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welcomes contributions for the next *Transactions* (VOL. XXVII)

Front cover illustration: Bobbie Clark 1894 (self-portrait). Bobbie was a gardener at Saltoun Hall 1894-1901. He was also a keen photographer, and his fascinating photographic album of his time at Saltoun is the subject of Kathy Fairweather's article in this Transactions.

Back cover illustration: Bobbie Clark (on left) with Tommy 'Gassy' Lawson, gasmaker (centre) and Jamie Scott, the garden boy, pose for the last time at Saltoun Hall Gardens, February 1901. Shortly after, Bobbie left to take up a gardener's post in Fife.

(East Lothian Council Library Service.)

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PRESTONPANS IN THE IRON AGE: EXCAVATIONS AT WEST LOAN, 2003

By ELIZABETH JONES

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM GRAEME BROWN, JULIE FRANKLIN, MHAIRI HASTIE, DAVE HENDERSON AND ANN MACSWEEN

SUMMARY

Excavation in advance of a housing development close to the fifteenth-century Preston Tower revealed a multi-ditched Iron-Age enclosure, perhaps a small farmstead, and a medieval enclosure of twelfth-/fourteenth-century date. Radiocarbon dates indicated an earlier medieval settlement on the site, suggesting occupation prior to the formal establishment of Preston in the twelfth century. A post-medieval stock enclosure and cultivation furrows were also found.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Headland Archaeology undertook an excavation in October 2003 at West Loan, Prestonpans, in advance of a housing development. The site is located on the E side of West Loan, within the historic medieval village of Preston and adjacent to Preston Tower (NGR NT 390742; fig 1). Evaluation had earlier revealed archaeological features of prehistoric and medieval date in the SE corner of the site. The archaeological excavation was commissioned and funded by Hart Estates Ltd and curated by the East Lothian Council Heritage Officer. The excavation archive is being lodged with the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

The excavation comprised an area in the SE corner of the site measuring 1300m^2. The main objective was to record any archaeological features that would be affected by the proposed development. Four main phases were defined.

PHASE 1: IRON-AGE ENCLOSURE (FIGS 2 & 3)

Three concentric ditches were discovered belonging to a truncated prehistoric enclosure; the rest of it would have lain further to the SE. The inner ditch, ditch 1, was the southernmost, curvilinear in plan and running roughly E-W. Its W end lay within the footprint of a former garage building where it had been more heavily truncated than elsewhere. Further E, the ditch was filled by clayey silt with large amounts of broken sandstone rubble, possibly collapse from a bank. Fragments of bone were retrieved from the ditch fill but no dateable artefacts.

Ditch 2 ran approximately 5m to the N of ditch 1. The primary fill was sandy clay with rounded stones and occasional bone and coal fragments. The upper fill was compact sandy clay with coal fragments and small angular stones, with a layer of larger stones at the base of the deposit, a fill thought to derive from the erosion of a bank. Fragments of Iron-Age pottery were retrieved, along with relatively large amounts of burnt and unburnt bone.

Ditch 3 ran approximately 4m to the N of ditch 2, curving slightly to the SE at the E end. At its W end it was filled with compact silty clay with small stones and sandstone fragments. The upper fill comprised a shell midden with some bone fragments, which had either been used to fill the ditch or had slumped into it once the enclosure had gone out of use. At the E end the ditch was more heavily truncated and filled with compact and stony sandy clay containing occasional bone.

A small gully, ditch 11, ran NE-SW between ditches 1 and 2, but otherwise no other features were found within the enclosure. The gully's relationship with ditch 2 was not apparent. No dateable finds were recovered but, given the nature of its fill, it was possibly associated with the enclosure ditches.

All the ditch fills contained a mix of animal bone, lithics, marine shell and carbonised plant remains. The majority of animal bone recovered from the site came from ditch 1 and the upper fill of ditch 2 and may relate to activities taking place in the enclosure. A high concentration of edible periwinkle shells formed part of the midden in ditch 2; the midden was either deposited into the ditch or may have slumped in after abandonment of the enclosure. The quantity of carbonised plant remains recovered from all three ditches was very low.

PHASE 2: MEDIEVAL ENCLOSURE (FIGS 2 & 4)

Several features of medieval date were found, probably relating to an enclosed site. Ditch 7 was very shallow and filled with a sandy clay silt containing charcoal and fragments of medieval white gritty pottery. Ditch 6 to its W appeared to cut it. Its primary fill contained charcoal and both medieval (white gritty and redware) and early modern (tin-glazed earthenware) pottery. Ditch 5 ran NE-SW across the site. At its S end it was filled with sandy silt with charcoal, stones and sandstone. Further N it cut through ditch 6. No datable finds were retrieved from it. Low quantities of carbonised hulled barley, oat and bread wheat grains were recovered from ditch 5, all species commonly cultivated in medieval and early modern East Lothian.

PHASE 3: POST-MEDIEVAL FEATURES (FIGS 2 & 4)

Phase 3 comprised a post-medieval corral or stock enclosure (ditches 8 and 9) and a series of furrows. Ditch 8 curved from NE-SW. It abutted ditch 9 at

Figure 1. West Loan, Prestonpans: Site location.

