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Cover illustration: John Muir's birthplace and home, High Street, Dunbar.

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JOHN MUIR BIRTHPLACE

by DAVID M ANDERSON

This paper presents some background details relating to the building numbered 126-28 High Street, Dunbar. The premises have recently been purchased by the John Muir Birthplace Trust and were associated with the family of the Dunbar born naturalist, ecologist and geologist John Muir. In the discussion following it will be referred to as John Muir Birthplace. The property is inextricably linked to that lying immediately to the north, 130-134 High Street, which was itself John Muir's childhood home. The Muirs' tenure of these buildings represents only a short episode in a 200 year span.

The property now known as John Muir Birthplace, 126-28 High Street, Dunbar is exceptional on the street, even without its claim as the birthplace of the pioneer American naturalist John Muir.[1] In the present context, the building cannot be considered without also examining the history of the adjacent property, now 130-34 High Street, which was John Muir's childhood home. Taken together their story serves to illustrate several features of Dunbar's urban and economic development and is more complex than that of many other properties on the same street. Therefore, it seems logical to start from the period of the construction of both properties and to examine in some detail their history until the departure of the Muirs for America in 1849.

Dunbar High Street, like those of many other Scottish burghs, was a planned development. Traditionally, each individual founding burgesses held a burgage plot or tenement of land. These generally took the form of a series of strips running herring bone fashion off the spinal street. Burgesses had a duty to maintain a residence on the plot. Over time the street-side frontage became a near continuous block of buildings. Access to the 'back lands' was by means of passageways through or sometimes between each property. Down the closes were found kitchen gardens and subsidiary buildings such as warehouses, outhouses, workshops or stables. On either side of the High Street, running parallel to it at the foot of the burgage plots, was a lane.

At one time, each tenement or burgage plot was the property of an individual burgess or association; in Dunbar, for example, the Sailors' Society, Trinitarian Friary and Collegiate Church owned tenements. Over the course of time some burgess families acquired more than one property. During the eighteenth century, the Fall family, who were of international as well as local significance, individually and severally purchased a substantial proportion of the town.[2] They also had interests in industrial ventures, such as salt works in Fife or the Dunbar mills. Their trading links extended to South America and the Chesapeake area of North America as well as throughout Europe, England and Scotland. One line of the family was represented by a formal partnership of four brothers: James, Robert, Charles and William. A relative, George Fall, was Town Clerk in the same period, and a further John Fall also appears as a town councillor. These men, and the next generation of cousins, Robert (II), Charles (II) and James (II) Fall and Robert and John Melvill, dominated the town and local district. With their allies, they maintained control of the Town Council for most of the 18th century. Indeed, between the re-establishment of the office of Provost in 1728[3] and the retirement of Robert (II) Fall from the chair in 1789, a Fall held the office in every year except the first two and two years in the middle of the period.

Each of the four brothers invested in substantial new residences, created by absorbing several adjacent tenements into a single property, clearing the existing old dwellings and structures away, and building anew. The results are still to be seen; for example, in the early eighteenth century, Bailie Robert Fall purchased or acquired four adjacent properties or tenements lying on the north-west block of the High Street. After site clearance, the property now numbered 130-134 High Street was built on a portion of this land, crossing the line of the original burgage plots. An opening was left on the south of the new building, perhaps to give access to large gardens, stables and other buildings, which were laid out towards the rear.

After Bailie Robert Fall died, his only surviving daughter, Janet Fall, inherited[4] her father's High Street house and garden. Subsequently, Janet Fall's mother Mary Melvil Fall proved her inheritance of her deceased daughter's property. A sasine was registered in 1775 and referred to a disposition made by Janet in 1758.[5] It was noted that the garden was leased to two men, John and James Nisbet. They utilised the land as a commercial market garden.

Mary Melvil Fall had married again after the death of her first husband

Bailie Robert Fall. Her second spouse was Captain Philip Delisle of Conways or Mostyns (the 13th) Dragoons. Her children from this marriage were Anne and Philip Delisle. The family had other property in what is today Delisle Street, a continuation of West Port. During Mary Melvil Fall's tenure of the High Street property a small three story dwelling house, now John Muir Birthplace, was built on the gap-site to the south of the Bailie's house. When Anne Delisle took sasine of the property in 1792[6] a 'new built house in the south end' of the property is noted. It was rented at that time to Joseph Hogg, his family, and 'others' unspecified. A further occupied property, which was used later by the Muirs as a laundry, was built in the garden and perhaps occupied by the Nisbets. There are no surviving plans or details of when these works took place; all that can be done is infer the presence or absence of buildings from sasines, wills and deeds which survive in the Scottish Record Office. The inference would be that they were both built between 1775 and 1789, the latter date being that given for Mary Melvill Fall's disposition.

The construction of John Muir Birthplace also included the formation of a pend or close to equip the new structure with appropriate outbuildings, coal-hole and 'pertinants', all of which are specified in the succession of sasines generated at each change in ownership: the due right of access for all parties by means of the close is often mentioned. Thus, John Muir Birthplace has no tenement garden, unlike the rest of the High Street properties. The part that would have been the tenement garden was retained by the Delisles for the Nisbets' market garden. In effect, the house was furnished with the bare minimum of necessary space to the rear.

Returning to the sasine of 1792,[6] it was presented by Anne Delisle's husband Doctor William Wightman and included a disposition dated 1789 in which Mary Melvil Fall Delisle willed the property to her daughter Anne Delisle in the first instance (but to her son Philip's family if Anne had not survived). William Wightman was the doctor whose laboratory was sealed up at the end of a corridor beside the young Muir boys' bedroom.[1] The next transfer was a lineal descent to the Wightman's son Doctor Charles Wightman. He was a mostly absentee landlord, as his practice took him to Newcastle. A variety of tenants can be noted in occupation of the several properties: the Nisbets remained with the garden and garden house, several families in parts of John Muir Birthplace, and 130-134 High Street was advertised for let at least once.[7] The advertisement is worth quoting in full and reads:

> House, gardens, etc., in Dunbar to be let. To be let for one or more years as may be agreed on, and entered into immediately. That large and commodious house, in the town of Dunbar, belonging to Dr. Wightman, and presently occupied by Mr. Sandilands, with two good gardens, stables, and coachhouse. The house is well calculated for the accommodation of a genteel and numerous family, consisting of parlour, dining room, drawing room, and five excellent bedrooms, with a light bed closet to each of them, besides four garret rooms, kitchen and servant's room, cellars and other conveniences. The house, stable and garden, immediately behind it, may either be let separately or along with the coachhouse and the other stable and garden, as may be agreed to. For farther particulars apply to Mr. Turnbull, surgeon, Dunbar, or to Mr. Sievwright, 102 South Bridge, Edinburgh.

One of the later occupants of the ground floor, perhaps more, of John Muir Birthplace was Mrs Janet Kennedy, who died on 18 February 1829, leaving her daughter Helen in sole charge of her business. Janet Kennedy was described as 'Meal Dealer, High Street Dunbar' in a trades directory about this time.[8] Helen very soon thereafter married Daniel Muir, who had been posted to Dunbar as a recruiting sergeant for his regiment. Daniel and Helen then ran the meal dealership, Daniel having taken a leave of absence of his regiment. Muir family lore notes that his skill turned the business around and it began to generate a good return. However, on 1 August 1832, shortly after the birth of their first child, Helen Kennedy Muir died.[9] As spouse of the sitting tenant, Daniel Muir kept 'possession' of John Muir Birthplace. It is evident from subsequent documents that he never owned the property. The word 'possessed' when used in Scottish sasines and dispositions implies nothing about residence, but it would be reasonable to conclude that at this period he lived above the business. It would be rather unusual that he was able to retain all of his wife's assets, but Helen Kennedy appears to have left no written will. Daniel Muir appears in a surviving voters' roll for 1832-3:[10] 'Daniel Muir, shopkeeper and tenant, house and shop on the west side of the High Street of Dunbar'.

Within a year, Daniel Muir married Ann Gilrye. Pigot's Directory of 1837 records his entry under Meal Dealers, the address given only as High Street.[11] Their third child John Muir was born on 21 April 1838.[9] Shortly after his last visit to Dunbar in 1893, Muir commented on his birthplace in a letter. Researchers during the 1960s[12] had access to this letter, which was the primary

source for Muir's birthplace. These secondary sources give Muir's birthplace as the present John Muir Birthplace, the building adjacent to his boyhood home. The text of Burnett's[12] letter includes: 'In a letter — written just after his last visit to Dunbar in 1893 he refered to a photo of the Lorne Temp. Hotel. This photo was taken from accross the street, and shows the hotel and a building (3 storey) on the left of the hotel (left as you look at the photo). He mentioned in the letter that he was born in this house to the left, and that the family moved into the building which is the Lorne Hotel when he was less than one year old'. Recent inquiries have failed to discover this letter;[13] the quote above was written in 1964, before the University of the Pacific received the Muir Collection.

By June 1841 (during the period of the first full decennial census) the family were in residence at 130-34 High Street.[14] The enumerator recorded properties in the sequence north to south. The entry immediately before the Muir family is Catherine Nisbet, relict of one of the Nisbets who had worked the market garden. The entry immediately afterwards is for John Finlay, a Spirit

Part of Dunbar High Street c 1890. John Muir's birthplace is on the extreme left. His childhood home, later the Lorne Hotel, is in the centre. (John Muir Archive, Holt-Atherton Library, University of Pacific)

Dealer, and his family. Daniel Muir did not purchase 130-34 High Street until January 1842,[15] at which time he still possessed a lease on John Muir Birthplace. So he must have 'possessed' both properties for a space although, as John Muir Birthplace was occupied by the Finlays, it must have been sub-let. It is interesting that the Wightman - Muir disposition makes allowance for Catherine Nisbet, who occupied part of what became the Muir's laundry. It is probable that she depended in some way upon the good-will of the Muirs. Also in 1842, another Voter's Roll[16] records: 'Daniel Muir, corndealer, dwelling house on the west side of the High Street with yard, garden behind and other outhouses in the yard', confirming the family's flit and the transfer of title.

Wightman finally disposed of John Muir Birthplace to Matthew Watt in October 1847,[17] so Daniel Muir must have relinquished his interest in the property between January 1842 and October 1847. The Watts appear never to have lived in John Muir Birthplace but rented it out to McLiskies, Howells and several other families until, by 1881, it was in the sole possession of a family called Fleming. After 1855, the occupants might be traced from the annual burgh valuation rolls. In the early part of this century the shop was Black's drapery. By the 1960s it was in use as a laundry.

Daniel Muir sold 130-34 High Street to Dr John Lorn on 1 February 1849 (with Catherine Nisbet still in possession of the laundry!), in preparation for emigration. By August 1849[18] the Lorn family took possession and used the building for a school and later as a hotel. Even after the Lorns had sold on, the hotel traded as the Lorn(e) Temperance, as it was when John Muir returned in 1893 and sought out his childhood haunts. The building was substantially altered after the Second World War. The upper story was ripped out and new walls and roof erected. The dormer windows that John & David Muir played out of were gone. The outline of the old eaves can still be still be seen under the cement render with which the alterations were finished.

Conclusion

John Muir was born in the present John Muir Birthplace, 126-128 High Street, but the family moved next door to 130-134 High Street before John was one year old. Three years later, Daniel Muir was in a position to purchase 130-134 High Street outright and he held it up until a month before emigrating to the United States, at which time it was sold to Dr John Lorn. Both houses were built in the eighteenth century by members of the Fall family, having cleared earlier

properties to create an imposing town house and gardens to reflect their position in society.

CHRONOLOGY

1746 Janet Fall served as heir to Robert Fall.
1758 Janet Fall writes her will to her mother Mary Melvil Fall Delisle.
1775 Mary Melvil Fall Delisle inherits her daughter's property, with no mention of the house, now John Muir House.
1789 Mary Melvil Fall Delisle writes her will to her daughter Anne Delisle Wightman, mentioning a 'new-built house in the south end' of the tenement.
1792 Anne Delisle Wightman inherits and resides in main building with husband Dr William Wightman, the 'old doctor' of John Muir's stories. Dr Charles Wightman inherits in turn.
1820s Mrs Janet Kennedy rents John Muir Birthplace as meal-dealership.
1829 Daniel Muir secures lease through marriage to Helen Kennedy.
1832 Death of Helen Kennedy Muir.
1833 Daniel Muir marries Ann Gilrye.
1838 John Muir born.
1842 Dr Charles Wightman sells 130-34 High Street to Daniel Muir. Muir already in possession.
1847 John Muir Birthplace sold by Wightman to Matthew Watt.
1849 Daniel Muir sells to Dr John Lorn & Muirs emigrate.
1879 High Street premises numbered.
1893 John Muir's last visit to Dunbar.

REFERENCES

1. For John Muir's boyhood in Dunbar see: a) Muir, John, *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth*, various publishers; Wolfe, Linnie Marsh, *Son of the Wilderness*, various publishers.
2a. See, for example, the series of transactions in Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/2/3 and B18/2/4.
2b. Forbes Gray, W. 'The Falls of Dunbar: a Notable Scots Family', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, Volume 3, 120 (1938), pp. 120-41.
3. The Falls' civic record is preserved in Dunbar Council Minutes, Scottish Record Office, B18/1, various volumes.
4. Janet Fall, served as heir of Robert Fall. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/2/3, 29 May 1746.
5. Mary Melvill Fall served as heir to Janet Fall. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/2/7, 14 November 1792.
6. Anne Delisle Wightman served as heir to Mary Melvill Fall. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/2/7, 14 November 1792.
7. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17 December 1821.
8. Pigot and Company's *Directory of Scotland*, 1826.
9. Dunbar Parish Records, General Register Office for Scotland.
10. Burgh of Dunbar, Council Records, Scottish Record Office, B18.
11. Pigot and Company's *Directory of Scotland*, 1837.
12. Manuscript letter dated 27 November 1964, James Burnett (USA) to Mr Fowler (Postmaster, Dunbar); East Lothian Museum Service Collection.
13. Personal Communication, Darryl Morison, Department of Special Collections, Holt-Atherton Library, University of the Pacific.
14. 1841 Census, Parish of Dunbar, General Register Office for Scotland.
15. Dr. Charles Wightman to Daniel Muir. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/4/6, 27 January 1842.
16. Burgh of Dunbar, Council Records, Scottish Record Office, B18.
17. Dr. Charles Wightman to Matthew Watt. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/4/8, 22 October 1846.
18. Daniel Muir to Dr. John Lorn. Burgh of Dunbar, Register of Sasines, Scottish Record Office, B18/4/9, 12 August 1849.

THE HEPBURNS OF KINGSTON

by DAVID SYDESERFF

Kingston today is a cluster of neat, respectable houses, a fine country house and a modern farm, hardly big enough to be called a village. Before the agricultural revolution of the late eighteenth century, the picture was quite different. A much larger population would have lived in houses thrown up with walls of loose stone and roofs of turves of soil, using scraps of whatever wood was available. These were long low buildings with bare earth for the floor, with one part usually used as a stable for livestock in the winter. Instead of fields there were runrig strips, which were ploughed using oxen and sown and reaped by manual labour. There were no fences or hedges as such, but only the rubbish, weeds and stones dumped between the rigs to act as boundaries.[1] Beside the settlement stood, and still stands, Fenton Tower, a solid tower house.

Highways were no more than dirt tracks, skirting around the muddy parts and rocky outcrops. The southbound road from Kingston used to run either up to and through Chapel,[2] or between Chapel and Sydserf.[3] By 1785 the road layout was as it is today.[4] The common grazing, known as Kingston Muir, lay to the west of the settlement, about half way towards East Fenton, around the area of the present day crossroads.[3] It was part of what was the South Muir of Dirleton, which was divided amongst the proprietors in a court decree of November 1772.[5] There seems to have been a number of lochs in the area, though perhaps some of them were little more than puddles. One called Kingston loch[6,7] may be the same as the 'South loch of Dirleton' mentioned in the mid sixteenth century.[8]

The first appearance of 'Kyngeston' comes in the records of Dryburgh Abbey in May 1221.[9] A rental of £13 6s 8d was being paid circa 1540, a sum which remained consistent for the rest of the century. There were additional sums of money, for example £11 to St Katherine's Chapel at Dirleton.[10] By the mid 17th century, the Nisbet family were landowners of the entire Dirleton estate; they were due from Kingston each year crops amounting to 12 bolls bear

(barley) (760 kg), 8 bolls (508 kg) wheat, 12 bolls (760 kg) oats and the sum of 8 merks Scots (£5 3s 4d Scots).[11] The crops were measured, it was declared, using the set of weights and measures at Haddington.

The records of the Hepburns of Kingston and their holdings of these lands throws up a few long lost place names. The Hepburns are recorded as possessing 'four husband lands of Kingston', the earliest mention being May 1585.[14] A husbandland describes an amount of land that could be physically worked by the people and their animals, depending on the quality of the soil, avoiding rocky outcrops, lochs and so on, the size varying according to these situations. It is impossible to say where these husbandlands were. A couple of records from the 17th century describe the four husbandlands of Kingston as being called 'Dryburgh Lands'[12,15,17] in an obvious reference to the ownership by Dryburgh Abbey. To confuse matters there are records of the Hepburns having what may be a further eight husbandlands,[16,17,18] which may include the original four.

Other lands had particular names: Arnott's Flatt, Duns' Lands and Craigflatt, elsewhere called the Friarlands of Dirleton — the latter also later 'commonly called the Brochlands or Brocklands'. None of these places are recorded on any map of the Kingston area traced in the Scottish Record Office or Haddington Local History Centre, nor on Roy's military maps or the county maps of Armstrong and Forrest.

Arnott's Flatt is singled out for mention as not being the property of the Hepburns of Kingston. References are to 'Duns' Lands excepting the lands called Arnott's Flatt',[13,18,20,22,24,27,28] implying that they lay adjacent to each other, or that perhaps Arnott's Flatt lay within Duns' Lands, as a runrig or two. It is impossible to say now exactly. The 'Flatt' meant just that: level ground. One record names it as Landsflatt.[21] Arnott's Flatt was in fact owned the family who owned Sydserf, first so recorded (or implied) in April 1506;[29] and one John Sydserff of that ilk, in claiming his rights to his lands in March 1560-1, heard a representative of the laird of 'Dunss' say he had no objections to the said John's claim to Arnott's Flatt — which lands were held of the Lord of Dirleton.[30]

The aforesaid record of April 1506 concerns the laird of Sydserf being fined for 'nonentry of a suitor for Arnotflatt [sic]'; which could be taken to mean he had not completed the necessary documents regarding these lands following a marriage contract involving them. This is substantiated by the fact that the first

wife of the then laird of Sydserf was named Elizabeth Arnott. There is nothing known of her other than the fact that she died in February 1531-2.[31] One of the rentals of Dryburgh Abbey, about 1555, notes £11 from the lands of Kingston as a pension for one George Arnott,[32] but there is no explanation of his connection with Arnott's Flatt. There are no appropriate testaments registered at the Edinburgh Commissariot, nor any relevant deeds.

