned in the village that a visitor entered from the east clothed and left by the west naked!

During the last few months of 1865 the paper making machinery was installed, plus the boilers and steam engines that were to drive the plant. It was estimated it took around four tons of coal to produce one ton of paper. The mill was completed at a cost of £47,000, and is named Beltonford Paper Mill in a sasine of 26th January 1866.<sup>6</sup> The same sasine gives the trustees of the firm of Alexander Annandale and



Plate 1.

Plates 1-5. The illustrations in this article are part of a considerable collection of glass negatives still in the possession of descendants of the Annandale family. Illustrations 1-5 show machinery installed in the mill shortly before the disastrous fire of 1892.

BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 2.



Plate 3.

BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 4.

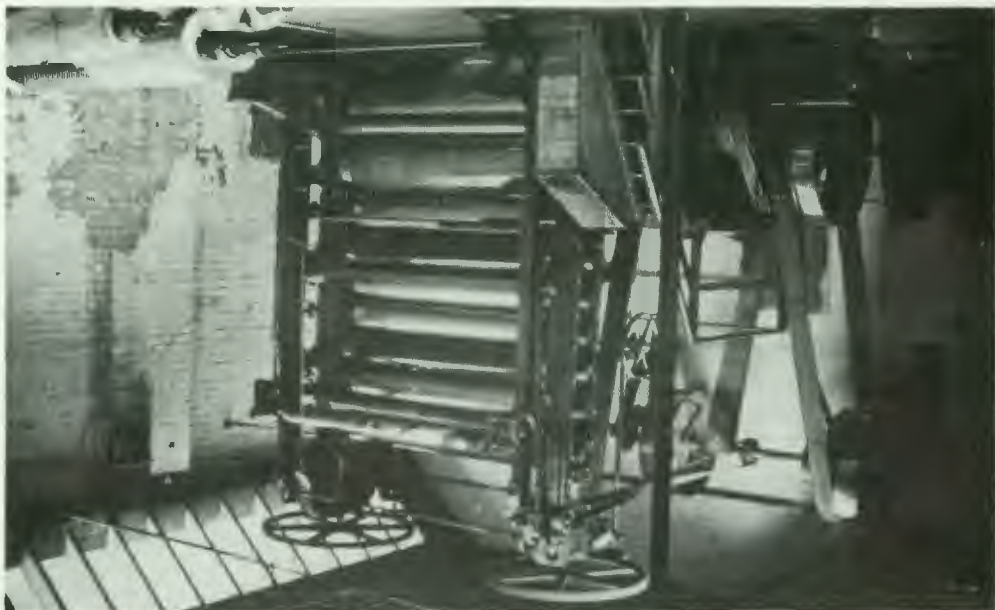


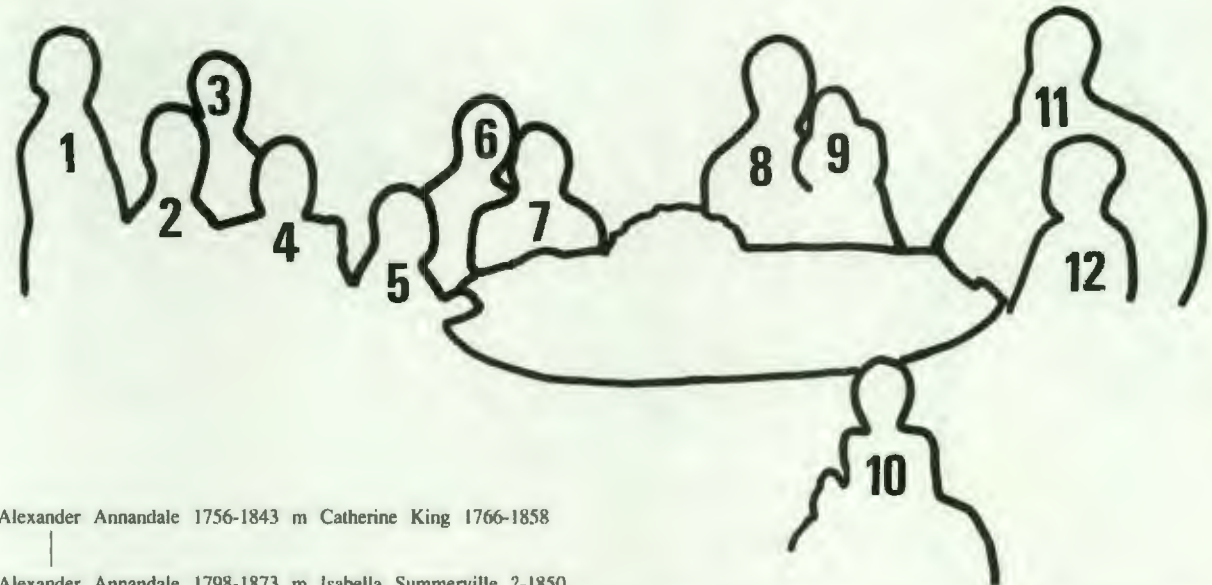
Plate 5.

BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 6. A family portrait of the early 1870s — Alexander Annandale, Junior and his wife and children.

BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



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## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

Sons, Paper Makers of Polton Paper Mills and Beltonford Paper Works as follows:

1. Alexander Annandale of West Barns and Polton Paper Mill Company.
2. Alexander Annandale, Jnr residing at Winton Field House, near Dunbar (later known as Bielside House).
3. James Hunter Annandale, son of Alexander Annandale residing with the said Alexander Annandale, senior.

The family had purchased the Polton Paper Mill in 1798 from William Simpson, and it remained in its possession until 1919 when it was sold to a London firm of paper makers. The first owner and manager had been Alexander Annandale who introduced in 1826 a new machine of French origin called a Fourdrinier machine. It produced paper in an uninterrupted sheet. This Alexander died in 1843.

His son Alexander (1789-1878) married Isabella Summerville or Sommerville and had a family of nine children. They were all born in



Plate 7. These three ladies could perhaps be three sisters of Alexander Annandale, Senior. The standing figure has one of the tall hats which were so fashionable in the late 1880s.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

the parish of Lasswade and lived at the family home of Esk Tower, Polmont. James Hunter Annandale, the third son, continued to manage Polton Mill. He died 21st November 1916 and the mill was sold three years later.

The eldest son, named Alexander, Junior, in the 1866 Register of Sasines, stayed at Winterfield House and managed the Beltonford Mill,



Plate 8. Probably Alexander Annandale, Junior, photographed around 1890 when he was in his mid fifties. With him is perhaps his eldest daughter Joanna Elizabeth.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

where 'his energy and enterprise soon placed it in the front rank of Scottish paper factories. Early in 1866 it was making some twenty tons of printing paper a week, on the one machine that was at first put in.<sup>7</sup> A new watermarking process was patented in 1885, shortly after which the Beltonford Mill was 'thoroughly overhauled, with the result that 70 tons per week was turned out from the restart in 1887, or about double the previous output, and within another five years the mill was making



Plate 9. Annandale children in the 1890s, possibly grandchildren of Alexander Junior.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

80 tons a week.<sup>7</sup> This refurbishment had followed on the conversion of the business into a public company in 1886, which took over both the Polton and Beltonford Mills.

Alexander Annandale, Junior's wife was Joanna and she hailed from the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She was to die at the early age of 38 years a few days after the birth of their eleventh child, Norah Augusta. The first five children were born in Lasswade, and the rest in Dunbar Parish after the move to West Barns.

Alexander Annandale, Junior died whilst walking in his estate at West Barns from a heart attack on Thursday, 8th August 1895, aged 61 years, three years after the disastrous fire that closed the mill in 1892. He was interred in the family plot in Dunbar Parish churchyard, having served on the Parish Council as chairman since 1887. In the corner of the park that was his favourite walk a flower bed in the shape of a star was laid out and remained there for many years in tribute.



Plate 10. This group could include the younger sons and all the daughters of Alexander, Junior — possibly Kenneth and William Edwin at the back with Evelyn Alice between them; front second left Norah Augusta, centre Eleanor Annie, to her right Joanna Elizabeth and far right Flora Isabella. The costume is of the mid 1890s.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

Clustered around the Beltonford Mill there grew up a small paper making community, in contrast to the rural community of the village. This staff came from many parts of the country and comprised process workers, maintenance workers and a few office staff. Process workers' jobs could be divided into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work. The skilled workmen were recruited from other mills — these were beater men and machine men. The ultimate quality of the paper depended on



Plate 11. Eleanor Annie, later Mrs Sorby. She emigrated to New Zealand and died there 16 October 1933. She was known locally as a painter, and one of her portraits of a little girl with golden hair was known to be in a household in the village.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 12. The West Barns Silver Band. The author's great grandfather is the trombonist on the far right of the picture.

their knowledge and skill. In all departments of the mill many labourers were required to manhandle the raw materials and to prepare them. For example, they needed wheeling in in barrows, esparto grass had to be fed into boilers, rags had to be sorted, the rosin had to be broken up with hammers (a very labour intensive operation). The unskilled labour, boys, women and girls, could be recruited locally. Maintenance workers were the joiners, plumbers, blacksmiths, masons, engineers and millwrights. In the engineering department engine fitters and engine turners held an important position, maintaining machinery and constructing extensions to the plant.

For incoming workers the Company had two rows of houses built: the School Row or the Black Row, which ran from the Post Road to the village school with a shop in the middle and four blocks comprising the White Row and the Red Row or Post Office Row which, as the name implies, had the village post office at its centre. All that now stands is the Post Office Row, known today as 1-10 Edinburgh Road, the rest having been demolished in the 1930s to make way for the East Lothian County Council housing scheme.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 13. The Post Office Row in the foreground, with the three blocks of the White Row beyond. The brickwork is the same as seen on photographs of the mill and can be seen today in its original state at Tilton House stables. When the whole project was completed, with the tall works' chimneys of the same red and white design, it must have been an impressive sight.

The photograph shows preparations made for the visit of Queen Victoria to Dunbar in August, 1878. The Haddingtonshire Courier gives a full description of the event:

Further onwards a flag was seen flying from the lofty tower of Battleblent House and as West Barns was approached the preparations that had been made there for the visit came into view. Small as the village is no fewer than three floral arches were erected in it. The first of these was decorated with flags and displayed the words 'Welcome'. In the centre of the village the second arch had a scroll on one side bearing 'Better lo'ed ye canna be' and on the reverse 'Will ye no come back again'. The Co-operative store and other buildings were decorated handsomely. A third arch spanned the bridge at the end of the village having a floral crown suspended from the centre and being otherwise enlivened with the Union Jack and various flags. Bielside House, belonging to Mr Annandale showed a flag from the tower and the Paper Mills had a perfect forest of flags displayed on staffs upon the roofs and also from the long range of windows of the large building. A finely festooned gateway in front was likewise surmounted with a crown of flowers.

With the coming to the village of new families, the social life of the village changed. The West Barns Instrumental Band had instruments provided by the Annandales and played at all the works' functions, and once paraded through the streets when the family won a court case. The band played at the opening ceremony of St Catherine's Hall at the Woodbush, Dunbar performed by Provost Purves on 16th February, 1872.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

The West Barns Quoiting Club was established and four rinks built. The West Barns Horticultural Society consisted mainly of men from the paper mill and survived until the Second World War. There was a race course at Linkfield and a golf course. The Dunbar Golf Society was started in the village, Mr Middless the previous owner of the West Barns estate being one of the founder members.

The workers were invited to an annual picnic in the grounds of Bielside, and also enjoyed an annual outing. The *Haddingtonshire Courier* of June 1888 reports that 'the annual excursion of employees of Beltonford paper mill took place last Saturday the destination being North Berwick to which they were conveyed in long carts. They were accompanied by the mill band. The journey to and fro was pleasant and a welcome relaxation from the daily routine of mill life.'

In the winter dancing classes and an etiquette class took place three nights a week at the village school where a gentleman famed in the County — a Mr Johnstone — held his 'dancin' schule'. The season ended with an 'Auld Handsel Ball'.

On Saturday morning 2nd April, 1892, disaster was to strike the mill. The Scotsman reports the great fire as follows:<sup>8</sup>

The mill which forms three sides of a square, the front portion being the largest, is on the Edinburgh Road and is a very fine structure. For the past two years great alterations have been going on and the greatest portion of the old machinery has been taken out and entirely new and modern machinery put in its place. In fact a large staff of English engineers were still on the premises making the necessary alterations.

The fire was first observed about 3 o'clock on Saturday morning by one of the fireman named Lees who instantly gave the alarm. The night shift which consisted of over one hundred persons immediately turned out and the men at once set to work with the mill fire engine to attack the flames.

The fire originated in the farthest portion of the West finishing house and spread with extraordinary rapidity. It was at once seen that little or nothing could be done to save the building.

BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plates 14-15. Fire fighting on the west side of the mill. The works' fire-fighting team rest beside their machine on the banks of the Biel Burn. Note the belfry on the left of the works.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plates 16-17. Close-ups of the fire damage. The belfry, more clearly featured here, was demolished on safety grounds after the fire. It had contained a light which locals said was used by fishermen of Dunbar as a guide.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

Turning the corner at the East end of the wing the flames attacked the main building and some idea of the speed and fierceness of the fire can be gathered from the fact that in fifteen minutes one half of the building which consisted of the beater house, the machine house, the engine house and the finishing house was enveloped in flames and from the inflammable nature of the material burning sent out a light of great brilliance and heat, showers of burning paper flew in the air, the streets of Dunbar and the fields for miles around were strewn with the ash. The esparto grass was several times ignited by these pieces of paper but the strenuous efforts of the workmen assisted by the Firemaster Mr Melville with the staff and engine from Dunbar were successful in preventing any damage in this direction.

A number of trucks of coal which were lying alongside the boilers ready to be discharged caught fire and were consumed, nothing but the iron frames of the waggons remaining.

One of the two waggons of paper on the siding several hundred yards away also caught fire and were burnt to a cinder.

The rosin depot by a passing spark caught fire and caused the firemen great inconvenience by emitting dense volumes of smoke.

The second portion of the main building and the east wing were fortunately saved, and this in great measure was due to the glass roof with which they were covered. A new roasting house, the lodge, the foremen's houses and the office with the books and papers were also saved.

The origin of the fire is unknown. The damage done will amount to roughly £60,000 which is covered by insurance.

Unfortunately between 200 and 300 people will be thrown out of employment.

The buildings were never used as a paper mill again after the fire, though a number of employees were kept on to do salvage work. It was decided to take down the belfry which had stayed up after the fire, as in the event of a gale it may have come down, possibly bringing some other part of the building down with it.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plates 18-19. These two pictures show the mill after the fire and the conversion of the remaining building to a maltings — note the harley kilns and the missing belfry. The photos are taken looking south across the main Post Road. Illustration 19 shows (left to right) the roaster house, the foreman's house, the east wing, the centre-piece (minus the belfry) which was known as the chapel and part of the west wing where the fire had occurred.



## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY



Plate 20. Another photograph taken after the mill had been sold to Alexander Hunter of Belhaven Brewery. It is taken from the rear, looking north. The pug engine on the work's railway line was driven for the Hunters by the author's great-grandfather George Knox. The author's father Alexander Knox took over the job of engine driver, which he held for 42 years until the maltings closed in the 1970s. He was brought up in the big house shown in illustration 19.

After the remaining buildings had been made safe and the mill cleaned up, it was decided that given the poor health of Mr Annandale, Junior, it would not be rebuilt but that the works would be put up for sale. Thus on 24th August, 1894, Mr Alexander Hunter, a brewer at Belhaven purchased the remains.<sup>9</sup> The same year he embarked on converting the buildings to a maltings, producing malted barley for the brewing industry. He equipped the maltings with a newly-developed system called the New Pneumatic Drum malting or Henning system. This machinery was to be housed in the old building of the paper mill, and was designed and installed by Kinder & Sons of London.<sup>10</sup> The Beltonford Maltings as they were called remained for many years. After the Hunter family the next owners were the British Malt Products Co Ltd. The premises were again on fire in the 1940s during World War Two. Rebuilt as a maltings in 1946/7 by Wimpey under new owners Associated British Maltsters Co., they survived into the 1970s when they yet again went on fire. This time the buildings were demolished and the site cleared. The two tall chimneys which had stood since the paper mill days at last left the West Barns skyline for ever.

## BELTONFORD PAPER MILL AND ANNANDALE FAMILY

What remains today for the researcher looking for the paper mill built by Annandale? To the west of the village there are two fine houses, once foremen's houses and a building converted to stables, now known as Tilton House Stables. This was the engineers' workshop. On the banks of the Biel Burn the holding pond for water from the mill lade survives and is now used for the tranquil sport of fly fishing. The plentiful supply of spring water from the Thistley Spring that once served the paper mill, breweries, distillery and the village drinking needs is still plentiful and runs into breeding tanks of spawning rainbow trout. Of the workers' houses, only ten remain, privately owned, now numbered 1-10 Edinburgh Road. One must not forget the spoil dump which every factory or mill had. The Beltonford Paper Mill's was at what is now known as Linkfield Car Park, in the John Muir Country Park, where the toilet block and barbecue site are now located. This was known as the Lime Bing sited at the end of the old Ware Road, at one time right on the edge of the sea.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to give grateful acknowledgement to Chris Roberts of East Lothian District Library's Local History Centre and to Naomi Tarrant, curator of Costume and Textiles in the Royal Museum of Scotland for help and advice on Annandale family identification.

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## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

By IAN D. WHYTE

The low productivity of pre-Improvement Scottish agriculture, especially as regards crop yields, is well established.<sup>1</sup> However, recent research has shown that infield-outfield farming in Scotland during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was by no means unchanging or incapable of development.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of liming in the first two decades of the seventeenth century caused a mini-revolution in farming practices in the Lothians and other parts of Central Scotland allowing an intensification of cropping on existing infields, the conversion of some outfield land to infield and the extension of outfield cultivation.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century balanced infield rotations incorporating legumes and fallow courses as well as cereals were in operation on many estates.<sup>4</sup> The cropping systems described by Lord Belhaven in his early work on agricultural improvement were selected from the best in current use.<sup>5</sup>

However, we still have very little information on the returns that these or more traditional crop rotations actually gave. Two main sources of evidence exist. First there are general estimates of yields such as those contained in inventories as assessments of the likely value of growing crops after harvest, and figures advanced by contemporary writers in topographical accounts.<sup>6</sup> Second, there are the ratios of the quantities of crops harvested to those sown on particular plots. These are uncommon, rarely occur for more than short runs of years, and invariably relate to cultivation on mains farms under the direct management of landed proprietors.<sup>7</sup> Sparse as they are such data are valuable for demonstrating the extent of variations in yields between different crops, on different parcels of land and in successive years.

Among the manuscripts relating to the Hay of Yester estates preserved in the National Library of Scotland is a volume of estate

## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

accounts which contains details of the quantities of various crops sown and harvested on the Mains of Yester between 1698 and 1753.<sup>8</sup> The seed/yield ratios which can be calculated from this information form the longest run of crop yield information yet available for pre-Improvement Scotland. They also have the advantage that they cover the period from the 'Ill Years' of the later 1690s to the commencement of large-scale changes in farming in the Lothians in the mid-eighteenth century, notably the enclosure which is recorded on the Military Survey of Scotland.<sup>9</sup> The aim of this short article is to interpret this information and to set it in context.