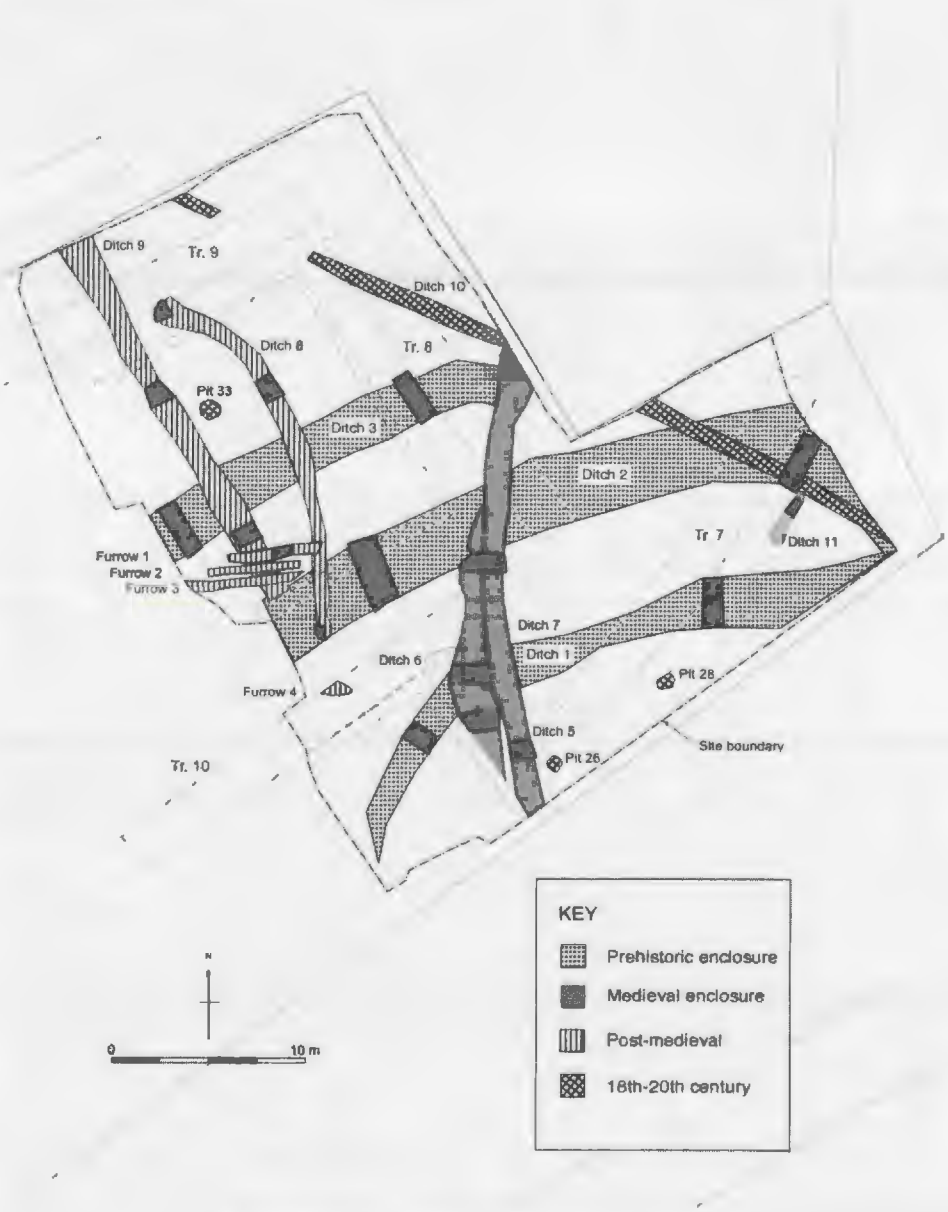

Figure 2. West Loan, Prestonpans: Location of features.

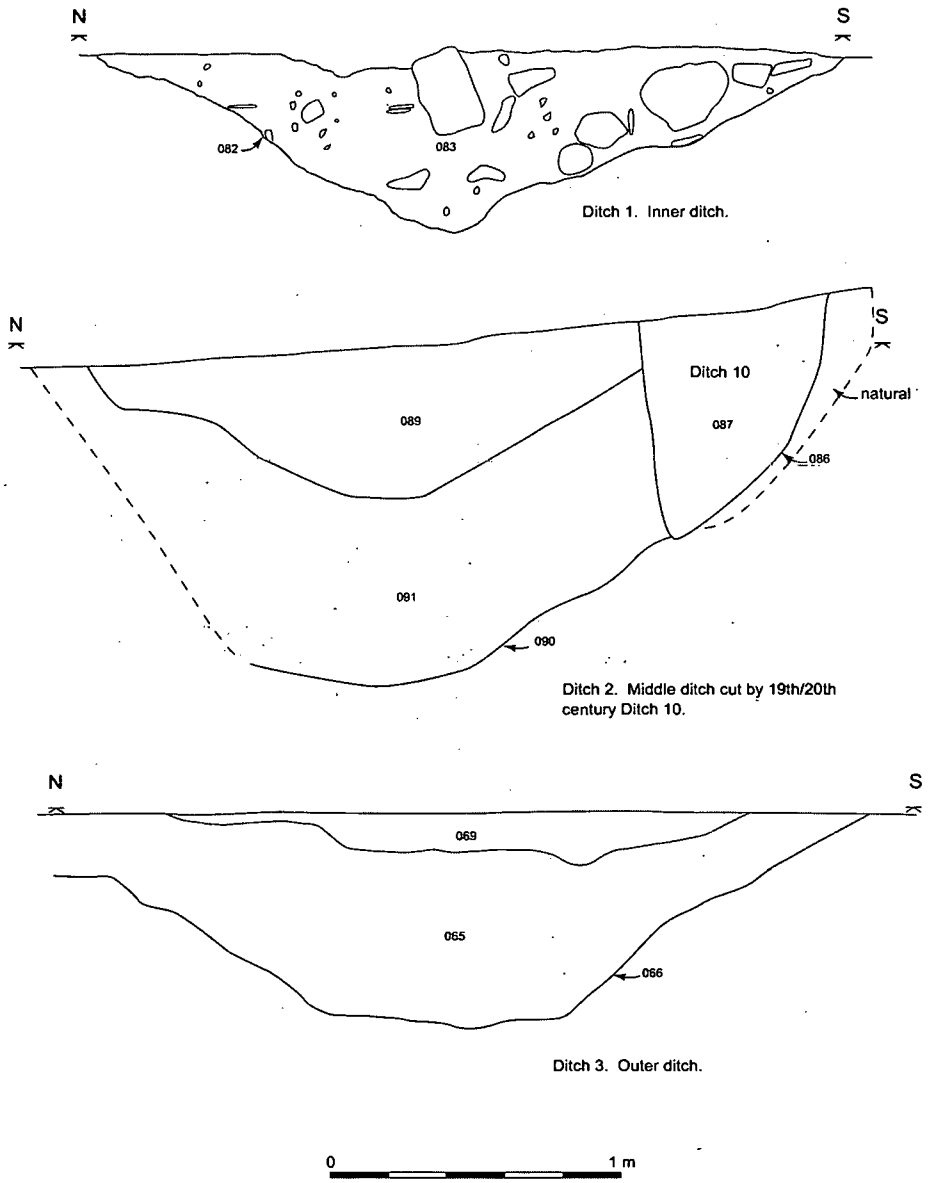

Figure 3. West Loan, Prestonpans: Sections through enclosure ditches.