The Sydserffs of that ilk were last recorded as possessing Arnott's Flatt in a contract of April 1564[33] and by July 1582 the lands were in the ownership of the family Carmichael of that ilk,[34] who were the feudal overlords of part of this area, including Fenton Tower.[35] The name Arnott's Flatt continues to appear in records in the 19th century,[7,22,23] but generally these documents may be quoting from earlier documents without much regard for the real lie of the land after the improvements of the late eighteenth century. By that time the Nisbets of Dirleton were the landowners. Today there is no Arnott's Flatt and the farmers have not heard of such a name.[36,37,38]

Duns' Land is variously written Dunsis Lands (1619),[12] Dunce Lands (1693)[19] and Dunstand (1779).[21] The family of Duns of Kingston appear in an early charter, John of Duns of Kingston being a witness to a charter of the Hepburns of Waughton concerning the lands of Luffness near Aberlady, dated 30 March 1451. Other witnesses to this charter were locals too — Richard of Congalton of that ilk, Patrick of Sydserff of that ilk, Walter of Craig of that ilk.[39] As noted above the laird of Dunss is also mentioned in connection with John Sydserff of that ilk's claims to the lands of Arnott's Flatt in March 1560-1.[30] Putting more of an identity to this family has not been possible, there being no testaments registered to them, no deeds (which begin 1554), nor, slightly later, sasines (which begin to be registered 1599-1600). The only references are to Elizabeth[12] or Margaret[40] Duns, wife of Patrick Hepburn of Kingston, who was alive in 1565[40] but deceased by the date of a 1598 contract[12] of which more below.

Duns' Land obviously appears to be named from the family. It was described as a caracate of land (a piece of land of no particular measured size), with houses on it[12,13,18,19,21] and being in the town of Kingston.[7,18,21,22,23,24] There is a clue to its location in a sasine of 1630, which refers to a part of these lands called the Hill, lying on the south side of the town of Kingston.[13] On Roy's military map a Kingston Hill settlement is shown east of the village and north

of Fenton Tower. The field just north of Fenton Tower is known still as the Hill Field.[37] These clues allow a guess to be hazarded that Duns' Lands could have lain south of the then highway through Kingston village (recall that it went in the direction of Chapel, and not its route today), bounded by Fenton Tower and Sydserf, with Arnott's Flatt adjacent or contained within it.

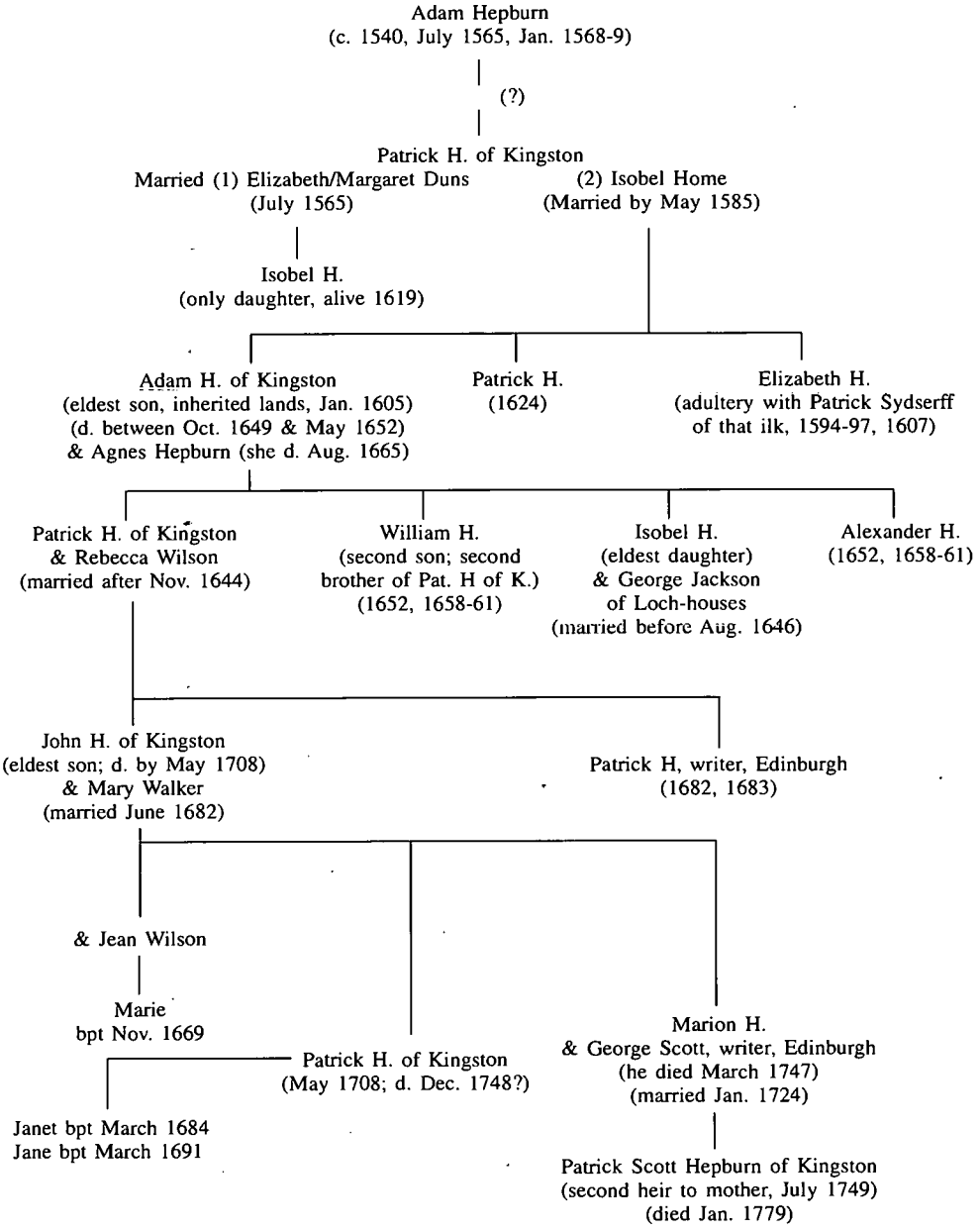
Craigflatt consisted of one husbandland and was, in early records (certainly from 1644) otherwise called the Friarlands of Dirleton[16,20,22,23,24,28] or occasionally the Friarlands of Kingston.[6,7,23] Later records, from about the early 18th century, drop the Craigflatt and describe the Friarlands as being "commonly called" the Brochlands, or Brocklands.[6,7,23] The Craigflatt could be taken to mean the state of the ground — craigy or rocky, perhaps hard to work because of this; and if you take the later broch — or brock — as 'broken', it suggests much the same thing. A field to the east of the village known today as Iron Flatt is so called because the ground is hard and stoney.[36]

Some 17th century records refer to Craigflatt as being a couple of acres (about five hectares) in size and bounded on the south by the common green of Kingston.[6,7,23] The common muir of Kingston was west of the village and is also mentioned in these records, so this green was possibly another piece of commonly used grazing land. There is also a mention of two houses in Kingston, with a little park lying eastwards of them, which are further described as being bounded on the west by 'the common highway or green', and on the east by the Friarlands. These records date from 1713 and 1893, the latter obviously copied from the former, which in its turn may have been copied from one even earlier.[6,7] Maybe the highway passed through this piece of grazing land — remember there were no fences or hedges. It is possible that Craigflatt/Friarlands/Brocklands were in the locality of the present day Iron Flatt east of the village. The two houses and the little park — all long gone — may have lain at the extreme east of the village.

A family by the name of Hepburn held these lands, a position which entitled them to be described as being 'of' Kingston. They were a branch of the Hepburn dynasty who arrived in East Lothian in the early 14th century, predominantly at Waughton and later at Smeaton, by East Linton.[42] When they first became 'of Kingston' I have not been able to discover. The earliest record found is of Adam Hepburn, about 1540[43] and the line ended with Patrick Scott Hepburn, who died in January 1779,[44] the lands being sold off by his aunts, of

HEPBURNS OF KINGSTON

Family Tree — (Scott) Hepburn of Kingston



the Scott family, in July 1793.[45] So there were at least 250 years of Hepburns of Kingston.

Of the first known, Adam Hepburn, there are only fleeting glimpses. The 1540 record is a Dryburgh Abbey rental. In January 1568-69 he was one of a number of people involved in a major incident which led to the death of three people, including John Geddes, a servant of the earl of Morton. The killing took place near Waughton and Geddes had been one of a number of men with Robert Hepburn, son of the laird of Waughton involved in stealing horses from Waughton. They were chased and the deaths occured in the ensuing fight. One of the pursuers was Adam Hepburn. There was a trial, but all the accused were acquitted.[46]

Earlier, in July 1565, Adam Hepburn of Kingston was one of several people who lodged a protest against Patrick, Lord Ruthven, then lord of Dirleton and several others, who had harrassed them (in some unspecified way) in their lands and common ground about the South Loch of Dirleton. Also among the complainers were Margaret 'Dunce' and her spouse, Patrick Hepburn, whose relationship to Adam was not stated.[40]

It was a Patrick Hepburn who succeeded Adam Hepburn, but his wife is named as Elizabeth Duns, not Margaret. Elizabeth had died by May 1585, for a record of that date names an Isobel Home as Patrick's wife,[14] more of which later. Margaret and Elizabeth were presumably connected to the Duns family of Duns Land. Patrick and Elizabeth had an only daughter, Isobel, who, in a contract of December 1598 secured a liferent to that caracate, or ploughgate, of land called Dunsis lands [sic] (excepting of course, Arnott's Flatt).[12] What became of this daughter is not known, but her step-brother, Adam, of Kingston, was formally entered into Duns' Lands through a contract of approval by the Lord Dirleton, feudal superior of the lands, dated August 1630.[13]

The background of Isobel Home, whom Patrick Hepburn of Kingston had married before May 1585, is not known. In that month the couple registered a contract in favour of Andrew Heriot, brother of James Heriot of Trabroun, by Gladsmuir, who had loaned them the sum of 8000 merks (£5333 6s 8d Scots). For security they had infeft the said Andrew to their lands, described as four husbandlands of Kingston, with the manor place, houses, biggings, yards and pertinents, lying in the lordship of Dirleton. There is no mention of Duns Land

or Craigflatt. The interest or annual rent as it was then called was 80 merks (£53 6s 8d Scots). The annual rent was payable until the principal was repaid, which it was, at some unknown date. It is of interest that Isobel Home could not write, and her mark was witnessed by Robert Lauder, notary public at North Berwick. Witnesses included Henry Hepburn in Kingston and James Hepburn in East Fortune, though their relationship to Patrick, if any, was not stated.[14]

There is a story from the late 16th century involving Elizabeth Hepburn, daughter of Patrick Hepburn of Kingston and Isobel Home and Patrick Sydserff, the (married) laird of the neighbouring lands of Sydserf. As the presbytery of Haddington put it on 30 July 1594, there was a 'great slander' that Elizabeth Hepburn and Patrick Sydserff were having an illicit relationship. Isobel Home told the presbytery that she had banned Patrick Sydserff from her house, saying that he had previously 'haunted it'. The presbytery were unable to prove the allegations, so the pair were warned not to meet. The allegations continued however, and the couple were once again before the presbytery in August 1596, and this time Patrick Sydserff confessed his adultery: Elizabeth Hepburn had had two children to him, though both had been still-born. In May 1597 the presbytery concluded that the only suitable punishment was for them both to be excommunicated. This was still not the end of the matter: Patrick Sydserff once more appeared before the presbytery in July 1607 and again confessed. This time the matter was referred to the synod of Lothians and Tweeddale, but here the story ends because the synod's minutes have a gap from 1596 to 1640.[47]

Patrick Hepburn of Kingston had an eldest son and heir by the name of Adam — his mother was Isobel Home.[12] Adam had a charter in his favour registered under the Great Seal on 1 January 1605 of the lands of Kingston with manor house extending to four husband lands, as having belonged to the abbey of Dryburgh.[15] Patrick certainly seems to have been alive at this time, but in a contract of February 1619 he was described as being dead.[12] Incidentally this was a contract involving not only the aforesaid Isobel Hepburn and Duns' Lands, but also Patrick Hepburn, Isobel Home and Adam Hepburn having borrowed, in December 1598, 5000 merks (£3333 6s 8d) from Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton and John Hepburn his brother, sons of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Luffness. In February 1619 this principal was repaid and all debts discharged.[12]

Adam Hepburn had a brother Patrick who, in November 1624, acted as representative for James Renton, son of John Renton of Billie (in Berwickshire)

in a sasine concerning the lands of Sydserf,[48] but nothing further about him has been traced.

Adam married Agnes Hepburn,[16,25] though when and where and to whom she was related, has not been traced. She seems to have died in August 1665, or at least there is a record of that time of the mortcloth of the kirk of Dirleton in use for the mother of Robert Hepburn of Kingston.[49] Robert Hepburn is a mystery, for other records confirm that Patrick Hepburn was the heir to Adam Hepburn and in possession of Kingston at the time. Adam himself died sometime between October 1649[50] and May 1652.[25]

This last date of May 1652 refers to a contract in which Agnes Hepburn leased the four husband lands of Kingston (which were hers in liferent as she was now a widow) to her son William. Provision was also made to another son, Alexander.[25] There are only a couple more records of these two sons, receiving or giving loans of monies over the period April 1658 to January 1661.[51,52,53] Confusingly, William is in one described as the second son of Adam Hepburn of Kingston,[52] and in another as the second brother of Patrick Hepburn of Kingston.[51] What became of them has not been traced.

They did have a sister, Isobel Hepburn, who was described as the eldest daughter of Adam Hepburn. This implies that there were other daughters, but of them nothing has been found. Isobel married George Jackson of Loch-houses (between North Berwick and Whitekirk) before August 1646, at which date she was infeft to the lands of Loch-houses in liferent. George Jackson was the son of Robert Jackson of Loch-houses and Isobel Dickson.[54]

The eldest son and heir of Adam Hepburn and Agnes Hepburn was Patrick. He married Rebecca Wilson, the daughter of Alexander Wilson in East Fortune and Jean Goodfellow, no doubt shortly after a pre-nuptial contract dated at Edinburgh 13 November 1644. The sasine infefting them both to the lands was done on 9 December of the same year, mentioning the eight husband lands of Kingston as well as Duns' Lands and the Friarlands of Dirleton.[16] This Alexander Wilson died in September 1649 and his testament was given up to the Edinburgh commissariot on 25 October 1649 by the said Rebecca, with Adam Hepburn of Kingston as cautioner[50] — the last record of him being alive.

There are some records of loans and borrowings by Patrick Hepburn

between 1661 and 1693.[19,51,55] In December 1665 he, Rebecca Wilson and their son John borrowed 2500 merks (£1666 13s 4d Scots) from Thomas Douglas of Logan (by Cumnock) and his wife Helen Geddes, with an annual rent of £100 to be paid from their lands each year. Some of these they failed to pay, so in March 1670 Thomas Douglas and Helen Geddes enforced letters of horning against them to seize the Hepburns' crops on their lands of that year, 1670 — wheat, barley, oats and peas (excepting what was to be kept for sowing as seed for the following year's crop), plus the grass which was intended as fodder for their sheep, cattle, oxen and horses and the carts, ploughs and suchlike used for working the fields. The Hepburns were obliged to put their agreement in writing at Edinburgh on 15 October 1670.[17]

The day before this, Patrick and Rebecca leased out their lands to Henry Hunter in Fenton Barns, lands described as eight husband lands of Kingston, but Duns' Lands and Craigflatt were not mentioned. The lease was to be for 11 years and the yearly rent of crops 18 bolls (about 1140 kg) of wheat, 36 bolls (about 2280 kg) of beir (barley) and 46 bolls (about 2920 kg) of oats — all to be weighed using the measures at Haddington. There was noted in the lease that Henry Hunter, his wife and family, were welcome to sit with the Hepburns and their family in their pew in the church of Dirleton 'when the occasion shall offer'.[11]

The Hepburns, as landowners, were also heritors of the parish church, with an obligation to provide monies and crops much as they had done to the now defunct Dryburgh Abbey and its chapels. This also gave them a say in the running of the kirk and they certainly appear at meetings of the session. Heritors could get loans of money from the kirk, an opportunity of which Patrick Hepburn took advantage, borrowing 300 merks (£200 Scots) in July 1675, a further 500 merks (£333 6s 8d Scots) in November of the same year and 200 merks (£133 6s 8d Scots) in February 1677, making a total of 1000 merks (£666 13s 4d). The principal sum was finally repaid in August 1713.[49,56]

Another contract deserves a mention. In January 1681, Patrick, Rebecca and John declared that they had been loaned the sum of 3500 merks (£2333 6s 8d) from Mr Mathew McKaill, formerly minister of Bothwell parish in Hamilton and his wife Catherine Bell. This sum was eventually repaid, with appropriate interest (being £140 yearly from their lands), and the Hepburns discharged of any debt to the said Catherine Bell at Edinburgh on 2 April 1685, by which time

Mathew McKaill had died and she had remarried, to David Ferguson, a merchant at Kirkcaldy.[18,57] Mathew McKaill had been a supporter of the convenanting movement in the 1660s and consequently was deprived of his parish. He was ordered to stay within the boundaries of the town of Edinburgh, but frequently 'escaped' to preach to the covenanters. He died at Edinburgh in March 1681, a couple of months after the contract with the Hepburns. Fasti volume 3, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr gives a longer account of his life and mentions Catherine Bell having annualrents in her favour from the lands of Kingston and also 'furth of the same lands with Craig Flat or Fire Island of Dirleton, Dunsland and pertinents'. 'Fire Island' obviously is a mis-reading for the Friarlands of Dirleton.

John Hepburn, son of Patrick and Rebecca and heir to the lands of Kingston has already been mentioned. He had a brother Patrick, who was on record as a writer in Edinburgh between 1682 and 1693[19,57,58] but of whom nothing further has been discovered. John Hepburn was to marry Mary (or Marie) Walker, daughter of William Walker the minister at North Berwick 1663-82 and Margaret Ramsay his wife. They were proclaimed at North Berwick and Dirleton in March and April and formally married at North Berwick on 27 June 1682.[49,59,60] Years before, in 1669, John had been brought before the kirk session of Dirleton for the 'sin' of fornication with a Jean Wilson, with whom he fathered a daughter, Marie, who was baptised at Dirleton on 28 November 1669.[49]

His father Patrick appears to have been no better. He appeared before the session in May 1667 on the charge of adultery with Jean Reid: there does not appear to be any children from their relationship. The punishment was to sit on the stool of repentance dressed in sackcloth, bare-foot and bare-legged during the Sunday sermon for a specified number of weeks. Patrick's punishment dragged on over eight years, with a dozen appearances, and was 'so long continued because of his absence from home'. At the end, on 1 August 1675 he and his son paid a fine to the kirk of £33 6s 8d. John had not suffered so much, having only three days in sack cloth, the last being in December 1669.[49]

Dirleton old parish records survive from the 1660s onwards and include the minutes of discipline outlined here, as well as accounts of mortcloth and marriage fees. There are however gaps in these records in the 1680s, 1690s and from 1702-13; key information about the Hepburns is therefore missing. There

are just two baptisms of daughters of John Hepburn and Mary Walker — Janet, on 24 March 1684 and Jane, on 3 March 1691.[49] No doubt the first daughter died in infancy, hence the names.