The Mains of Yester, situated close to the edge of the Lammermuirs, was not on the best land in East Lothian. However, it lay at the core of one of the more progressive Lothian estates. During the later seventeenth century the policies of Yester had been massively expanded. Much of the enclosed area was taken up by the planting of trees on a scale which was unique at the time in Scotland. By the 1720s the policies around Yester had a perimeter of several miles and enclosed, according to one estimate, a million fully-grown trees.<sup>10</sup> Among the plantations other enclosures were used for producing hay, for sheltering herds of deer and for fattening livestock. Superior English animals were introduced to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep. Lean cattle were bought locally from tenants on the surrounding farms, as well as from Highland drovers in markets as far away as Falkirk and Crieff.<sup>11</sup>

From the quantities of seed sown<sup>12</sup> it can be calculated that the area under cultivation on the Mains of Yester throughout the period varied between around 90 and 120 acres, comparable with other contemporary large estates with enclosed policies.<sup>13</sup> Although the actual sequence of crops in any particular enclosure is not given it is likely to have been wheat/bere/oats/peas with the manure being laid on in preparation for wheat, the highest priced cereal but the most exhausting crop. This rotation was widespread in the Lothians and the Merse in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Although liming was practised at Yester it is uncertain whether fallow courses were incorporated into the rotation though this is quite possible. Some of the year-to-year variations in the area sown could have been the result of taking land out of cultivation and putting it down to pasture. It is not impossible that some form of convertible husbandry with a regular alternation of arable and pasture was in use, a system which would have given higher yields than normal systems of infield cultivation.<sup>15</sup>

## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

The system of cropping on the Mains of Yester is thus likely to have been one of the most advanced in Scotland in its day and, being worked under the proprietor's management, inputs of labour, manures and fertilizers may have been greater than on an ordinary tenanted holding. Under these conditions one might expect crop yields to have been among the best that contemporary Scottish farming could achieve. It is unfortunate that the series starts in the middle of the period of severe weather conditions at the end of the seventeenth century that went down in folk memory as the 'Seven Ill Years'. The data only record the tail end of the period of crisis giving no indication of how bad returns were compared with previous years. That the climatic disaster did have an impact is suggested by the way in which, after an extremely low yield in 1698, the cultivation of wheat on the Mains was discontinued for 15 years. However, returns of oats and bere in 1698, although low in relation to later years, were by no means disastrous, corresponding with what has been widely accepted as a long-term 'average' figure for Lowland Scotland as a whole.<sup>16</sup>

The data indicate that returns for wheat from 1714 onwards were remarkably high in many years, far superior to other recorded yields of wheat in Scotland in the seventeenth century and a considerable improvement on those obtained in the mid eighteenth century by Sir Archibald Grant at Monymusk.<sup>17</sup> This makes it likely that the wheat crop received most of the available fertilizers and manures as well as enjoying the benefit of the nitrifying effects of the legumes. Nevertheless, the sensitive nature of wheat under Scottish climatic conditions and contemporary standards of husbandry is indicated by the greater variability of its yields from year to year compared with bere and oats. The range of yields for wheat was nearly three times that for bere and over five times that for oats. Yields for bere were often (but not invariably) higher than those for oats, a crop which gave lower but less variable returns. Yields of oats in most years were, however, well above the three to one 'break-even' yield which was considered normal. The returns of bere, oats and peas are comparable with those on the Mains of Dundas in West Lothian for a run of years during the 1650s and early 1660s.<sup>18</sup>

Figures 1 and 2 bring out the short-term fluctuations in crop yields. Annual fluctuations for bere and oats, both spring-sown crops, are closely comparable but variations in the yield of winter-sown wheat are not always in step reflecting the impact of different sets of weather and soil conditions. In bad years like 1740 returns of bere and oats held up

# CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

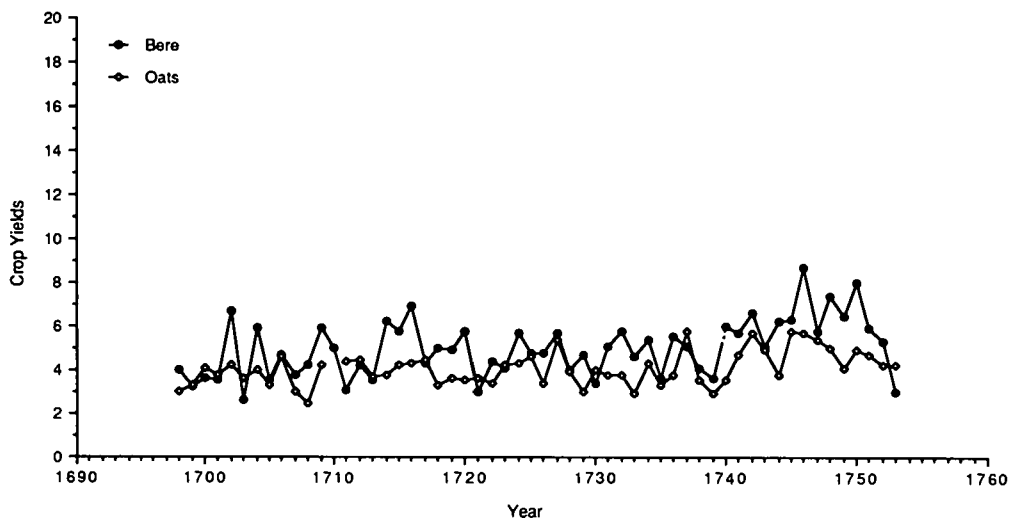


Figure 1. Yields of oats and bere, Mains of Yester, 1698-1753.

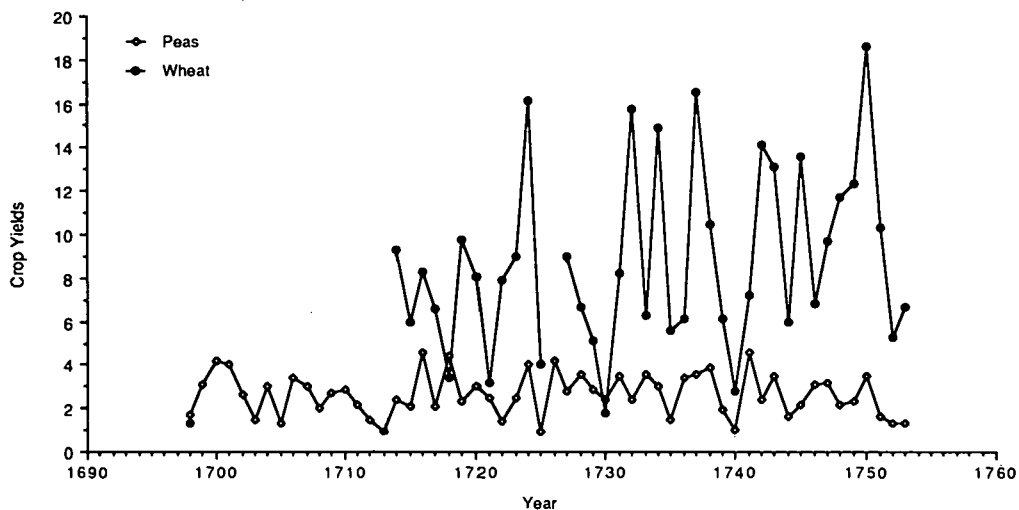


Figure 2. Yields of wheat and peas, Mains of Yester, 1698-1753.

## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

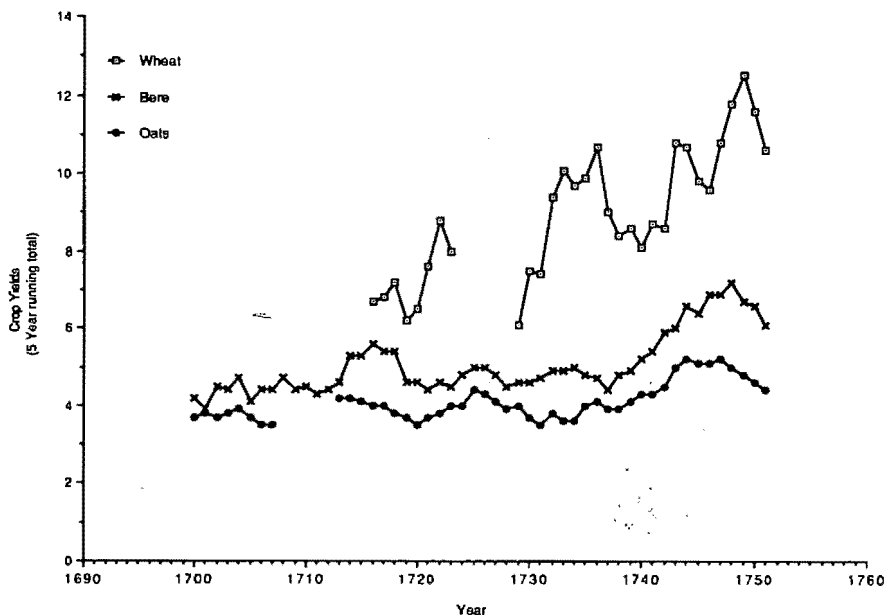


Figure 3. Yields of wheat, bere and oats: Five-year running mean.

reasonably well but those of wheat and peas plummeted. A significant feature of the yields, brought out by the use of a five-year running mean in Figure 3, is their tendency to rise over time. Figure 3 shows that a slight upward trend for bere and oats is discernible between 1700 and the late 1730s but thereafter a more marked increase occurs. If average yields for the first and last ten years of the time series are compared those for bere rose by 51% and for oats by 30%. The corresponding figure for wheat, over a shorter run of years, was 42%. This increase in productivity is hard to explain. It may reflect a rise in mean annual temperatures, a longer growing season and generally more favourable weather conditions. Mean annual temperatures for Central England rose sharply in the early years of the eighteenth century after the cold spell of the later 1690s and then drifted up more slowly to a peak in the 1730s before falling back slightly.<sup>19</sup> Conditions in south eastern Scotland are likely to have been comparable.

Even less certainly the rise in yields might have been the result of improvements in husbandry. Whatever the cause, the potential significance of these figures is considerable, particularly if comparable rises in productivity occurred elsewhere and on tenanted holdings as well as on

## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

estate mains. Calculations of productivity on farms in Lowland Scotland during the seventeenth century suggest that, taking into account the need to set aside grain for seed, rent and direct consumption for food, the production of surpluses was very finely poised. Only a small proportional improvement in average yields would have made a major difference to farmers' surpluses and to the amount of food available for local communities.<sup>20</sup> The food supply situation in Lowland Scotland was generally good between 1700 and 1739. Although the harvests of 1739 and 1740 were deficient food shortages were due in part to side effects of the outbreak of war with France.<sup>21</sup> Generally favourable conditions continued through the 1740s and 1750s. More efficient transport and marketing of grain with the elimination of regional variations in prices<sup>22</sup> and more effective poor relief<sup>23</sup> undoubtedly contributed to the more favourable situation. However, the possibility that there was a significant improvement in crop yields should not be ignored and this topic would repay further study. It is curious that we know less about the state of Scottish farming during the first half of the eighteenth century than in earlier periods. The data from the Mains of Yester suggest that the decades immediately preceding the widespread onset of 'improvement' may yet hold some surprises.

TABLE 1: CROP YIELDS (SEED-YIELD RATIOS) ON THE MAINS OF YESTER,  
EAST LOTHIAN, 1698-1753

	BERE	OATS	PEAS	WHEAT
1698	4.0	3.0	1.7	1.3
1699	3.2	3.3	3.1	
1700	3.6	4.1	4.2	
1701	3.5	3.8	4.0	
1702	6.7	4.2	2.6	
1703	2.6	3.6	1.5	
1704	5.9	4.0	3.0	
1705	3.5	3.3	1.3	
1706	4.7	4.6	3.4	
1707	3.8	3.0	3.0	
1708	4.2	2.5	2.0	
1709	5.9	4.2	2.7	
1710	5.0	?	2.9	
1711	3.1	4.4	2.2	
1712	4.2	4.5	1.5	
1713	3.5	3.7	0.9	
1714	6.2	3.8	2.4	9.3
1715	5.8	4.2	2.1	6.0
1716	6.9	4.3	4.6	8.3

# CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

	BERE	OATS	PEAS	WHEAT
1717	4.3	4.5	2.1	6.6
1718	5.0	3.3	4.4	3.4
1719	4.9	3.6	2.3	9.8
1720	5.8	3.5	3.0	8.1
1721	3.0	3.6	2.5	3.2
1722	4.4	3.4	1.4	7.9
1723	4.1	4.2	2.5	9.0
1724	5.7	4.3	4.0	16.1
1725	4.8	4.6	0.9	4.0
1726	4.8	3.4	4.2	?
1727	5.7	5.4	2.8	9.0
1728	4.0	3.9	3.6	6.7
1729	4.7	3.0	2.9	5.1
1730	3.4	4.0	2.4	1.8
1731	5.1	3.8	3.5	8.2
1732	5.8	3.8	2.4	15.7
1733	4.6	2.9	3.6	6.3
1734	5.4	4.3	3.0	14.9
1735	3.6	3.3	1.5	5.6
1736	5.5	3.8	3.4	6.1
1737	5.1	5.8	3.6	16.5
1738	4.1	3.5	3.9	10.5
1739	3.6	2.9	1.9	6.1
1740	6.0	3.5	1.0	2.8
1741	5.7	4.7	4.6	7.2
1742	6.6	5.7	2.4	14.1
1743	5.1	4.9	3.5	13.1
1744	6.2	3.8	1.6	6.0
1745	6.3	5.8	2.2	13.6
1746	8.7	5.7	3.1	6.8
1747	5.8	5.4	3.2	9.7
1748	7.4	5.0	2.2	11.7
1749	6.5	4.1	2.3	12.3
1750	8.0	4.9	3.5	18.6
1751	5.9	4.7	1.6	10.3
1752	5.3	4.2	1.3	5.3
1753	4.5	4.2	1.3	6.7

## CROP YIELDS ON THE MAINS OF YESTER 1698-1753

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# EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR: AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE ANGLIAN EVIDENCE

BY PHILIP HOLDSWORTH

## INTRODUCTION

In AD 680 Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, imprisoned Bishop Wilfrid at *Dynbaer* at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. The record of this event in *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid* by Stephen (in which he describes *Dynbaer* as the king's town) is the only notice of the site having been a royal stronghold in the Anglian period, although the placename (which means 'summit-fort') reveals it to have been the site of an earlier British fortification. It had always been assumed that the British and Anglian occupation had been confined to Castle Rock on which the later medieval castle had been built, but excavations revealed evidence of occupation on the cliffside of the adjacent mainland from the pre-Roman Iron Age to modern times. In this interim statement on the investigation, a brief sketch of the characteristics of the British period of occupation is followed by a summary of the principal Anglian (Northumbrian) structures.

## EXCAVATION BACKGROUND

Dunbar is situated on the south side of the Firth of Forth, about 40 km east of Edinburgh (fig. 1). In 1987 East Lothian District Council announced plans to build a leisure pool in the town at Castle Park, a former military barracks, in an attempt to reverse a declining local economy. Because the site was known to have been the location of a massive fortification built by the French in the mid-sixteenth century, Historic Scotland and the District Council agreed to fund an excavation

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

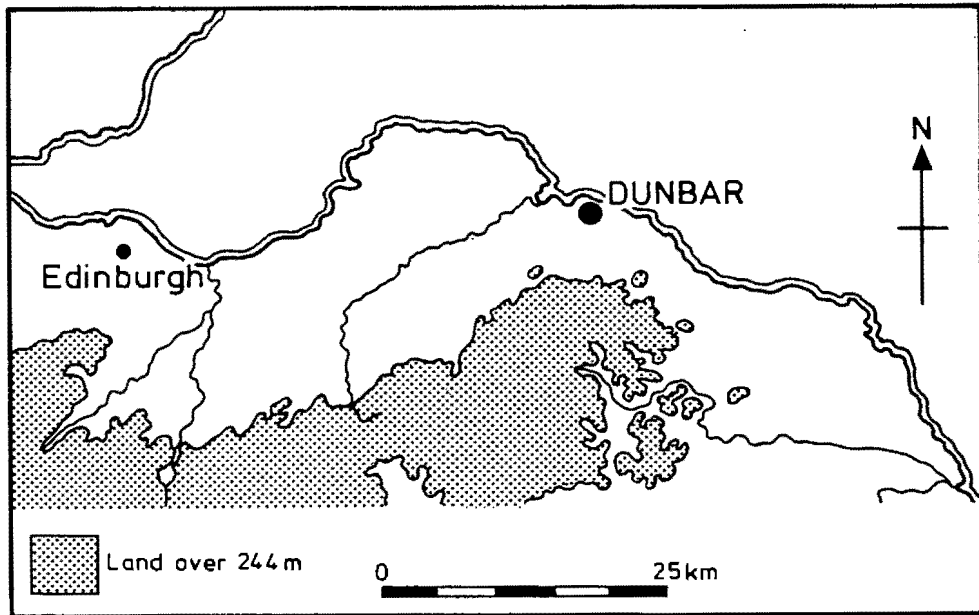


Figure 1. Location plan of Dunbar.

in advance of development. The National Museums of Scotland made a timely contribution during the course of the investigation when funding was running low. The original excavation design was for a field project of a few months duration, but unexpected major discoveries transformed it into a phased investigation which began in 1988 and ended in 1991. The excavations were undertaken by the author when Director of the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust.

Work was carried out on the cliffside overlooking Dunbar castle (fig. 2). The castle was built on a bassanite intrusion unconnected to the mainland, known as Castle Rocks. In the sixteenth century the Duke of Albany constructed a blockhouse on the mainland, on a small promontory, which was linked to the castle by a covered passage. On the landward side the blockhouse was protected by a ditch. When viewed from certain angles, this ditch can create the illusion of the blockhouse having been built on a stack. The enlargement of Victoria Harbour in 1842 required an entrance to be blasted through Castle Rocks and this destroyed much of the castle remains; today only part of the forework, gate house and main ward survive.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR



Figure 2. The location of the excavation in relation to the blockhouse and castle. (Courtesy RCAHMS).

### BRITISH OCCUPATION (Periods 1 and 2)

#### Period 1

Occupation probably began in the pre-Roman Iron Age as a small promontory fort. The earliest features of Period 1 were three ditches, approximately parallel and about 5m apart, cut just below the neck of the promontory. Each was dug into the underlying New Red Sandstone, and as they had no stratigraphic association a sequence is impossible to determine. In the outermost ditch numerous turves were recognisable in the backfill of clean, weathered, sandstone fragments which suggests a bank on the landward side.

#### Period 2

In Period 2 the area of occupation extended over the infilled ditches and beyond them. The remains of paved surfaces were found in several locations and seemingly in association with a number of linear

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

and curvilinear features; they probably represent the floor surfaces, enclosure fences and foundation trenches of a group of houses.

The houses had been rebuilt on several occasions as testified by the intercutting and superimposed remains of the foundation trenches. From deposits overlying the paved surfaces a charcoal sample produced a radiocarbon date of GU2584 1740 (+/- 50) bp; 130-430 cal AD (calibrated to 2x standard deviation, Pearson 1985, as are all the corrected dates in this report). And a sample taken from one of the foundation trenches gave a date of GU2991 1810 (+/- 50) bp; 75-380 cal AD. The trenches often showed signs of having been lined with stone, most frequently on the sides but sometimes on the bottom too. In one instance transverse stones had divided a foundation trench into 40cm segments, each segment presumably having accommodated an upright timber. This kind of construction technique has been recorded on a number of native British sites in Northumbria and south-east Scotland (Jobey 1973).

The finds assemblage from Periods 1 and 2 was mainly of rotary quern fragments, honestones and bone objects such as awls. However, a lump of native gold was found shaped rather like a large teardrop bent back on itself and beaten at the narrow end into a chisel like point. Pottery was scarce and amounted to only a small quantity of abraded cooking pot sherds, though animal bones and sea shells were abundant.

## ANGLIAN OCCUPATION (Periods 3, 4 and 5)

### Period 3

A large rectangular *grubenhaus* (Structure 1), extensively destroyed by later intrusions, may be the earliest feature of Period 3 (fig. 3). A deep linear feature of medieval date had been dug lengthways through the *grubenhaus* destroying the southern half of the interior except for part of the south wall line. The west end of the building had been destroyed by the insertion of a post-medieval kiln, and the east end by the foundation trench of a building which belonged to the 16th century French fort. It was, however, possible to establish that the *grubenhaus* had measured 7.5 m long by 4.5m wide. It was 53 cm deep, measured from the level at which the cut could be most clearly seen in section, with near vertical sides and a flat bottom. An irregular line of stakeholes and small

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

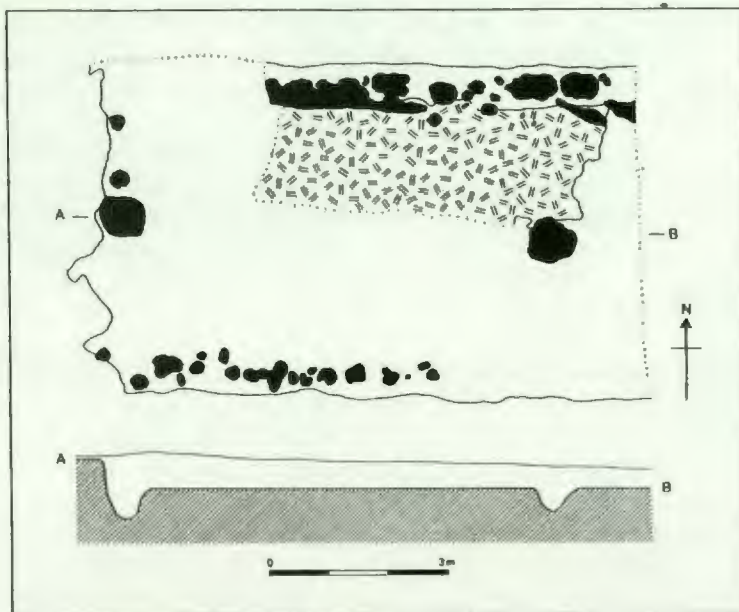


Figure 3. Structure 1, a *grubenhaus*, Period 3.

postholes marked the line of each side wall, and at either end of the central axis was a substantial posthole.