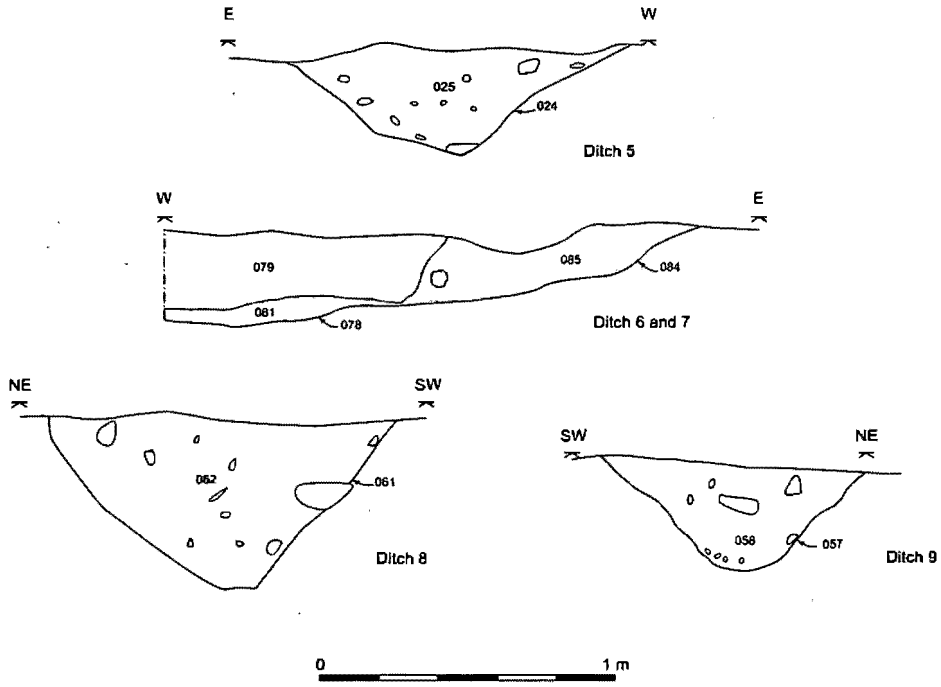

Figure 4. West Loan, Prestonpans: Sections through medieval and post-medieval ditches.

the N end and appeared to continue to respect the line of ditch 9 at the S end. It was filled with fine clayey silt with charcoal and sandstone inclusions and a sherd of white earthenware pottery. Ditch 9, running roughly NW-SE immediately to the W of ditch 8, was filled with silty clay with angular sandstone, gravel, charcoal and early modern pottery. It was cut by later furrows (see below) and by the modern garage foundations and was not traced beyond this wall.

Furrow 1 ran roughly E-W and was traced for 5m in the W part of the site. It was filled with clayey silt with charcoal and burnt bone. A piece of kiln furniture of nineteenth-century date was also retrieved from it. Furrows 2 and 3 ran parallel, and to the S of, furrow 1 and were of similar dimensions and therefore not excavated. Furrow 4 was excavated in the evaluation and followed the same alignment. Rig-and-furrow cultivation can be seen on early maps of the site from the eighteenth century onwards.

PHASE 4: MODERN

A service trench (ditch 10) was found cutting through ditch 2 in the N part of the site, and also a number of small pits containing glass and pottery fragments of modern date.

RADIOCARBON DATES

A number of contexts produced charred cereal grain, but only two samples were deemed of sufficient quality for radiocarbon dating. The calibrated age ranges were determined from the OxCal3.8 programme and were measured at the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre AMS Facility.

Lab no.	Material	Feature	Years BP	Calibrated dates 95.4% probability
SUERC-2640 (GU- 11769)	Carbonised cereal grain: *Triticum sp.* (wheat)	Ditch 2 Context 35	2100±35	210 BC (93.3%) 40 BC
SUERC-2636 (GU- 11768)	Carbonised cereal grain: *Hordeum vulgare* (barley)	Ditch 5 Context 25	1000±35	AD 970 (65.7%) -AD1070

DISCUSSION

THE IRON-AGE ENCLOSURE

Numerous Iron-Age enclosures are located on the East Lothian coastal plain, ranging from single ditch to multi-vallate enclosures. The excavated examples alternate between open, enclosed or palisaded phases of settlement. The location of these sites probably reflects the good agricultural soils, and their high density to an agricultural expansion from 200-100 BC onwards (Alexander & Watkins 1998).

The relationship between enclosed and open sites is problematic. The physical appearance of settlements has been suggested as a reflection of social development underway across much of the country (Armit & Ralston 1997). The geographical and chronological relationships between open and enclosed settlements, however, are not clear. There does, though, seem to be a general trend towards building enclosing works of enhanced solidity.

The periodic remodelling of enclosures may represent the command of labour by an élite, with the enclosed site seen as a symbol of authority and territoriality *(ibid)*. Hillforts are viewed as at the top of this hierarchy, followed by enclosed and then open sites. However, the absence of well-defined chronological

sequences for such sites has restricted attempts to establish whether settlement hierarchies existed at this time.

The limited excavated area at West Loan means it is not possible to determine the completed form of the enclosure. The three concentric ditches may have continued, to form three complete ditch circuits, or may have been part of a number of enclosures of different shape and size. The inner enclosure ditch (ditch 1) would, if circular, have been around 50m in diameter. Other excavations in the vicinity of Prestonpans have demonstrated that enclosures of this type and date are not generally single phase, suggesting that the ditches may not all have been in use at the same time.