The dates of death of Patrick, Rebecca and John are not known because of the gaps in the record. The earliest record of John is as a witness to a bond by his father in January 1661,[51] and they are both on record twice in September 1693. They are witnesses to a bond dated at Kingston on the 4th by the aforesaid Patrick Hepburn, writer in Edinburgh,[61] and, on the 15th, also at Kingston, they appear in a contract concerning the same Patrick Hepburn.[19] John Hepburn of Kingston was still alive in June 1698, as he appears as a witness to a contract regarding the lands of Sydserf and Chapel.[62] Then, on 4 August 1706, Dirleton kirk acknowledged receipt of £40 as part of payment of the annualrent due to them from the loan of 1000 merks in 1675-77. The payment was made by the lady Kingston in lieu of her deceased husband; lady Kingston could be either Rebecca Wilson or Mary Walker. Another payment of part of the annualrent was made on 2 May 1708, this time by Patrick Hepburn of Kingston; and from the final discharge from the principal sum of these monies, on 23 August 1713, we find he was the son of John Hepburn and grandson of Patrick Hepburn, both by now deceased.[56]

Also in 1713 in a document dated North Berwick May 19, this same Patrick Hepburn declared he had sold the lands called the Friarlands of Kingston, commonly called the Brocklands, plus two houses in Kingston and a little park beside them, to John Dobie in Kingston and Elizabeth Hogg, his wife. A sum of 700 merks (£466 13s 4d Scots) was paid. Patrick further obliged himself to be formally infeft as rightful heir to his deceased father and grandfather of these lands and to do so within 60 days, and thereafter to enter the said John Dobie and Elizabeth Hogg, which was duly done with a sasine of 10 July 1713 approved by William Nisbet of Dirleton, the feudal superior. George Kerr was the notary.[6,20]

There are a couple more records of this Patrick. He gave a lease of his lands, specifically including a dwelling house, barns, stables and byres, to Robert Jamieson, farmer in Congalton, dated at Kingston 22 December 1718. The lease was for 11 years.[63] Further, he was charged to pay a bill of £16 16s sterling (about £200 Scots) in October 1723, to one John Hepburn, whose identity was not given, nor any relationship to Patrick. The latter failed to pay and John Hepburn put in train moves to recover the debt.[64]

It has not been discovered whether Patrick married, and the last pieces of the Hepburn story can only be partially deduced from later records. On 18 December 1748, Dirleton kirk session received the sum of £4 4s for the mortcloth to Patrick Hepburn (no designation given).[65] On 6 January 1724 in Edinburgh a Marion Hepburn married George Scott, a writer in Edinburgh, and she was described as daughter of the deceased laird of Kingston, but his first name was not given.[66] Their son, Patrick Scott Hepburn, was to be the last Hepburn of Kingston.

Marion's parents are not known, because of the gaps in the Dirleton old parochial registers. Neither she nor Patrick, John and Patrick Scott Hepburn appear in the General Register Office's computerised index. It is not known when Marion died, but her son was formally recognised as her heir in July 1749.[67] The lands involved are not stated, whether Kingston or from the Scott side. However, as the date is seven months after the death of Patrick Hepburn noted above in the Dirleton register, one can suggest that he was indeed Patrick Hepburn of Kingston and that Marion was his sister and her son had now inherited the lands.

George Scott was a son of John Scott of Loch (apparently in the locality of Elgin) who was a burgess of Forres as well as minister of the parish of Dipple 1683-1726 — Dipple now being part of Speymouth in the presbytery of Elgin. This John Scott had married three times — to Marjory Stuart, Euphemia Gordon and Helen Grant; but which of these was George's mother is not known.[68] George Scott died on 11 March 1747 on a journey between Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn.[69]

The only record of Patrick Scott Hepburn, the last Hepburn of Kingston relates to his rights to the commonty of Kingston Muir, part of the South Muir of Dirleton, which was divided amongst its owners in a decreet by William Law of Elvingston, by Gladsmuir, dated 14 November 1772. Patrick's share was 12.88 acres (whether Scots or imperial measure is not stated), valued at £8 7s 5 and a farthing (about £130 Scots).[5]

He died at Edinburgh in January 1779, and if he had married, his wife was deceased by that time, becuase the executors of his testament were his aunts (sisters of his father George Scott), namely Catherine Scott, widow of the deceased Alexander Gordon of Comrie, and Elizabeth Scott, widow of the

deceased William Innes, a merchant at Fochabers. He had owing to him at his death two sums of money, both of £5 sterling (£60 Scots): one was described as being 'now in the hands of the magistrates of Edinburgh and their clerks', and the other by James Stewart, sheriff substitute of Kinross.[44] An inventory of his goods, plus a list of the lands of Kingston which belonged to him, was formally registered at Haddington sheriff court on 2 December of that year, 1779. It is of interest that the Friarlands of Dirleton were included, though they had been sold to John Dobie and Elizabeth Hogg in 1713 as described above.[21] The same reference is made when Patrick's aunts were infeft to the lands of Kingston in a sasine of 1 April 1783 approved by the superior William Nisbet of Dirleton on 20 May 1783.[70] The aunts had been served as heirs on 24 February 1779.[71]

The lands of Kingston were disposed of to Alexander Burns, with the approval of the Lord Dirleton on 5 July 1793. Alexander Burns styled himself 'of Kingston' in the sasine recorded on 8 July 1797.[45]

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ST BEY AND HER WELL AT DUNBAR

by RENNIE WEATHERHEAD

Few residents in Dunbar know much of Bey and her well, except that the name appears in street and house names localised about the Glebe, the open space between Bayswell Park and the old military hospital at present used by cadets. Miller's *History of Dunbar* has nothing to say on the matter.

Out from the Glebe in the sea there is a dome-topped rock called Boy's Buss. This rock is submerged near high water and is exposed at other states of the tide. It is possible that in the name Boy's Buss, Boy is a corruption of *Bey*.

A further clue lies in the local rhyme

St Abb, St Helen, St Bey
They all built kirks to be nearest to the sea
St Abb's upon the nabs,
St Helen's on the lea,
St Bey's on Dunbar sands
lies closest to the sea.

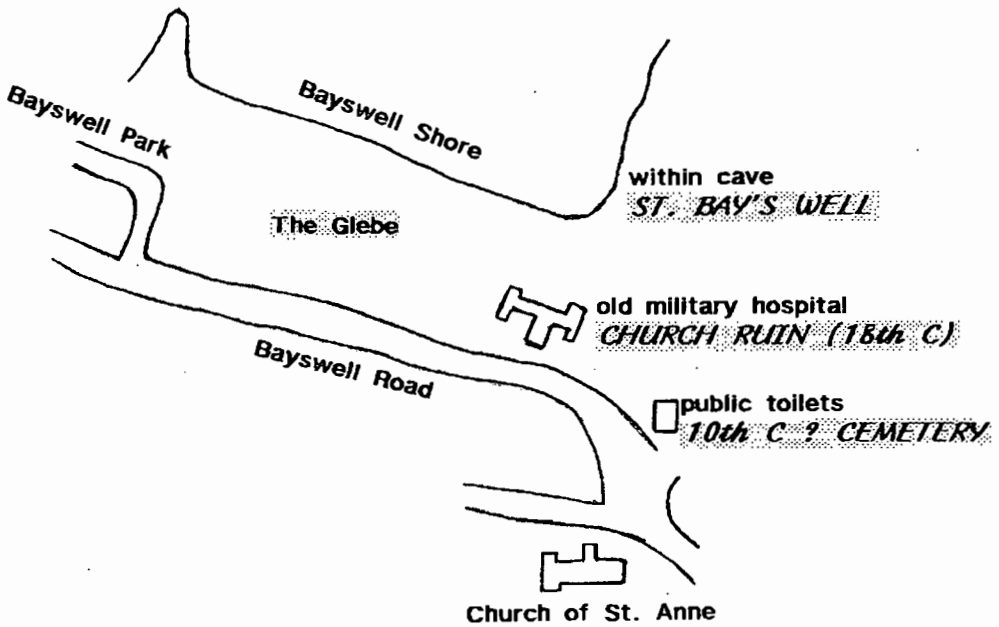
In view of the mention of St Helen, the rhyme is probably not more than a few centuries old and not of Northumbrian origin (7-9th C) as has been suggested. In the Coldingham Charters when reference is made to the Church at Old Cambus no dedication is given.

Concentrating on the last two lines in the rhyme, it is thought that if St Bey's Kirk was built on the sand, then it was most likely built on or very near to the sandy East Beach, and it has since been washed away. However the name *sands* has been used in the past for a beach.

A further pitfall in the rhyme is the word *kirk*. The building on the nabs was in fact a tiny chapel. In seeking the location of what was St Bey's kirk one

St. Bey's on Dunbar sands
lies closest to the sea.

O Boy's Buss



is looking for a former religious site or structure on the beach or adjacent to it. Place-names suggest the location to be about the Glebe. The Burgh Surveyor in 1837 proves more useful than local historians of that time. The 1837 map of the proposals for the new harbour shows Bayswell Shore as the beach along the edge of the Glebe; and also Bay's Well is marked within a north-facing cave at the east end of Bayswell Shore. It is only from the sea that this cave can be seen. Today it is necessary to pick one's way carefully over boulders to reach this intertidal cave which is easy to enter. About 10m back from the entrance, water expels from the rock into a large shallow irregular basin shaped in the stone and drains over its lip. An examination of the roof to the cave shows that in places the rock appears to have been worked as in parts of the subterranean passage

under the gatehouse of the Castle. It seems very probable that this spring may have been a holy well in medieval times, and further back into paganism. Not only is there the mystery of water coming out of the rock, but the well is within a womb of the earth. Returning to the rhyme, what site can be closer to the sea than here between the tide marks?

There is a gallery cut in the cliff face near to the cave but facing west and, unlike the cave, it is easily seen from the land. This may have held some "advertising material" to make sure that the passers-by did not miss the well.

One of the plates of Dunbar Castle in *Grose's Antiquities of Scotland 1789* is a sketch of some of the Castle's ruins through which are seen in the distance buildings at what is now the east end of Bayswell Road. These buildings include a ruin with no roof and most of its north wall is taken up by an arched window opening. Most likely this ruin was a church. The position of this ruin is approximately that of the old barracks hospital.

In 1998, when work commenced on a small site for new public toilets near to the old hospital, it was soon realised that the foundations were being cut into part of an ancient Christian cemetery, and construction work had to be temporarily halted to allow archaeological investigation. The date of these domestic burials is probably about 10th C with at least one burial plot being re-used four times.

It was encouraging to be shown an extract from the *Register of the Great Seal* mentioning the collegiate church of St Bey at Dunbar in 1501.

A hazy picture emerges of a medieval religious site near to Dunbar Castle. To the east of the Glebe was the Church of St Bey with a burial area adjacent. There was a holy well within a cave at the base of the nearby cliff and between the high and low water marks.

As the ruined church shown by Grose finally disappeared, the Church of St Anne was developing to the south. So also the local rhyme changed to version two. In this version there is one difference from the quotation already cited — the St Bey's in the second last line changes to St Anne's. To compound the confusion for some, at the East Beach, a group of houses, known as St Anne's Court, collapsed in heavy seas c1900.

ST BEY AND HER WELL AT DUNBAR

The saint

The lady is perhaps more elusive than her well. She is sometimes given as the same person whose name is commemorated in St Bee's Head, Cumbria. Although no authentic record of her exists, she is dated to the 7th C. All this is thought to be Middle Ages confusion. *St Bee* is traced back by scholars to *Sancta Bega*, a holy ring, used for swearing-by among the pagan descendants of the Norsemen, and then by Christians up to the 13th C. The Vikings who harassed the east coast of Old Northumbria were in the main Danes. The evidence of place-names suggests that Danish settlement in Lothian was much less than further south. So culturally it is unlikely that those with a strong Anglian stock element would wish to revere a holy bangle of the Norsemen.

The only other possible saint left is Begu, a Northumbrian nun, from the 7th C. She is associated with the monastery at Hackness near Scarborough, and about 20 miles from Whitby. Begu dreamt of the death of Hilda, the abbess at Whitby, before word of the event could reach Hackness. In the history of the Northumbrian Church it was at Whitby that the decision was made to adopt the modern regime of the continental church rather than that of the insular Irish church.

It appears that the Danes were not the only ones to steal from old Northumbrian church sites. In the 10th C Hilda's relics were removed from Whitby by the southern Saxons and taken to Glastonbury. In years to come this deprived Whitby of its chief attraction for pilgrims and in the early 12th C Begu's relics were taken from Hackness to Whitby in a desperate attempt to boost trade. Culturally Begu is more likely to be the saint commemorated in the name Bayswell and perhaps Dunbar was supportive of Whitby in its development of the cult of Begu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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BALDRED – THE RECORDED FACTS, AND HIS 'MIRACLES' TOLD IN ALCUIN'S YORK POEM

by RENNIE WEATHERHEAD

From the *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*,[1] Baldred is described as an 8th C Northumbrian hermit associated with Tyninghame and the Bass Rock. While this dictionary is good at giving its sources, it gives no source for information on Baldred.

It is a human trait that as a tale is passed on, especially by word of mouth, the tale changes. To counter this, documents contemporary, or near contemporary with an event are best trusted.

Alcuin[2] (c 735-804) was educated at the cathedral church in York, and wrote its history in the poem *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York.*[3] Later, Alcuin was to become the master of the school at Charlemagne's court, and then finally abbot of St. Martins at Tours.

The lives of Baldred and Alcuin overlapped. 100 lines of Alcuin's York poem are devoted to Baldred, so here should be a source of reliable information on this saint. Unfortunately, the only physical feature described is his abode —

a place completely encircled by the ocean waves, hemmed by terrible crags and steep cliffs.

The edition of this poem, edited by P. Goodman, supplies 2 notes regarding Baldred —

In the *York Annals*, his death, at Tyninghame in 756, is recorded.

In the *Durham Liber Vitae*, within its Lindisfarne portion, Baldred is listed among their anchorites.

BALDRED — THE RECORDED FACTS, AND HIS 'MIRACLES'

With a number of geographical features about Tyninghame bearing Baldred's name, and the reference above regarding his death, it is clear that Baldred had associations with Tyninghame. The description of the place encircled by the ocean's waves is taken to be the Bass Rock.

The 100 lines includes two supernatural events.

The first concerns a soul being chased by demons and falling at Baldred's feet. Baldred clasped the soul to his bosom asking it what was wrong.

The soul was a deacon's who, while living, and with evil intent, had laid his hands on a woman's breasts. The deacon had done no more, yet while alive he had never admitted this sin and had now been pursued for 30 days by a menacing throng of demons, one of whom then shouted that this soul will be caught, even if in the arms of St. Peter. Baldred grew angry at this insult to St. Peter. Although the saint said that he was 100 times less worthy than Peter, he trusted in God, and the demons would not drive the soul to Hell. Baldred then pleaded with God, ceaselessly pouring forth prayers, and had the satisfaction of seeing with his own eyes the soul going up to heaven.

Second, one day Baldred accidentally fell off a cliff. The waves caught him, and remained as firm as the earth to support him. Baldred then walked on and reached a drifting boat, into which he climbed. His clothes and boots were dry. This all was a result of Christ's command to the sea. This is again a reference to Peter, as it was Peter who attempted to walk on the water to meet the approaching Christ.[4]

Alcuin has portrayed Baldred with the characteristics of St. Peter,[5] who is the patron of the cathedral church in York.

Alcuin finished this section of the poem by imploring Baldred to pray that our souls escape the storms of this world, and enter the port of salvation.

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POTTERS AT MORRISON'S HAVEN c1750-1833 AND THE GORDONS OF BANKFOOT 1795-1840

By JEAN SHIRLAW

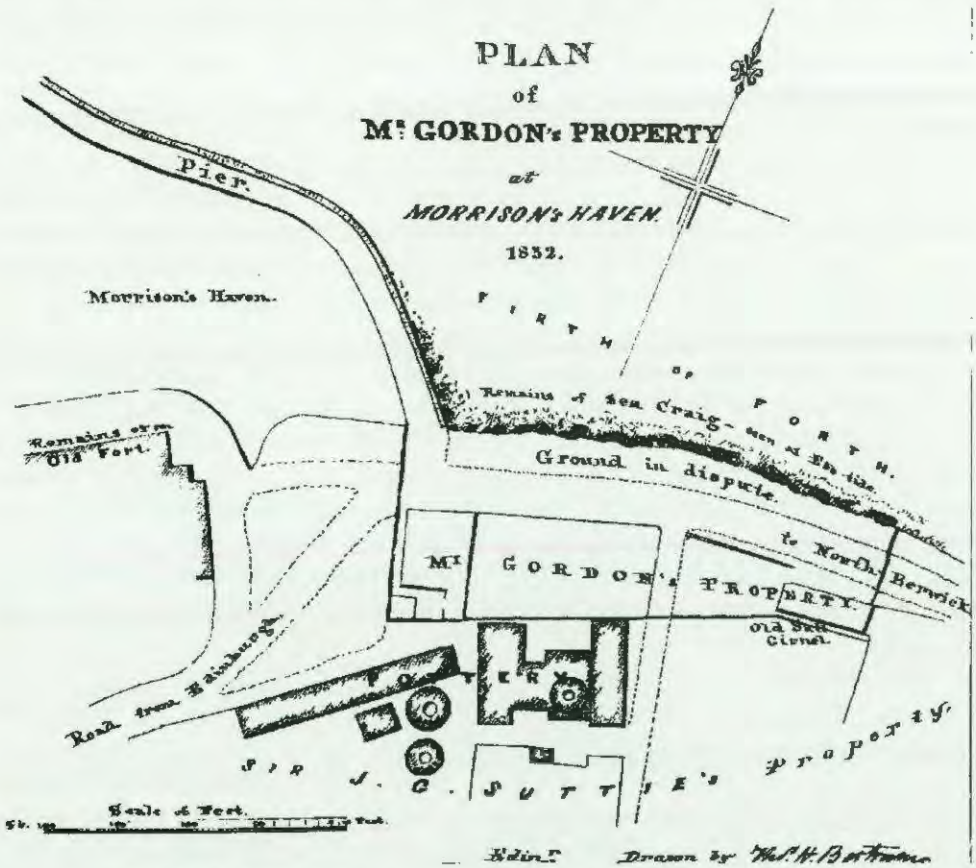
J. Arnold Fleming states in his book *Scottish Pottery* (1923): 'In the opinion of many potters of a past generation Prestonpans was considered the birthplace of fine pottery making in Scotland'. He goes on to say: 'this was in no small measure due to the beneficent influence of the monks of Newbattle. They established the earliest coal mines in Scotland andit is quite possible that, as plenty of good clay was at hand, they also started the manufacture of pottery'.

The first known potter at Morrison's Haven was Anthony Hilcote from Newcastle. The date of his lease of the ground there was probably about 1750. Nineteen year leases were common and Anthony Hilcote and James Watson, a salter, renounced their lease in 1769. Hilcote was in the area in 1753 when he was a witness to a birth[1] and he was probably brickmaking at Morrison's Haven in the late 1750s.[2] It is difficult to assess the situation at the pottery towards the end of the lease. A document appears in a Haddington court process[3] stating that the proprietor, the earl of Hyndford had in May 1767 'set to John Rainning, a potter at Morrison's Haven, the sea mill and 8 cott houses'. The following year however, Rainning had absconded, owing the earl a year's rent and £180 sterling which the earl had lent him to carry on the pottery. The goods left behind were sold at a public roup, having been valued by Anthony Hilcote, potter at Morrison's Haven and William Cadell, potter in Prestonpans. Of the 34 items for sale, there was only one item of pottery, 'a parcel of hard stoneware' valued at £1.2.6d.

In 1772 George Gordon, a clerk at the Glass House Company, Leith, was granted a 19 year lease by lady Hyndford[4]. This was for 'a space of ground at Morrison's Haven, formerly enclosed as a glasshouse, along with houses and buildings erected sometime ago, also the sea mill and a range of houses' at that time possessed by Anthony Hilcote in which he carried on a pottery work, now to be carried on by George Gordon. He was not to have the liberty to make

bricks without the consent of the countess, but he was to have the right to dig clay for the use of the said work at the bank where Anthony Hilcote used to work it; and also to have the right to take clay for segers from the lands of the barony of Falside.

The following year, 1773, George Gordon formed a partnership with Rowland Bagnall, a potter at Morrison's Haven, on a 19 year basis[5]. They intended to make 'cream coloured ware; black tortoise shell; white, and every kind of potter ware'. George Gordon was to advance the money to carry on the pottery and Rowland Bagnall was to pay half the sum, as and when he was able to do so. At this time, George Gordon was still at the Glasshouse, Leith.