The filling of the *grubenhaus* was a clean, fairly homogeneous, silty clay containing no datable objects, but sitting on the yellow clay puddling floor were two complete, and several partly formed, unfired loomweights. A couple of loomweights had been pressed into the puddling floor making them barely distinguishable from the surrounding clay matrix. Also on the floor surface were large fragments of a blackened coarse ware cooking pot which is as yet unprovenanced.

On the ground surface immediately outside the west end wall of the building was a heap of over twenty loomweights overlain by pieces of timber, some dressed, and all burnt to charcoal. The burning of the wood had also fired the loomweights underneath, an act which was probably accidental. The *grubenhaus* must have been dismantled before the fire occurred as the infill of the robbed central posthole was sealed by burnt debris. The pieces of large timber overlying the loomweights provided a sample for radiocarbon dating which gave a date of GU2992 1650 (+/-50) bp; 240-555 cal AD.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

The function of the building, as suggested by the discovery of about 40 loomweights, accords well with the frequent interpretation of such structures having been used for weaving and associated activities. This is the first occasion that a *grubenhaus* has been found in Scotland, and Dunbar represents the most northerly distribution in Britain of this type of structure. The nearest comparable structure is that found at New Bewick, about 10 miles north-west of Alnwick, Northumberland (Gates and O'Brien 1988). Excavation revealed a *grubenhaus* measuring 4.7 x 3.9 m containing fragments of 20-30 loomweights, the majority of which were unfired like those at Dunbar.

South-east of the *grubenhaus* was an extensive sandstone surface, set into which was a line of dolerite boulders fronted by a trench lined with stone on the vertical faces; it is probably the remains of a palisade. Lying on the sandstone surface were several complete animal bones two of which were collected from different locations for radiocarbon dating. One was the jaw bone of a cow and the other the canon bone of a cow. As both samples were completely unabraded it is unlikely that they were lying around for very long before they were sealed by a levelling



Figure 4. Stone base of rampart, Period 3, with ninth-century ditch, Period 4, in immediate foreground.

EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

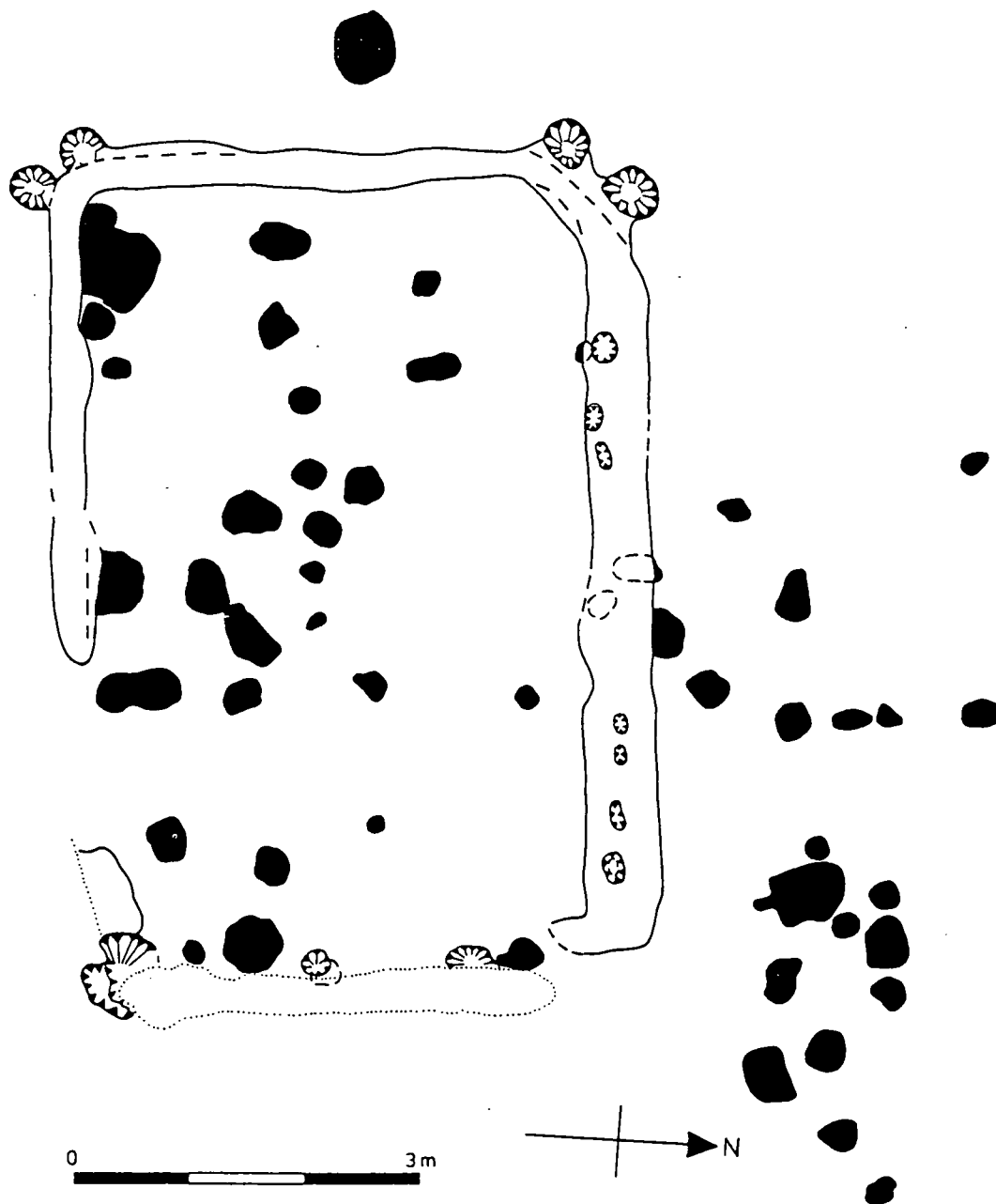


Figure 5. Palimpsest of postholes (in black) below Structure 2, Period 3.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

up layer of fine, clean soil. The dates obtained are GU2994 1540 (+/-50) bp; 400-630 cal AD, and GU29951500 (+/- 50) bp; 430-650 cal AD.

After the palisade had been removed and the site levelled, parallel lines of sandstone and dolerite boulders were constructed about 1m apart (fig. 4). The area between the boulders showed evidence of having been neatly paved with stones laid edge to edge. It was probably the base for a rampart. On the outer south face of the rampart, the remains of what may have been a trench for a timber revetment was found. No evidence for the destruction or dismantling of the rampart base was apparent; this is somewhat surprising for such a large feature and it may be that the rampart was never completed.

To the north and north-east of the *grubenhaus* were two phases of earthfast timber buildings succeeded by timber structures erected on a single course of stone foundations. Although the palimpsest of postholes which comprise the earliest structures have been provisionally assigned to the Anglian period it is stratigraphically possible that they belonged to the British period (fig. 5). A detailed analysis of these buildings has yet to be undertaken.

Overlying these postholes were three buildings of post-in-trench construction (fig. 6). The most complete (Structure 2) measured 7 x 4.5 m with substantial double postholes at the NW and SW corners (fig. 5). A sequence of construction for the side walls of the building was clear from excavation. First, the wall trench had been dug to produce near vertical sides and a flat bottom. In the base of the trench, slots were dug to receive rectangular upright timbers which were spaced at approximately 0.5 and 0.25 m centres. Flat stones were laid at the bottom of some slots on which the uprights had been seated. After the uprights were in position, the trench was backfilled with the material dug out and packing stones positioned as necessary.

To the north-east and east of this structure were another two buildings (Structures 3 and 4) of apparently similar construction and although the wall lines were clearly recognisable little by way of structural detail survived (fig. 6).

A sample of charcoal recovered from the destruction deposits of Structure 2 gave a radiocarbon date of GU2989 1620 (+/- 80) bp; 230-620 cal AD. This date agrees well with those obtained from samples

# EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

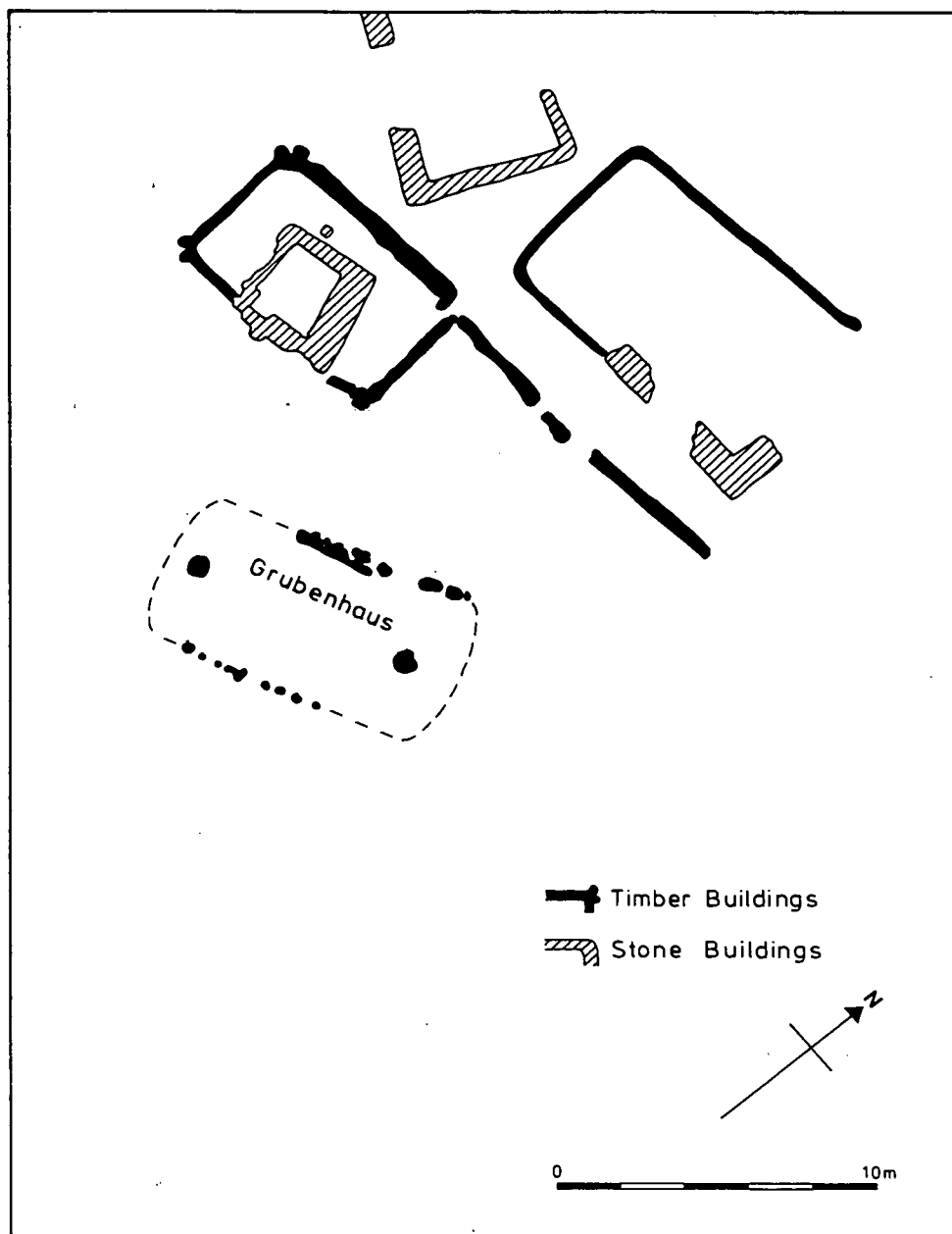


Figure 6. The Principal structures of Period 3 (timber buildings) and Period 4 (stone footed buildings).

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

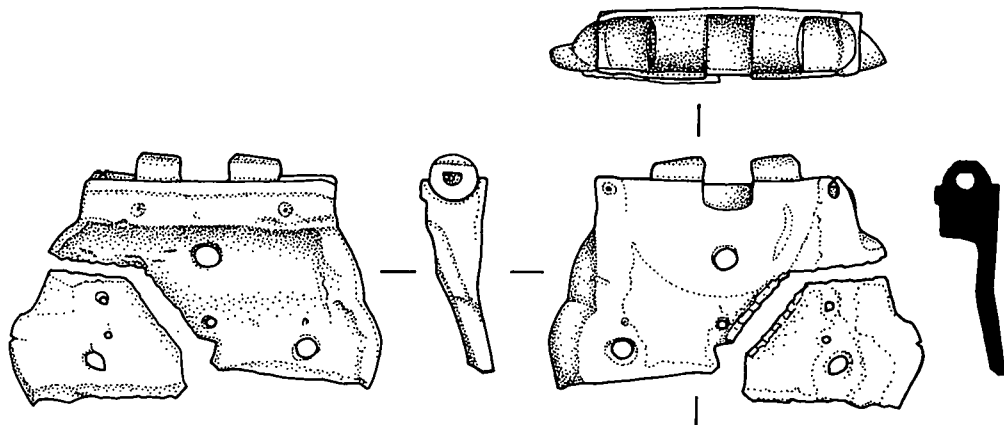


Figure 7. Buckle plate of the seventh century, Period 3.

recovered from the sandstone surface into which the palisade was cut. Confirmatory dating evidence for the buildings is provided by a gilded bronze buckle plate (fig. 7) found in a shallow trench cut by Structure 2. It has been identified by Leslie Webster as coming from a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon buckle. Rather oddly, the buckle plate was gilded on the inside but not on the outside.

After the destruction of the post-in-trench buildings gravel was deposited across the whole of the site, sealing not only the buildings but also the rampart base (fig. 8). It is possible that a break in occupation occurred at this time as a soil developed above the gravel before any further significant activity took place.

In this soil a BMC Type 31 sceatta was found. It belongs to the so-called Woden/monster series and may be dated to the early eighth century.

On the surface of the gravels the most spectacular discovery of the excavation was made; a fragment of a gold and garnet pectoral cross (fig. 9). The fragment is just over 1 cm long but is of exquisite

# EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

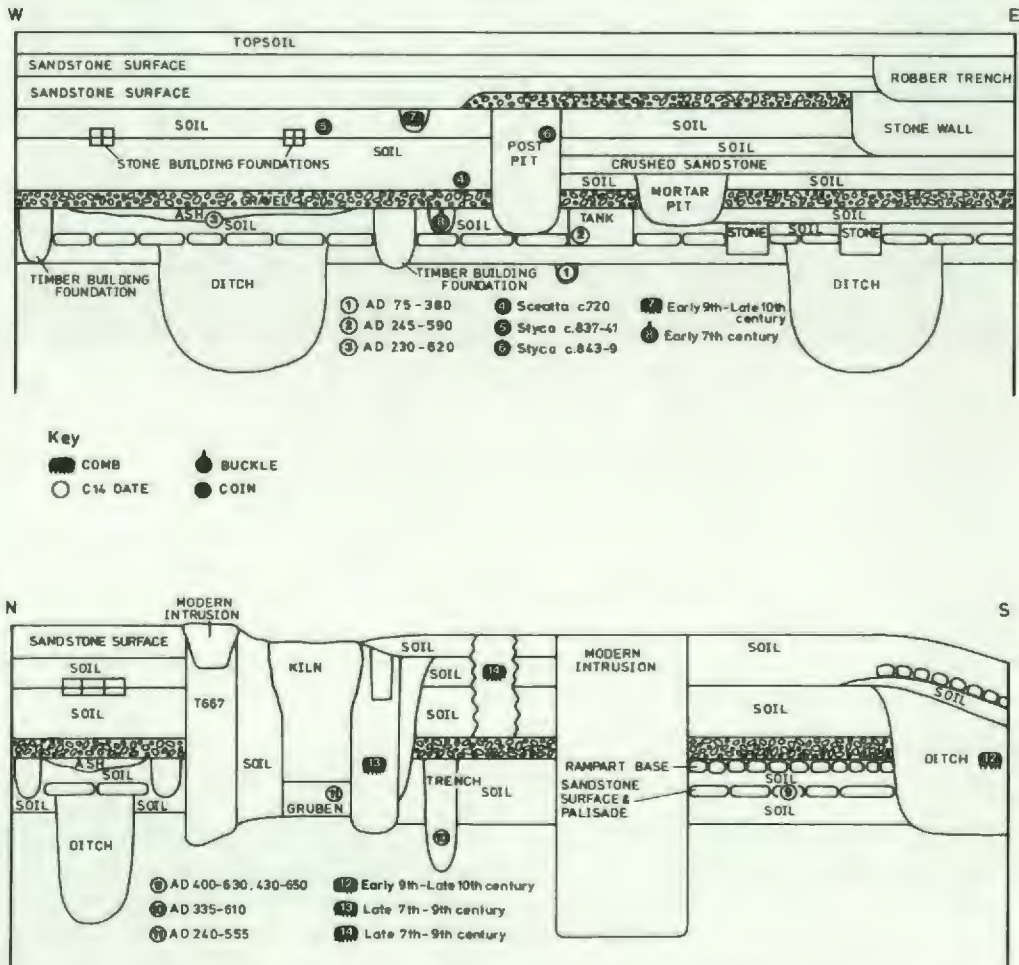


Figure 8. Schematic diagram of the main stratification showing the positions of radiocarbon dates and datable objects.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

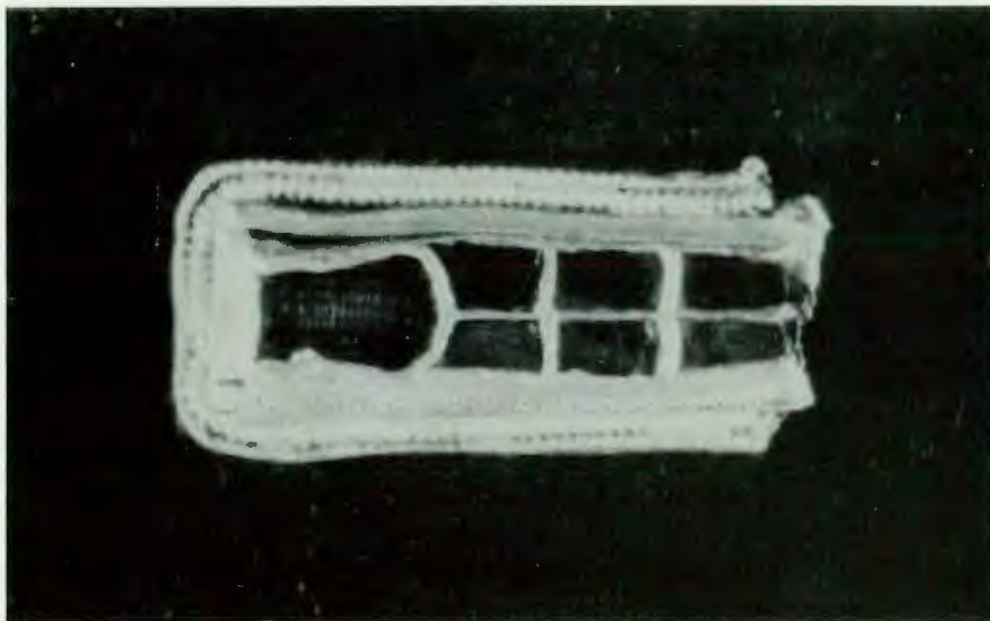


Figure 9. Fragment of a gold and garnet pectoral cross of the seventh century, Period 3.

workmanship and comparable to the pectoral cross found in the tomb of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral when it was opened in 1827. The Dunbar fragment displays an arched structure of filigree work and pipe mouldings constructed on a base plate; into this was set a tray to carry the garnets, seven of which are present in this piece. A small sheet of gold leaf had been placed behind the garnets, a device to enhance the reflectiveness of the stones and common on garnet jewellery made in southern England. It is likely that the cross was manufactured by a goldsmith attached to the Anglian court and may be dated to the first half of the seventh century.

### Period 4

The gravel and soil are important stratigraphic horizons, above which free standing, stone footed, timber buildings were erected. The remains of four were recognized, the most complete being Structure 5. It measured about 4 x 4 m externally with walls up to 1 m thick (fig. 10). Squared and dressed stones had been used for the inner and outer faces with the core comprising small stones and soil. An indication of how the roof may have been supported is given by three stones, each with a socket in

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

the centre for an upright post. One stone was built into the SE corner and the other two about half way down opposing side walls.