The development of other sites in East Lothian, for example, Broxmouth hillfort, near Dunbar, shows outward expansion from the earlier enclosures, suggesting the enclosure builders were concerned with status and symbolism as well as defence (Hill 1982). The earlier enclosures at Fishers Road, West Pans, were subsequently enlarged by creating new ditch circuits outside the existing boundary (Haselgrove & McCullagh 2000), and a similar development may have occurred at West Loan. Excavations at St Germains revealed an early ditched enclosure of relatively shallow depth enclosing a single building. The ditch may have been used to form a low bank, perhaps with a palisade, but was far too insubstantial to have a defensive function (Alexander & Watkins 1998).

The inner enclosure ditch at West Loan is also relatively small in comparison with the later ditches. It represents the first phase of enclosure, perhaps with a small bank, which may have enclosed one or more buildings. Subsequently a more substantial ditch, ditch 2, was constructed. The space between the ditches would have been negligible and the bank for ditch 2 would have obscured that of ditch 1, suggesting the enclosures succeeded each other rather than forming a multi-vallate enclosure. No evidence of a bank survives, although comparison with Fishers Road suggests that the stone layer in ditch 2 and the rocky fill of ditch 1 may represent fallen material from a bank. Truncation of the site has removed all trace of the bank itself.

The outer enclosure ditch at St Germains would have formed a fairly substantial earthwork, especially in comparison with the relatively small area it enclosed. This suggests an increase in the status of the residents of the site as much as an increased need for defence. The construction of ditch 2 at West Loan may also reflect the need for a more prominent enclosure. The later development of the site is more difficult to ascertain. Ditch 3 is of a similar size to ditch 2 and it is possible that the two outer ditches were sometimes in use at the same time, forming

a multi-vallate enclosure. Ditch 2 went out of use by the end of the first century BC and this may be when the settlement was abandoned. Alternatively, it may have continued in use with ditch 3 as the main enclosure ditch, or continued in existence as an unenclosed settlement. In either case, it appears likely that by the time the settlement was abandoned the ditches were no longer maintained. The earthworks were certainly no longer visible by the early medieval period.

There are few indicators as to whether the site functioned as a settlement or not. Only one internal feature was found, associated with the middle ditch, and even this is of uncertain date. Truncation has clearly affected the survival of internal features, although the small space between the defences may suggest that features are unlikely to be expected here and that the main settlement area remained within the inner ditch. The lack of internal features is therefore likely to be a result of the small internal area excavated. The finds assemblage is typical for sites of the region and may suggest that the ditches were still open when the site was abandoned (Haselgrove & McCullagh 2000). However, it is difficult to say whether this is a true reflection of the material culture left within the enclosure or due to the small sample excavated. The shell midden, pottery and animal bones indicate that consumption took place here, and it is likely that this was a mixed farming settlement.

Radiocarbon dating dates the enclosure to 210 - 40 BC. The dated material came from the upper fill of ditch 2, establishing the period in which this ditch was no longer maintained. The lack of dateable finds and suitable material for radiocarbon dating make it impossible to establish a clear chronology for the sequence of ditch construction. However, the two sherds of Iron-Age pottery recovered from ditch 2 are thought to derive from different periods suggesting the enclosure was relatively long lived. If ditch 2 represents the second phase of ditch construction, it seems possible that the lifespan of the enclosure could stretch beyond the radiocarbon date in both directions.

The site at West Loan is contemporary with the enclosures at Fishers Road, both of which were abandoned at the time of the Flavian intervention in southern Scotland around AD 80. The reason for the change at Fishers Road is ascribed to the coastal location of the sites, in view of the Romans arriving by sea. West Loan too is only 500m from the coast, and may have been similarly affected. A number of enclosures in East Lothian ceased to be maintained towards the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age and this may be an indication of the reassertion of social authority by a higher élite. It also reflects the emergence of the emphasis of individual display over the social group, reflected in the increase in prestige goods found at hillforts such as Traprain Law (Armit 1999).

THE MEDIEVAL ENCLOSURE

Figure 5: Preston Tower & seventeenth-century wall, looking east.

Medieval rural settlement sites are poorly recorded in lowland Scotland as the focus has tended to be on urban sites threatened by development. Most rural excavations have also focused on high-status sites such as castles and abbeys, leading to an incomplete understanding of medieval settlement and land use. Cropmark evidence also tends to be biased towards prehistoric interpretation, although closer inspection and excavation may reveal more of these to be medieval in date (Barclay 2001).

PRESTONPANS IN THE IRON AGE: EXCAVATIONS AT WEST LOAN, 2003

The first recorded settlement at Prestonpans was Preston, established in AD 1184 by Newbattle Abbey. In the late medieval period it was an important industrial centre serving the Lothians. The economy was initially focused on salt and coal but with the onset of the Industrial Revolution diversified into pottery production. The lands of Preston belonged to the Hamiltons from the latter part of the fourteenth century, and Preston Tower was built by Sir Robert Hamilton in the later fifteenth century. The enclosure wall forming the NE and SE boundaries dates to the seventeenth century (see fig. 5).

The three ditches (5, 6 and 7) at West Loan are interpreted as the W side of a medieval enclosure, and may represent a predecessor to Preston Tower. The earliest ditch (7) terminates around 5m from the S edge of the site, suggesting that the initial enclosure was not complete and may have comprised a series of sections. This early ditch is completely cut away by the later ditches to the N. Ditch 6, while extending outwith the S end of the excavated area, is also completely cut away by the latest ditch (5), which appears to be on a slightly different alignment. While ditches 6 and 7 show re-cutting on the same alignment, ditch 5 appears to be slightly different and may represent a slight remodelling of the enclosure. The ditch was clearly maintained for some time, which may reflect its importance. The gravel deposit at the base of ditch 6, and the ditches' depths in relation to the local topography, suggest they may have been designed to hold water. The heavy truncation of the site has left only the bases of these ditches surviving and it is possible they originally formed more substantial features. The lack of internal features and the small number of finds makes further interpretation difficult.