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Unfortunately, Rowland Bagnall died not long afterwards but his wife, Elizabeth Bagnall, carried on the pottery for a short time, mixing the glazes and selling the wares. However George Gordon removed her from the pottery and failed to share the profits with her as had been agreed in the contract. Elizabeth Bagnall took Gordon to court[6] claiming that her son, Joseph Bagnall, should have been made a co-partner on his father's death. No more was heard of the Bagnalls.

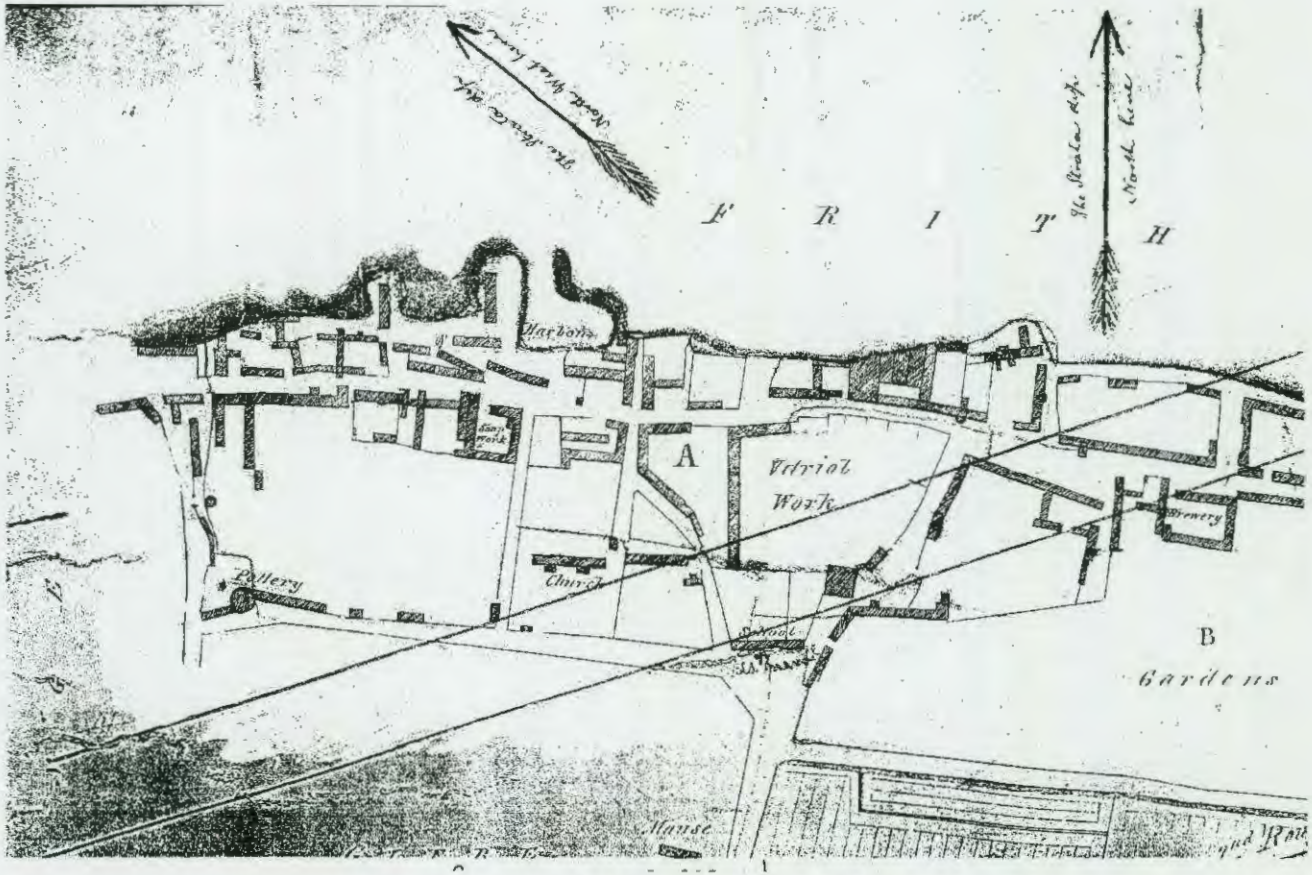
In 1774 George Gordon moved into the pottery at Morrison's Haven. He obtained his coal supply from the colliery at Elphinstone.[7] The pottery was a small one compared to John Cadell's (near the parish church in Prestonpans) which employed 40 workers; Mrs Cadell's at Bankfoot employed 12 and George Gordon's six.[8] Prior to coming to the pottery Gordon had been employed as a clerk at a glass house but in 1785 he is referred to as a master potter in an indenture in which he was bound 'to teach and instruct James Anderson, his apprentice, in the art and occupation of a potter in whole branches, as far as the Master knew, especially throwing'.[9]

George Gordon had two sons, Robert and George (hereafter referred to as George Gordon II); and two daughters, Elizabeth, who married William Smith, a potter (he worked for his father-in-law before moving to the pottery at Westpans) and Francis.

The elder son Robert was apprenticed in 1787 for six years to James Ramsay, a painter in Edinburgh.[10] Both sons became potters and worked with their father. The pottery must have been profitable, as they had also taken over the lease of the colliery at Wallyford from the earl of Wemyss.[11]

While the Gordons were at Morrison's Haven, William Cadell and his wife Margaret Inglis owned the pottery at Bankfoot, a few miles further east. They had bought the land in 1766,[12] described in the sasine as 'a tenement of land with houses, biggings, yards, corn barn, malt barn and kiln steep-stove' and had built a pottery. William Cadell was a nephew of William Cadell who had set up an earlier pottery near the parish kirk of Prestonpans c 1750.

Another well-known name in Scottish pottery was Adam Cubie, a master potter, who also owned property in Prestonpans.[13] In 1774 he was working for William Cadell at Bankfoot and on the latter's death helped his widow to carry



Plan of Prestonpans, showing site of Cadell's pottery RHP 23476/1.
Reproduced by permission of BKR Haines Watts, Chartered Accountants.

on the pottery, probably until his death in 1781.[14] The flints for this pottery, which produced glazed brown ware, were ground at a nearby mill which had been let to Mrs Cadell in 1776 for 19 years by Janet, countess of Hyndford. For some reason, the latter issued a summons to Margaret Cadell 'to flit from the mill' in 1790.[15] The Bankfoot pottery was then put up for sale and was bought by George Gordon and his wife Frances Whyte in 1795.[16] It is interesting to note that this sasine was witnessed by William Smith and James Borthwich, both stoneware painters.

The two potteries appeared to prosper as George Gordon II, who was residing at Morrison's Haven in 1803, was able to buy property in Prestonpans and 'to erect a new building there'.[17] Similarly, in 1808, Robert Gordon, who was residing at Bankfoot, bought property at Morrison's Haven adjacent to the pottery.[18] At George Gordon's death in 1809 the Bankfoot pottery was divided equally among the family, each member receiving a quarter share.

Presumably Robert and George Gordon II carried on the potteries successfully as the countess of Hyndford renewed the lease at Morrison's Haven in 1811 for 21 years[19] together with the flint mill at the foot of the Avenue at Prestongrange, with additional land adjacent to the Bankfoot property. Curiously they had to provide 'the carriage of six carts with two horses each from the House of Prestongrange to any place not exceeding ten miles at the rate of four shillings and six pence for each carriage'. Four geese also were to be sent to the countess at the cost of three shillings and six pence for each! Robert and George II were also required to fill up the land where they had dug up the clay for the pottery so that the ground would be made arable the next year. They were instructed to cultivate the land in a 'husband-like manner. And particularly at no time to sow two successive white crops of grain but to have a fallow or green crop always to intervene and succeed a white crop; and with the eighteenth crop at latest sow down with not less than six acres of the said lands with a proper quantity of clover and rye grass . . . etc'. An important witness to the deed in 1812 was Charles Belfield, potter at Bankfoot. More will be heard of him later.

It is difficult to find pieces of pottery which can be definitely attributed to the Gordons. Hand-painted pieces would be produced as Robert was trained in this field, and passed on the technique to apprentices, as is shown in an indenture of 1818 in which William Sawers was to be taught 'the Art trade of Potters especially connected with painting for 6 yr: as far as they [Robert and George

Gordon] themselves know the same'.[20] A wide variety of different wares is noted in inventories of goods sent by 'George Gordon manufacturer of Brown, White and Coloured earthenware' to Miss Christian Innes of Thurso over a period from 1822 to 1831. About fifty per cent of the goods were white ware; others included black lustre teapots, toy figures, banded bowls, enamelled pressed jugs, lustre bowls, lustre cream ewers and lustre sugar boxes.[21] From the export records of 1814-24, R. & G. Gordon were sending crates of earthenware to Drontheim, Amsterdam, Bremen and Havre. Blue and white transfer printed wares were produced, known patterns being willow, asiatic pheasant and the lady of the lake.[22] Marked pieces which have been found include an impressed R & G Gordon with a crown, an impressed Geo.Gordon and impressed Gordon.

During this period Robert Gordon became a partner in the East Lothian Bank, Dunbar. It was founded in 1810, but the company had to be wound up in 1822 when the cashier absconded with the funds. There was a deficit of £66,000 for which the partners were liable. Robert Gordon lost his three shares and, as a partner, had to pay an additional call of £250 per share.[23]

He was in considerable financial difficulty but worse was to follow on the death of the countess of Hyndford in 1824. Sir James Grant Suttie, her heir, took the Gordons to court in 1827 complaining about the state of disrepair of the houses etc and the sea mill at Morrison's Haven.[24] The list of repairs which the court considered necessary is interesting as it details the various buildings on the site and their use, such as a flower-pot house, a kiln, a workhouse, a tea-pot house, a clay house, a range of warehouses, a wright's shop, a dwelling house for the carter, and a small and large kiln. There was in addition a farm office, a stable, a byre, a barn and dwelling house for a ploughman. The cost of the repairs obviously involved more expense for the Gordons.

Sir James Grant Suttie next complained that the Gordons were making more bricks than was necessary for the pottery and carrying the extra bricks to another pottery (presumably the Bankfoot pottery). Again they were taken to court.[25]

Finally, before the termination of the lease in 1833, Robert Gordon cut a piece of turf on his land to build a pottery only for Sir James Grant Suttie to claim that this piece of ground actually belonged to him. The ensuing court case dragged on for years, during which time both Robert Gordon and Sir James Grant Suttie

died, in 1834 and 1837 respectively. The latter's son and heir Sir George Grant Suttie and Robert Gordon's son, George Gordon III became involved in the processes, George Gordon III having inherited his father's property at Morrison's Haven and a quarter share of the Bankfoot pottery. One of the witnesses to this document was again Charles Belfield, potter at Bankfoot, 1835.[27]

After Robert's death, George Gordon II managed the Bankfoot pottery. He acquired his sister Francis's share, so he now owned a half share; George Gordon III had a quarter share; and Sir George Grant Suttie had bought Elizabeth Gordon's (or Smith) share in 1828. Soon George Gordon II was struggling financially as the pottery trade generally was not good, and Sir George Grant Suttie sequestrated him in 1838 for non-payment of his coal account.[28] However Matthew Tod (a farmer of Hoprig Mains, near Macmerry, who was George Gordon's son-in-law) helped to pay some of his debts.

Meanwhile Hamilton Watson, who had for 18 years carried on the original William Cadell pottery near the old kirk, Prestonpans, was also sequestrated in 1838.[29] He was forced to sell all the goods at the pottery and relinquish the lease as well as that of the small brown ware pottery in Rope Walk, Prestonpans. George Gordon III took on the lease of the latter but had to give it up in 1839.[30]

With Matthew Tod's continuing help George Gordon II remained at Bankfoot, but had been forced to sell his estate of Hiltonhill, Roxburgh, which he had bought in 1818. George Gordon III agreed to sell his property at Morrison's Haven and his quarter share at Bankfoot to Sir George Grant Suttie and then emigrated to Australia. George Gordon II sold out to Grant Suttie and was forced to leave Bankfoot in 1840.[31]

George Gordon II was still determined to continue in the pottery trade. With Matthew Tod's backing he took on a five year lease of the Cadell pottery which Hamilton Watson had relinquished.[32] The flints for the pottery would be ground at the Seton sea mill where Gordon already had a lease.[33] When he was into the second year of the lease he found that he was unable to pay the rent and put the goods at the pottery up forsale, advertising in the North British Advertiser of 6 July 1841.[34] John Cadell (a trustee of the late William Cadell of Tranent) who had no previous knowledge of the auction, took out a sequestration order to recover the rent owed to him for the pottery.

An inventory of the goods at the pottery at this time included a large

quantity of toys, soap dishes, plates, cups and saucers, chambers, brown chambers, tea-pots, penny-pigs, porringers, beef pots, blue basins and other items. There were 10-12 tons of white clay, six tons of brown clay, 40 tons of fine clay, two printing presses, 20 dozen moulds and so on.

Eventually George Gordon II was ordered to give up the keys of the pottery, in August 1841. He died a year later. In the same year Matthew Tod was also sequestrated, and the sequestration contains details of sums of money paid to George Gordon II over the years.[35] 1841 thus signals the end of the Gordon era of pottery manufacture in the Prestonpans area spanning a period of 70 years; and also the end of 100 years of pottery making at the Cadell pottery.

After Robert Gordon's death in 1835, Charles Belfield, who was known to be working at Bankfoot until 1835 and another potter, Andrew Mitchell set up a new pottery, which traded as Mitchell and Belfield and later as Belfield & Co. The site was that of the salt manufactory of Robert Laidlaw, the property known as Seacliff on the north side of the west end of the High Street. The date of the lease is not known but the property was bought in 1847 on behalf of Charles Belfield and James Belfield residing at Cuthill, Prestonpans and Andrew Mitchell, partners of Belfield & Co.[36] They were also leasing the brownware pottery in Rope Walk until about 1864.[37]

In 1907 Clunas Tile Mosaic Ltd. Set up another pottery near Redburn Road, Prestonpans. They intended making wall tiles and mosaic for flooring but the company was put into liquidation shortly afterwards. The premises were leased in 1910 to John Boyle of the Belleek pottery, Fermanagh. It was called the Castle pottery and produced a variety of porcelain china. In the catalogue produced in 1911 for the Scottish Exhibition of History, Art and Industry held in Kelvin Park, Glasgow the following item appeared: 'The Coral Porcelain Company, Castle Pottery, Prestonpans, Edinburgh, N.B. Ivory porcelain plain and decorated consisting of tea dessert and dejeuner sets, centre pieces, wicker flower baskets, figures, flower pots and coats of arms wares'.[38]

The pottery was bought over in 1919 by a newly-formed company The Scottish Porcelain Co.Ltd. John Boyle continued to manage the pottery for a few years but the business closed down c.1929, after which the premises were left to go into ruins.[39] Belfield's pottery closed shortly afterwards, in around 1934 after nearly a century of operation.

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THE GLASSWORKS AT MORRISON'S HAVEN

by JEAN SHIRLAW

Morrison's Haven with its harbour is situated to the west of Prestonpans on the Prestongrange estate. These lands, granted to the monks of Newbattle in the 12th century, contained rich seams of coal which were worked by the monks.

After the Reformation the lands came into the possession of the Ker family later Lord Lothian. In 1609 John Morison, an Edinburgh gentleman bought the Prestongrange estate. His son, Sir Alexander Morison, one of the Lords of Session, took the title of Lord Prestongrange in 1625. It was one of his descendants, William Morison, who established a glassworks at Morrison's Haven.

The idea probably came from Sir George Hay of Nethercliff, who in 1610 set up a glassworks across the Forth at Wemyss where there were all the ingredients for glass-making, such as coal, sand and kelp. There was also a harbour for shipping out the goods.[1] Morrison's Haven had all these requirements.

William Morison was in the glass-making business by 1645 as noted in the minutes of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale: "in May of that year the Assembly being informed that there were certain strangers within the Parish of Salt Preston, makers of glass who had been resident there for a long time, yet doth not conform themselves to the order of this Kirk but that they profess popery and report now and then to the House of Seton on the Lord's Day to the great scandal and offence of the Gospel . . . ."[2]

A few years later when John Ray was travelling from Dunbar to Leith in 1661 he notes "By the way also we saw glasses made of kelp and sand mixed together and calcined in an oven. The crucibles which contained the melted glass, they told us were made of tobacco-pipe clay".[3] The clay was readily available near the site of the glassworks.

Then in an Act of Parliament, Edinburgh August 5, 1698 there is "A ratification in favour of the Glass-Manufactory at Morison's Haven". It appears from this Act that William Morison and his partners were given permission in the previous year "to set up a Manufactory at said place for making of Glasses."

The Estates of Parliament now confirm that not only bottles are being produced at moderate prices but also "glass never before manufactured within the Kingdom such as mirror or looking glasse plates, coach glasses, spectacle glasses, watch glasses, mouldes glasses and window glasses, wherof same samples have been shown to the Estates of Parliament. The adventurers have been at great Expences and Trouble in building an Glasse House and Furnes fit for the said Manufactorie and in bringing home from abroad expert workmen for the said work and in maint..ing them in the countrey these two years bypass as thereby".

Morison engaged Paul le Blanc (a Guild Brother of Edinburgh) who brought his family and workshop to Prestongrange. He employed his son Paul and William Scott, both of whom were expert mirror makers.[4]

It was on the site of the glassworks that a pottery was set up in the mid 18th century. In 1746 the proprietor was William Grant, Lord Advocate, who also took the title of Lord Prestongrange. His heir was his daughter Janet who married Lord Hyndford. Her sister Agnes married Sir George Suttie of Balgone.

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POOR RELIEF IN NORTH WALES AND EAST LOTHIAN: A COMPARISON OF THE EAST LOTHIAN COMBINATION POORHOUSE AND THE BANGOR AND BEAUMARIS UNION WORKHOUSE, 1865-1885

by JEAN LINDSAY

In Scotland on the one hand and in England and Wales on the other, poor relief in terms of the law developed in distinct ways, but by the nineteenth century economic and social problems resulting from poverty were similar, In order to understand the relative influence of legal theory and economic circumstances on the practical operation of poor relief, it is necessary to look in detail at the documentary evidence from comparable areas. This is the aim of this comparison of two institutions, each of which was responsible for some aspect of poor relief in a predominantly rural area.

The two institutions which are to be compared were both the result of the New Poor Law, legislation designed partly to check the rise in expenditure. Secondary considerations were the need to centralise the system and bring more uniformity into its operation. In England and Wales, before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, each parish had levied a poor rate to relieve the sick, aged, lunatic and impotent poor, to provide work for the unemployed and to provide for orphans. Under Gilbert's Act of 1782, many parishes gave outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor, and only children, the aged and the handicapped were placed in workhouses. Parochial officers found work for the able-bodied poor, whose wages were supplemented from the poor rate where necessary.[1] This, plus a family allowance, was the basis for the Speenhamland system, first introduced in Berkshire in 1795 as a war-time expedient. Its wide-spread use was blamed for the alarming rise in the cost of poor relief, and for the 'degradation' which led the working-class to demand parochial relief as a right. North Wales did not supplement wages, but housing benefits and outdoor relief were freely given.

POOR RELIEF IN NORTH WALES AND EAST LOTHIAN

In Scotland, before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845, poor relief was largely achieved by voluntary contributions. It was administered in landward areas by the heritors and kirk sessions, and in burghs by the magistrates and kirk sessions,[2] It was possible for assessment to be used to levy the poor rate, and in East Lothian, for short periods, landowners such as the first Marquess of Tweeddale were prepared to accept a levy on their estates, and schemes were tried, including the 'Police Scheme' of 1773, which attempted to list the poor and employ officials to arrest vagrants.[3] The growing industrialisation of the Lowlands of Scotland, and the secession of the Free Church from the Church of Scotland in 1843, put too great a burden on the existing system and the New Poor law ended the voluntary system of contributions.