It is likely that these structures had been enclosed by a ditch which was located at the south end of the excavation (fig. 4). The ditch would seem to have gone out of use during the ninth century on the evidence

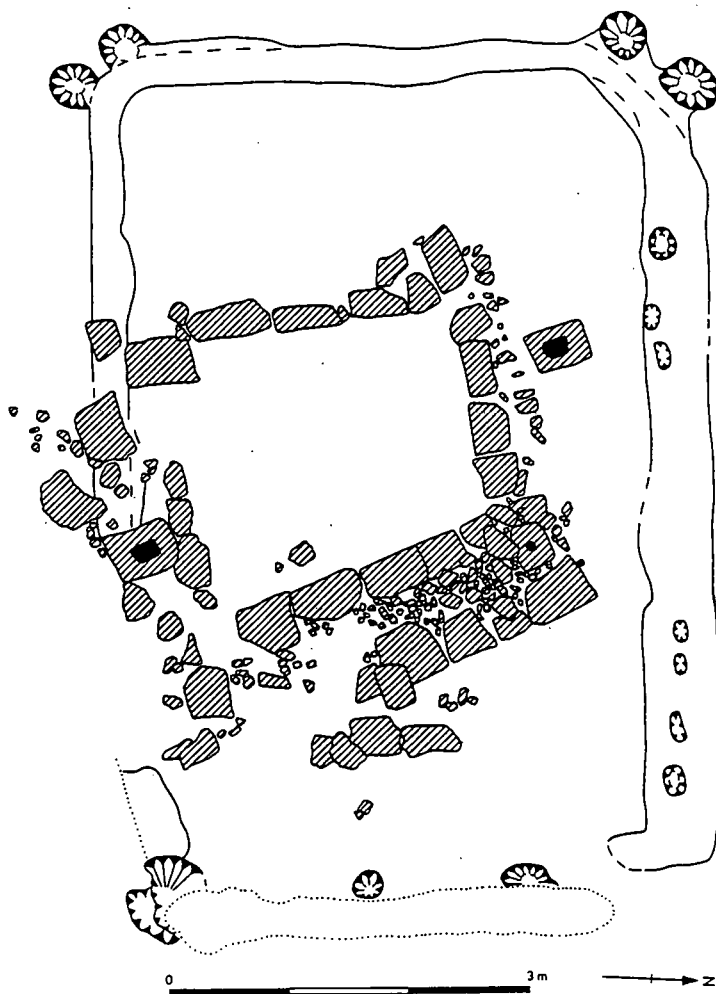


Figure 10. Structure 5, a stone footed timber building of period 4 shown in relation to Structure 2. Period 3.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

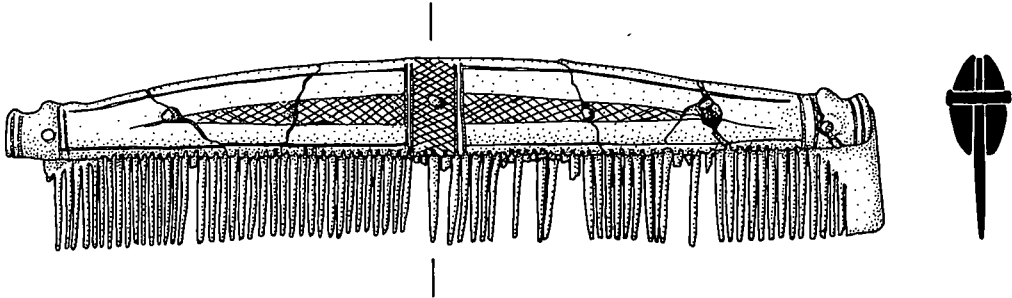


Figure 11. Bone comb of the ninth (or possibly tenth) century, Period 4.

of a bone comb found in the backfill (fig. 11). It had lost a few teeth before being thrown in but was otherwise unbroken. It is a composite, single sided comb with a convex back and slightly upturned terminals, possibly of zoomorphic form. It is decorated with incised, crossed lines within roughly horizontal and vertical bands.

### Period 5

After the stone footed timber buildings had gone out of use a soil developed on the site into which a line of six deep post-pits had been dug (fig.12). Two Northumbrian stycas were discovered, one in the soil and the other in a post-pit. They have been identified by Elizabeth Pirie; the former is of Eanred (the monyer Whitred) and attributed to the latter years of his reign, 837-41. The other coin is of Aethelred II (the monyer Coenred) and can be dated to around 844. The condition of both coins suggests them to have been lost when almost new and their occurrence perhaps indicates Dunbar to have been within the economic orbit of York during the ninth century.

The post pits are difficult to interpret. At first it was considered they may have belonged to a large hall close to the edge of the cliff, but the alignment of the post settings is so wayward as to make this unlikely. Another possibility is that they represent a defensive feature enclosing structures outwith the area of excavation.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR



Figure 12. Six post pits, counting from near foreground, Period 5.

### DISCUSSION

The evidence uncovered by the excavations has shown that whilst the main fortifications of both the British and Anglian periods would have been on the rock stack at the entrance to modern Dunbar harbour, occupation was never confined to there.

The sequence of occupation on the mainland seems relatively clear. After the infilling of the three ditches of the promontory fort, which probably belonged to the pre-Roman Iron Age although there is no evidence to support this, a second period of occupation began in the second or third centuries AD; this comprised an unenclosed settlement of a few round houses arranged around a stone yard.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

In the second half of the sixth century a *grubenhaus* was constructed, perhaps associated with buildings of individual post construction. Although the timber from which the radiocarbon date was obtained did not come from a primary construction context, it did directly overlay a pile of loomweights which must have been contemporary with the structure. There is a reasonable probability that the timbers came from the dismantled *grubenhaus*.

Subsequently, post-in-trench structures were erected and enclosed first by a palisade and later by a stone founded rampart, although this latter may never have been completed. Radiocarbon dates and an Anglo-Saxon buckle plate suggest both the post-in-trench buildings and the rampart had gone out of use by the middle of the seventh century. After a period of apparent inactivity (on the mainland but not necessarily on the Castle Rock), stone founded timber buildings were erected and surrounded by a ditch, all of which had ceased to be used by the mid-ninth century. Anglian activity continued as evidenced by a line of deep post pits which might have formed a defensive structure protecting buildings on the promontory overlooking the fortification on the rock stack. And whilst the dating evidence of the proposed sequence is not emphatic it is at least internally consistent (see schematic drawing of the main stratigraphy and datable objects).

The type of earthfast timber structures found at Dunbar are well known from excavations at other sites and so clearly fall into the mainstream of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (James et al 1984). Free standing, stone footed, timber buildings are increasingly being recognised, for example at Whitby, Hartlepool and Whithorn; in fact the small, square structure at Dunbar (Structure 5) is closely paralleled by Building VII at the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Hartlepool (Daniels 1988).

The discontinuous Anglian occupation on the mainland must reflect the changing functions and importance of the fortified centre on Castle Rock. As the settlement of East Lothian increased, so too would the role of Dunbar as an administrative and military centre. This heightened activity would have resulted in the extension of occupation to the mainland given the confined settlement area available on Castle Rock. And whilst not attempting to relate historical events to the interpretation of site stratification, the reversal of Northumbrian fortunes in the north after the defeat of Ecgfrith (which led to the desertion of the see at Abercorn), and the later attacks on Dunbar by Kenneth MacAlpin, may well have resulted in the episodic abandonment of the mainland settlement.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

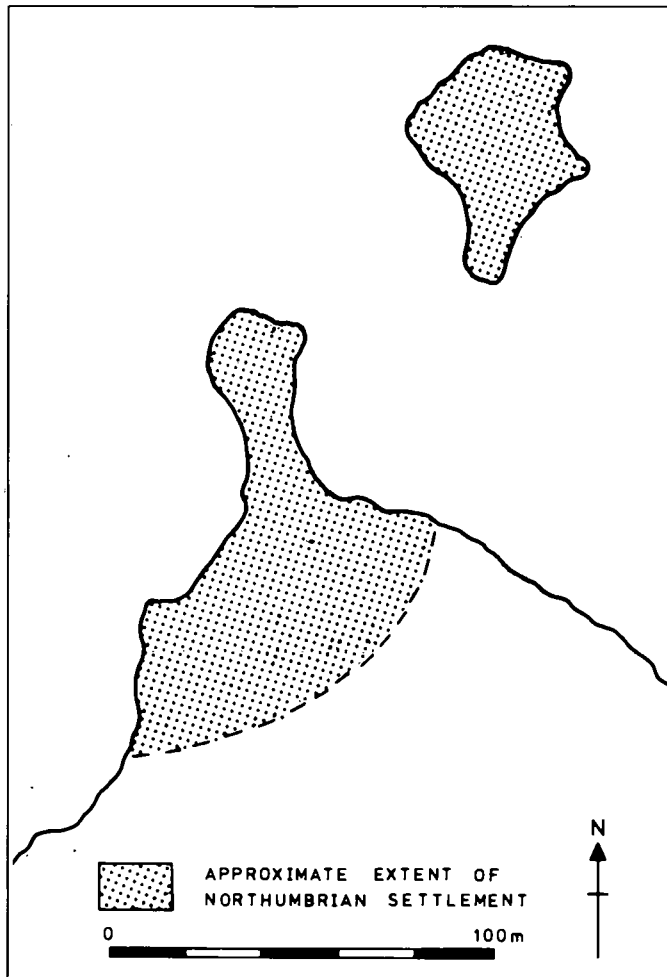


Figure 13. The maximum area of occupation as enclosed by the Period 4 ditch.

The cliffside settlement at Dunbar was of moderate size and at 4000 sq m about twice the area available on Castle Rock (fig. 13). It is also over four times the size of the palisade enclosure at Doon Hill, a few kilometers south of Dunbar, where excavation revealed a large Anglian hall overlying an apparently British hall (Reynolds 1980). The interpretation of this site has proved difficult; at one time it was considered to have been the residence of the *praefectus* as identified in

# EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

## NORTH EAST BRITAIN IN THE 6th/7th CENTURIES

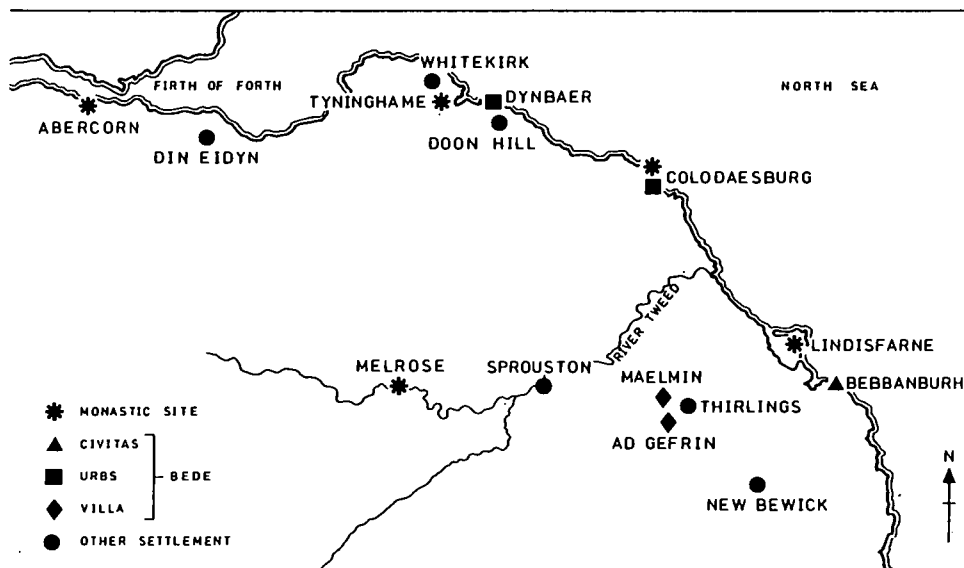


Figure 14. Sites mentioned in the text and their status as given by Bede, except for Dunbar which is given by Stephen of Ripon.

Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* (VW), but is now considered to have been the residence of an Anglian noble (Alcock 1988). In truth, there is insufficient evidence available to identify the function of the site and to place it in political geography of the region. Indeed the same may be said of the few, but growing number of, known early medieval sites in East Lothian. Figure 14 shows some of these and identifies the status of those named by Bede (except for Dunbar whose status is given by Stephen of Ripon, the biographer of Bishop Wilfrid).

About 5 kilometers north west of Dunbar is Tynninghame, the site of a monastery traditionally founded by Baldred who died about 756; but the eleventh century *Life of St Cuthbert* by the monks of Durham (HSC) records that lands associated with Tynninghame were granted to Lindisfarne during Cuthbert's lifetime. It is quite likely, however, that this was a fabrication. Perhaps of greater interest is the placename itself. The *-ingham* placenames are the oldest Anglian placenames in Scotland and there are three north of the Tweed; Tynninghame, Coldingham and Whittinghame. They indicate the locations where the first English speaking peoples with any influence settled.

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

The Anglian monastery at Coldingham, which may have been founded shortly after 643, was built (like the settlement at Dunbar) on the site of an earlier British fort, and Bede used the same word, *urbs* (EH IV.19), to describe Coldingham, as Stephen used for Dunbar. Excavation of the site revealed two palisades below the monastic enclosure, one interpreted as British and the other from radiocarbon dates as seventh-century Anglian (Alcock 1986). Both the dating and the sequence complement the results from Dunbar, although if anything the dates of the latter seem a little earlier.

An important site yet to be excavated has been located through aerial photography by the RCAHMS. It is at Whitekirk, about 7 kilometers north west of Dunbar, and close to Tynninghame (Brown 1983). Here, buildings of apparently Anglian character have been identified and their size and layout suggest the settlement to be comparable with Sprouston (St Joseph 1982) and Thirlings (O'Brien and Miket 1991). The site at Thirlings, unlike Whitekirk and Sprouston, has been excavated. It is interpreted as an agricultural centre of the sixth and seventh centuries where food was not only produced but also where food renders from other locations may have been stored.

It is difficult to ignore Traprain Law, about 6 kilometers west of Dunbar, in any discussion of the British or Anglian periods, it being such a prominent feature of the geographical and historical landscapes. Unfortunately, the settlement history of this hillfort has never been satisfactorily explained although it would seem to have been abandoned in the late third century, re-occupied, and abandoned once more in the fifth century (Hill 1987). As a central place of the Votadini, who were clients of the Romans, its fortunes would have been closely tied to the authority maintained between Hadrian's Wall and the Forth-Clyde line by the Roman army. The native British settlement at Dunbar would have been one of a number of sites which came under the control of Traprain Law during the Roman period, but when this came to an end the political geography of the area would have changed considerably. The abandonment of hillfort sites as military and administrative centres in favour of lowland and coastal sites seems likely.

Whatever Stephen intended to convey by writing that Dunbar was the king's town and that it was in the charge of a *praefectus*, it was clearly a place of some importance - even if it was considered to be

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

remote enough to safely imprison the most powerful and influential cleric in north Britain. It has been suggested that Dunbar was almost certainly a shire centre in the eleventh century and that the seventh-century *praefectus* should be regarded as the forerunner of the later Scottish thane, in charge of the administration of a shire (Alcock 1988). This is an attractive, if unsupported, view and one might speculate further along such lines. For instance, did each administrative region have within it certain specific types of settlement in addition to any others which may have occurred? An *urbs*, a monastery and an estate centre are examples, but this is probably to oversimplify what must in reality have been a complex and variable pattern of government.

The difficulties of understanding what authors such as Bede and Stephen meant when naming places as *civitas*, *urbs* or *villa* have been discussed (Campbell 1979). But can the status or function of settlements be any more clearly identified through archaeology? Dunbar has produced a piece of jewellery which might have prompted the question, 'was the site monastic?' if we did not have the evidence of Stephen; and a monastic site like Hartlepool has not produced a church but has produced buildings which would not be out of place at Thirlings or indeed at Cowdrey's Down. Perhaps we should be asking what the significant differences in function were between secular and ecclesiastical sites, particularly as the latter often seem to have had political and military functions.

The popular history of Anglian settlement in the far north east has recently been challenged by such scholars as David Dumville (Dumville 1989) and David Kirby (Kirby 1991) amongst others. Their work suggests that the Bernician kingdom was more widespread and influential during the second half of the sixth century than has previously been held. The view that the Bernicians were contained to the immediate vicinity of Bamburgh for a generation or so after Ida is no longer accepted (why should not Ida have been at Yeavering for instance?), and it is increasingly thought that the Bernicians controlled the land routes south to Hadrian's wall and into Deira.

The extension of Anglian authority to the Firth of Forth is generally credited to Oswald (634-42) with consolidation taking place under his successors. It has been stated that the entry in the Annals of Ulster for 638 - *Obsesio Etin* - records Oswald's defeat of the Gododdin

## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE PARK, DUNBAR

at Edinburgh, even though the combatants are not named or the result of the siege declared. (Interestingly, recent excavations at Edinburgh castle failed to find evidence of occupation there from the fifth to the eleventh century. Perhaps like Traprain Law, it too was abandoned at the end of the Roman period.)

Such views perhaps infer that settlement followed political and military events and of course this need not be so. Why should there not have been more pervasive influence and counter influence between Angles and Britons? If the timbers overlying the loomweights from the Dunbar *grubenhaus* had been a part of the structure, and if it can be assumed that a sunken hut is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons it may be taken as indicating the beginnings of Anglian settlement on the Firth of Forth at a date much earlier than has previously been considered, and that the extension of central authority did not always spearhead settlement but that it sometimes followed it.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Modern excavation and post-excavation analysis is a team effort; it is with considerable gratitude that I acknowledge the contributions made to the Dunbar project by all members of the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust, administration and clerical staff, specialists and field workers.

During the lengthy process of excavation, help was cheerfully provided by a number of organisations and individuals; this interim report is not the place to name them all but especial thanks are extended to the Chief Executive and the Planning Officer and staff, East Lothian District Council; to Stephen Bunyan, East Lothian Antiquarian Society; and to everyone connected with the Dunbar Initiative programme.

Finally, I am grateful to David Rollason who read an early draft of this report and pointed out a number of errors and inconsistencies. I hope I have corrected most of them.

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## ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LoTHIAN

*By RENNIE WEATHERHEAD*

Remains of tall, free standing, Anglian stone crosses are found in the area of the 7th and 8th C kingdom of Northumbria which stretched as far north as the Firth of Forth. The famous Anglian cross at Ruthwell, Dumfries-shire stands 17 ft high, being reconstructed from fragments, and has typical free arms for the cross head. Northumbria collapsed in the face of a Danish invasion from the east in 866-867. The crosses appear to have continued to be constructed into the subsequent period, often with modified decorated motives.

The cross fragments from East Lothian are from Aberlady, Morham and Tynninghame. The first two are presently on display within the Royal Scottish Museum, Queen Street, Edinburgh, with a replica of the Aberlady stone within Aberlady Church. The Tynninghame stone is in the possession of the Earl of Haddington, and kept at Tynninghame. From the Dark Ages, the only documentation of any of these sites appears to be the sacking of St Baldred's Church at Tynninghame by the Viking King of York and Dublin, Olaf III Gothfrithsson in 941. As Baldred died in 756, it may be taken that a church of some form must have existed there for about two centuries before Olaf's visit. The dating of the cross fragments is from expert opinion based on the correlation of the recognised styles, inscriptions which occasionally occur, and documentation of the location of the fragment if such is known. However the opinion of experts is not always consistent.

On the side panels of both the Aberlady and Morham stones are vine scrolls. The vine scroll can be traced back to Classical times, but being taken over in Christendom as a statement of faith 'I am the vine, and ye are the branches'. Appreciation of carved stone appears to have been introduced to Northumbria by Bishop Acca (732) by adding adornments to the stone church at Hexham, imported craftsmen from the continent having been employed.

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However the vine scrolls on the East Lothian stones show a degeneration of style from mid 8th C stones. The grape bunches are reduced in size, especially on the Morham stone where the bunch size is down to 3 grapes. This puts the Morham stone at least into a later period. The thick stems and stiff conventionalised leaves on these East Lothian stones tell the same story. The binding at the branchings of the vine is a typical Anglian device.

When the vine is populated with birds and beasts, the theme is the tree of life, a Christian theme, but again not exclusively so. A tree of life is easily identified in the Morham stone, the animal world being better seen and appreciated by looking at the illustration on its side. This is because the stone has been carved on its side, and the carver did not give much thought to its intended position. This is another indication of the lateness of this stone. The animals seem to be laced through the vine, rather than comfortably sitting on it. Further they seem menacing. The stone fragment from Tynninghame has a more vital beast; could this be a bat hanging up-side-down, and eating a reduced-sized bunch of grapes? Incidentally, the shape of this stone shows that it is from the top of the cross-shaft and the lower arm of the cross.

Plaits and knotwork patterns were known to the metal workers of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons, as for example in the Sutton Hoo brooches. Manuscript illumination from Northumbrian scriptoria bear witness to the use of knotwork introduced to the area under a strong Scottish Gaelic influence by Oswald on his return from exile in Iona to become king of Northumbria in 634. The Lindisfarne Gospels are dated to the late 7th C. Yet it is considered to be late 8th C before plaits appear to be used by the stone carvers, initially producing complicated, symmetrical, gracefully-flowing lines of interlacing, as on the cross at Bewcastle, Cumbria. Examining the interlacing on the Tynninghame stone, the viewer's left side has the repeats of basket weave, as used by stone carvers of the 9th or 10th C.