Radiocarbon dates from ditch 5 date the enclosure to the tenth - twelfth century. There are few excavated parallels for enclosures of this date, the closest being that at Upper Gothens, Perthshire, radiocarbon-dated to the ninth - eleventh centuries (*ibid*). That enclosure, also heavily truncated but with some internal features surviving, was around 60m in diameter. Its ditch was also similar to that at West Loan, and had been re-cut at least once, and backed or replaced with timber fencing. Smelting slag recovered suggested its use as a high-status estate centre. An enclosure of twelfth-century date has also been recently excavated at Perceton, Ayrshire, perhaps a stockaded farmstead interpreted as a local centre and probably occupied by a steward on behalf of an absentee landlord (Stronach 2004).

The radiocarbon dates from West Loan suggest it is closer chronologically to Upper Gothens; the form of enclosure is also similar. However, the radiocarbon dates at West Loan do not correspond to the dates of the pottery. The radiocarbon dates were from the latest ditch (5), which contained a small quantity of iron slag

but no pottery. Both the earlier ditches (6 and 7) contained both white gritty and redware pottery. Whilst the presence of the former would not rule out an eleventh-century date, the redware suggests that the radiocarbon-dated material is intrusive and that the enclosure is no earlier than the twelfth century. The radiocarbon dates do, however, indicate that there was an earlier settlement in the area. The possibility of an earlier site suggests continuity of settlement. The arrival of incoming feudal landlords in the twelfth century is unlikely to have caused a sudden change in patterns of land division (Pollock 1985).

Whilst the smallness of the excavated area at West Loan, coupled with the lack of internal features, does not enable a more comprehensive understanding of the site, the siting of it adjacent to the later Preston Tower may indicate the site's status. At Perceton, the survival of the early farmstead is attributed to the subsequent success of the estate with its progressively larger and grander residences. The enclosure at West Loan may similarly reflect an earlier settlement and precursor to Preston Tower. The construction of the enclosure may have followed the formal establishment of Preston by Newbattle Abbey. The continuity of sites through the medieval period to the present day suggests it is unlikely that the enclosure was abandoned prior to building Preston Tower in the fifteenth century.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL FEATURES

From the mid seventeenth century, Preston Tower was no longer occupied, and later maps show it as a ruin (Forrest 1799; Ainslie 1821; Thomson 1832). The agricultural improvements of the eighteenth century are likely to have altered the pattern of land division and use in the area, including around Preston Tower.

The narrow entrances created at either end of ditches 8 and 9 indicate they may have been used for stock control. The finds suggest industrial activity nearby. The pottery also suggests that the stock enclosure post-dates the enclosure wall. Eighteenth-century maps show Prestonpans developing along the coast, separately from Preston and its tower. A number of industrial sites, including brick and tile works, a mill and a pottery, are shown along the sea front. Manuring of fields is likely to have brought debris associated with these industries onto the West Loan site. The ditches do not appear to have been long-lived as the cultivation furrows cut across them. The furrows in the W part of the site are typical post-medieval cultivation furrows. Roy (1754) shows the site under cultivation, and the excavated features confirm this.

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Figure 1. Luffness Friary and the tomb from the south-east. Photo: Sarah Cousins.

THE LUFFNESS MYSTERY MAN

by CHRIS TABRAHAM

WHAT MYSTERY MAN?

On 12 June 1926 Mr J S Richardson, a predecessor of mine as Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, led members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society around the site of the Convent of Carmelite Friars at Luffness (Richardson 1928-9). At the time what little remained of the church was undergoing excavations and repairs. A highlight of the visit was the inspection of 'an arched recess in the north wall of the sanctuary containing a stone coffin, covered by the recumbent stone effigy of a knight wearing a surcoat over armour apparently of mail' (fig. 1). Whether 'Jimmy' Richardson felt able to enlighten his audience as to the identity of the said knight is not recorded. I thought now I might hazard a guess.

HOW CAME THE CARMELITES TO LUFFNESS?

The origin and early history of the Friars of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, better known as the Carmelites, is shrouded in mystery - much like our Luffness knight. Documentary sources are scant. The order emerges from legend at the close of the twelfth century, as an organisation of hermits living on the slopes of Mount Carmel, in what is now northern Israel. Most would seem to have been 'ex-pats' from Western Europe, drawn to the Holy Land either as pilgrims or as crusaders. Following the collapse of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1230, and the subsequent loss of protection, the hermits were compelled to move back west (Lawrence 1994). The first Carmelites arrived in England in 1242, in the wake of Earl Richard of Cornwall's ill-starred Crusade of 1240-1. Two of Earl Richard's fellow crusaders founded Carmelite houses shortly after their safe return - Sir Richard de Grey, lord of Codnor (near Nottingham), at Aylesford (Kent), and Sir John de Vesci, lord of Alnwick and Sprouston (near Kelso), at Hulne (Northumberland). By 1281, the date of the earliest surviving statutes for the Order, there were definitely 25 Carmelite houses spread across Britain, 23 in England (Knowles & Hadcock 1953) and two in Scotland - Berwick and Aberdeen (Easson 1957). Had Luffness been founded by then, the figure would be 26.

The chief problem with Luffness Friary is that we know neither when it was founded, nor by whom. Try as I might, I can find no evidence substantiating two claims made previously. The first, by MacGibbon & Ross in their *Ecclesiastical*

Architecture of Scotland, published in 1896, avers that Earl Patrick of Dunbar, in 1286, was both founder and effigy. The second, by Nigel Tranter in a postscript to his novel *Crusader*, published 1991, asserts that Sir John de Lindsay was founder and that the effigy is that of his elder brother, Sir David de Lindsay.

The first definite reference to Luffness Friary comes in 1335-6, when it is recorded that the friars of Luffness *(fratres de Lufnok)* received ten marks annually from the lands of Luffness, then held by King Edward III of England following the forfeiture of its lord, Sir John de Bickerton (*CDS*, iii, 338). This endowment, according to the document, was of long standing, suggesting that Luffness may well have been founded in the thirteenth century, in those first heady decades following the Carmelites' arrival in Britain in 1242.