The New Poor Law was based on local assessment with centralised supervision. In England and Wales three Poor Law Commissioners, with Edwin Chadwick as Secretary, sat in Somerset House, overseeing the unpaid local Boards of Guardians who, with paid officials, operated the system of indoor and outdoor relief. In 1847 the Commissioners were replaced by a Poor Law Board in Whitehall, which was responsible to Parliament. Parishes were re-organised into groups or poor law unions, with a workhouse as a compulsory element, and each parish had to levy a poor rate to maintain its poor. The parish in Scotland was also responsible for levying a poor rate. Parochial Boards whose unpaid members were elected or nominated annually on a property qualification, administered outdoor and indoor relief. The members, who included landowners and local ministers, appointed a Poor Law Inspector and he liaised with the nine members of the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh, which gave advice but had only limited powers. The Boards of Guardians included magistrates who were ex-officio members and men of property elected for three years. As in Scotland these men were landowners, ministers, prosperous shopkeepers and local business-men. The Guardians and the members of the Parochial Boards considered their first duty lay with the rate-payers, but inevitably some took a harsher view of the applicants for relief than others.

In Scotland, the unemployed able-bodied poor had no legal right to relief, but outdoor relief on a limited scale was generally given by the Parochial Boards. At first no compulsion was used to make the poor enter the poorhouse, but as early as 1850 the Board of Supervision recommended that willingness to accept an offer could be used as a test of poverty.[4] The workhouse, in England and Wales, was intended from the first to deter the poor from applying for relief, and many would

rather starve than enter the dreaded 'Bastilles', which were considered worse than prisons in terms of diet and humiliation. Edwin Chadwick's aim was to segregate the 'deserving poor' in the workhouse from the 'undeserving', but this was never achieved although the poor were, in workhouses and poorhouses alike, strictly segregated in terms of age and sex. How far conditions and attitudes in the East Lothian Combination Poorhouse (shortened to the East Linton Poorhouse) and the Bangor and Beaumaris Union Workhouse (shortened to the Bangor Workhouse) were similar will be seen by examining the various first-hand and second-hand accounts of life in these institutions.

Initially there were fifteen parishes which sent their poor to East Linton Poorhouse in the parish of Prestonkirk. The list was headed by Dunbar as it sent the largest number, followed by Dirleton, Cockburnspath (which was in Berwickshire), North Berwick, Aberlady, Garvald, Innerwick, Prestonkirk, Stenton, Whitekirk, Spott, Bolton, Oldhamstock, Whittingham and Yester. From 12 March 1866 to 9 March 1868, the parish of Edrom was allowed to participate in the 'privilege' of the Poorhouse.[5] The population of these parishes, excluding Edrom, was 18,773 in 1871 and 19,317 in 1881. Agriculture was the main occupation of the East Lothian parishes, with a small fishing industry in North Berwick, and a grain market and some shipping trade in Dunbar. East Linton, where the Poorhouse was situated, contained schools, a post-office, a bridge over the r Tyne, an inn and nine alehouses.[6] Population in the parish was 1,931 in 1871 and 1,929 in 1881. Agricultural employment was declining in East Lothian, with the exception of the growing potato trade which accounted for the rising population of Dunbar up to 1881.[7]

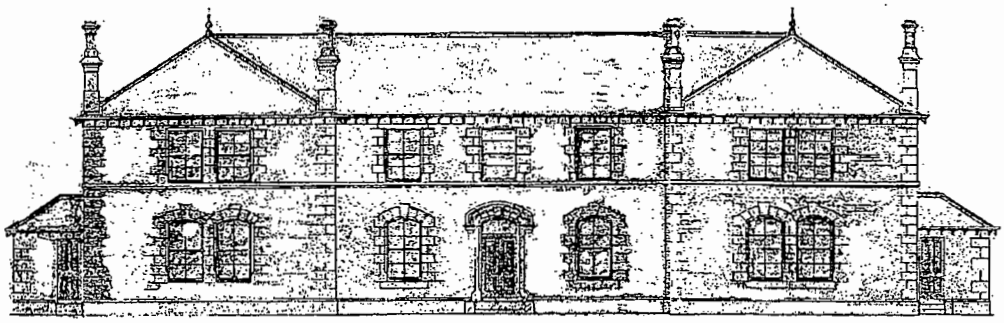
The parishes which sent their poor to Bangor Workhouse included Bangor (the largest parish), Aber, Llandegai, Llanfairfechan and Llanllechid. These parishes were in Caernarfonshire. In the county of Anglesey the parishes were Beaumaris, Llanddanielfab, Llanddona, Llandegfan, Llandysilio, Llanedwen, Llanfaes, Llanfairpwll, Llanffinan, Llanfihangelesceifiog. Llanfihangeltynsylwy, Llangoed, Llaniestyn, Llansadwrn, Penmon and Penmynydd. In 1871 the total population of these twenty-one parishes was 32,829, and in 1881 it was 35,563. The parishes in Anglesey had been joined to those in Caernarfonshire because no union could be formed by these parishes, and it was always an uneasy alliance. In Anglesey, as in East Lothian, agriculture and the traditional crafts were the main occupations of the population, although some men and boys travelled to the slate quarries in Caernarfonshire and Merioneth, returning home

at the end of the week, The five parishes in Caernarfonshire, with the exception of Aber (a small rural parish), were mainly dependent for employment on the slate industry and its ancilliary trades. The industry reached its peak of production in the 1880s, and declined slowly in the twentieth century. The fact that this industry was plagued by industrial unrest, and was a victim of Britain's Free Trade policy, partly accounted for the large numbers of inmates in the Bangor Workhouse and the large numbers of vagrants and casual poor.[8]

Bangor had been little more than a large village before Penrhyn Quarry was developed six miles away at Bethesda. By the middle of Queen Victoria's reign this slate quarry was claiming to be the largest in the world, although Dinorwig Quarry at Llanberis was a close rival. The opening up of the London and Holyhead road and the completion of the Suspension Bridge in 1826 increased trade with Ireland. The railway from Chester to Holyhead, completed by 1849, opened up the coastal towns of north Wales, and Bangor began to think of itself as a tourist resort. The town was built in a narrow valley between the mountains and the sea, and the outlet to the sea was at Port Penrhyn where slates from Penrhyn Quarry were shipped. The houses near the harbour were in an area called Hirael, and on the east side of the town there was a hill known as the Bangor Mountain which by the 1870s had been converted into a free recreation ground, the land having been given to the town by Lord Penrhyn, the owner of Penrhyn Quarry. From the top of the Bangor Mountain there were fine views of Puffin Island and the Menai Straits, but the Workhouse was built at the foot of the mountain and was therefore gloomy and dark. The population of Bangor rose from 4,751 in 1831 to 10,825 in 1871 and 11,370 in 1881.

How East Linton got its Poorhouse can be discovered by reading the weekly *Haddingtonshire Courier*.[9] A meeting of landowners was held on 16 January 1862 to consider 'the expediency of forming the parishes of Dirleton, Aberlady, North Berwick, Whitekirk, Dunbar, Innerwick, Spott, Oldhamstocks, Stenton and Prestonkirk into a union for the erection of a poorhouse.' The Earl of Haddington was in the Chair and the Hon R.C. Nisbet Hamilton made a strong plea for the proposal, saying that each parish taking part in the scheme could borrow money based on the number of beds required at a cost of about £30 a bed. The estimated cost of building the poorhouse for 93 inmates was given as £2,700. East Linton was proposed as the site because it was central, with easy access by railway, cheap land and a 'salubrious' situation. Despite these advantages, Aberlady, Haddington and Morham declined to enter the scheme.[10]

A few months later the choice of a site became a subject of controversy. J. Porteous of Prestonkirk Manse wrote that Dunbar had a preferential claim as it would probably send the largest number to the poorhouse. He also alleged that the East Linton site was unhealthy being on the 'very margin of the river in full exposure to the uncontrolled, ungenial blast of the east wind'. Porteous stated thst the site was close to the village and that any 'virulent infectious disease as cholera, typhus' would quickly spread. He thought the inmates would stray to the pubs and that the sight of the many 'diseased, deformed and perhaps disorderly' inmates would upset passers-by.[11] An anonymous rate-payer pointed out that East Linton unlike Dunbar had been free of the cholera epidemic of 1832, and claimed Porteous was concerned not with the comfort and health of the poor but only with the well-being of himself and his 'own people'.[12]



Architectural sketch: East Lothian Combination Poorhouse

A favourable report on the site at East Linton was submitted to the Board of Supervision by Sir John McNeill, the Chairman of the Board until 1868, and his seal of approval carried the day.[13]

In 1864 building began in East Linton, the site occupying four acres. The r Tyne, a 'prettily wooded stream', ran parallel to the front of the building and the garden stretched to the river. The hope was expressed that the poorhouse would help 'the victims of poverty, infirmity and decrepit old age' because the 'miserable hovel with its broken windows, unswept floor and dilapidated fragments of furniture' would be exchanged for a 'light and airy dwelling' with a view of open fields and the sound of the lark soaring up 'from its grassy couch to the blue empyrean above'. The architects, Peddie and Kinnear, were said to have avoided any resemblance to a prison, and the front of the house had a 'very

elegant elevation of two storeys, with a double range of semi-arched windows. The central part of the main building contained at ground level the rooms of the governor and matron and at first floor level a spacious Board Room. From this central block passages at ground level gave access on the left to the girls' dormitory and on the right to the boys' dormitory, and behind each of these was a day room to which the inmates could 'resort when the weather prevented them from getting out of doors', Between these day rooms at ground level was the dining hall, a very fine apartment of large dimensions which served once a week as a chapel. The segregation of the sexes was 'scrupulously provided for', and children above the age of two years were to be brought up 'apart from maternal control'. The dormitories for the adult inmates were above those for the children, and above the dining hall was a 'spacious apartment' which connected with both male and female wings. It was not 'considered likely' that this room would ever be used, but it provided additional accommodation for emergencies. The house could hold 88 inmates, 'this being the number of shares or beds held by the different parishes'. One-storey extensions flanking the entrance court contained among other things the kitchen, the scullery, the laundry and the washing-house. In the scullery, next to the kitchen, was a 'force-pump' which provided the house with 'copious supplies of water'. Around the house were four 'airing courts', two for the women, young and old, and two for the men. There was a porter's lodge with two 'probationary wards'. The cost of the building was estimated in February 1865 at £4,400, in shares of £50 each.[14]

East Linton Poorhouse was opened in May 1865, twenty years after the legislation of 1845, and Bangor Workhouse was opened to receive inmates in September 1845, eleven years after the Act of 1834. The first meeting of Bangor Board of Guardians opened on 31 May 1837 at the Waterloo Tavern in Bangor, and was later adjoined to the National School. The Guardians appointed a clerk at a salary of £50 per annum and proposed the appointment of one Relieving Officer for the parishes of Caernarfonshire and one for the parishes of Anglesey. They were to live in a central part of the district and 'keep a horse'. The salary was to be £80 per annum. Anglesey was to be one district for the register of births and deaths and Caernarfonshire was to be divided into two registration districts, Bangor/Llandegai and Llanllechid/Aber/Llanfairfechan, A Medical Officer for Caernarfonshire was to be appointed at a salary of £50 per annum, and one for Anglesey at the same amount. These posts were to be advertised in the *North Wales Chronicle* and the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald.* There was no mention at this first meeting of a workhouse.

The first meeting of the Workhouse Building Committee was held on 18 April 1838 in the Board Room, Bangor. Tenders were invited in lots for laying the foundations, carpentry, slating and plumbing. On 25 September 1839 the Poor Law Commissioners authorised the Guardians to borrow money on the security of the rates to purchase a field called Caemaes Idan with the 'poorhouses' built on it and there to build a workhouse. Events did not move fast. On 27 June 1838 the Guardians approved the Building Committee's decision to have open fire-places in the rooms originally intended to be heated by hot water.[15] On 25 September 1839 the Guardians sent a letter to the Secretary of the Commissioners stating that 'the number and condition of adult paupers in this Union belonging to those Classes to whom the Commissioners consider the Workhouse system is particularly applicable is not such as to justify them as Trustees of public money to give their sanction to so large an outlay'. The letter went on to inform the Secretary that orphan children were maintained at an average cost of 1s 9d per week, and if necessary they could be sent to the village school for 2d a week. This was less than the cost of having them kept inside a workhouse, where they would be given advantages not available to the children of 'industrious labourers'. The Guardians expressed strong opposition to the workhouse system, and especially to the 'separation of Husband from Wife and Parent from Child', which they said would 'inflame the public mind'. They declared that they owed a duty to the rate-payers to impose a limit on their spending and to take care that the poor were not placed in a 'better situation' than those by whom they were maintained. The Guardians said that the workhouse system had never before been tried in any part of north Wales. and although the 'experiment' being made in some unions might prove a success they wished to defer its adoption for a few years, They asked for a cancellation or suspension of the order for the erection of a workhouse and they said they would return the Exchequer Bills that had been borrowed for this purpose.[16]

Despite this letter, meetings of the Workhouse Building Committee were held in 1844 and building began in that year. In a statement to the Commissioners on 4 November 1846, it was explained that some of the Guardians had realised that a workhouse might bring a saving to the rate-payers. and the majority had finally considered it their duty to give the plan a 'fair and impartial trial'.[17] The architects were Weightman and Hadfield, and on 17 July 1844 a tender of £2,820 was accepted for the building which was to be completed in twelve calendar months. Notices to quit the cottages on the workhouse site in Glanadda were served on four parties in August 1844, and on

12 February 1845 satisfaction was expressed with the progress of the building work which included vagrant wards with 'bathroom and privy'. A well was sunk and a 'force pump' installed which was to be worked by the able-bodied men. Tenders were invited, in April 1845, for small stoves for the 'lying-in-wards', with pipes to the chimney, five 'slab baths with pipes and taps' and bedsteads of wrought iron 'well-painted', At the Building Committee meeting in June 1845 plans for a stable, piggeries, and walls round the garden were deferred, but in August tenders were invited for 65 counterpanes, 65 pairs of blankets and 2 cwt of 'cocoa mat-fibre picked ready for stuffing the beds'. Various materials were ordered for the inmates' clothing: 1 piece of blue linen for children's pinafores, 2 pieces of brown scotch sheeting (cheap cotton) for 'smock frock aprons', 2 pieces of white calico for caps, 2 pieces of drab moleskin (strong cotton or a mixture of cotton and linen) for trousers and jackets for young men and youths, 1 dozen plain straw bonnets for women, 1 dozen plain straw bonnets for girls, 3 dozen dark blue worsted stockings for men, 3 dozen black long hose for women, 3 dozen black long hose for children. Men and Women's shoes, youths' shoes and boots for the children were ordered, all in the same 3 dozen quantities. Horn buttons were ordered from Birmingham, and were to be marked 'B and B Union' to identify the inmates.[18]

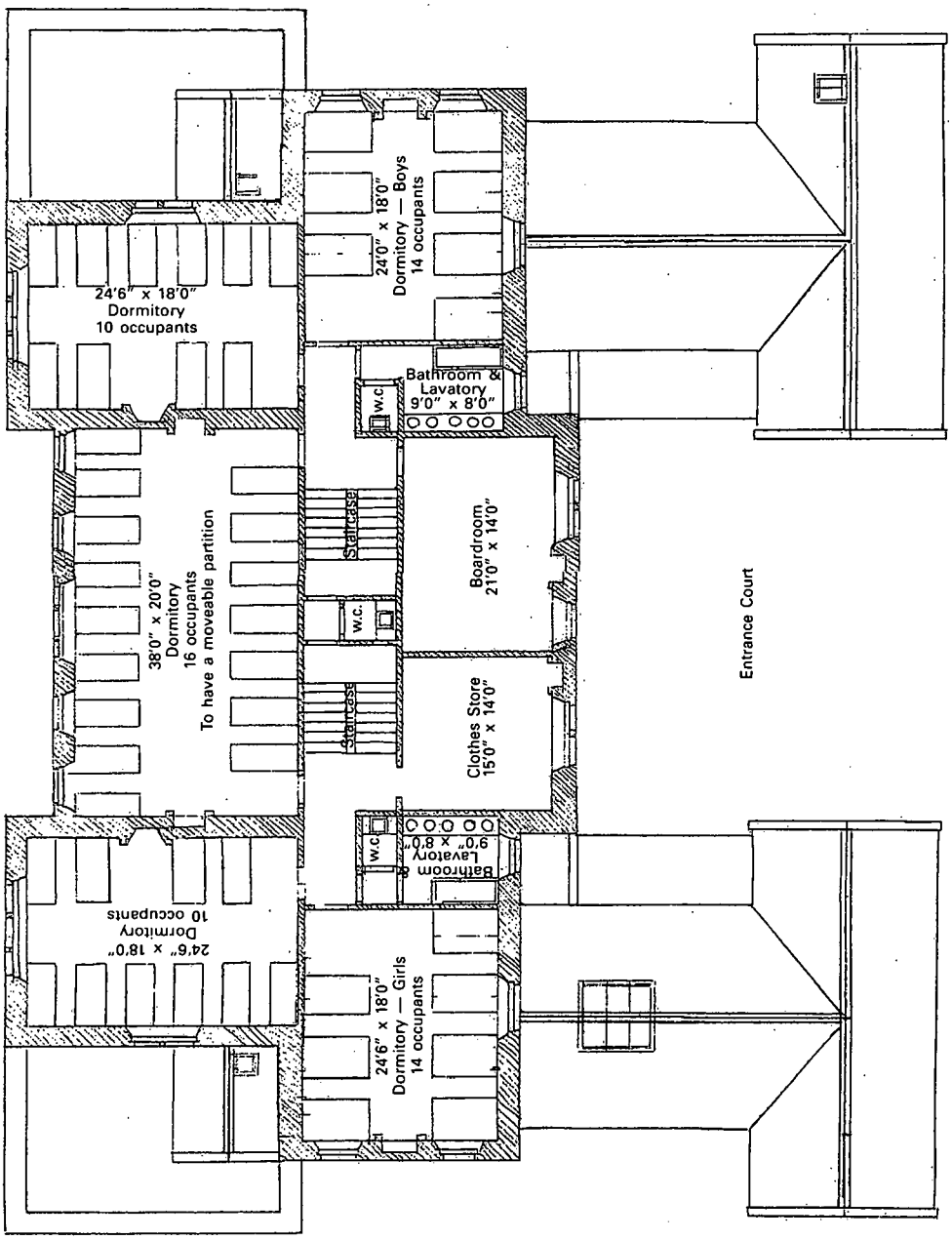
There is no comparable list of clothing for the East Linton inmates, but the Governor reported on 10 June 1867 that the articles out of stock in the clothing store included, 'Corduroy, white plaiding (woollen cloth), white shirting, striped shirting, linen for day caps, check for aprons, Duck Canvas (strong linen or cotton fabric), worsted, winding-sheet cotton and hooks and eyes'. On 8 March 1875 the Governor recommended a change in the female clothing with the introduction of a 'wincey dress', made of wool and cotton or linen, as worn in other poorhouses, instead of the 'present short gown and petticoat'. The Governor said this would not only be more comfortable but would save 3s on each outfit. The East Linton Governor's Journal begins on 11 September 1865, but the Poorhouse was opened to a small number of inmates in the previous May. The Governor and Matron were installed in their apartments, and the editor of the *Haddingtonshire Courier* noted on 2 June 1865 that 'so far as the present appearances go' there would be 'room and to spare' for other parishes to join the combination. The House Committee, to whom the Governor reported quarterly, had fitted up the House with 50 beds although there was accommodation for 80 beds, but this was 'amply sufficient' because of a 'deep-rooted aversion on the part of the

poor to go into the house'. The editor believed that this would be overcome once they understood the 'real and substantial comfort conferred by a residence within the walls under a kind and judicious management.'