The ring twists on the right are also of the same period. Repeats are easier to use to cover a panel, rather than a complete design; a wallpaper effect has been produced. The 10th C is given as the date of the ring knot on the Morham stone, being also identified in a fragment at Norham, Northumberland. However it is to the north that one has to look for the origin of this pattern. For example it is seen on the 9th C Pictish cross slab at Nigg, Ross and Cromarty, but it is considered that

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these motives used in Pictland came from the Scots. In the 10th C the house of Kenneth mac Alpin rose to power in Scotland by profiting from, or allied with, Vikings from the Hebrides and Dublin attacking the Picts (and Britons of Strathclyde), so much so, that the Scots' centre of power moved from west to east with their chief palace becoming Scone, and Constantine II, the Scots king, being buried at St Andrews, and not in Iona with his Scots predecessors, in 952. So it can be argued that this ring knot at least supports the view that in the 10th C Scots influence was spreading into Bernicia, the old northern province of Northumbria. Other motives on the East Lothian Anglian fragments, and on fragments further south, show the same spread southwards about this time.

Now examine the diagonal key pattern below the 'geese' on the Aberlady stone. A better diagonal key pattern occurs on a mid 9th C stone at Norham, and this can be linked with some stones at Lindisfarne. The Nigg stone to the north again has this pattern. This Scots influence is seen again in the earlier manuscript illuminations, for example the carpet page of St Luke, in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Intertwining beasts and birds, which are characteristic of Celtic manuscripts, are only very rarely attempted in stone, thus the 'geese' of the Aberlady Stone are of especial interest. The 'geese' are almost identical to the birds on the carpet page of St Luke's Gospel in the 8th C Gospel of St Chad, from Mercia, but the stone carver's work will be later.

On the Aberlady stone, above the angel, there are the weathered remains of two intertwining beasts. A stone from Lindisfarne, and dated to the 9th C, also has two intertwining beasts. The Tynninghame stone shows only a small part of two 'horses', so the degree of intertwining is not known, but it is clear that their tongues are intertwined. This could suggest an Anglo-Danish influence, coming north from Danish settled areas, and perhaps dating this stone a little later. The Anglo-Danish influence is possibly more strongly seen in the fragment from Coldingham, Berwickshire, and belonging to this series of carved stones grouped in Bernicia. On the Tynninghame stone, the 'gannets' give little suggestion of any intertwining, and could suggest a purer Anglian attempt at zoomorphism on stone. Are they part of a tree of life, with the pellets showing the ultimate degeneration of the bunches of grapes, the grapes having fallen off?

## ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LOTHIAN

There are two human-like figures on the East Lothian stones — an angel with wings on the Aberlady stone; and a seated saint with his nimbus about his head on the Tynninghame stone. Figure carving on Anglian stones is only good in the exception, and these East Lothian figures are not exceptional. The angel has been strongly outlined, but is mostly carved in flat relief. The saint now appears little more than a line drawing. The saint has a good head of hair, arms folded straight across the body, and on a seat above the 'horses'. Some aspects of this figure remind one of the saints in manuscripts. Being so far up the shaft, and just below the cross-head, he could be important, perhaps Baldred!

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The Earl of Haddington: permission to photograph the Tynninghame stone, and use the photographs for this article.

ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LoTHIAN



Aberlady



Aberlady

ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LoTHIAN



Aberlady



Aberlady

ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LoTHIAN



Morham



Morham

ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LOTHIAN



Morham



Morham

ANGLIAN CROSS FRAGMENTS FOUND IN EAST LoTHIAN



Tynninghame



Tynninghame



Tynninghame



Tynninghame

## SAMUEL SMILES AND VICTORIAN VALUES: A JOURNEY FROM HADDINGTON TO LEEDS AND LONDON

By R. J. MORRIS

Outside the Lothians, Haddington is known for three people, John Knox, Jane Welsh and Samuel Smiles. Knox has perhaps had the greatest influence on Scottish history. Jane Welsh certainly attracts most attention from the literate and cultured, but Samuel Smiles, and the two words he put together, "Self-Help", have without doubt, on a world scale, gained the most widespread attention. There are many stories of his influence. Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, in the 1870s, decorated the walls of his palace with texts in Arabic, from the Koran and *Self-Help* by Samuel Smiles. The Japanese edition of the book was called the "European Decision of Character Book" and was presented to the Emperor by his parliament, in the early days of Japan's period of modern economic growth.<sup>1</sup> Now Smiles was the son of a shopkeeper in Haddington. He wanted to become a professional man and trained as a doctor, but he ended up as part of that great stream of Scottish people who moved south. Scotland as ever was an economy and society which consistently failed to find employment for the talents and ambitions it produced and educated. Scotland not only exported people but also ideas. *Self-Help* and the ideas and values which it implied were the result of the collision between the shopkeeper's young son from Haddington and the disturbing, insecure, often awe inspiring world of industrial and economic change he met in the big cities. This is a journey from Haddington to London by way of Edinburgh, Newcastle, but above all by way of Leeds.

The product, *Self-Help, with illustrations of conduct and perseverance* was first published in November 1859 by John Murray in London and

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within twelve months had been reprinted six times. Its author had recently published a life of George Stephenson. For the modern reader, this is the best of Smiles's books to start with. It is simply a good story which shows off his simple direct prose at its best. Opening *Self-Help* however is an odd experience for a modern reader. It is not a book for reading from cover to cover. It is a string of potted biographies sandwiched between homilies. It should be read like the Bible, a few pages a night. It can be opened anywhere and read for a while, then put thoughtfully to one side. It is a secular sermon. Sentences can be plucked from it like texts waiting to be placed on a Victorian sampler.

The spirit of self help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual

... it is everyday becoming more clearly understood, that the function of government is negative and restrictive

National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy, and uprightness

It is the diligent hand and head alone that maketh rich — in self culture, in growth, in wisdom, and in business<sup>2</sup>

and so he goes on, illustrating each maxim with an appropriate biography. It is little wonder that the dominant political ideology of the 1980s gave *Self-Help* an important place in that partial and selective version of the past called 'Victorian Values'.<sup>3</sup> One of the most recent editions of *Self-Help* was published in a series called "The Library of Management Classics" with an introduction by Sir Keith Joseph. Joseph, one of the more thoughtful and perceptive of the intellectuals behind those ideas we call Thatcherism, recognized many of the qualities of Smiles and his writing, notably the manner in which Smiles attributed enormous moral value not to success itself but to the effort and perseverance that brought success, and to the importance of 'self cultivation'. Sir Keith then changes gear

'One of the greatest contrasts between Smiles's time and ours is that in his time we in England were, for all our poverty compared with to-day, the most productive and prosperous society in the world.'

## SAMUEL SMILES AND VICTORIAN VALUES

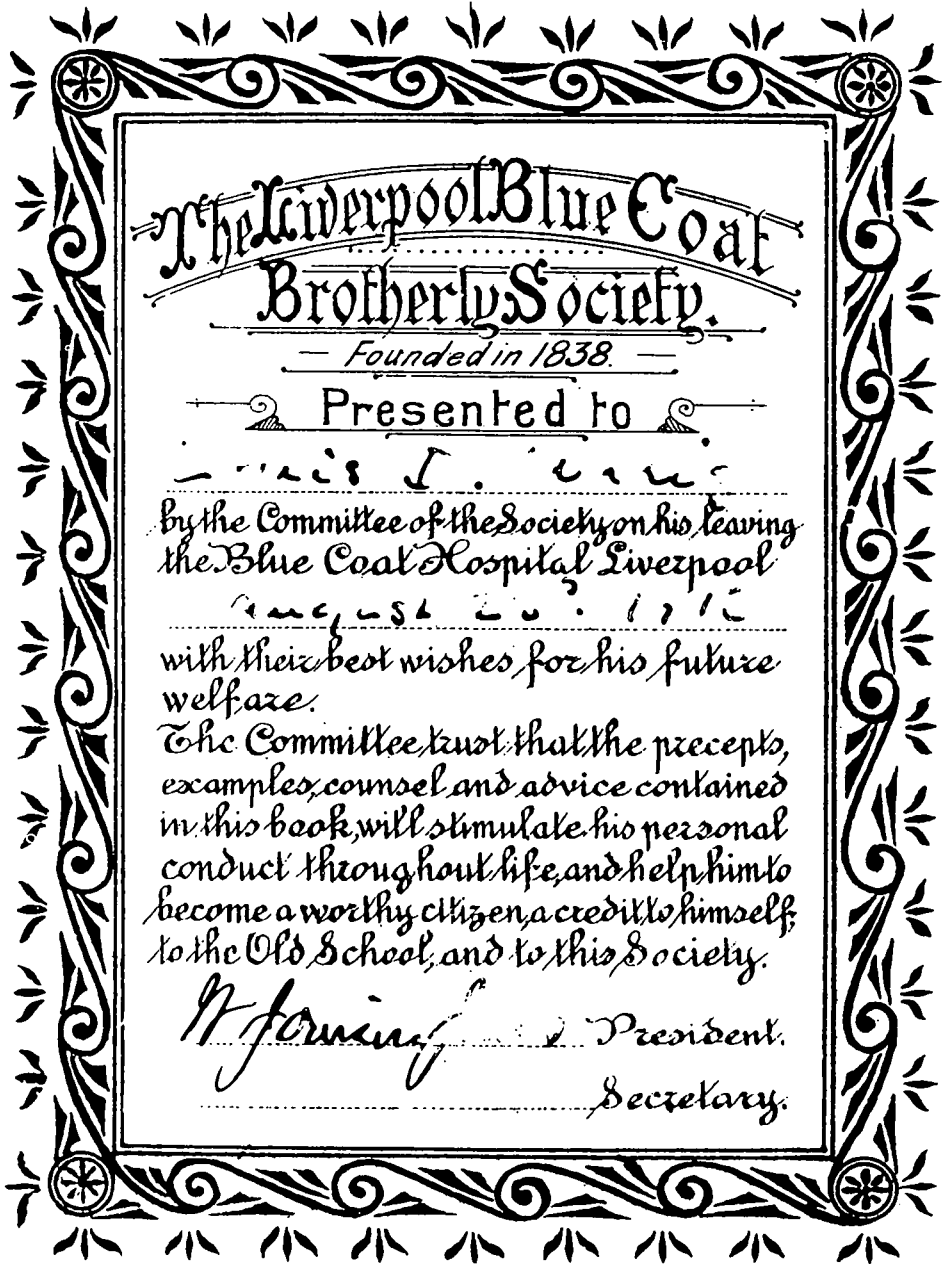
Modern British failure was attributed to 'our own failure to exhibit those qualities of effective industriousness, perseverance and self discipline that Smiles celebrated'.<sup>4</sup> The answer to modern British problems, says Joseph lay in '... decentralized ownership and decision making within the rule of law and subject to competition. We call this for short free enterprise or capitalism.'<sup>5</sup> Joseph selected 'Smiles's enthusiasm for entrepreneurship' as something which needed to be copied. Its modern enemies were 'nationalization, municipalization, excessive taxation and over regulation'.

This transformation of "Self-Help" from a formula which moralized individual self creation in education and work to something which marginalized collective, especially state, concern for welfare is something that happened in Smiles's own lifetime. "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists", written by Robert Tressell around 1905 was an account of building labourers and craftsmen in the south of England at the turn of the century. It is a matter of fact account of oppression by employers, and of the self-imposed degradation of ignorance and drink, accompanied by occasional flashes of anger. Tressell refers to the

religious working man type. Ignorant shallow-pated dolts, without as much intellectuality as an average cat. Attendants at various PSAs and 'Church Mission Halls' who went every Sunday afternoon to be lectured in their duty to their betters ... They had to sit there like a lot of children while they were lectured and preached at and patronized ... Every now and then they were awarded prizes — Self Help by Smiles, and other books suitable for perusal by persons suffering from almost complete obliteration of the mental faculties...<sup>6</sup>

By the end of the century, the sales of Smiles's work were sustained by their popularity as prizes. Second hand book shops are full of John Murray's editions of Smiles with a variety of elegant book plates in the front. By the 1960s, Smiles's reputation was good for a passing kick from many historians. David Thomson in the Penguin history of 19th century England saw him as 'smug' and only Asa Briggs had a good word for him.<sup>7</sup> This then is the background against which we must try to understand that journey from Haddington to Leeds and to London.

The outline of the story is a very simple one. He was born in Haddington in 1812. His father was a paper maker who became a



1. A bookplate from a copy of *Self Help*

## SAMUEL SMILES AND VICTORIAN VALUES

general merchant and shopkeeper. He was educated first at a private school, then at the burgh school. He knew but clearly did not admire Jane Welsh. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a local doctor, and went with him to Leith, which gave him a chance to attend classes and take a degree at Edinburgh University. He returned to Haddington after his father's death in the cholera epidemic of 1832, but failed to make a living as a doctor. Instead, he supplemented his income by lecturing and journalism. This was clearly where his main talent lay. In 1839, he moved to Leeds and became editor of the radical *Leeds Times*. After a short period as a doctor and lecturer, he became, in 1845, assistant then secretary to the Leeds and Thirsk Railway. In 1854, he was moved to Newcastle as a result of company amalgamations, and spent much of the time researching his biography of George Stephenson. The success of this led to the publication of *Self Help* and his move to London, where he settled to the life of being company secretary to another railway company and best selling author. Although he has often been derided for lack of perseverance, this career pattern was common amongst that middle and lower middle class group from which he came. Multiple sources of income and changes of occupation in response to insecurity and opportunity were crucial parts of the strategies with which such people met the ever present pressures of family expenditure.<sup>8</sup> In part this life story explains the meaning of perseverance, but for a fuller understanding of Smiles, it is what happened in Leeds that matters.

Between 1839 and 1842 he was editor of the *Leeds Times* and active in radical politics. His philosophy and social views were fully revealed in the editorials he wrote and in a lecture he published in 1842 called *The Diffusion of Political Knowledge among the Working Classes*. This had been delivered to the members of the Bradford United Reform Club in February 1842. An outline of his world picture must begin with his views of the nature of man

Man's existence as a rational, intelligent being is a result of his education ... by knowledge he is led to liberty ... too small a value has been set on man — when intelligent the greatest of God's creatures; yet when ignorant, often the most vicious and debased.<sup>9</sup>

From this followed his views on education

## SAMUEL SMILES AND VICTORIAN VALUES

By education we do not mean book cramming, nor instruction in the bare signs and emblems of knowledge, nor the means of imbibition by the young of one or other of our popular religious creeds ... (but) far more comprehensive than either of these things, namely the development of man's whole constitution, physical, moral and intellectual — by which his own happiness and enjoyment is to be promoted, and he is best able to raise himself on earth to the very summits of his nature.<sup>10</sup>

Political activity was part of this

Political agitation is by no means the mixed evil that some take it to be. It awakens minds that, but for such agitation, would have gone to sleep.<sup>11</sup>

There were some very *Self-Help* like statements

It is sheer folly to look to government for that which we have the means of doing for ourselves<sup>12</sup>

but the reasons for this were spelt out very clearly

Especially in the matter of political education, have we little aid to expect from the national legislature; nay, we are not even to expect from that source unbiased instruction of any kind. The great end of education is to secure the free and unshackled use of the human faculties: but if we leave it to central government to decide what shall be the education of the people, we virtually give that government, the power of directing public opinion, of stereotyping the national intellect, and of maintaining in the minds of the masses, certain determinate forms of thought, which may contain in them the germs of even the vilest forms of political and religious slavery.<sup>13</sup>

At the end of his lecture he spoke about Mechanics Institutions and their dependence for finance on the wealthy élites of the great towns,

Now, the intelligent portion of the working classes at the present day, hate patronage of any kind. They are in love with self government and self governing institutions.<sup>14</sup>

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His answer was democracy and free and informed discussion

... so long as parliament represents itself, or any class distinct from the People, so long will the People's interest and People's happiness be neglected.<sup>15</sup>

We object to the employment of anything like force, either for the propagation of opinion, or for the enforcement of social and political reforms ... Truth is strong enough to work its own way.<sup>16</sup>

The first indispensable preliminary for the adoption of great principles and measures of policy is their bold and uncompromising discussion and agitation. All that is required to enable them to pass into law is that general conviction of their utility which public discussion will sooner or later establish.<sup>17</sup>

Here was a compelling vision of a free and rational democracy of informed and educated individuals who through debate and discussion would come to the best of decisions. The enemies of this vision were twofold, the aristocracy and sectarian religion, especially the established Church of England.

There is no country in Europe where the established clergy are paid so much and do so little work.<sup>18</sup>

They raise the hue and cry against each and every scheme of education which shall make the people more self dependent on their own powers of mind and withdraw them from the influence of mere sectarian dominancy.<sup>19</sup>

(the aristocracy) thrust their pilfering fingers into his (the poor man's) scanty platter<sup>20</sup>

His ideas drew upon the work of Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher, radicals like Cobbett, two American philosophers, Emerson and Channing, and the seventeenth century poet and essayist, John Milton. Channing's essay "Self Culture" was the origin of his phrase 'self help'.<sup>21</sup>

During his time in Leeds he took part in two distinctive political organizations. The first was the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association

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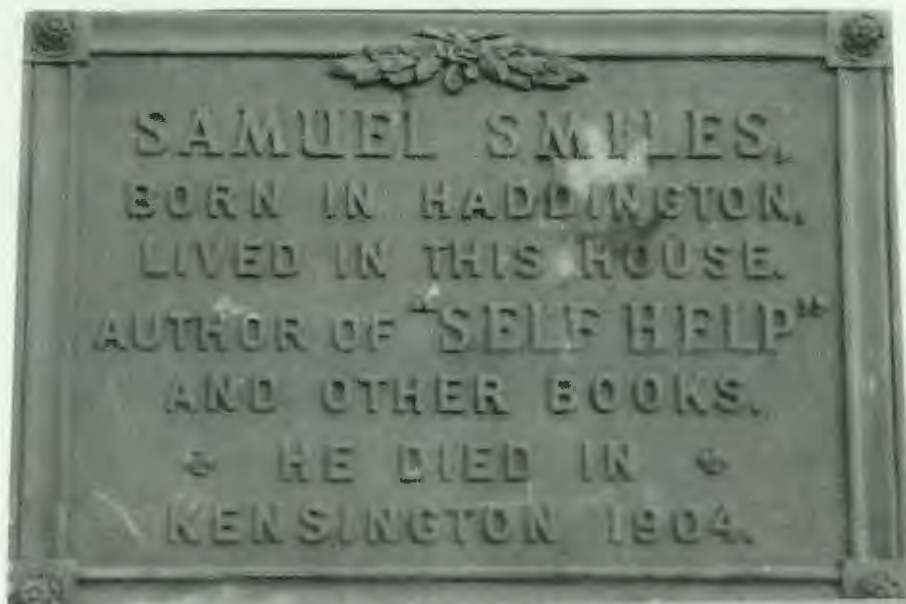
which was founded in 1840 and reached 8,000 members by January 1841. It was a half way house between the Chartist demand for universal manhood suffrage and the whig rejection of those claims. The LPRA wanted household suffrage and linked this to repeal of the corn laws and educational reform.<sup>22</sup> His membership of the LPRA brought him into contact with another organization, the Leeds Unemployed Operatives Enumeration Committee. This operated during the slump of 1841-1842, during which up to a quarter of the working population of Leeds were receiving some sort of poor relief. The UOEC was a disciplined attempt to inform the wealthier members of the middle classes. They were according to Smiles 'the very elite of the operative class of Leeds'.<sup>23</sup> The committee conducted a house to house enquiry which enumerated the extent of distress in Leeds. They played upon two traditions in Leeds society. Since the late eighteenth century, the élite of the town had made voluntary collections to support the unemployed during trade slumps. The UOEC wanted to encourage that response. They were also close allies of the LPRA and wanted to engage in that tradition of free and informed discussion; 'the working classes of Leeds have set themselves to work to enlighten the deplorable ignorance of the higher classes', wrote Smiles.<sup>24</sup> Almost as soon as the enumeration was complete those in authority set about discrediting the work of these working class radicals. The mayor handed the survey to the overseers of the poor who checked the figures and found them exaggerated. The whig newspaper, the *Leeds Mercury* was patronizing and understanding

The principal difference is no doubt due to the inaptness which persons unaccustomed to enquiries are apt to experience, and to the erroneous information which they are apt to receive from persons in distress, entertaining the hope that the depth of their misery will increase sympathy and exertions for their relief. We hope and believe that the enumerators did not intend to deceive others as they themselves have been deceived.<sup>25</sup>

The angry comments by Smiles and members of the committee suggested that working people would be better at detecting the difference between real and pretended need because they had more direct experience, but to no purpose. The UOEC was excluded from the public relief efforts and disbanded soon after.