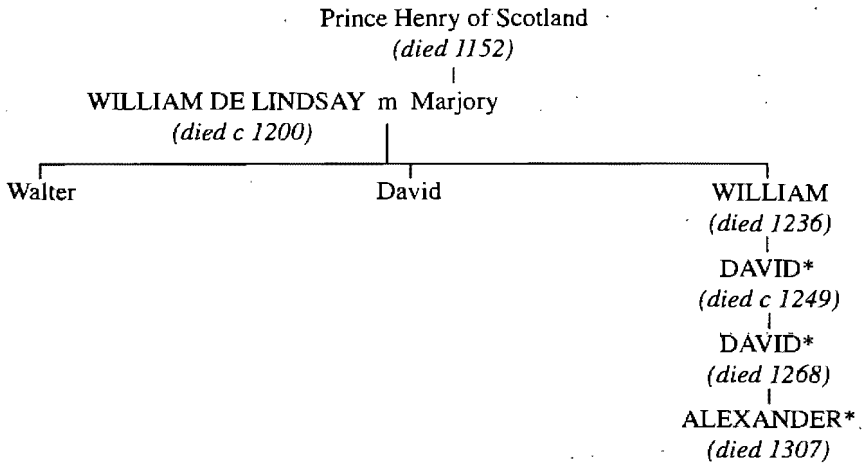
So who where the landowners of Luffness in the later thirteenth century? If we knew that, then we might just be able to hazard a guess as to who founded Luffness Friary - and who, therefore, our mystery man may have been.

WHO LORDED IT O'ER LUFFNESS IN THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY?

In or around 1200, Sir William de Lindsay passed away. He was the grandson of the first de Lindsay to settle in Scotland. This influential Anglo-Norman family had come north to Scotland in the early twelfth century in the service of Prince David (later David I). They were clearly closely allied to the ruling dynasty from the outset, witnessing numerous charters of David I, Malcolm IV and William 'the Lion', and holding such lofty offices of state as justiciar of Lothian (the most senior law officer in southern Scotland). Our Sir William de Lindsay is also distinguished as among 'the greatest that of our land were seen' when he became one of the four hostages for King William in 1174. He is also the first to be styled 'of Luffness' (*APS*, i, 388).

When Sir William de Lindsay died he left three sons. There seems to be confusion as to which of them received the manor of Luffness. Lord Lindsay, in his *Lives of the Lindsays* published in 1858, has the estate passing to the third son, also William (he is styled 'William son of William' in the records), and following his demise in 1236 to his son David. When David died about the year 1249, his son, also David, succeeded. At his death, his son, Alexander, was a minor, and Lindsay asserts that his affairs were placed in the hands of his uncle, John de Lindsay, until he came of age *c* 1279.

LORDS OF LUFFNESS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY
following Lindsay's *LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS*

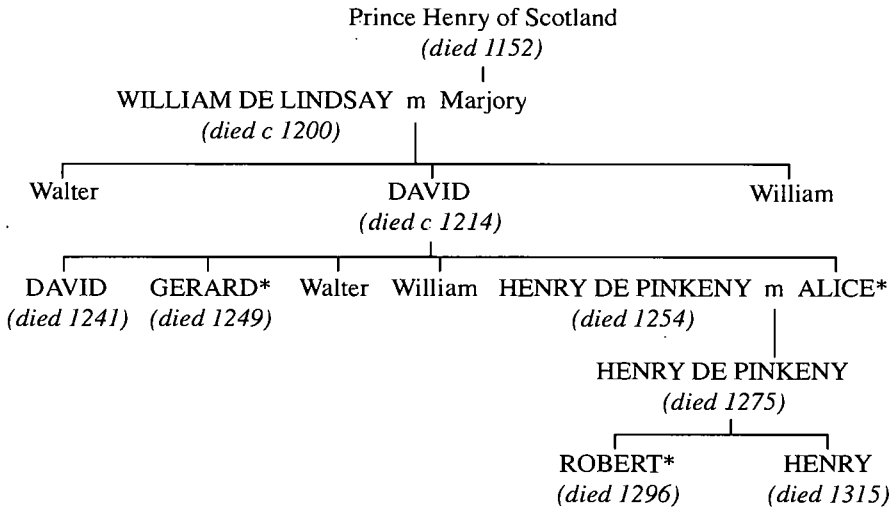


* = CANDIDATE FOR FOUNDER OF LUFFNESS FRIARY

It is now that the ownership of Luffness becomes even more confusing, although highly intriguing, for the next time Luffness appears on record, in 1296, the lord of the manor is not Sir Alexander de Lindsay but a gentleman by the name of Sir Robert de Pinkeny. Sir Robert had died earlier that year, and the document in question, an English one, related to his Scottish estate - 'the tenement [ie, landholding] of Balincref', which comprised not only Ballencrieff, 'the chief messuage with garden and pigeon house in the enclosure', but also Luffness (*Luffenoc*), Coates (*le Cotis*) and Gosford (*CDS*, ii, 227). Quite how the de Pinkenys came to be holding Luffness/Ballencrieff is a mystery - unless perhaps we question Lord Lindsay's genealogy and accept that presented by Sir J B Paul in *The Scots Peerage*, published in 1906.

There we read that it was not William's third son, 'William son of William', who inherited Luffness around 1200 but his second son, David. This David died about 1214, at which point his son, also David, succeeded to Luffness. David (II) died without heir in 1241, the year prior to the Carmelites' appearance in Britain, and his estate passed to his younger brother Gerard. When he too died, unmarried and without heir, in 1249, Luffness passed to their sister Alice. It is through this lady that the de Pinkenys come into the picture, for Lady Alice was married to Sir Henry (I) de Pinkeny, a great English baron, lord of Weedon Pinkeny (now Weedon

LORDS OF LUFFNESS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY
following Paul's *THE SCOTS PEERAGE*



* = CANDIDATE FOR FOUNDER OF LUFFNESS FRIARY

Lois, Northants), Coleworth, Datchet and sundry other manors. (For the lineage of the de Pinkenys, see White 1945.)