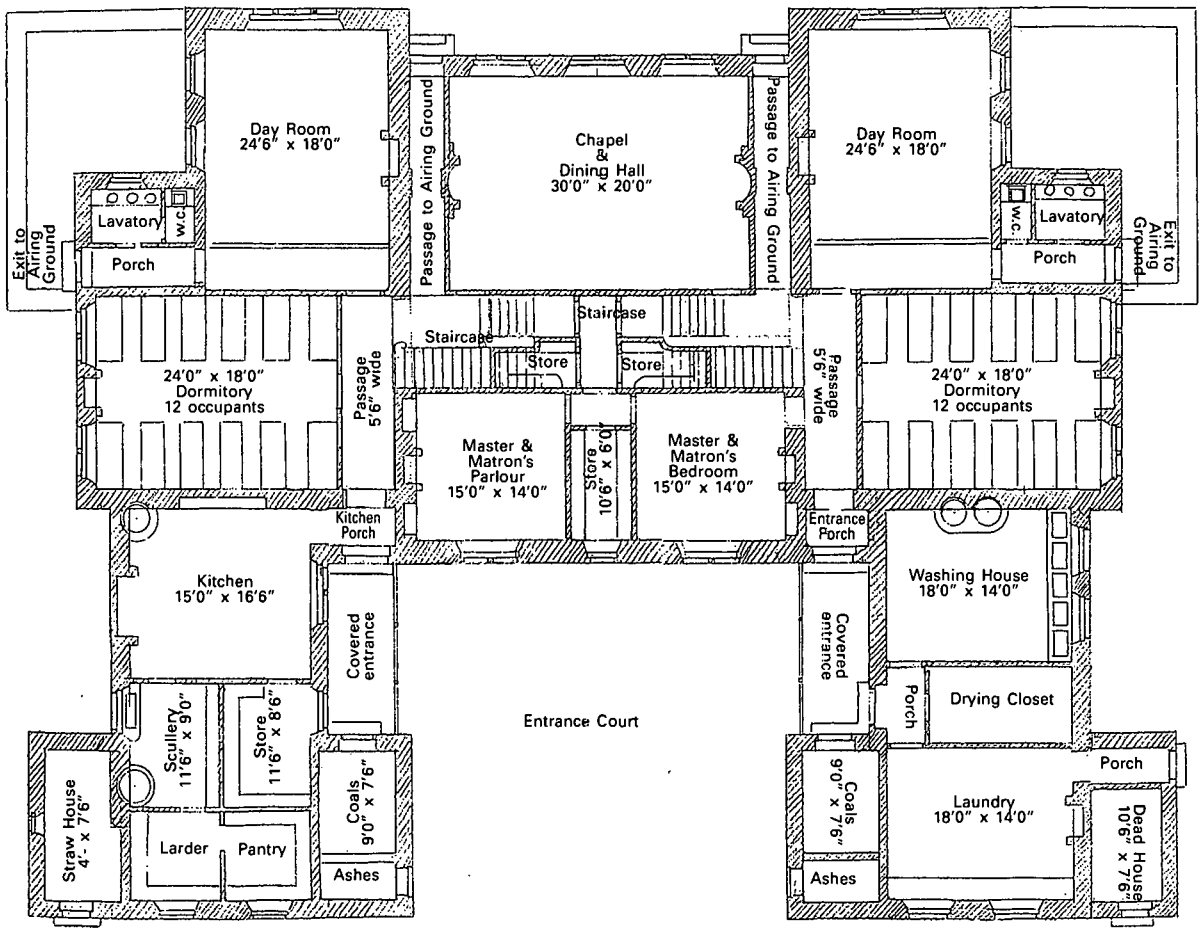
In Bangor and the other parishes, the poor who had been receiving outdoor relief and were classified as 'Able-bodied paupers between 16 and 60' and 'Mothers of bastards' had their cases considered on 10 September 1845. When the Workhouse opened on 22 September 1845, twenty-five of these poor people entered as inmates. On 4 November 1846, in their statement to the Commissioners, the Guardians said that a saving had been effected by a 'strict and patient investigation of the cases of the able-bodied applicants and by a proper economy in the expenditure generally'. Their aim, they declared, was to discourage 'idleness and dependence upon the parish rates.'

A similar justification for the test of poverty was offered in East Lothian. In a letter to the local press, prior to the opening of the Poorhouse, William Martine, a minister, urged every parochial board to refuse outdoor relief to those who were 'friendless' and incapacitated by the 'infirmities of old age' and disease. Other people whom Martine wanted to see in the poorhouse were those who because of their habits of 'immorality and dissipation' were 'pests to society'. In addition he wanted women with illegitimate children to be given only the offer of the poorhouse.[19]

In September 1865, there were 81 inmates in Bangor Workhouse.[20] The number of inmates in East Linton Poorhouse averaged 40 for the years 1865 to 1885, and the number of inmates in Bangor Workhouse for the same period averaged 85; in both institutions there were variations in the numbers as a result of deaths and on-going admissions and discharges. The successive Governors at East Linton (three in all up to 1885) gave regular details of the number of times an inmate had been admitted. The re-admissions could be frequent. In the quarter ending 13 September 1875, there were fourteen admissions, of which five were for the first time, two for the second time, two for the third time, one for the sixth time, two for the seventh time, one for the eighth time and one for the ninth time. This was a typical set of admissions. The records of Bangor Workhouse do not give these details, but the Admission and Discharge Book, 1899-1901, Caernarfon Workhouse, shows that 'ins and outs' were characteristic of the casual poor in north Wales.[21] In East Linton the discharges included those who had died (usually elderly inmates) those who had left of their 'own accord', and



Architectural sketch plan of East Lothian Combination Poorhouse: first floor.
(Courtesy of East Lothian Council Library Service)



Architectural sketch plan of East Lothian Poorhouse: ground floor
(Courtesy of East Lothian Council Library Service)

one or two who had been removed by the Inspector of Poor or who had refused 'the test' (i.e. giving up all their possessions as a condition of entry).

Vagrants were more of a problem in north Wales than in East Lothian, The numbers passing through Bangor Workhouse in the first quarter of 1871 was 361, but in the corresponding quarter of 1878 it had risen to 1707.[22] These vagrants were housed in a separate vagrants' ward, and they could not discharge themselves before 11 a.m. on the day following their admission, nor before they had performed the work prescribed for them, which was usually breaking stones. Attempts to reduce vagrancy included the Berkshire system, which issued tramps or vagrants with tickets to the nearest town; a check was kept on their declared destination, and if they failed to reach the place the police could apprehend them. Vagrants were subject to cold baths at the discretion of the Master or Matron and were given a meagre diet of bread and gruel. The aim was to distinguish between 'professional vagrants' and those genuinely seeking work. The Poor Law officials wanted to make 'life on the road' less attractive than a life of 'steady labour'. T. Lloyd Murray Browne, the Poor Law Inspector, said that 'unthoughtful alms-giving' was the 'real cause of professional vagrancy' and should be ended.[23]

In East Lothian, where there were fewer vagrants, hiring fairs continued to be held to engage farm servants; but there was opposition to these fairs from those who considered that they encouraged immorality among the young men and women, since 'much temptation (was) thrown in the way of the virtuous and many opportunities (given) to the vicious'.[24] The system guaranteed employment for a year and there was little incentive to search abroad for work. Bangor was on the route from Chester to Holyhead, and there was a steady stream of tramps through the town and outlying areas despite the Vagrancy Act of 1824 whereby seven or fourteen days imprisonment was imposed on those found begging or sleeping rough. Vagrants were social pariahs because they could be suffering from infectious diseases and they had a reputation for theft. The Governor in East Linton reported on 9 September 1867 that six deaths had occurred in the preceding quarter, and that one of the dead was William Ross, 'a vagrant from the City Parish Edinburgh'. Ross was diagnosed as having died from diarrhoea, which proved to be typhus fever; the Governor followed the procedure recommended by the Board of Supervision in a similar case at Inveresk Poorhouse, and no further cases occurred.

The question of setting the poor to work was often problematic. The poorhouse at East Linton was not designated a workhouse, but where possible the inmates were put to hard labour. The scarcity of fit inmates made this difficult, and the Governor's first entry reported that 'the services of a woman from the village' were needed to carry out the 'cleaning, washing, cooking &c.' The rate of pay for this work was 1s 6d a day. One of the inmates acted as porter, and an extra weekly ration of 2 oz of tea, ½lb of sugar, ½lb of butter and loz of snuff was given to him. In Bangor a porter was employed, on 26 July 1848, at a salary of £20 per annum, plus rations and 10s a quarter in return for the purchase of tools required to teach the boys the trade of shoe-making.[25] The East Linton Governor listed the occupations of the male inmates. Apart from the porter, one made nets, one worked in the kitchen, and the others were employed in the grounds or pumping water. When the weather was wet, they were employed 'teasing hair' in their sitting-room, Three of the twelve men were unable to work because of illness and infirmity. There were seventeen women, and their jobs were making and mending stockings, looking after the children whose mothers were cleaning the wards and doing the laundry, working in the kitchen, or acting as nurses in the children's ward. The estimated value of work done in the Poorhouse was £10 2s 11d, and the Governor received a total of £2 15s 0d in cash for materials that were sold. It was sometimes alleged that the Scottish poor were idle, but this account does not suggest that the inmates resisted work, or that the labour they did was less harsh than that in the workhouses in England and Wales.[26]

In 1847 Dr O.O. Roberts, a well-known champion of the poor against injustice, wrote to the Bangor Guardians urging them to set the poor to work in the House in accordance with the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1600, the foundation of English and Welsh Poor Law. 'Idleness', he wrote, was 'contrary to the law and a great hardship upon the rate-payers'.[27] Bangor Workhouse children were at first made to repair shoes under the supervision of the porter, and on 7 February 1849 the estimated value of their work was £2 2s 11d.[28] Picking oakum was the most common occupation given to the men, and on 17 July 1867 'old ropes' were obtained from Liverpool for this purpose.[29] On 29 June 1870 the sum of £100 was paid for a shed in the men's yard where they could pick oakum.[30] In February 1881, the old men in Bangor Workhouse were set to work chopping up old sleepers from the railway. Colonel Sackville West, the Chairman of the Guardians, said it would be good to give them something to do.[31]

On 12 March 1866 the East Linton Governor said that the women who worked as nurses in the wards were allowed extra rations weekly of 4 oz sugar and 1 oz tea, and that two women who worked in the laundry were allowed the same plus 6 oz bread daily. Similar rewards were available in Bangor Workhouse in the early years. On 15 December 1847 extra 'seasonable' allowances of tea, sugar, bread and butter were made to the able-bodied women who were occasionally 'necessarily employed over hours in washing &c in the Workhouse during a scarcity of such class of inmates.'[32] The application of Ebenezer Williams, made on 17 November 1880, for remuneration for his work as Workhouse messenger, was, however, turned down on the grounds that the law required him to be employed 'according to his capacity and ability while an inmate of the Workhouse without compensation for his labour.'[33]

When the East Linton Poorhouse was first opened, able-bodied female inmates did the cleaning, helped in the children's nursery, and worked in the kitchen and scullery. The able-bodied men were employed in the grounds, working the washing-machine, making and repairing shoes, doing 'joiner work', or pumping water into the system. This was the situation in 1869, but on 8 September 1873, members of the Parochial Board visited the House and reported that 'some of the floors and passages were hardly as clean as they might be.' The Governor replied that they had 21 children in the House and it was impossible to keep floors and passages as clean as they should be when they only had one servant and 'little assistance from the inmates'. The only help came from 'an old woman, daily becoming more unfit' and 'an imbecile girl' who had to be continually supervised. The Governor said that if the parishes found it 'convenient to send in women, to a greater extent able-bodied' then the House might be able to present a clean appearance at the currently expected annual visit of the Inspecting Officer for the Board of Supervision. The Governor said that in the interests of economy the able-bodied women were being given outdoor relief. He asked if he could buy a 'hand garden plough and cultivator', price £2 2s, as with such a machine he would be able to cultivate the crops with the help of a man or a boy. In Bangor Workhouse there were more able-bodied inmates, but on 28 November 1883 the Guardians received a letter from the Local Government in which it was said that the Inspector, Murray Browne, had reported that many of the wards were in a 'slovenly and untidy state' and that there was a 'most offensive smell in the able-bodied women's day-room, apparently arising from want of cleanliness.'[34] The Master was reminded of his duty to keep the House clean.

The Census of 1881 revealed that there were 87 inmates in Bangor Workhouse and 46 inmates in East Linton Poorhouse. In both Houses there were more children aged 14 years and under than in any other age-group. East Linton had nine children in this age-group and Bangor had 28. The sexes were more or less evenly divided in Bangor, and in East Linton there were 26 females and 20 males. There were only two inmates over 80 years in Bangor and there was an even spread over the age-groups of the other adults. In East Linton there were four inmates of 80 years and one woman claimed to be 91 years old. There were ten inmates between 50 and 60 years and this was the largest adult age-group. The inmates in both institutions were mainly of local origin, but each House contained three people, unrelated, who were born in Ireland. The main occupation recorded for the women was domestic service. In East Linton they called themselves 'housemaid' and in Bangor they were either 'charwoman' or 'domestic servant'. For the men there was a greater variety of employment, ircluding hawker, joiner and shoemaker. Farm labourers (six) were more numerous in East Linton than in Bangor, where tailors (five) were more common. There were only 8 inmates in Bangor who were married; 25 adults were unmarried and the rest were widows or widowers. In East Linton, two inmates were married and 19 adults were unmarried; the rest were widows or widowers.

Diet was an important issue, and formed part of the method of controlling the inmates. Amounts of food had to be carefully weighed or measured according to the age and sex of the inmates. A letter by 'Observer' in *The Scotsman* 8 July 1867, criticised the inadequate diet in East Linton Poorhouse, especially for the old of either sex, who were given 3 oz oatmeal and ½ pint of milk for breakfast, 6 oz bread and 1½ pints broth for dinner, and 3½ oz oatmeal and ½ pint milk for supper. The diet for healthy younger adults was 4 oz oatmeal and ¾ pint milk for breakfast. 8 oz bread and 1½ pints broth for dinner, 4 oz oatmeal and ¾ pint milk for supper. The writer claimed this was under the minimum dietary requirements to sustain life, and that about 50 per cent more food was given to an adult male sentenced to penal servitude in a Scottish prison.

Diet in prisons was regulated under the Act 28 & 29 Vic c 126 (1865-6) and those serving at least one calendar month, male and female, were given 6 oz bread and 1 pint gruel for breakfast and the same for supper. Dinner on Tuesday and Thursday was 4 oz bread, 3 oz cooked meat and 1 lb potatoes. On Wednesday and Saturday it was 6 oz bread for men, 4 oz bread for women and

1 lb potatoes and 1 pint buttermik for both sexes. Dinner on Sunday was 10 oz bread for men, 8 oz bread for women and 1 lb potatoes for both sexes. It would seem 'Observer' had a case.

Bangor Workhouse received similar criticism about the diet. The *North Wales Chronicle* 19 October 1872, reported that two of the Guardians, Morgan Richards and Humphrey Roberts, complained at a Board meeting that the children were not given enough to eat. The Master was called in to answer their remarks and he said the dietary table had been in force for some time and that some children left a portion of their food. Charles Bicknell, the Chairman, was outraged at these charges and said he had often visited the Workhouse at dinner-time and was always surprised at the quantity of food on the table. The Master produced some bread and cheese for the Guardians to taste and they agreed that it was good. The Master said the children were given 5 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese for their supper and they had cooked meat twice a week for dinner. The *North Wales Chronicle*, 14 December 1872, gave the revised children's diet, which increased the meat allowance from 3 oz to 4 oz twice a week for those aged from five years to nine years. Children from two years to five years were to have their meat allowance of 3 oz reduced to 2 oz and this group was to be given pint of milk instead of 1½ oz cheese for supper. The diet had been approved by the Local Government Board. By 14 May 1884 Bangor Workhouse had introduced an alternate dinner of fish on Fridays. All those over nine years were given 8 oz cooked fish and 1 lb potatoes or 8 oz bread. Children from five years to nine years were given 7 oz cooked fish and 10 oz potatoes or 5 oz bread, and those between two years and five years had 4 oz cooked fish and 8 oz potatoes or 4 oz bread.[35]

Food in both institutions was monotonous and often inedible because of the conditions in which it was kept. The *North Wales Chronicle*, 25 February 1882, reported Murray Browne's comment that the Workhouse bread was 'sour' and the butter was the worst he had ever tasted. 'Churned milk' or buttermilk was a problem for the Governor as it went sour quickly in warm weather, but, as he said on 8 December 1884, when it was cool, it was quite good. Treats were usually given at Christmas and New Year, and if these were times full of melancholy for the older inmates, the children no doubt enjoyed them. On 10 December 1866 the Governor announced that the New Year's dinner for each inmate would be 1½ pints rice soup, 6 oz 'fine' bread, 1 meat pie and 4 oz plum pudding. Supper was 6 oz 'fine' bread, 8 oz currant loaf, 4 oz cheese, 1 orange

and 1 pint tea. This menu was repeated over the years. Bangor Workhouse Christmas dinner in 1866 was 'prime roast beef and plum pudding', and in the evening the inmates had 'good tea and bread and butter ad libitum and a good piece of currant loaf.'[36] In addition presents were often sent for the inmates at Christmas and at other times. On Christmas Day in 1878, the Hon Eleanor Douglas Pennant, daughter of Lord Penrhyn, joined the children at Bangor Workhouse in games which continued till 8 p.m. She also gave them a 'quantity of raisins'. Other ladies sent presents of scarfs, shawls, tobacco, oranges and books.[37] On 30 April 1885 the East Linton Governor reported that Lady Haddington, whose country seat was at Tyninghame in Prestonkirk, had sent lb tea for every woman, 1 oz tobacco for each man who smoked, and a toy for every boy and girl. Outings were occasionally arranged for the children. The *North Wales Chronicle*, 23 June 1877, told its readers that Captain Verney, one of the Bangor Guardians, had invited the children to spend an afternoon at his house, all expenses being paid. On 9 June 1879 the East Linton Governor asked if he could have a 'spring van' to take the children to the sea-side for a day, the cost not exceeding 11s or 12s.