Smiles thus saw two organizations which fulfilled his political philosophy rise, act, fail and disappear. In the same year 1842, he saw

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2. Commemorative plaque in Haddington High Street

the streets of Leeds filled with the mass demonstrations of Chartist crowds demanding universal suffrage. For the most part these were organized and disciplined demonstrations, but huge crowds contained the potential for disorder and the implied menace of massed numbers. Behind the meetings there was always talk of an armed uprising. Chartist tactics were summed up by the words, 'peaceably if we can, by force if we must'.<sup>26</sup> Then there were the regiments of soldiers which came to disperse the agitation in the name of the government. Both frightened and dismayed him.

by the aid of the red coats the poor man is dragooned into submission.<sup>27</sup>

government had hitherto been so much a matter of force and so little a matter of utility, that without seeking to remove the causes of discontent by good measures, it has invariably attempted to crush and repress them by the vulgar expedient of brute force ... the labourer asks for food, the government offers to supply bullets.<sup>28</sup>

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Two things are clear from this story. Smiles's vision of a rational informed democracy was caught between the violence of the crowd and the violence of the state. Secondly his rejection of the state as a reasonable means of making social progress was not a rejection of the state as such but the rejection of a state which was controlled by the aristocracy and by a sectarian religious group, the anglican church. In that rather sad phrase of his *Autobiography*, he 'did not seem to be getting anywhere'.

Smiles published his next statement of his social views in 1845: *The Education of the Working Classes, an address delivered to members of the Leeds Mutual Improvement Society, March 19th, 1845*, Leeds 1845. What was he to do after the failures of the early 1840s? In 1845, the same faith in education was there, the same rejection of the state, but the search for a political reform of the state had gone. The emphasis now was on the 'moral purpose' required to gain education.

the poor student labours under numerous difficulties ... He has often temptations to withstand — anxieties to suffer — privations to endure ... nevertheless man fortified with moral courage can triumph over many such evils ...<sup>29</sup>

There was a vision of struggle here which was to become increasingly like the *Pilgrim's Progress*. His vision of education still retained a collective element directed at those who had been his political allies amongst the working classes of Leeds

The education of the working classes is to be regarded, in its highest aspect, not as a means of raising up a few clever and talented men into a higher rank of life, — but of elevating and improving the whole class — of elevating the entire condition of the working man.

We can understand what he meant by looking at some of the articles he wrote for his section of the radical press.

The great power which seems yet destined to effect the social emancipation of the working classes is the power of co-operation.

... mutual benefit attained by the clubbing of small means together.<sup>30</sup>

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He was talking about a wide range of small organizations which existed amongst the working class and the lower status portions of his middle class, notably friendly societies, which provided sickness, death benefit and some sociability, terminating building societies through which many working people bought their own houses, like the "Leeds Union Operative Land and Building Society", and even a neo-Owenite socialist body called the Redemption Society which was bent on eliminating competition and the profit motive from the production of food.<sup>31</sup> He even cited trades unions as 'imperfect' forms of this co-operation. By the late 1840s, he gave little attention to political agitation and discussion. He even rejected the Mechanics Institutions because they needed the patronage of the powerful; perhaps also because he had applied for the job of assistant secretary of the Leeds Institution at £100 a year and been rejected. He gave his attention to bodies like the Leeds Mutual Improvement Society. It was groups like this who first heard his lecture on self help and around which he wove an almost romantic mystique.

Reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic, were taught and learned amidst rakes, and hoes, and broken flower pots. Numbers of eager listeners stood hanging round the door, the teacher always one of the operatives themselves, dispensing knowledge from the interior.<sup>32</sup>

One of these small organizations survived into the late 1960s and gave a flavour of the environment within which Smiles was comfortable. Although Leeds was a large and growing industrial city with a substantial factory population, it lived much of its life at the much smaller scale of the workshop and the neighbourhood. A large population of craftsmen and tradesmen lived on the edge of the working and middle classes. They were not yet segregated in the manner of the twentieth century. They lived not only in the big city with its fear of violence and sense of impending class conflict, but they also lived in small scale neighbourhoods like Holbeck, St Peter's Square and Woodhouse. In Woodhouse, the Temperance Society and the Mechanics Institution combined together to build the Hall which became a community centre and which was opened by Smiles in 1851. Smiles was not alone in serving this world. The members of these little institutions provided the market for a wide variety of periodicals, including *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*. It was this world that provided the inspiration and the initial audience for *Self Help*.

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3. Print of Samuel Smiles by Rajun

And so back to Haddington. What did his background in Haddington contribute to the political and social views which Samuel Smiles developed in Leeds and which in an attenuated form resulted in *Self-Help*? It is a difficult question to answer because there is little direct evidence except for the early chapters of his biography and the family memories which were written down by his granddaughter Aileen

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Smiles in the 1950s. With a little care it is possible to come to some conclusions by looking at available information on the social and public life of Haddington in the 1820s. There is also one letter from his father and a correspondence with his brother in Manchester in the 1840s and 1850s. He took four things away from Haddington with him.

First he hated sectarian religion. His parents were Cameronians. In his *Autobiography*, he recalled a childhood of three sermon Sundays with a minister who was 'wearisome and unsympathetic' and entertainment restricted to the Bible, the Catechism and the *Secession Magazine*. Aileen recalled the story of visits home in which Granny told the young parents that their children would go to hell on account of the way they were being brought up.<sup>33</sup> The Smiles papers have no records from this period except one letter which his father wrote for him when he went to Edinburgh as a doctor's apprentice. Smiles carried it with him for the rest of his life. The message of savage and bleak affection still carries across the generations.

Haddington 17th October 1829

Dear Son,

You are now about to leive us, permit us to give you an advice, the place in which dwelling for a time wher much depravety and wickedness is prevelant now when you are away from our parental eye, think on Hagar's prayer, my God Seith me, be earnest at a thron of Grace ... Your conduct from this time forward will either be a joy or sorrow to your affectionate father and mother and be assured if you do as becometh a Son who venerates their parents, nothing shall be wanting on our part for your good, you will be provided with the meins of making you respectable in the worald, you will also have our prayers and Affectionally esteimed by us; but, if you act contrary, to your own disgrace, and our Shame, your now fair prospects will be forever blasted, we will withhold our support, and give it to another if more deserving, but we cherish the hope that your conduct will be as becometh a Christian and be deserving of our approbation...<sup>34</sup>

The letters to his brother are full of references to 'the dissenting white chokers'.<sup>35</sup> His brother was secretary of the National Public School Association, which was a pressure group for a national system of universal secular education, based in Manchester. Sam gave him support

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at the Leeds end, a clear indication that he was not averse to state action provided it was not the anglican aristocratic state. Their great opponent in Leeds was the dissenting whig newspaper editor Edward Baines.<sup>36</sup> Sam wrote to his brother of plans for a public meeting and petition

I should like to make Baines swallow this dose and cram the "godless" bill down his anti papist throat.<sup>37</sup>

The resolutions at the meeting asked that education should be,

free from sectarian and denominational peculiarities and based upon local rates, local control and local management.<sup>38</sup>

We know from the pew rent registers of Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds that Smiles worshipped as a Unitarian whilst he worked in the town. This rather bleak rational denomination which rejected the divinity of Christ was often used as a shelter by those who would now be called agnostics as they fled from the pressures of rigid sectarian teaching.

Secondly, Sam left Haddington with a hatred of all privilege, especially aristocratic privilege. Haddington was surrounded by the houses of the gentry and aristocracy, Lennoxlove, Coalston, Amisfield, Clerkington and Monkrigg.<sup>39</sup> It was clear that its inhabitants either had to seek and accept their patronage or leave. Sam left. One of his few bitter comments on education was a memory of his schoolmaster Hardie, 'a tyrant and a toady'.

He had favourites who were mostly the sons of provosts, baillies or town councillors to whom he owed his position; or they were sons of well to do men, who would give him dinners and drink. I was none of these distinguished persons and not a favourite. My father was an anti burgher — a sort of Quaker Presbyterian, who would not take the burghess oath — and therefore, not likely to be a town councillor or a baillie. Hardie hated dissenters...<sup>40</sup>

Religion and politics went closely together. Haddington contained two circles, one which linked closely to a hierarchy of members of the established church, baillies and landowners and the other which was linked to a poorer independent dissenting set. It is likely that Sam's

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move to Leith as a young doctor's apprentice was a result of this structure. There is a vitriolic public and printed correspondence in 1819 between Dr Lewins (Sam's first boss) and the committee of the Haddington Public Dispensary, Lewins had not been appointed to the medical staff of the Dispensary. He had been edged out by Dr Walsh. Now such positions were unpaid but were a wonderful advert for attracting some of the best paying customers in the world of competitive medicine. As far as Haddington was concerned, this was the world in which both Lewins and Smiles were to fail. The dispute was settled against Lewins when Colonel Maitland came down to support the committee.<sup>41</sup> A few years later Sam was indirectly witness to another instance of privilege and prestige operating in the medical world. Robert Lewins was in Leith during the cholera epidemic of 1831-32 and was friendly with another medical man called Thomas Latta. Now cholera kills through the gross dehydration caused by vomiting and diarrhoea. Latta realized that he could help his patients by injecting a saline solution into the veins, a procedure very close to modern treatment. The treatment failed to gain acceptance for two reasons. Lewins and Latta, like all doctors of the period, had no knowledge of the need for sterile instruments, hence many patients died from what was probably blood poisoning. For the most part they failed because they were ignored by the medical establishment of Edinburgh, the Professors of the University, the members of the Edinburgh Board of Health and editor of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Magazine*. Privilege had again won and Sam was a helpless witness.<sup>42</sup> As in many towns and cities in Britain, public life and public social action was increasingly organized around a series of voluntary societies. In Haddington these were of two kinds, those patronized by the aristocracy and those led by local tradesmen, for example

East Lothian Itinerating Libraries, president Samuel Brown  
School of Arts (a type of Mechanics Institution),  
president, Samuel Brown  
Bowling Green Club, president, A. Donaldson  
United Agricultural Society of East Lothian,  
president, Marquis of Tweeddale  
East Lothian Bible Society, patron, Earl of Wemyss.  
president, Marquis of Tweeddale  
Haddington Public Dispensary, president, Earl of Wemyss.

Thirdly, Smiles brought from Haddington an almost metaphysical love of education. The identity and self respect which his parents gained

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from religion he gained from education. He also had a faith in the capacity of working people to seek, accept and use education. Such a respect seems to have been more widespread in Haddington society than anything he would find in England. When the minister of Haddington was interviewed by the Education Inquiry (Scotland) Commission in 1837 he told them that the agricultural labourers 'can afford (unless their family is unusually large) to educate their children and would feel it a disgrace not to do so...'<sup>43</sup> This is quite different from the contempt which he found amongst many supporters of education in England and even in the larger towns of Scotland. The committee of the Leeds Infant School Society claimed that 'the vast majority of parents of that rank of society are lamentably incompetent to the great work of early intellectual culture and discipline'.<sup>44</sup> Smiles's political opponent Edward Baines described the population of the industrial suburb of Holbeck in the following manner,

the greater part of the population was composed of thoughtless youth, some as illiterate as savages ... drunkenness among young men was a prevailing vice ... street brawling a daily occurrence.<sup>45</sup>

This was very different from the ideas in the Haddington School of Arts when Smiles was still in the town

the merely elementary education of Scotland, imperfect as at best it is, has given her such superiority of character among the nations of the earth for intelligence, prudence, order and morality.<sup>46</sup>

It may well be, as historians have recently suggested, that Scotland's superiority in education was not as great as tradition would have it, but the important thing was that contemporaries believed in their superiority and those like Smiles who went south carried with them a faith in the capacity of working class people to profit from education and hence to benefit society as a whole.

Finally, Smiles remained comfortable with organizations which were small in scale and had elements of mutuality and co-operation. This was clear from the little societies he favoured and was favoured by during his time in Leeds. He also favoured state intervention as the local state. It was local authorities that he favoured when he spoke in terms of public libraries. It was some form of local state that he envisaged providing public education when he supported his brother's educational pressure

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group. His suspicions of the state came from his dislike of the aristocratic and anglican version then on offer, but also came from the experience of growing up in Scotland, in a period when the state hardly existed even at local level. It was a world in which small scale, semi-voluntary activity provided welfare, education and cultural activity at local level. It was the lessons of that world which Smiles took south with him and which lay behind the message of "Self-Help".

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## "FROM AGREEABLE TO FASHIONABLE": THE DEVELOPMENT OF COASTAL TOURISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EAST LoTHIAN

*By ALASTAIR J. DURIE*

That tourism had become an industry of major importance to the Scottish economy by the last quarter of the nineteenth century is beyond dispute. But while there have been some excellent studies of particular resorts such as Aberdour or Millport, of localities like the Firth of Clyde, or of whole regions such as the Highlands,<sup>1</sup> we are still far from any general history of tourism in Scotland. Part of the problem lies in the absence of any systematic evidence as to the scale of tourism, its origins and duration. Another difficulty lies in the varying forms tourism took from the day-tripper to the resortist, and its many differing motivations ranging from antiquarianism through scenery, literary associations, health, sport or merely a change of locale. And while the improvements in transport were of general significance in many cases, not all localities benefited equally or at the same period. Whereas Scott put the Trossachs on the tourist map in the very early nineteenth century, Angus remained relatively neglected until publicised by J. M. Barrie some eighty years later. We are dealing with a very complex mosaic in which local studies are of the utmost significance in underlining that the growth was a multi-factored phenomenon with particular local factors explaining, for example, why some areas attracted upper-class tourists and others only excursionists. The distinction was, and remains, an important one. What all resorts wanted, and continue to want, are visitors, but especially higher-income visitors with their higher spending power who stay for a long time.<sup>2</sup> To fall back on day-trippers was quite literally a last resort in economic terms for most of the local inhabitants who stood to benefit.

The study of tourism in East Lothian has remained relatively uncharted. The neglect is unfortunate, as this area had succeeded in

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establishing itself firmly by the late nineteenth century as a preferred destination for many thousands of visitors, a substantial proportion of whom were drawn from the titled and professional classes. It was a centre of select and fashionable tourism rather than the destination of the masses. The central point of attraction was North Berwick, variously dubbed the Brighton or Biarritz or even the Scarborough of Scotland. In contrast to the general experience of the county, the town of North Berwick's population rose sharply between 1861 and 1891 from 1164 to 2376, and undoubtedly much of this was based on the earnings from tourism. Other communities were also involved, the largest of which was Dunbar, which had its devotees. The influential *Saturday Review*, for example, carried in September 1891<sup>3</sup> an article which was full of praise for Dunbar and its amenities; its history, housing and especially its golfing Links, concluding that it was only due to "the vagaries of fashion, which follow no recognisable rule" that Dunbar was not as famous a golfing centre as St Andrews, North Berwick or Prestwick. Aberlady, Gullane and Prestonpans were also resorts of some importance. At a rough estimate, to be justified later, by 1880 the coastal section of the county was attracting (exclusive of excursionists) a minimum of some 200 families and several hundred others plus their servants, perhaps a total of 1000 persons, in all. Of these, 600 to 700 were resident during the summer for a month or two in North Berwick, a sizeable addition to a community whose winter population was 1698 according to the 1881 census. The streets of the town were also thronged with excursions from Edinburgh and elsewhere, a pattern that had been well established for some time, but which owed much to the coming of the railway in 1846. The *Haddingtonshire Courier* noted in August 1863 that "Cheap pleasure excursions from the Metropolis bring out large numbers weekly".<sup>4</sup> Other localities also benefited; "during the season", the newspaper reported of Gullane in September 1864, "numerous picnic parties were here, both from Edinburgh and the neighbourhood".<sup>5</sup> Some of the excursions were very large indeed; one, of 2,000 to 3,000 girls from Edinburgh, was drenched by a thunderstorm during a visit to the grounds at Gosford in July 1865. Many of these were very carefully organised and marshalled, but others were not. In July 1873 there was a bitter complaint about disgraceful scenes in North Berwick; "Saturday after Saturday there are poured into the streets excursion parties, the members of which have no other idea of passing a holiday than by swilling strong liquor ... the results are the beautiful links invaded by bands of shouting inebriates; pugilistic encounters at every corner; and our ordinary quiet streets converted into a miniature Donybrook fair".<sup>6</sup> That was the clientele that

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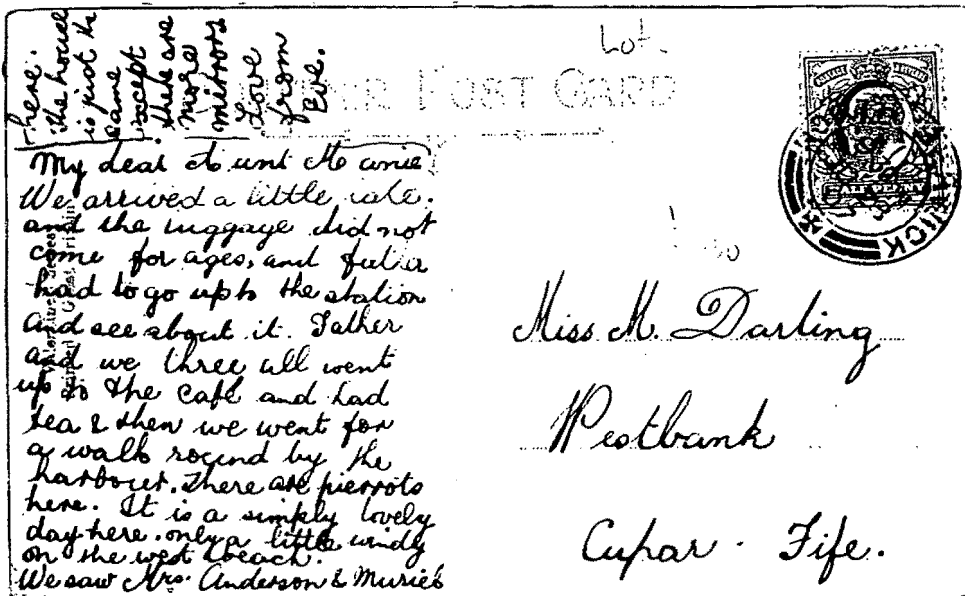


Plate 1. The attractions of North Berwick, from a postcard sent in 1907.

no resort wished to attract, but least of all one which wished to regard itself as the "queen of the watering places"! <sup>7</sup>

We have then a picture by the third quarter of the nineteenth century of a locality which was already quite heavily involved in the tourist trade, both of the residential and the day-tripper variety. Its coastal resorts, and the inland to a lesser extent, played host to quite large numbers of summer visitors to the benefit of its hotels, inns, shops and other services. The traffic was not entirely one-way as the inhabitants of East Lothian themselves took advantage of special offers to travel outwith the county; the Committee of the East Lothian Permanent Benefit and Friendly Society organised an outing from Haddington on Monday the 27th of July 1863 to Galashiels and Melrose via the North British Railway, accompanied by the band of the 3rd Haddington Rifle Volunteers. The Visitors' book at Abbotsford records quite a number of their signatures, headed by Miss Smail of Haddington. Bands of Hope, Sabbath Schools, works outings and the like all had their days out in East Lothian, and come the local holidays, many took the chance of a trip themselves. The September holiday saw the burgh of Dunbar in 1867

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nearly deserted, "a cheap train in the morning having carried off a large portion of the residents to Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Glasgow." Queen Victoria's visit to Edinburgh in June 1876 to unveil the Albert Memorial in Charlotte Square Gardens is said to have emptied the county with "all and sundry having gone in to have a peep at the Queen".<sup>9</sup> But while these trips were of great social interest to the locals, it was the incoming flow, particularly of the longer-term summer residents that was of growing economic and cultural significance to the coastal resorts.

Before analysing in detail the mid-century expansion of tourism, it is perhaps useful to give a sketch of prior developments. There is not a lot of information but it is clear, and not all surprising, that the beaches of East Lothian had already begun in the later eighteenth century to attract visitors or temporary visitors. The young Walter Scott stayed with an aunt at Prestonpans in 1778 or thereabouts for the sake of the sea-bathing, much recommended by medical authorities such as Dr William Buchan in his *Domestic Medicine*; "As a preservative of health, its regular use cannot be too much inculcated".<sup>10</sup> The *Old Statistical Account* for Prestonpans refers to the way in which the town was "much resorted to in the summer" because of the convenience of sea-bathing.<sup>11</sup> But while the numbers of visitors must have built up, particularly from Edinburgh, the East Lothian coast was not yet on the map of the visitor from further afield in the way that the spa town of Moffat had long been, nor was there any dramatic surge during the Napoleonic wars when, for example, the Trossachs, thanks to Scott, sprang into prominence.