It seems, therefore, that the de Pinkenys acquired the manor of Luffness (or Ballencrieff as it was known in 1296) through this marriage. Henry died in 1254, and his son, also Henry (II), succeeded. At his death in 1275, his son Robert, Lady Alice's grandson, became lord, until he too passed away in 1296.

I must confess I feel somewhat more comfortable with this course of events, following Paul's *The Scots Peerage*, rather than Lindsay's *Lives*, for the entry of the de Pinkenys into the Luffness scene seems all the more plausible thereby. It would also help to explain the role of the de Bickertons, the lords of the manor in 1335-6, in the scheme of things.

In the document of 1296, we learn that 'the castle of Luffenoc and three carucates and demesnes of the castle' were being held of Sir Robert de Pinkeny by a 'John de Bigerton'. This is the first occasion the Bigertons (also Bikerton, Bikirtoun, Bickerton) appear in connection with Luffness, a connection that continued through to the fifteenth century. In another English document, dated

1241-2, we find Sir Henry (I) and Alice de Pinkeny holding land in Warwickshire of Gerard de Lindsay, Alice's brother (*CDS*, i, no 1565). That document names a fellow tenant of Henry and Alice on that estate - a gentleman called 'de Bikerton'. It seems reasonable, therefore, to see the de Bickertons coming to Scotland in the entourage of the de Pinkenys some time after Sir Gerard de Lindsay's death in 1249.

What happened to the ownership of Luffness/Ballencrieff after Robert de Pinkeny's death in 1296 is even more confusing, but I don't think it need concern us here. Luffness Friary was most likely founded by then - and our mystery knight probably already lying in his exalted place in the sanctuary of the friary church.

WHO ARE THE CONTENDERS FOR OUR MYSTERY MAN?

Unfortunately, neither the stone effigy nor the arched tomb recess in which it lies gives any clue either as to the identity of the individual or of the baronial family to which he belonged. The effigy (fig 2) was described as 'much weathered' even in July 1913, the date of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments' visit, who describe it succinctly as being '6 feet 6 inches in length by 2 feet 4 inches broad, wearing a surcoat over armour apparently of mail and having a heater shaped shield inclined to the left' (*RCAHMS* 1924, 1-2).

The evidence from the effigy, such as it is - the shape of the shield, the style of the sword and the nature of the armour - points to it dating from the later thirteenth century. The evidence from the tomb suggests that the effigy may well be that of the friary's founder. From the later thirteenth century, it became common for patrons of church building operations to choose to have their tombs on the north side of the presbytery, in which position, according to Fawcett, 'they were close to the place where the holy mysteries were celebrated, but an added advantage . . . was that their tombs could probably lend themselves to use as an Easter Sepulchre, in which the consecrated host or a figure of Christ was symbolically entombed between Good Friday and Easter Sunday as one of the most solemn parts of the Holy Week rituals' (Fawcett 2002, 304-5). Fawcett cites the instance of Bishop Archibald (died 1298) at Elgin Cathedral.

So who might our mystery knight be?

Assuming that the founder of Luffness Friary was lord of Luffness during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and that it is he whose tomb and effigy lie in the church, then we have three baronial families from which to select our mystery knight - the de Lindsays, the de Pinkenys and the de Bickertons.

If we follow the de Lindsay line of descent as set down in *The Scots Peerage*, then the contenders are:

- SIR GERARD DE LINDSAY - Lord of Luffness c 1241-49

- SIR HENRY (I) DE PINKENY - Lord of Luffness 1249-54
  No record of his having ever visited Scotland.

- SIR HENRY (II) DE PINKENY - Lord of Luffness 1254-75
  No record of his having ever been in Scotland either, though he is recorded as attending on his king, Henry III of England, in 1254 when the latter met King Alexander III of Scotland and his queen, Margaret (Henry III's daughter), at York.
- SIR ROBERT DE PINKENY - Lord of Luffness 1275-96
  Known to have been preparing to travel to Scotland in 1280/1, and again in 1286/7.

- SIR JOHN DE BICKERTON - Lord of Luffness Castle

AND THE WINNER IS . . .?

We must surely rule out from the above list both Sir Henry de Pinkenys, neither of whom seems ever to have visited Scotland. We must also question Sir John de Bickerton's claim. His position as a tenant (*in capite*) of Sir Robert de Pinkeny - and quite possibly serving also as squire of that great nobleman - probably rules him out as having neither the means nor the status to found and endow a monastery.

That leaves Sir Gerard de Lindsay and Sir Robert de Pinkeny.

SIR GERARD DE LINDSAY'S claim is drawn into question by the style of knightly attire of the effigy and the positioning of the tomb, both of which seem to indicate a date a decade or more after his demise in 1249. There remains the possibility, though, that the creation of the tomb and the placing of the effigy therein were carried out by a descendant - his heiress, Lady Alice de Pinkeny, perhaps - as a belated memorial to her brother, Gerard, who could conceivably have brought the Carmelites to Luffness. As scion of the noble house of de Lindsay, Sir Gerard certainly had the credentials, and the wherewithal, to found and endow a monastic house. The family had a long and distinguished history of patronage to Holy Mother Church, reaching back in Scotland to the early twelfth century, and in England even further. Sir Gerard's father had founded the Cistercian nunnery at Elcho (Perthshire) in the 1230s (Easson 1957), and Sir Gerard certainly continued

Figure 2. Close-up of the Luffness mystery man. Photo: Sarah Cousins.

the family tradition of liberally endowing the Cistercian monks at Newbattle (Midlothian) with lands and other lucrative privileges.

SIR ROBERT DE PINKENY'S dates accord with those presumed for the effigy and tomb. The fact that he is known to have been in Scotland on at least two separate occasions during the 1280s also points to his taking more than a passing interest in his newly acquired Scottish estate of Luffness. But there is another significant fact relating to Sir Robert that may further substantiate the contention that he is our man.