Children in both institutions were segregated from their mothers. In his first report, the Governor explained that children between two and six years were taken from their mothers and put into a ward 'furnished especially for them under the charge of an inmate', The children, he claimed, were better looked after that way and the mothers liked the arrangement. It was useless, anyway, to object. One woman complained because she didn't want her son placed in the charge of 'a pauper like herself'. The woman left the House in protest, but returned later, defeated, agreeing to accept the rules. In August 1879, a mother in Bangor made a complaint that the Medical Officer had neglected her baby when it had bronchitis, The child had died and the woman said that the porter and the matron had not given her milk for the child. A committee of Guardians investigated the matter and exonerated the doctor, saying that he had visited the child frequently; but other mothers joined in the complaint against the porter. The Master and Matron knew that the porter was often drunk, and although they did not report this he was subsequently sacked. The porter denied being a drunkard, but admitted sending the children out for his ale.[38]

Bangor had a workhouse school with a schoolmaster and schoolmistress. It was regularly inspected, but on 15 February 1879 the *North Wales Chronicle* said that the children only reached the fourth standard, whereas in many Board

East Lothian Combination Poorhouse (Courtesy of Gary S. Menzies)

schools some children reached the sixth or even the seventh standard, Captain Verney suggested that the children should attend local schools, as this would make them 'gentler and kinder' and they would form 'habits of cleanliness'. It was debated whether they should wear workhouse uniform if they went to St Paul's School, Bangor, where the Headmaster was willing to take them. One Guardian, the Rev H. Davies Owen, was in favour of keeping the uniform, as, in any case, they would be marked as workhouse children and he thought they would be better in their own school. On 1 March 1879 the newspaper reported that the Master had come out in favour of the local school, since it would give them a 'superior education' and the walk to the school would do them good. The Matron agreed to undertake the 'industrial training' of the boys, and a paid Industrial Trainer was to be responsible for looking after the children out of school hours. Colonel Sackville West said that the children, unlike their parents, were in the workhouse through no fault of their own, and recommended that their clothes should be like those of other children. The local Government Board agreed that the girls and boys should be sent to St Paul's School, and resolved that a female Industrial Trainer should be appointed at £15 per annum to supervise the industrial training of the girls and take charge of their clothing and

cleanliness.[39] The training for the boys usually consisted in gardening, and that for the girls of various domestic duties. In East Linton the children went to the parish school from the first. The Governor asked for permission on 13 September 1875 to spend a 'few shillings in providing the children with an excursion to the sea as a reward for working durirg the holidays.' On 8 September 1884 the Governor admitted that he always had difficulty in finding 'some means of recreation' for the children during the school holidays. To meet this need, he said, 'I have got a swing erected for the boys and one for the girls, they are a source of great enjoyment to them and the expense is not great.'

Boys in Bangor Workhouse were frequently bound in apprentice-ships to local tradesmen. They were usually bound for four years; a premium of £6 was paid to the master, and the boy was given an outfit of clothes. The indentures stated that after the first year the apprentice was to be paid a very small wage which would rise to 3s a week in the last year. Occasionally cases of cruelty occurred. Such a case was reported in the Minutes on 23 May 1866, when Griffith Roberts, a tailor of Bethesda, was proved to have beaten his apprentice who ran away. The boy had served 18 months, so the tailor had to pay back £4 of the premium; this was given to the boy who was sent to his friends in Denbigh. The tailor narrowly avoided being taken before the magistrates.[40] The masters employing the apprentices had to give an annual account of their apprentices. There is no reference to apprentice-ships in the East Linton Governor's reports.

Discipline was a comparatively easy matter in East Linton Poorhouse and in Bangor Workhouse, but there were sometimes a few brave or unruly inmates who defied the rules. In Bangor, on 29 March 1865, the Porter complained that Grace Hughes, an inmate, was repeatedly slandering his character. A committee investigated the matter but found no grounds for complaint. Two weeks later Grace was referred to as a 'graceless bit of feminity' and accused of quarrelling with all the women. She was called in and warned by the Guardians.[41] On 10 November 1866 the *North Wales Chronicle*, reported that 'two lads' had run away from the House but had come back again. The Master had put them on 'punishment diet', i.e. bread and water. On 13 June 1885 the *North Wales Chronicle* reported that Anne Owen, 24 years old, had insulted the Matron and refused to obey her orders. She was taken before the magistrates, who were sometimes the last resort for the institution. On 9 December 1878 the East Linton Governor reported that 'five cases of punishment offences' had been

'inflicted' since March, and on 8 December 1879 two more cases were reported. He described, on 13 September 1880, the 'absconding' of Thomas Moran, 'an extremely troublesome man' from Dirleton. The police had been called in but had been unable to trace him, On 22 January 1883, another inmate, George Watson from Dunbar, absconded after three weeks in the Poorhouse, taking his clothing with him. Watson turned up three weeks later, 'expecting to be re-admitted', but because he had no order for admission the Governor 'secured his clothing, and let him go.'

In both institutions services were held for the inmates on Sundays, and each had its own chaplain. In East Linton the duties of the chaplain included regular visits to the sick inmates. On 10 March 1878 the Governor stated that 'Mr Alexander, East Linton', had accepted the office of chaplain and that since 16 December 1878 he had officiated regularly on Sundays and visited the sick weekly. He also took a Sunday school class for the children. On 20 July 1867 the *North Wales Chronicle* reported that a petition was to be presented to Parliament, saying that while Roman Catholic priests were allowed to visit 'Catholic paupers', no mass was to be celebrated in any workhouse, and no Catholic schoolmaster or schoolmistress was to be allowed. The Hon George Sholto Douglas Pennant, M.P., son of Lord Penrhyn,was asked to present the petition. In Bangor Workhouse inmates were sometimes allowed to go out to a place of worship on Sundays. On 5 November 1879 the Guardians reported that 'several of the imbeciles' were usefully employed and that some went out to church or chapel. On 18 May 1881, thanks were given to Mrs Williams of Tyddyn for presenting the children at Bangor Workhouse with prayer books.[42]

Many of the inmates of both institutions were sick people, but provision for the sick was hopelessly inadequate and death was no doubt hastened by the insanitary and uncomfortable conditions. A report from the Poor Law Board of 16 June 1868 to the Bangor Guardians described the unsatisfactory 'present provision' for the sick, especially for the infectious cases. There were only two 'sick wards' and those patients classified as 'dirty patients', presumably incontinent, were placed in the wing. The sick wards were on the second floor, which was inconvenient for the aged and seriously ill patients. There was no bathroom, and the water-closets were insufficient. There were no 'airing-courts' for the sick, and no accommodation for a nurse. Ventilation was poor.[43] In East Linton the female inmates acted as nurses and three were employed, according to the Governor's report of 14 August 1870. He said that two women were 'bed-

rid', one was blind and two were 'aged and infirm'. Plans to remedy the smoking of the sickroom chimneys had so far failed. Proposals for a new hospital at Bangor Workhouse were put forward as early as December 1867, and on 23 September 1868 the Guardians accepted a committee's suggestion that the southwest wing of the Workhouse be converted into a reception area for cases of infectious diseases, that another storey should be added to the building used as a stable and coal-house, and that another storey should be built on the vagrants' ward to provide for the 'ordinary sick and infirm inmates'. The estimate of Robert Roberts of £926 15s for building the 'new infirmary' was accepted on 30 June 1869, and in October 1869 a second payment of £60 was made to Robert Roberts, for the 'new hospital'.[44] On 30 August 1879 the *North Wales Chronicle* reported that Murray Browne had visited Bangor Workhouse and had said he was glad the 'new infirmary' was occupied. The hospital was also known as the 'Fever Hospital' and during the 1882 typhoid epidemic in Bangor, seven cases of typhoid were admitted from the town to the Workhouse hospital.[45] The epidemic, caused by pollution of Bangor's water-supply, subsided in November 1882. East Linton Poorhouse always contained 'sick poor'. Specified illnesses included measles in March 1875, bronchitis in March 1880, and scarlet fever in March 1885, when in addition to two cases of scarlet fever there were 15 inmates 'confined to bed all requiring much attention'. The Governor told the House Committee on 8 June 1885 that there had been another case of scarlet fever and 'as usual much helplessness amongst the infirm old people and one or two painful cases before death relieved them of their sufferings'. The Governor had employed, at 2s 6d a week, a 'general help in the sick ward', but as she was leaving, he wondered where he would get anyone else; he suggested that he should offer an extra ls a week as an inducement.

Facilities for treating the sick were basic, both in East Linton and in Bangor. The Governor's first entry gives a long list of the extras ordered by the Medical Officer, a local doctor; these amounted to 7d per head each week. The full list was: 314 oz wine, 17 lb 14 oz sugar, 194½ lb beef, 34 lb butter, 3½ lb arrowroot, 61 lb brosemeal, 15½ pints 'new milk'. 24 oz gin, 13 oz snuff, 115 oz tobacco. The bill amounted to £13 5s 1¾d, and was about one-fifth of the total expenditure, The list was for treatment over three months. The items on the list did not vary very much, but in the second quarter since the Poorhouse opened the Governor said that a great quantity of wine and beef for beef tea had been used and there was thus an increase of £8 in the cost. There are no similar lists for the inmates of Bangor Workhouse, but on 25 May 1867 it was reported that

the four Medical Officers were in the habit of supplying sick paupers with codliver-oil and other medicines, at their own expense. These medicines were so expensive, however, that the Medical Officers could not prescribe them as often as they wished. Instead of supplying the sick with codliver-oil, therefore, they often prescribed fresh meat as a substitute; if the Guardians undertook to supply codliver-oil free, there would be no need to order meat so often. One of the Medical Officers, Dr Ellis, said that when they ordered meat for the sick inmates, they did not always get it, but they would be able to supervise the administration of codliver-oil. The Guardians had a 'long discussion' at one of their fortnightly meetings, but finally decided to leave the matter in the hands of the Medical Officers to continue as they did at present 'in the matter of wine and bread'.[46] Codliver-oil was one of the remedies used to combat tuberculosis,

The atmosphere in the East Linton Poorhouse can be partly ascertained by looking at the efforts made by successive governors to keep it in a habitable state. On 14 November 1869 the Governor reported the 'dangerous state' of the chimney in the west gable of the lodge. The chimney had gone on fire in the previous October, and this had damaged the wooden lintels. In his report for the quarter ending 14 February 1870, he said the wooden lintels had been removed and 'pavements' (made of stone) substituted, The drains caused endless problems: on 11 March 1872, he said, the 'soil drain running under the kitchen and scullery floors' was 'entirely blocked up' because of the way the pipes were laid with no 'declivity' towards the outlet of the drain, and sewage was 'oozing out at every joint . . . partly in the gravel and partly in the rain-water drains'. New drains were needed and the concrete floor of the kitchen had to be broken up. As had been foreseen by those who opposed the East Linton site, the nearness to the river caused some difficulties. On 10 June 1872 the boundary wall at the river-side was reported to be in danger of being undermined when the river was in flood. In five years, the Governor said, 'nearly 15 ft of the bank' had gone, there being only about 3 ft left. On 9 September 1872 dry rot underneath the ground floor was pointed out to the House Committee and the new Governor suggested using his predecessor's proposal to put grating in the wall for ventilation purposes, On 14 June 1875 the main sewage pipe had been found to be choked, and 'foul Water' was running into the 'soft water tank' instead of into the 'sewage tank', The Governor said he had contacted a member of the Parochial Board and together they had discovered that the problem was caused mainly by rats, who had got into the drain at a point where the pipes were badly jointed and neither 'cemented with clay nor secured with collars'. The drain was

now repaired, but the river continued to erode the embankment and the garden wall. In December 1875 the Governor suggested that 'large blocks' should be placed in the form of a causeway instead of an embankment to help resist the water. The foundation of the south garden wall, separating the grounds from the public and leading to to the river, also needed attention.

Domestic appliances, such as the kitchen boiler, frequently caused trouble. The boiler was repaired in December 1876, but in January 1877 it was reported to be leaking again; a new boiler was installed, but the supply of hot water remained defective. By June 1877 the Governor was able to report that the plumbing work had been done and 'faults in the water pipes remedied'. There was constant painting and re-papering going on in the House, and after severe frost in the winter months of 1879 the Governor told the House Committee that the pipes had burst in seven places, five stop-cocks and basins in the lavatories had been 'rendered useless, not to speak of the damage done to one or two of the roofs of the wards where the water came through' during the 'first storm in November'. The water for the House from November until 26 February had to be drawn from 'a street well'. In June 1879 the soil pipe was discovered to have been broken for a 'considerable time' causing a 'most offensive and dangerous smell'; the pipe had passed under the end of the Governor's bedroom. The Governor said no air pipe had been affixed to any of the water-closets, with the result that the soil pipe had corroded. A new pipe had to be put in, but the air pipes took some time to install. On 12 September 1881 the Governor said that the Poorhouse was 'now connected with the main water-supply' and the abundance of water was found to be the 'greatest possible convenience'. Sir John McNeill, the Board of Supervision's Visiting Officer, made one of many visits to the House on 20 January 1882 and expressed 'satisfaction with the House generally. He was much pleased', wrote the Governor, 'with the stoves in the lobbies, the introduction of the water &c'. No sooner had the Governor written this than he had to report on 13 March that the 'washing-house boiler had given way'. It had been cracked for two years and would not serve for 'another washing'. All these defects in the Poorhouse must have considerably added to the bleakness of the inmates' lives.

There are no comparable reports on the condition of the Bangor Workhouse, but on 3 May 1882 the Guardians decided to ensure that all pipes from inside the House, 'whether overflow pipes or not, should be discharged outside of the buildings over water gratings'. They ordered that the cess-pools

in the Workhouse yards should be filled up 'as being now unnecessary'; that the 'whole system of drainage be ventilated by means of an existing but disused pipe at the Eastern extremity and that a 4 in iron pipe at the Western side of the infirmary should be carried up 'higher than the eaves of the building'. A discussion about the water-supply followed, and on 17 May 1882 the Guardians accepted the estimate of John Gill, Clerk of the Local Board of Health, of £18 'annual expenditure and for the expense of outlay of putting in the water from the mains'. (Unfortunately, this was the polluted water-supply; but gradually the water was purified, and the Local Board of Health was disbanded and Bangor was given a Charter of Incorporation in 1883.) The open fires were a potential hazard, and in May 1882, the Guardians recommended 'chimney-sweeping apparatus' for the use of the Workhouse and 24 fire-buckets and 4 ladders of 'sufficient length to reach the upper windows of the building'.[47]

According to a rate-payer, writing in the *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 4 December 1868 the estimated rate for each inmate in East Linton, including management costs, was 6s 3d per week. On 14 June 1869 the Governor gave the average weekly cost per inmate for the quarter as 5s 4d, a reduction of 11d, he said, on the corresponding period of the previous year. On 14 March 1881, the Governor said that the average cost per inmate was 2s 9¼d. According to Murray Browne, the cost of relief per head in Bangor Workhouse. for the half-year ended Lady Day 1877, was 3s 2d per week.[48] Colonel Sackville West, one of the Bangor Guardians, speaking at the north Wales Poor Law Conference held in Caernarfon in 1885, said that 'one fallacious idea that prevailed was that it was cheaper to give 'outdoor relief than to maintain the paupers in the House. That was not the fact.' Murray Browne claimed that outdoor relief did not benefit the 'really poor but led to extravagance, improvidence, and drunkenness.' The Rev D Williams of Ruthin spoke out against the workhouse, saying he believed he would be doing a 'signal service to humanity and to the rate-payers if he could raze to the ground every workhouse in the land', but his remark was greeted by 'loud laughter'.[49]

The Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Scottish Poor Law, reported in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* on 23 April 1869, referred to evidence that the Poor Law had encouraged 'improvidence' because relatives were no longer required to support each other. It was stated that the only remedy to prevent some people from spending their outdoor allowance on drink was to give them relief in kind. The idea of a general system of insurance, taken out of

wages, was perceived as an 'excellent plan' but it 'would hardly be consistent with the liberty of the subject to make it compulsory'.

At a meeting of the Edinburgh Association for Diffusing Information on Social Questions, Baillie Lewis gave his opinion that the tendency of the Poor Law Act of 1845 was 'to foster pauperism, to degrade the poverty stricken'. He also believed that the 'gigantic workhouses' sacrificed the interests of the poor to satisfy the desire for 'grandeur' on the part of the builders and architects. Parochial expenditure had increased and, he said, there had been a 'deterioratory influence upon the national character' shown in a loss of 'self-respect'.[50]

East Linton Poorhouse and Bangor Workhouse, although they served different communities and operated within different legal constraints, had more things in common than differences. The 'workhouse test' which was the central principle of the New Poor Law in England and Wales was not so clearly asserted in Scotland. In practice, nevertheless, the inmates of East Linton Poorhouse were under the same obligations as the inhabitants of Bangor Workhouse. The kind of provision which was made in East Lothian was in great measure determined by the practical needs of the inmates, and these closely resembled those of the poor in north Wales. Though differing principles were asserted in public controversy, the desire of landowners and others to minimise the cost of poor relief had very similar consequences in north Wales and in East Lothian. However diligent and well-intentioned the efforts of the East Linton Governors and the Bangor Guardians might be, they could achieve only a limited success in helping the 'deserving poor' and in deterring the 'undeserving'. Few paupers were allowed to starve under either version of the New Poor Law, but the humiliation and loss of liberty attached to both poorhouses and workhouses made them objects of fear among those whom they professed to relieve.

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11. *HC*, 14 November 1862
12. *HC*, 21 November 1862
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14. *HC*, 10 February 1865. Plans of East Linton Poorhouse (1862) are deposited in Haddington Local History Centre
15. Anglesey Archives Service (Llangefni Record Office), hereafter AAS, Bangor and Beaumaris Poor Law Union Records, WG/3/41a. Oral evidence indicates that when the Bangor Workhouse was demolished and a new one occupied in 1919, the inmates, moved from the old institution, deplored the central heating. They had 'liked to sit round the fire and chew tobacco and spit in the fire'. Gwynedd Archives Service (Caernarfon Record Office) XM/T/186. Evidence of Huw Jones
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THE FLETCHERS OF SALTOUN

by STEPHEN BUNYAN

This paper does not pretend to be a complete history either of the Fletcher family or of Saltoun, but is rather a study of some members of three generations of the family during the period when the estate was developed as one of the great improved estates of East Lothian.

Saltoun was bought by Sir Andrew Fletcher, lord of session, lord Innerpeffer in 1643. The Fletcher family are still at Saltoun but the mansion house was divided into several dwellings in 1967.

Many East Lothian estates were developed in the 17th and 18th centuries by men who had prospered in Edinburgh as merchants or who were eminent lawyers there. Many of them maintained an interest in national affairs as well as establishing themselves as country gentry.

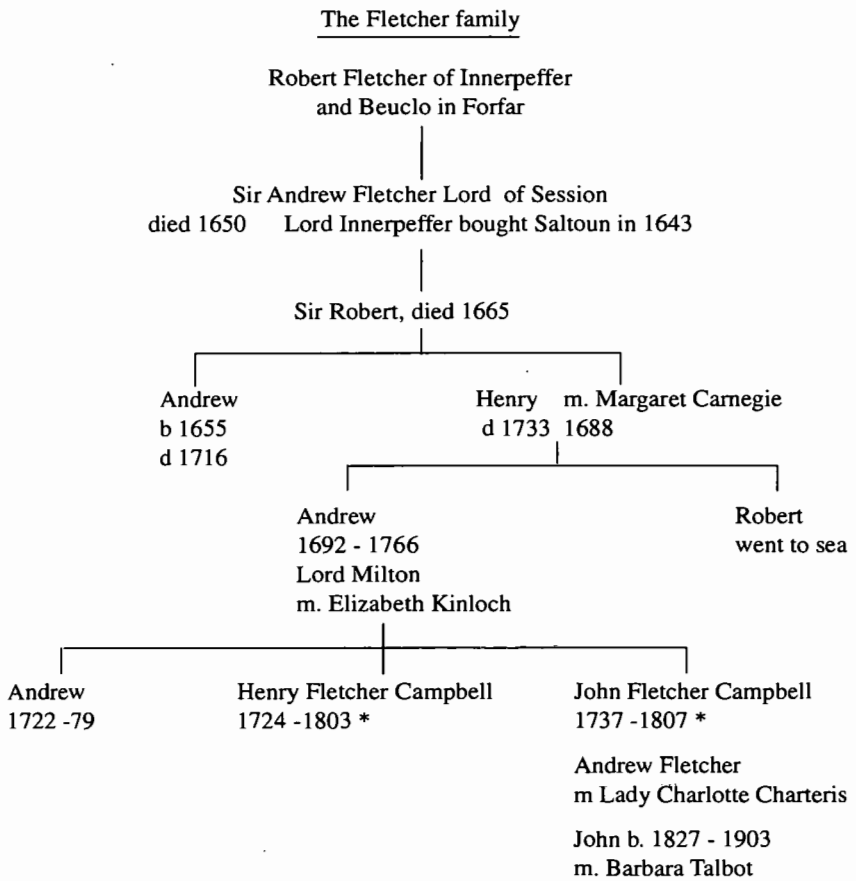
The inspiration for this paper came from reading some of the correspondence between Andrew Fletcher, his brother Henry, and Henry's son Andrew.