The road system of the early nineteenth century worked against North Berwick and the communities to the west of it as the main post road from Berwick to Edinburgh cut across from Dunbar to Haddington. Early travellers' guides, therefore tended entirely to ignore the coastal areas north of Dunbar as did the important *Scottish Tourist and Itinerary* (subtitled "A Guide to the Scenery and Antiquities of Scotland, with a Description of the principal Steam-boat Tours") which went through several editions in the 1820's. Even the canonical Black's Picturesque Guides did not devote any attention edition after edition to North Berwick until the 1850's, other than to refer in a footnote to the Bass Rock; "this remarkable rock is visited in summer by numerous pleasure parties".<sup>12</sup> Part of the pleasure, unfortunately, consisted of shooting at the solan geese, a practice denounced in surprisingly strong language by later editions of *Black's* as an agreeable though somewhat cruel sport to unpretending marksmen.

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The relative lack of publicity given to much of what was subsequently to be the heart of the tourist districts of East Lothian should not be taken as evidence necessarily that the area's attractions were not being sampled by ever-increasing numbers of visitors. *The New Statistical Account* for North Berwick, written in 1839, commented that "the geniality of summer and autumn is amply attested in the crowded influx of strangers for the enjoyment of sea-bathing and the perambulation among the beautiful scenery around".<sup>13</sup> But a limiting factor was the question of access, something which may not have been entirely to the disadvantage of a locality which was interested in the better-off visitor. Elsewhere in Scotland from the 1820's the steamboat had opened up new possibilities for the tourist such as Iona and Staffa, but while some of the Fife resorts such as Aberdour were to benefit, elsewhere on the East coast there was far less impact. Steamers did pass up and down the coast, and the local paper carried details of which funnels belonged to which company, but neither Dunbar or North Berwick had more than an occasional excursion service for trips to the Bass or the Isle of May. Things were to alter later, with Mr Galloway taking charge in 1887 of the construction of a proper landing pier at North Berwick for his steamers.

What does seem to have changed the area was the coming in 1846 of the main east-coast line from Edinburgh via Dunbar to Berwick railway, which by-passed Haddington, and allowed the construction of a branch from Drem to North Berwick in 1850, a move not immediately successful in generating as large-scale passenger traffic as had been hoped by the promoters. The Town Council petitioned the Directors of the North British Railway Company in August of 1855 for a fifty percent reduction in the cost of fares, and were offered only an extension in the number of trains on which the cheaper weekly tickets could be used.<sup>14</sup> Line of Residence tickets had been issued to house holders in North Berwick who used the railway to travel to and from their work in Edinburgh, a policy which in effect promoted North Berwick as a fashionable suburb of the city. But when the service was reduced in the winter of 1856 to a horse-drawn coach to Drem, a move opposed by the Company's manager as "inexpedient as regards passengers,"<sup>15</sup> one indignant holder (Mr John Scott, WS) of a residence ticket sued the company. The timetabled journey time of the five miles to Drem took well over an hour so one can sympathise with his frustration. His case, however, was destroyed by the discovery that he was no resident nor a house-owner but merely a summer visitor! Also important were feeder coach services such as that started in June 1864 by the landlord of the Gullane Inn

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which ran from Haddington by Longniddry and Aberlady to the village ("this now very Favourite watering place").<sup>16</sup> Local hoteliers seem to have been active in this kind of enterprise intended to benefit both their takings and their community. In the same month Mr John Grant, of the Queen's Arms at Prestonpans started to run an omnibus service between there, Cockenzie and Port Seton for the benefit of sea-bathers and others. His four times a day schedule was carefully run in connection with the trains.

The railway stations of East Lothian came to be very busy during the summer months, and never more so than at the changeover days at the end of June and the beginning of July when facilities were stretched to the full. It was not just the numbers of families, but their luggage and pets. It was reported of North Berwick, for example, on July 4th 1879 that "the railway station presented a busy scene during the whole of the day, with the arrival of ladies, ladies' maids, pretty children, pet poodles, and the miscellaneous impedimenta by which a sojourn at the seaside is nowadays rendered additionally pleasant".<sup>17</sup> By the early 1880's the station was being allowed three temporary summer staff; an additional passenger guard, a porter and a parcel deliverer. Dunbar was not much less busy; the arrival of visitors at Dunbar on 1st August 1888 "exceeded all previous experience of the sort and the station authorities were taxed to the utmost to obtain the means of sending out the luggage of the visitors".<sup>18</sup> Those staying in the hotels could be assured of assistance in moving themselves and their possessions; others would have to compete for the services of local cabmen, unless they brought their own transport, as some did. One enterprising individual, Peter Richardson, placed advertisements regularly in the *Scotsman* to assure summer visitors to Dunbar that he attended the arrival and departure of all trains at Dunbar station with his pony cart "for the purpose of conveying luggage to and fro the station".<sup>19</sup>

What did visitors to the coastal towns and villages of East Lothian come to enjoy? Certainly for the upper and professional classes of big cities there was a growing belief in the value of a time of escape, a period of relaxation in healthy surroundings during which the batteries could be recharged. Seaside resorts were a prime beneficiary of this, and the rising levels of middle-class income. As the *Saturday Review* put it in August 1863 "Everyone seems to have money to go to the seaside".<sup>20</sup> It was "the advance of the season and the increasing irksomeness of city life that will compel the cultivation of a marine residence".<sup>21</sup> The local

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press cited with enthusiasm the judgement of a prominent health doctor in 1887 that there were few better resorts for the run-down person than North Berwick; "whether for golf or cycling, and whether for rest and cure, or for change of air, North Berwick has no rival".<sup>22</sup> Such endorsements were important in an increasingly competitive tourist scene, with British resorts competing against each other, and for those in the higher-income brackets against Continental spas.

An article appeared in August 1881 under the title of "A wandering peep at our county Brighton" which describes the appeal of North Berwick to a Glaswegian eye. The absence of a band contributed to what the writer found to be a somewhat dull watering place. There were promenades and events but what was there for the ordinary single male mortal to do at North Berwick? "The reply is easy, and a single word explains all — Golf! The royal game is the autocratic absorber of the attention of nine-tenths of the gentlemen who reside here. There is scarcely a man to be met with who is not an authority on "tees", "drives", "puts" and other paraphernalia of the game. The very laddies are educated up to golf ..."<sup>23</sup> Golf had long played a part in the attraction of visitors to East Lothian and by the later nineteenth century the county could boast of a formidable range of links at the coast (North Berwick, Dunbar, Luffness, Gullane, etc) and some inland courses as at Haddington and Gifford. Summer competitions were organised for juveniles; 37 boys, with handicaps ranging from zero to 75 entered a tournament arranged by the Visitor's Golfing Association at North Berwick on 22nd September, 1868.<sup>24</sup> The winner got a set of golf clubs, but no-one went away without at least a consolation golf ball. Other sporting activities included croquet and bowling, and the provision of greens was seen as a useful "means of innocent recreation" for both the summer visitors and the residents who got uninterrupted use of the facilities for the other eight months in the year.

Bathing was another important activity, and had been since the first visitors started to come. Not for East Lothian's resorts, however, the kind of licence of the beach frequented by the lower classes. Jules Verne visited Scotland in the summer of 1859 and with a friend went out to Portobello to bathe. A mobile beach hut was rented which could take them out beyond the first waves, but try as they could, they were unable to hire costumes. It appeared, and they followed suit eventually, that even though women and children were only thirty yards away, the men simply swam naked.<sup>25</sup> At North Berwick, public regulations were posted to ensure

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a proper separation of the sexes; "Gentlemen are requested to bathe before eight a.m. If after that hour, they must go to the west of the March wall, or east of the mill burn".<sup>26</sup> Some objected to this; "Why, clad in proper lineaments, should we not bathe en famille" asked one critic?<sup>27</sup> Boating was another popular activity, but there were inevitably accidents. In August 1868, the teenage son of a summer residenter at North Berwick, the Rev Dr Blaikie of the Free Church College, very nearly came to grief when his punt overturned and two female servants of a visitor from London were drowned in September 1873.

While the men of the family were golfing or back in the city, the families at the resorts were left under supervision to amuse themselves. "The Links are now at nearly all times of day, dotted over with groups of merry children who in the company of their nurses and mammas, find life at the seaside a continuous holiday".<sup>28</sup> If children could find or be found plenty to entertain themselves, the ladies were not neglected. They had their own golf course and various options; "the ladies have their bathing to perform, and their toilettes to attend to, and their novels to read, and their music to play, and their gossip to prattle."<sup>29</sup> There were



Plate 2. A Valentine postcard of West Bay, posted 1907. In the background is the Galloway's paddle steamer.

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promenades and walks to enjoy as well as drives to the local castles or great houses, though one visitor criticised the absence of the same variety of excursions by coach as he had been able to find on the West coast. "At Dunoon and other places there are these marvellous four-horse coaches without roofs driven by glorious creatures in scarlet coats and white hats at least twice a day".<sup>30</sup> Conveyances could be hired, but the charge put them out of the range of a man or family whose means were limited. Many were not deterred; picnic parties poured out of Dunbar during the summer of 1868; "Pressmennan and the Pease Bridge, Tantallon and the Bass, Spott Braes and the Doun hill have been visited by admiring crowds as well as by more select but not less discriminating parties".<sup>31</sup> It was not uncommon for appreciative visitors to gift seats. One lady visitor to Dunbar in the late 1870's, for example, had all the walks round the Haugh Head put in first class order at her own expense and put down a number of substantial seats. Others followed her example, but then, alas, as now, vandalism was not unknown; the town council appealed that no damage be done to these gifts. In short, there was a lot to enjoy for people of all ages of a respectable and douce nature.

The growing reputation by the third quarter of the nineteenth century of the resorts of East Lothian was reflected in a variety of ways. The national guidebooks, such as Black's or Murrays' were now carrying entries describing the attractions of the locality. The nineteenth edition of Black's *Picturesque Tourist* which appeared in 1871 called North Berwick "One of the most agreeable watering places in the East of Scotland", and praised both its golf-links and beach. It also drew attention to Dunbar Castle, the harbour and rich geology of the coast between the town and St Abb's Head. Ten years later North Berwick had been upgraded from being merely *agreeable* to one of the most *fashionable* places in Scotland. Local guidebooks made their appearance. The first on the scene was George Ferrier's guide to North Berwick (1871; 6d with map) which went through many editions in a very short time. As a local resident, he suffered no inhibitions about the quality of the resort. "It is", he insisted, "without exception, the most picturesque of watering places. Those who have seen the several watering places in Europe must allow that, as an ocean watering place, it excels all of them, and this is asserted advisedly".<sup>33</sup> One review observed that it would be no fault of Mr Ferrier if henceforth house property and summer lodgings were not at an enormous premium in North Berwick. That hope was no doubt in Mr Ferrier's mind also, he being in business not just

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Plate 3. A George Washington Wilson view of the West Bay, North Berwick.

as a grocer but also as a Licensed House Agent and Appraiser. He advertised each spring in the *Scotsman* that he kept lists of furnished lodgings and that communications would be promptly attended to. The North British Railway did much to promote North Berwick and Dunbar in its advertising literature, and included both places in its guides to Furnished Lodgings and Hotels in Scotland.

Photographic prints also became available in an ever-increasing number for sale as souvenirs to visitors, and to tempt others to travel. Valentine's of Dundee did much work in the area as did the Aberdeen based firm of George Washington Wilson & Co. North Berwick and vicinity (Dirleton, the Bass Rock and Tantallon) first made its appearance in the 1877 catalogue. That contained a mere 25 views. The popularity of the area encouraged Wilson and Co. greatly to expand their coverage both by photographing new localities (Gullane, Aberlady and Dunbar) and enlarging their holdings of the first areas they had covered.

Amongst their 247 photographic "scraps" of Haddingtonshire available in 1893 for mounting or pasting in albums were a series

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featuring professional golfers in play at North Berwick and variously titled "Driving", "A Risky Shot", "A Bad Bunker" and so on.<sup>34</sup> Another form of recognition, but one which was not perhaps so appreciated, was the celebration in verse by William McGonagall of "Beautiful North Berwick and its Surroundings".<sup>35</sup>

What is of very great assistance in examining the growing scale and nature of tourism in East Lothian from 1859 onwards is the *Haddingtonshire Courier and East Lothian Advertiser*, which first appeared in 1859. Printed on a weekly basis in Haddington, it gathered news from all the county including the towns of North Berwick and Dunbar, and its weekly issues are very significant for their coverage of relevant events such as the building of new villas, the opening of hotels, the enlargement of churches, the advertising of services and the provision of amenities. Visits by the great and the good were chronicled with great care; the Prince of Wales in 1859, Prince Albert at the Bass in 1864, the arrival of Earl and Lady Russell in August 1865. Evidence as to the demands of the high season surfaces in a great variety of places. The Session-Clerk of the Parish church had to advertise each summer that visitors seeking sittings should apply to him. The churches were at their fullest during July and August, in contrast to normal experience elsewhere. Study of the proceedings of the burgh councils shows their response to problems created by the growing number of summer visitors. In August 1876, for example, North Berwick's council debated what was to be done about traffic in the High Street, which was rather too narrow for the calls made upon it during the sea-bathing season when there was a large carriage traffic caused by the numerous private and public equipages in use by visitors and tourists. Items of tourist news frequently appear. In June 1860 there was the excitement of a visit by the Channel Fleet to the Forth. Undeterred by a scare that there was smallpox aboard some of the ships, a large contingent of the Haddington volunteers and their friends took a Saturday excursion by rail, coach and fishing boat, the high point being an invitation to board the fleet's flagship, the Royal Albert. Two weeks later the *Courier* was reporting how busy North Berwick had been both Saturdays since the departure of the Fleet, with no less than 15-1600 visitors each day; "this locality seems to have become the favourite resort of our metropolitan Saturday excursionists".<sup>36</sup> This kind of information is to be found year in and year out.

The state of the tourist trade was a continuing concern, along with reports of anything holding back its expansion. A prime concern was the

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state of the house-letting market. At times, demand exceeded the available supply, particularly as resorts grew in popularity. The correspondent for Dunbar reported in early August 1868 that there were daily applications for lodgings; "the great want, however, seems to be that of first-class houses having sufficient accommodation for families although there are still private rooms to be had for those whose encumbrances are not so numerous."<sup>37</sup> 1870 seems to have been an especially good year, thanks to magnificent weather and the Franco-Prussian war which deterred a few from their customary Continental holiday. Some prominent Edinburgh figures, it was reported, were unable to find houses in Dunbar that were large enough to accommodate their families, and "were obliged to take themselves and their families elsewhere".<sup>38</sup> North Berwick had not a spare bed, with the hotels full to overflowing. The Marine Hotel in its first season had to utilise an empty adjoining villa for the put-up of some of its patrons. A few years later, when everywhere in the area was packed — Gullane, for example, reporting that it was exceptionally full — a number of hotels to their chagrin had actually to turn away clients, "some of them from noble and distinguished families."<sup>39</sup>

There were less successful seasons. The main variable was the weather. Cold and wet weather could delay people from coming, or persuade them not to stay as long. A wet September in 1866 emptied Dunbar to their disappointment; "there is no doubt that had the weather been better, numbers would, as usual, have prolonged their stay till October"<sup>40</sup> In 1876 house-letting was very slow in June; the problem was partly the ungenial character of the spring, and the general depression of trade.

The resorts could do nothing about these factors beyond their control, but they did tackle other problems which were their responsibility such as the level of general cleanliness. In 1876 the authorities in Dunbar were pressurised to order the removal of all pollutions and nuisances "from the seaside, more especially from the neighbourhood of summer residences". It was noted that many of the natives did not see their interest to lie in this direction. Later in the same summer the paper reported that a good many of the visitors were complaining about the old bathing place not being kept as clean as it should and reminding the council that they really should look after this place so as to encourage our summer visitors. North Berwick had its problems too; the British Linen Bank's agent there informed his head office in September 1897 that "during heavy rain the street drains overflow and premises are

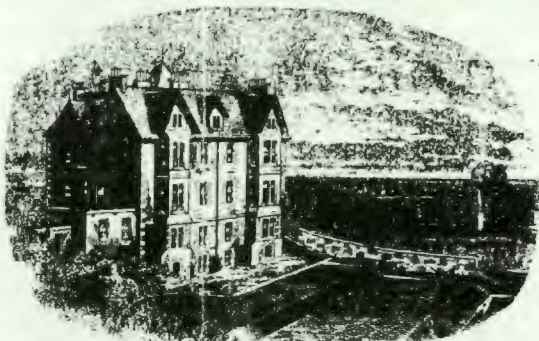
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flooded to a serious extent. The smell from sewage is also very bad ...”<sup>42</sup> The provision of water on a sufficient scale for the influx of summer population was a problem to many resorts.

The expansion of housing was a topic to which there was much reference. The failure of Gullane to expand, despite the extent of its patronage by golfers was explained in 1871 by the best sites being locked up by the law of entail. Twenty years later, according to Martine,<sup>43</sup> many new cottages and villas had been built, as was the case at Aberlady. North Berwick began to expand in the 1850's. Hotels everywhere were enlarged from the old inns or constructed from scratch. Beside the Royal Hotel in North Berwick which advertised itself as one of the most complete Provincial Hotels in the Kingdom and offered both large and small apartments, Families, Ladies and Single Gentleman boarded per day or week, there were a number of new private hotels in the early 1870s. The Marine Hotel at North Berwick was the work of a limited company formed in 1874. Of its 73 shareholders only seven were resident in North Berwick; the majority (48) gave Edinburgh addresses,

### CALEY'S PRIVATE HOTEL, NORTH BERWICK.

LAWK TERNEN GROUND. GOLFING LINKS ADJACENT.  
Varied and interesting Walks and Drives in the neighbourhood.



Magnificent Views of the Sea and Coast, including the Islands of Orkney, May, and Bass.

MRS CALEY begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry that her house is opened throughout the year for the reception of Visitors.

*Special Terms before and after Season, and for Winter Months.  
The Cuisine under her own personal management.*

NORTH BERWICK.

### ROCK VILLE LODGE PRIVATE HOTEL.

*Parties Boarded by the Week or Month at Moderate Charges.*

**Mrs MORGAN, Proprietress.**

Plate 4. An advertisement from Patterson's *Scottish Tourist*, 1881.

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and included doctors, lawyers, CA's and even an H.M. Inspector of Schools.<sup>44</sup> They invested heavily in various improvements, including in 1880 new and improved appliances for drawing water from the sea to supply the baths. This company was wound up, on account of its liabilities, in December of that year. The hotel did operate the following year, when amongst others General Roberts, the hero of Afghanistan, was in residence, but seems to have closed temporarily in 1882. Dunbar had its big hotels; the George and the Royal, and Gullane acquired the New.

As a general rule, the larger properties were taken first and for longer starting in June, either for one or two months, or even the whole season, than was true of lodgings. In July 1879 it was observed that at North Berwick "the quieter class of lodgings are for the most part unlet but with the close of the schools in the metropolis, and the full tide of holidays, these will doubtless fill up".<sup>45</sup> The lodging families tended to leave in September; by the middle of that month in 1877 many of the smaller lodgings had lost their tenants, but "all the larger houses are still occupied, the more aristocratic class of visitors clinging to the beautiful coast and the principal hotels continuing well filled".<sup>46</sup> Contemporaries thought, and this may well have been right, that what kept North Berwick select was the high cost of accommodation. "There are not many lodgings of the family order and these are let at such rents as would cause the ordinary paterfamilias of the West stare and stammer; while hotel accommodation can be caught by none whose purses are not of a very lengthy description".<sup>47</sup> It was with a certain quiet satisfaction that the Cockenzie correspondent reported in July of 1867 that all the lodgings there were pretty well let, "many parties preferring the quiet, unpretending accommodation they get here, to what is found in more fashionable places."<sup>48</sup>

In looking at the growth of tourism, there are some key questions to which it would be good to have answers such as how many summer residents there were, where they came from, how long they stayed, and how the numbers changed over the years. An important supplementary issue is that of the loyalty of the clientele; did they come back year after year? It is unfortunate that the census in the nineteenth century was taken too early in the year for tourists to have made their appearance in East Lothian. The 1871 census, for example, was taken on the first weekend of April and shows only how many of the larger houses in North Berwick were empty or being maintained by a skeleton staff. James Atkins, a butler, was the sole resident at St Anns in the West

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Links, and the only visitors in the town appear to have been two unmarried ladies (annuitants) staying with a servant at Elphinstone house, no. 9 East Road, the property of one Helen Durie. There is some data on the hotel keepers and lodging house-proprietors. Quite a number of the latter were widows, sometimes assisted as at 5 Quality Street by an unmarried daughter.<sup>49</sup>

There is, however, another source which can give some help, namely the lists of visitors which were published in the local newspaper during the season. The first to be published in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* on the 5th of September 1862 was a short list of those staying at the Royal Hotel in North Berwick, a roll-call significantly headed by a titled person, Lady O'Donnel. The first full list of visitors staying in the town appeared in June 1863 with the entries grouped according to where the people concerned were staying — East Links, Quadrant, West Links, etc. The list was updated at regular intervals throughout the season until the end of September. A list for Gullane was included in the next issue, and coverage of other resorts in East Lothian was added in the next few years; Dunbar in 1867, Prestonpans in 1869, Cockenzie and Port Seton in 1870, Aberlady in 1874.