Andrew Fletcher was born in 1655 and inherited Saltoun in 1664. He was put under the care of Gilbert Burnet (then 21) minister designate of Saltoun and later bishop of Salisbury. He and his brother Henry, who was to inherit Saltoun in 1716, were tutored by Burnet and by the time he left Saltoun in 1669 they were proficient in Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as in modern languages. They were taught philosophy and to study religion with an open mind. They were also taught to treat all men with respect.

Andrew Fletcher, known as the Patriot, played a key role in the opposition to the Union in 1707 and also in the development of Saltoun but this also depended on the efforts of the rest of the family. In 1680/81 during the reign of King Charles II, Fletcher, a commissioner for East Lothian in the Scots

parliament, opposed the policy of the Duke of Lauderdale, the Scottish secretary and later the king's representative, and of the Duke of York (later James VII) and he had to flee to Holland. In so doing he followed in the footsteps of many Scots.

The Scots gentry were very Europe orientated in the 17th and 18th centuries. Some went as political or religious exiles, depending on the climate of opinion of the day. Some went as soldiers of fortune, as did Sir John Hepburn, son of a portioner of Athelstaneford, who fought for the elector Palatine, husband of Princess Elizabeth (daughter of James VI), for King Gustavus



* Added the name Campbell having inherited Boquhan

Adolphus who knighted him and finally for Louis XIII of France for whom, with the authority of Charles I, he raised the Scottish Brigade which eventually came back to Britain in the reign of Charles II and became the Royal Scots. Hepburn died at the siege of Sauverne in 1636 having just been made a marshal of France.

Some served in other ways. John Law of Lauriston 1671-1729 was comptroller general of the finances of France and was known to keep French nobles waiting while he wrote home with instructions about planting cabbages at Lauriston.

In general elder sons went on short visits in search of culture or education, younger sons in search of a fortune. Some went to trade because Scottish rentals were paid in grain and markets had to be found.

After the death of King Charles II Fletcher was involved in the Monmouth rising. During the preparations for the rising he acted as a liaison officer between Monmouth and Argyll. Argyll landed in Scotland in May 1685 and Fletcher came to England with Monmouth. He was involved in a duel over a horse shortly afterwards and fled to Spain where he was imprisoned but was rescued. He joined the Duke of Lorraine in a campaign against the Turks in Hungary. He was later charged with high treason, his estates were confiscated and his blood declared tainted. Saltoun was given to the Earl of Dumbarton who appointed his brother the Duke of Hamilton as agent.

Although Fletcher realised that William of Orange had probably sabotaged the Monmouth rising, he came back to Scotland as one of William's supporters in 1689. He petitioned for the return of Saltoun in 1690. He expressed indignation at the fate of those involved in the Darien scheme and its effect on Scotland. For its failure William of Orange was largely blamed. In 1703 Fletcher was again a representative for East Lothian in the Scottish parliament and was recognised as the head of the nationalist party. He was concerned about the effect of a possible union on 'the ancient glories of Caledonia' and put forward a scheme to create a federal union and to divide the two kingdoms into provinces or states with their own capitals and each with a large measure of home rule. He visualised Scotland being divided into two such provinces with Edinburgh being the capital of neither.

He also believed that slaves as found in ancient Rome were happy and

useful and he saw serfdom as an integral part of his scheme with land owners being compelled to take white slaves in proportion to their holdings. He also suggested sending ruffian vagabonds to the plantations or to Venice as galley slaves. This idea which may seem startling to us, doubtless appeared less so to a society which still allowed the sale of Scottish children for prices up to £16 in the colonial markets and 'willing' adults over the age of fourteen went as indentured servants into limited but virtual slavery. Robert Burns himself considered it and summed up the practice in the following lines:— "We are bought and sold for English gold Such a parcel of rogues in a nation".

Fletcher was one of the key opponents of the idea of an incorporating union. When the opposition proved to no avail he withdrew from Edinburgh with the comment that Scotland was now only 'fit for the slaves who sold it'. He returned to Edinburgh in the following year and was arrested with a number of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen. The government was alarmed by the abortive Jacobite expedition of 1708. The others were sent to London where Lord Belhaven died. Perhaps it was realised that Fletcher while violently opposed to the Union was unlikely to support the Jacobite cause having so recently had Saltoun restored to him. Fletcher now concentrated on developing Saltoun. He had been impressed by Dutch methods of agriculture and had noted the efficiency of the machinery used there for removing husks from Barley. In 1710 he employed James Meikle to go to Amsterdam to look at barley mills and in particular at the metal parts that could not easily be constructed in Scotland. On Meikle's return a mill was established at Saltoun, in a building built by William Adam. It was the first such mill in Scotland and was continually in use. Saltoun barley became well known. The mill and indeed the estate was largely run by his brother Henry Fletcher and the detailed management of the mill was undertaken by his wife, Margaret Carnegie. Andrew had a high regard for his sister in law. His response to those who asked him why he never married was 'My brother has got the woman that should have been my wife'. Given this circumstance, the continued harmony within the family is remarkable. Margaret also went to Holland at Andrew's suggestion where she learned how to weave and dress fine linens which she introduced to Scotland as Holland cloth. Holland blinds were still common until after the second world war.

Young Andrew (nephew to Andrew Fletcher) was sent to study law at Leyden and matriculated there in 1714 and this leads to the correspondence referred to earlier.

It was an important time in European history. James II & VII had died in 1701 and his son was recognised by Louis XIV. This violation of the Treaty of Ryswick made English Tories and Whigs both willing to support the war William wanted, to prevent Louis securing the throne of Spain and the Spanish Dominions for his grandson Philip V.

Although William died in 1702, the government of Queen Anne continued with William's policy and in the war of Spanish succession which followed (1702-1713) the British army achieved outstanding military successes under the Duke of Marlborough particularly at Blenheim in 1704. Ironically James Fitz James, the Duke of Berwick, (son of James VII by Arabella Churchill and so Marlborough's nephew), a marshall of France, defeated the Earl of Galway at the significant Battle of Almanza in 1707. His half brother prince James Edward (the Old Pretender) played an effective role on behalf of the French at Malplaquet in 1709.

By the treaty of Utrecht Louis agreed to expel James from France, the Pretender left for Bar le Duc in Lorraine in February 1713 and Louis accepted the protestant succession in Britain. Queen Anne died in August 1714, James went back to France hoping for support but Louis XIV could not support him and James returned to Bar le Duc where he issued a proclamation declaring his right to the British throne. It was at this fascinating time that the young Andrew was completing his studies in Leyden and his uncle went to Europe partly to visit him. The resulting letters between uncle, nephew and Henry at Saltoun are fascinating for various reasons. While their main concern is the private affairs of the individuals concerned, they demonstrate how individuals were able to keep in touch with dramatic national events. The first letter was from the Hague and young Andrew was bidden to come from Leyden with minimum luggage for the weekend. It was written on the Friday night. Andrew was to travel at 2.30pm on Saturday and return on Sunday night and so lose no lessons. Andrew senior soon moved to Paris. He arrived there on 25th October 1715 to find a very changed situation. Louis XIV had died on 1st September. This though long expected was indeed the end of an era in Europe. It was a great blow to the Jacobites and to their prospects in the 1715 rising. Nevertheless the rising had got under way. Fletcher called on the British ambassador the Earl of Stair to demonstrate his loyalty. The Jacobites had expected him to support them.

We learn from Henry that the first encounter of the rising was in East

Lothian between a force of 20 men — sent by the Marquess of Tweeddale, the Lord Lieutenant under Dr Sinclair of Herdmanston and Hepburn of Humbie to prevent Hepburn of Keith from joining the Jacobite Earl of Winton. They found Keith at home but ready to depart. In the ensuing confrontation Keith's youngest son was killed. Dr Sinclair came under local censure for this action. Keith and his remaining sons joined the Jacobite gentry and went off to the Borders. Concern was expressed for the safety of Saltoun with hostilities so close and also the effect of Argyll's levy on the countryside. East Lothian had to provide 100 carts with 3 horses each. Henry informs Andrew that his levy is two, that the government pays the carter 8d and 2d worth of bread a day and 1/- a day and fodder for the horse and will pay for lost or spoiled horses [£1 equalled 20/- or 240d] Henry informed Andrew "I have given your carters boots, furred caps and a double highland plaid and the horses are sheeted". In short he is providing proper care for both the servants and horses requisitioned.

The letter demonstrates the quandary into which the rising put the gentry families when old loyalties conflicted with political expediency. Andrew wrote to his nephew 'The Pretender . . . is taking all pains to ruin his affairs which convinces everybody who did not formally believe it that he is of the family.' [There was a persistent rumour that he had been smuggled into the Queen's bedchamber in a warming pan at birth].

Then on the 26th of May Andrew wrote that he had refused to see the lord Marshall (Keith) because 'when things are so recent (his arrest) you can't be too careful especially if you can do nothing.' Similarly he wrote to Henry to tell lady Balensho that he could do no more for his cousin Fletcher of Balensho. He summed his view up as follows "I hate the thought of the Pretender as much as any man breathing. The Tories and the Jacobites are madmen. The Whigs some of them are traitors and some half witted".

This interesting interlude was soon over. With hindsight we know that it never had much hope of success but to families like Fletcher's it must have been a matter of great concern. They would be concerned for the ultimate result and how they as a family should ensure political survival, and also concerned for the well-being of relatives and friends involved on either side and for the security of property both during and after such an event. Young Andrew was a particularly well-informed young man, with an uncle in Paris with the ear both of the British ambassador and the leading Jacobites and with his father at Saltoun close to the action in Scotland.

The second great concern of those letters is much more personal. It is the purchase of books for the library Andrew wanted at Saltoun. The books were bought with zeal, with care, and with expense but always with an eye for a careful purchase. They were not to be read as it turned out by their collector and possibly, as is the way with such libraries, by no-one since. Young Andrew was given detailed and extensive instructions about purchasing books mainly through a Mr. Alexander Cunningham and how to secure good bargains either in Holland or in England. It was however stressed that he should not become so personally involved as to interfere with his studies, but to employ someone else to go to the auctions and make the actual purchases. Andrew was then to send the books to Scotland in "safe bottoms". Concern was expressed about the barbarous habit of the customs' officers of piercing the packages. A letter came from Henry telling Andrew that as bound books were considered contraband he should send them in a 'Pans' ship (i.e. Prestonpans) directed to Mr. Hadden, collector at the Pans with no direction as to their ultimate destination. Young Andrew in short was expected to buy large numbers of books, bound and unbound, and to send them to Scotland, to take some to Paris, and to buy some for his own studies. He was to arrange to have these paid for by drafts on the Saltoun estate and Henry was to arrange for their safe transit from Prestonpans and to pay for them from the income of the estate.

The third main theme of the letters is Andrew's desire to have his nephew in Paris and the preparations required particularly with regard to the younger man's wardrobe. This discussion started in November 1715. When Henry eventually agreed that the visit could happen, it was agreed that Andrew should go on the 24th July 1716 and that they would leave Paris on 24th September. They would have had a coach for two months so that they could see all that was worthwhile in Paris and its environs. On 16th June Andrew senior started to give detailed instructions about his nephew's clothes, even to the shape of cuffs, reminding him that he would need a black suit, for Paris was still in mourning for Louis XIV who had died on September 1st 1715 and Dutch black cloth was excellent, unlike the poor cloth in Paris. In any event his uncle did not want to be housebound while they waited for clothes to be made in Paris and he wanted Andrew to get black silk stockings which would be very dear in Paris. (This situation may seem strange to us but even in this century national mourning affected the whole community and certainly anyone in court and official circles. All commissioned officers wore mourning bands for King George VI in 1952.)

All these plans came to naught because Andrew Fletcher turned ill of a looseness and in a letter from London by 21st August we find that the tour had been abandoned and he was expressing the hope that he might recover enough strength to get back to Saltoun. Henry urged him to come home if possible and wrote to his son giving instructions on what to do if the worst happened. In the event of his uncle's death, Andrew was to send his body by sea and to come himself by land. Further letters were exchanged. Henry was prevented by his own illness from travelling south. Andrew was to secure his uncle's nightgown for his mother and if it had been left to any servant, he was to buy it back. Andrew Fletcher's last thought was for his oppressed country. He died at peace on Saturday 15th September 1716 and Andrew acting on his father's instructions sent the body to Leith for burial at Saltoun.

Henry inherited Saltoun and he and his wife Margaret Carnegie carried on their development of the estate. Although Andrew Fletcher deplored the Union, it had led to a period of stability in which agricultural improvements became fashionable and East Lothian lairds led the way. Prosperity and productivity both greatly increased in the 18th century.

Henry died in 1733 and Young Andrew who had already established himself as a distinguished lawyer inherited Saltoun. In 1724 at the age of 32 he had become a senator of the college of Justice with the title Lord Milton. Soon after inheriting Saltoun he became Lord Justice Clerk. His importance was political rather than judicial. In the period of the '45 he acted as Deputy to the Secretary of State. In 1748 he resigned from the judiciary and he became adviser to the third Duke of Argyll, and controlled elections and patronage on which the government depended. He did however show a progressive spirit by promoting trade and agriculture. His plan for the reconciliation of the Highlands which was not adopted was wiser than Cumberland's repression. During his time Saltoun was developed further. The British Linen Company of which Lord Milton was a founding member was given a charter in 1746. Almost at once the company realised the importance of establishing a bleaching field. Milton was already aware of the problem and had helped to develop the mill established by his mother at Saltoun. By 1746 Milton was deputy Governor of the British Linen Company and an arrangement was made with the Company to establish a bleaching field at Saltoun. It operated from 1748 until 1773, and was run in a highly professional way, including training for staff who were later to perform key roles as managers in other fields.

Milton and the other improving lairds did not work in isolation. They exchanged ideas, seeds and specimens. James Justice of Crichton propagated exotic trees, shrubs and plants at great expense and finally over-reached himself. Milton, who was a relative, was a creditor when his estate was put up for sale. Milton and his son also Andrew were in frequent communication with the Kinlochs of Gilmerton. Lady Milton was Elizabeth Kinloch. This young Andrew and his father shared the same interests. Andrew became M.P. for the local burghs constituency and was also confidential secretary to Argyll. He kept his father informed about the political situation but he was also constantly employed sending seeds to East Lothian and to Inveraray. It was said that his room in London 'is like that of a great seedsman instead of the apartment of a gentleman.' He made a catalogue of Chinese plants on which he was an expert. His father meantime was building a walled garden at Saltoun. In 1754 young Andrew came home to supervise the work and other works at Saltoun. The accession of George III in 1760 made great political changes and Andrew retired to Scotland. Milton died in 1766 and Andrew returned to Saltoun in 1768. In 1775 he built the library at Saltoun to house the books his father had collected for his great uncle. He died in 1779 and was succeeded in turn by his brothers Lt. General Henry Fletcher Campbell, and then General John Fletcher Campbell in 1803.

The architect Robert Burn who had built the manse in 1802, and who built the church for John Fletcher Campbell in 1805, as a memorial to his ancestor, added corner turrets and castellation to the house in 1803. The present appearance of the house is the work of William Burn for John's son Andrew after 1817. It demonstrates the wealth of the family at that time and is a testimony in stone to the increased prosperity of the East Lothian lairds in the period of just over a century from the time when Andrew Fletcher had his estates restored by William of Orange and his brother's lady was personally supervising the new barley mill. The story is one of a family proud of each others' achievements and proud of and devoted to both their country and the estate that was their home.

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On Sunday, 1st October, members visited the Glasite Meeting House in Edinburgh where Desmond Hodges, the Director of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, spoke about the house and about James Craig and the development of the New Town of Edinburgh. He led members thereafter through Queen Street Gardens and by Waterloo Place to Calton Hill.

During the year there were three lectures. On Thursday, 21st September, the Society supported East Lothian District Council Library Service's talk on the Battle of Prestonpans by John S. Gibson, given in the Community Centre, Prestonpans.

On Thursday, 9th November, Mrs Jean Blades gave a Lecture on Col. Gardiner and the Stair Family.

On Thursday, 8th February, an illustrated Lecture on 'Artists in East Lothian 1860-1920' was given by Martin A. Forrest of the Martin Forrest Gallery.

The Annual Dinner was held on 22nd March in Kilspindie House Hotel when an illustrated talk entitled 'To Be A Pilgrim' was given by the Hon. Sec. on the theme of his recent visit to Israel.

Vol. XXIII of the Transactions should be available by the time of the AGM. The Society maintains its interest in local matters. The Secretary represents the Society as a Trustee of the Lamp of Lothian. The Society has been represented on the John Muir Park Management Committee by Mr R. Weatherhead, on the North Berwick Museum Management Committee by Mrs J. Hunt and Mr R. Forster, and on the Traprain Law Advisory Group by the Hon. Sec. These committees lapse with the demise of East Lothian District Council but it is hoped they will be re-instated by East Lothian Council.

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 Industrial Heritage Society. The Society is vigilant over threats to our heritage of historic buildings, landscapes and natural habitats. It makes appropriate representations when these seem threatened. It continues to be interested in potential development at Archerfield and Gosford, and in the possible development of a Centre dedicated to the memory of John Muir.

The Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports were presented and the Accounts were accepted by the meeting.

The Office-Bearers were re-elected. Mr. Woolman and Mrs. Lewis, having served two terms on Council, retired as Members of Council. Mrs. Janet Hunt was re-elected and Prof. Charles Kemball and Mr. D.A.G. Thompson were elected as Members of Council. Mr. C. Campbell was re-elected as Independent Financial Adviser.

At the conclusion of the meeting members had an opportunity to see the restored monument to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, and the restored Parish Church. It was noted that after the fire in 1987 the Society had published a supplement to the Transactions containing three papers; on the Monument, the Earl of Dunbar and the History of Dunbar Parish Church. This supplement is still available.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

On Saturday 8th June Neil Clark led a group to Woodhall Dean, the S.W.T. Reserve near Innerwick. On Saturday 13th July the Earl and Countess of Wemyss arranged for members to visit Redhouse Tower where Lord Wemyss outlined the history of the Tower and the work done to conserve the building. On Saturday 21st September members visited Seton House and Seton Collegiate Church, a welcome opportunity to see a well documented and almost unaltered Adam building. On Saturday 21st September members visited Prestonhall and were welcomed by Major Henry Callender who showed the house and indicated how the house has been given a role in our time. Some members went on to visit Crichton Collegiate Church which was open that day. On Saturday 19th October members visited the Napier Museum and saw how Merchiston Tower had been incorporated in the new University building, how Napier's contribution to Mathematics and Science was valued, and the Prestongrange ceiling in its new setting.

During the season two lectures were given. On Thursday 7th November the Revd. H. MacKay of Talmine gave a lecture on Armigerous Families in East Lothian in which he gave a fascinating outline of how Coats of Arms came into existence as well as some local examples. In February Mr. C. Tabraham gave a fascinating talk entitled Fortress Scotland and the Jacobites, on the Jacobite threat in the 18th century and the government's reactions to it.

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