The publication of such lists of visitors was a standard feature in the local newspapers of many resorts. The practice seems to have originated at Harrogate in 1836 and was widely copied at other spas in Britain and the Continent. The first resorts in Scotland where visitors' lists were compiled and published were the rival spa towns of Bridge of Allan in 1853 and Moffat in 1858. Many other resorts were to follow suit, including Pittenweem, Crail, Largo, Elie and Earlsferry in Fife, Callander, Crieff and Comrie in Central Scotland, Oban, Dunoon and Helensburgh in the West, and further north Forres and Strathpeffer.<sup>50</sup> It was, of course, the more fashionable resorts where the lists were gathered, not the day-trippers' haunts, and any resort without a list was liable to be regarded as common. The *Haddingtonshire Courier* said of Dunbar in July 1866 that it was "unfortunate that no list of visitors was kept in this district, to show the estimation in which it is held as a watering-place". The hint was taken, and Mr Downie, the local bookseller, made himself responsible for compiling the locality's list.

The lists of visitors cover only the better-heeled visitor making a stay for a week or more. As the compiler of the North Berwick list for mid August 1870 remarked by way of preface to his table; "it will be

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understood that the names are not those of casual visitors but those parties who have taken up their residence for the season, or part of it".<sup>51</sup> The lists were used to confirm the social standing of the resort; "the company at North Berwick is undoubtedly an exclusive one of its kind. To be sure some not very refined people have found it out this year ... but if you glance down the visitors' column of the local paper — you will observe some names which will cause you to blush with pleasure and surprise that you, a sojourner in this favoured region are breathing the same atmosphere as such distinguished folks".<sup>52</sup> The same correspondent suggested that a look at the congregation issuing from the Episcopal Church would confirm what sort of society "seeks at this time of year the fine breezes of this miniature Brighton of the East".

The lists of visitors were important for a variety of reasons, not the least being that they helped to sell newspapers. The lists could be used by local tradesmen to send in their cards, but their primary function was to act as a social register of who was in residence for the planning of visits and activities. For some, there may well have been an element of social climbing. "Simple minded people from the quiet suburbs of London", said one essay-writer of Brighton, "appear to derive considerable gratification from reading their names in the 'Fashionable Visitors' List". It is an historical event for the Buggins of Peckham to be commemorated in the same type and on the same sheet as marchionesses and earls, and you can be sure several copies are dispatched by post to dazzle friends in the country while another twopence is spent on procuring one for preservation in the family archives at home".<sup>53</sup>

Examination of the East Lothian lists does yield some interesting findings. They can be used to trace the visits of prominent politicians and titled people. On September 30th 1864 the Earl of Russell arrived to join his countess and family at the Royal who had been staying since the 26th of August, their arrival duly noted in that week's list; the Duchess of St Albans and Lady Diana Beauclerk also had apartments there. The list for the Marine Hotel on the 31st of August 1883 included Mrs Von Bulow from Germany, several guests from London and the South, and A. J. Balfour, MP. In the following season, the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch and the Earl of Shaftesbury were amongst those resident in September.

What is also important is where the visitors came from, and the lists certainly confirm the way in which the appeal of North Berwick and

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the other East Lothian resorts broadened in the later nineteenth century. Whereas in the early 1860's the overwhelming majority of summer residents had given Edinburgh addresses for themselves, by the 1880's there were many more from England and even a few from the Continent or North America. This trend had been spotted as early as 1867 when it was observed that "houses of the better class were being enquired after by English families".<sup>54</sup> The hotel clientele was very varied; the largest single contingent at the Marine and the Royal hotels in North Berwick in early September 1881 were from London, and Scottish addresses were in a distinct minority. The story was rather different in the less expensive private hotels.

There are, however, some problems which inhibit a full and systematic use of these lists. The first is that they were not published consistently. Some years they did appear week after week and in others only sporadically or not at all. The smaller resorts such as Prestonpans or Aberlady might feature only once or twice in a season. The list of visitors at the big hotels — the Royal or the Marine in North Berwick, and their counterparts at Dunbar — was often a separate feature. And above all there is the question of how comprehensive the lists were. In Bridge of Allan, for example, the local newspaper issued slips for recording the names of those visiting to every lodging-house and hotel in the place, which were collected and collated before publication. It was a highly efficient system and few visitors can have slipped through the net. Quite how the *Haddingtonshire Courier* obtained its lists is not totally clear. In Dunbar the compilation during the 1870's was in the hands of two local newsagents, and a similar pattern is likely to have applied elsewhere. The *Courier* invited those visitors who had by any chance been overlooked to send in their addresses to the office in Haddington "where they will be inserted gratis". In short, the lists may well have been reasonably comprehensive.

The lists are, of course, an inventory only of some of the summer incomers. It is a list of the adults and heads of family in whose name the accommodation was taken. Servants do not get any mention, other than the occasional personal maid. The numbers of children are concealed behind the ubiquitous "& Family", another serious deficiency if one were to try to estimate the total numbers of summer visitors. The lists are merely the visible tip of a community which also included large numbers of house-servants, cooks and other domestics. Some may have been recruited locally — there was kept at North Berwick a Register of

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Female Servants — but the majority probably came with their employers. The resorts were not geared to the provision of amenities for them, but doubtless they had some time to enjoy the air and the beach.

What, then is the value of the lists as a source for the study of tourism in East Lothian? Even with reservations expressed above, there is still much to be gleaned. They confirm, for instance, that the backbone of the summer business of these resorts was the family from Edinburgh which came for one or two months every year, changing their residence but not their friends or even their neighbours. In June of 1863, there were 33 named individuals in the North Berwick list, of whom 28 were with family, 26 of which were from Edinburgh. The number of families increased steadily, reaching their seasonal peak in August when no less than 60 families were in residence. Over the years, the summer population rose as new villas and lodgings were built and by the early 1880's between 100 and 120 families were being listed, as well as two or three hundred other individuals at the hotels. Dunbar grew in popularity as well; 34 families were recorded in August of 1868; thirteen years later the high-season figure was almost double. Gullane, Aberlady, Prestonpans, Cockenzie and Port Seton had smaller numbers. In aggregate we might suggest a summer influx to the coast by the early 1880s of, at its peak, perhaps 240-250 families plus several hundred other seasonal residents. To this number there needs to be added an allowance for their staff and servants. The majority were still from Edinburgh or Leith, but more were coming from further afield. And then there, as has already been indicated, the day-trippers and excursionists. It is small wonder, therefore, that the guidebooks noted of North Berwick that its population was "greatly increased in the summer". The same would have been true to a lesser but still very significant extent of all the other resorts without the numbers anywhere coming near to those found at those places frequented by the working classes; Portobello, Aberdour or Dunoon.

What the lists also confirm is the degree of consumer loyalty, the families who came season after season, and very often to the same property. Mr George Blanchard, a Leith merchant, brought his family to North Berwick for the first time in 1863 where they occupied a new mansion in the West Links. They returned every year for the next decade, a pattern which was by no means uncommon. The Ford family from Edinburgh were to be found staying at Ebenezer Villa every summer from 1876 to 1885. This regularity was by no means unique to the East Lothian resorts; the faithfulness of the holiday maker to his or

## COASTAL TOURISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EAST LOTHIAN

her favourite summer retreat, whether in Fife or on Speyside, or in Cowal seems to have been a general characteristic of vacationers from the upper and professional classes. What they wanted was a seasonal migration to a well tried venue and where they, and their children, could find their own culture. There were occasional grumbles over the cost of housing and the quality of the train service, but they could not have it both ways. A price had to be paid to maintain the exclusivity of the population of summer residents.

There were some drawbacks to the growing dependence of the coastal resorts on the summer visitors. Good though the summer months might be for the local shopkeepers, boatmen and lodging house keepers, the season was limited. "We all must take our homeward way. / nor after August longer stay".<sup>55</sup> The exodus in the early autumn left many houses empty, church attendances reduced and the communities at a loose end. Life in the winter was as quiet as it was full in the summer. But the popularity of golf as more than just a sport for the summer did help, and the proof of the value of tourism to East Lothian is the way in which the process of depopulation in the rural parishes was not shared by the resorts. It certainly was a select area with its avid devotees. As Professor W. D. Blaikie put it in an article for *Harper's Magazine* in 1889; "Many a one can bear witness to the health and exhilaration which it brings. Year by year, it is growing larger, though not rapidly, and it is still a comparatively quiet, sequestered place. Big hotels are beginning to rise, and from all parts of the United Kingdom are beginning to frequent them. He called his essay "A Corner of Scotland Well Worth Knowing".<sup>56</sup> It was the good fortune of the locality to be known but not too widely known.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chris Roberts of the Local History Centre, East Lothian District, has been of the greatest assistance in the preparation of this study, and her help, particularly in the analysis of the Haddingtonshire Courier, is gratefully acknowledged. The Transport History Trust kindly made a grant towards travel and research costs.

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## COASTAL TOURISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EAST LoTHIAN

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## EAST FORTUNE IN WORLD WAR II

*By IAN T. BUNYAN*

Between the wars East Fortune had been a list C airfield and was probably little used. The old airship and aircraft sheds had been dismantled and 350 acres of the land, with some buildings, were bought by the South-Eastern Counties of Scotland Joint Sanatorium Board, turning the north side of the airfield into a tuberculosis sanatorium. At the start of the war the nearby airfield of Drem, which in the First World War had been a landing ground for night fighters defending Edinburgh and a training depot, was soon made into a fighter station, and East Fortune was requisitioned as a satellite field for Drem in June 1940. The field was soon provided with hard runways and the buildings that still survive. Stone for the runways came from Cambus Quarry by Grantshouse. In May 1941 the sanatorium was removed to Bangour and East Fortune became a base for operational training units. The first of these, 60 OTU, was detached from Leconfield, Yorkshire on 4th June 1941. Altogether there were then 1500 people on the station. The aircraft, when they arrived, were Miles Magisters, Airspeed Oxfords, Boulton Paul Defiants and Bristol Blenheims.

60 OTU was created to train night fighter crews. There was need for this, for by mid-November 1940, when the Luftwaffe had flown 12,000 night sorties, the R.A.F. claimed to have brought down only eight German aircraft: a further eighty-one were claimed by anti-aircraft fire. The aircraft for night defence were twin engine Blenheims and single engine Defiants, and these, though inadequately armed and equipped with unreliable radar, began to have some effect. By the time 60 OTU was established the Defiants had been relegated to a training role.

The first crews trained on Defiants at East Fortune were mostly Polish, New Zealand, Australian and Canadian fliers. Crashes were

## EAST FORTUNE IN WORLD WAR II

frequent and often fatal. The Miles Master, a twin seat, single engine, advanced trainer also contributed to the crash record, but with fewer fatalities. In June 1942 the Defiants were replaced by Beaufighter night fighters. The Air Interception Flight was commanded by Squadron Leader Constable-Maxwell from 604 Night Fighter Squadron. He and his radar operator Sergeant Quinton trained pilots and paired them with radar operators: some of the resulting teams were very successful operational units.

In November 1942 policy dictated a reduction in night fighter OTUs and 60 OTU was the one selected to be dropped. East Fortune now came under Coastal Command: the unit operating was 132 OTU, devoted to strike training, the strikes being aimed at shipping. Numbers on the field had gone up to 1730. There were, by the summer of 1943, eight Beaufort torpedo bombers and the latest Beaufighters. In April 1944 de Havilland Mosquitoes arrived, effective planes against enemy shipping. By May training was provided for twenty-one Beaufighters and six Mosquitoes a month. Extra buildings were set up for the Mosquitoes and a fuel store holding 72,000 gallons.

In October 1944 an East Fortune Mosquito crashed on a house near Haddington, killing four civilians and the crew of two, the worst East Fortune tragedy. Crashes also took place on the station — a Mosquito overran the runway and almost demolished the YMCA canteen.

The severe winter of 1944-5 created problems of snow clearance. On 26 January 1945 the airfield was under more than a foot of snow. By the deploying of over 1,000 officers and men in three shifts of three hours each the runways were opened the following evening. The transfer of Mosquito training to Haverfordwest, due to occur on 28 January was postponed to 6 February, but an Air Transport Mosquito, piloted by a young woman, came in on the afternoon of 28 January to refuel.

For the rest of the war East fortune acted as a diversion for Halifax and Lancaster bombers returning from flights over Germany. During one week in December 1944 there were eighteen Lancasters and twenty-two Halifaxes on the station. As it became clear that the war in Europe would end soon the atmosphere of the station became more relaxed. Music and debating circles operated; there were classes on art and leatherwork.

## EAST FORTUNE IN WORLD WAR II

A contingent of 100 officers and men from East Fortune took part in the victory parade in Edinburgh, 13 May 1945. For a while after the ending of the war in Europe East Fortune served as a staging post for the Air Dispatch Letter Service flights from Blackbushe and Northolt, near London, to Norway. A reduced scale of training of aircrews went on till the end of 1945, with night flying by Beauforts, Beaufighters and Mosquitoes (now returned from Haverfordwest). By the end of the war with Japan, 14 August 1945, the station was being run down: at the end of the year the number of all ranks was down to 900.

Throughout its life as an RAF station in the war the many officers who passed through from all parts of the Commonwealth expressed themselves as satisfied with the living conditions. The quarters were comfortable and even had central heating in the old sanatorium area, where the air crews were placed. There was a post office, the first of its kind in Scotland, a laundry and a cinema. As in the First World War, the station had its magazine, 'Fortune', which ran to five editions.

In May 1946 the OTU was disbanded and the airfield returned to Fighter Command some months later. At the end of the year the RAF left and the buildings and part of the land were returned to the Sanatorium Board. By August 1949 the Tuberculosis Hospital was back. There was an intention at the start of the Cold War, that the airfield should be used by the United States Air Force, and the main runway was extended to take jet fighters, but it was never put to use, and the airfield reverted to the Air Ministry. Apart from four months in 1961 when the Turnhouse runway was being resurfaced, and occasions when private planes have used it, the airfield has been inactive. It has been given protection as a monument of national importance: its buildings, mostly intact, are a sample of Air Ministry building during the war. About 150 hectares have been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Act, 1979, and various buildings are listed as Category B buildings of special architectural or historic interest, (see map).

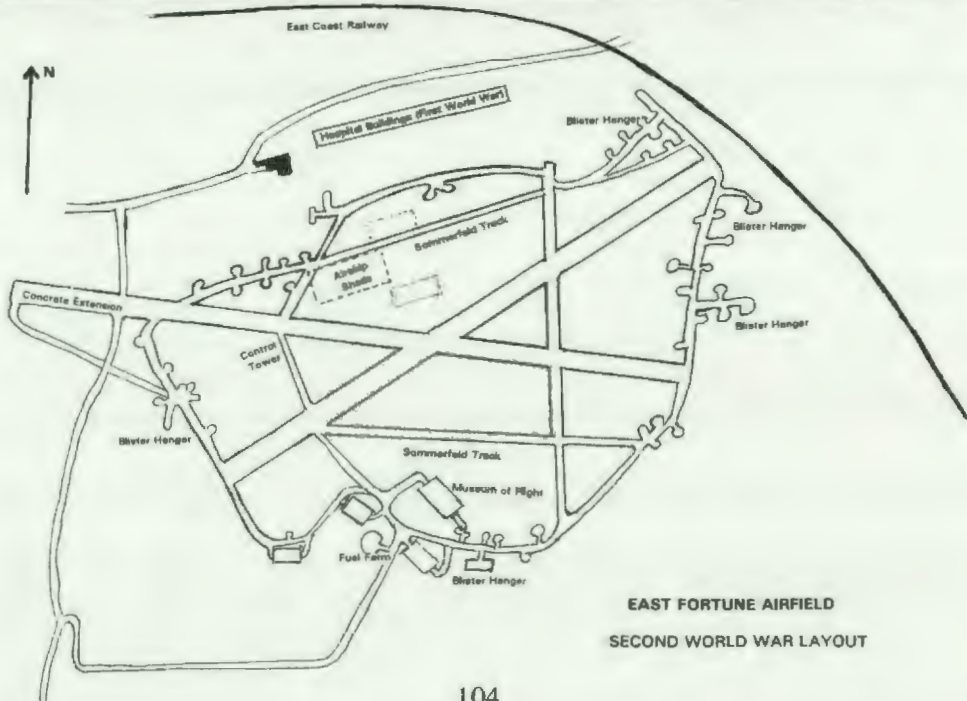
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## EAST FORTUNE IN WORLD WAR II



**EAST FORTUNE AIRFIELD**  
**SECOND WORLD WAR LAYOUT**

## **ANNUAL REPORT for 1991-92**

The sixty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Pond Hall, Port Seton, on Saturday, 18th May 1991.

At the AGM the Officers of the Society were re-elected with the following changes. Sir David Ogilvy Bt, having indicated that he wished to retire, Professor R. M. Mitchison was elected President and Mr D. Moody was elected Honorary Editor of the Transactions. Professor Mitchison paid tribute to the contribution made to the Society by Sir David Ogilvy. Dr D. Hutchison had resigned and Mr J. Hume and Mr M. Cox retired from the Council. Mr S. Maxwell was re-elected and Mr H. Coutts, Miss S. Jenkinson and Mr A. T. Renville were elected. At the conclusion of the meeting Mrs Grace Bogie gave a talk on the history of Port Seton and led members on a walk round the Harbour and the old part of the town.

On Saturday, 8th June, a large party of members visited Duns Castle where they were received by Mrs Alexander Hay of Duns. Mr Murray Henderson led the party round the Duns Castle Lake Nature Reserve, after which Mr and Mrs Hay conducted a tour of the Castle and provided tea.

On Saturday, 27th July, members visited North Berwick where Mr S. Ross Dalglish led a visit to the Water System at the Law. This was followed by a walk in the Glen to see the Kintreath Mills led by Dr J. P. Shaw. On 24th August a party visited Jedburgh by coach, visited Jedburgh Castle Gaol, Queen Mary's House and Jedburgh Abbey where Mr C. Tabraham spoke about the recent excavations. On Sunday, 15th September, members visited Tweedhopefoot where Mrs V. Billingham gave a demonstration of sheepdogs at work. On Saturday, 19th October, a visit was made to the Royal College of Surgeons, where members were welcomed by Professor Dugald Gardner.

Two lectures were given in the course of the season. On 14th November, Mr S. Ross Dalglish showed a film and spoke about the Development of East Lothian Water Supply and on 13th February, Dr John Shaw gave an illustrated talk on East Lothian's Historic Farm Buildings.

The Annual Dinner was held in Kilspindie House Hotel, Aberlady, on Friday, 27th March, and was attended by 63 members and their guests. The Lord Palmer gave a most enjoyable illustrated talk on the Pleasures and Problems of owning a Great Country House.

Vol. XXI of the Transactions was published during the year as was an Index covering Volumes XIV-XXI. Vol. XXII of the Transactions is in preparation.

The Society maintains its interest in various other matters. The Secretary 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 at the North Berwick Museum Management Committee by Mrs J. Russell and Mr R. Forster. The Society is a corporate member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the John Muir Trust, the River Tyne Trust, the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, the Scottish Local History Forum, the Council for Scottish Archaeology and the Scottish Architectural Heritage Society. The Society is vigilant over threats to our heritage of historic buildings, landscape and natural habitats and makes appropriate representations when these seem threatened. In particular during the past year it has expressed concern about the developments at Archerfield and the importance of various archaeological sites within the estate, and about the development at Briery Bank in Haddington.

Some members of the Society are involved in the Botanical Survey of the Lothians which is to produce 'Botany of the Lothians'. The Secretary made a contribution to Haddington Festival Week in the name of the society, by leading a walk in the Steps of Jane Welsh Carlyle.

Membership of the Society is steady at 253, in addition there are 12 institutional members.

The Society's transactions are lodged in the Copyright Libraries and are purchased regularly by others. Information about the Society has been sought by and placed in a number of national and other works of reference, and enquiries both about the Society and about issues related to East Lothian from within and without East Lothian seem to grow in number.

### PROGRAMME 1992-93

Saturday,	30th May	Visit to Manderston
	20th June	Visit to Pease Dean
	4th July	Visit to Musselburgh
	15th August	Visit to Dalkeith
	19th September	Visit to Paxton House
	10th October	Visit to Saltoun Big Wood
	29th October	Visit to East Lothian District Council Buildings in Haddington

### LECTURES

Thursday,	12th November	The Honours of Scotland Charles J. Burnett, Esq., Ross Herald of Arms
	11th February	Mammals in the Lothians by Dr K. D. Velander

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