In August 1291 at Berwick Castle, King Edward I of England opened the first session of the lawsuit known as the 'Great Cause', established to determine the succession to the throne of Scotland in the wake of Margaret of Norway's untimely death the previous year. Thirteen candidates threw their hats into the ring, including such exalted names as King Eric II of Norway, Count Florence of Holland, Sir Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, and Lord John Balliol, the eventual winner. Another was our very own Sir Robert de Pinkeny. The remaining claimants were: Patrick of Dunbar, earl of March, William de Vesci, William de Ros, Nicholas de Soules, Roger de Mandeville, John Hastings and Patrick Golightly. (For full details of the 'Great Cause', see Stones & Simpson 1974, and for a succinct account see Nicholson 1974, 38-43).

Sir Robert de Pinkeny claimed the Scottish throne through his grandfather Sir Henry (I) de Pinkeny's marriage to Lady Alice de Lindsay. Alice's grandfather, Sir William, had married Marjory, daughter of Prince Henry, David I's son, and sister of Malcolm IV, William 'the Lion' and Earl David. Fifteen months of legal wrangling and political cut-and-thrust later, Sir Robert withdrew his claim, probably because the legitimacy of Marjory's birth had been cast in some doubt.

Sir Robert's claim, however, does demonstrate that this great English baron was serious about Scotland and his Scottish ancestry. The records showing that he was in Scotland during the 1280s confirm that he took a personal interest in his Scottish affairs. Is it just possible to make the leap of faith and see Sir Robert marking his acquisition of Luffness/Ballencrieff by founding and endowing a house of Carmelite Friars - and at his death choosing to have his mortal remains laid to rest in the sanctuary of the friary church?

BUT WHAT IF . . . ?

Of course, all this conjecture is thrown into doubt if we accept Lord Lindsay's version of events regarding the lineage of the de Lindsays, as presented in his *Lives*, rather than Paul in *The Scots Peerage*. What if the manor of Luffness had passed on the death of Sir William de Lindsay around 1200 not to his second son David but to his third son William? Who might the founder of Luffness Friary have been under those circumstances - and who therefore contenders for our mystery man?

Between 1242, the year the Carmelites arrived in Britain, and 1296, by which date Sir Robert de Pinkeny is recorded as lord of the manor, three other de Lindsays could have held Luffness - David (I), who died around 1249, his son David (II), who passed away around 1268, and his son Alexander, who died in 1307. All three are interesting characters, but it is the two Davids that attract my interest most, for both men are associated with the Crusades - and remember, it was the crusaders who particularly favoured the Carmelites.

As seems usual for the de Lindsays, the matter is immediately thrown into confusion by faulty and/or incomplete records. Even the bold assertion, made in various chronicles from the sixteenth century on, that the younger David (II) 'joined the crusade of St Louis in 1268, and died in Egypt' is flawed. As MacQuarrie (1997) points out, King Louis IX of France's Crusade, undertaken in conjunction with Prince Edward (the future King Edward I of England), only started out for the Holy Land in 1270. What is more Sir David cannot have died in Egypt, 'since those crusaders who survived the disaster at Tunis either returned home or proceeded to Acre with Lord Edward.'

MacQuarrie suggests that the chroniclers may well have been confusing the two Davids, for there is evidence that the elder David (I) likewise went on Crusade, in 1248. This too was organised by King Louis IX of France, his first. The Scottish contingent on that occasion was led by Earl Patrick of Dunbar, Sir David de Lindsay's neighbour - and the early part of the action took place in Egypt, culminating in King Louis's capture by the Saracens at Mansurah in April 1250; the chronicler Matthew Paris refers to 80,000 crusaders falling in that battle! Given that Sir David de Lindsay died *c* 1249, is it too much to draw the conclusion that he too may have died on Crusade - even at the battle of Mansurah? Or are the dates purely coincidental?

Given these de Lindsay crusading links, the possibilities regarding Luffness are endless. Either of the Davids could have founded Luffness Friary prior to

setting out on their Crusade, as some kind of spiritual insurance policy for their safe return. Or maybe their wives did. That is what Earl Patrick of Dunbar's countess did immediately prior to her husband's departure in 1248, inviting the Trinitarian friars to settle in Dunbar. Another scenario is Sir Alexander de Lindsay founding Luffness Friary following his father's death c 1270, perhaps in memory of the crusading adventures of his father and grandfather.

SO WHO IS THE MYSTERY MAN?

The short answer is - we do not know! And on available evidence we have no way of knowing for certain. What we can say with a fair degree of certainty is that the mystery man was either a de Lindsay or a de Pinkeny. I must confess I am attracted to the possibility that our knight is Sir Robert de Pinkeny, claimant to the throne of Scotland (died 1296).

Any other thoughts?

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REDISCOVERING DUNBAR'S TOWN WALL: EXCAVATIONS AT LAWSON PLACE, 2001-2

by STUART MITCHELL, IAN SUDDABY & TIM NEIGHBOUR

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM R CERÓN-CARRASCO, G. HAGGARTY, A. JACKSON, S. LANCASTER, S. LYONS, T. McCULLOUGH, R. MURDOCH & J. THOMS.

INTRODUCTION

An excavation at Lawson Place in Dunbar (fig 1) identified deeply stratified historic deposits and building remains, including the probable footings of the town wall and an associated ditch. The excavation was carried out in advance of construction by the East Lothian Housing Association. The site was a derelict yard, 55m E-W by 20m N-S, surfaced with concrete, tarmac and demolition debris from the former Aitken's lemonade factory. The yard was bounded to N and S by high red sandstone walls dating from the late nineteenth century, and lay to the immediate W of the buildings at 138-140 High Street, Dunbar, forming the backlands to these buildings.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS WORK

Dunbar lies on the S side of the Forth estuary, centred on a natural harbour. Settlement on the site of Dunbar was established prior to the Roman period, and was a royal administrative centre in the early eighth century (Gallagher & Owen 1996; Perry 2000). Its town planning was already advanced when it became a parish in 1170. Dunbar received its baronial burgh charter during the early twelfth century under the reign of David I, and its royal burgh status in 1445 (Pugh 2003, 210).

The town was enclosed within an earth dyke in the mid sixteenth century, and a stone wall with strategically placed ports was in place by the seventeenth century. The role of the wall was primarily defensive, although it also functioned as a control over human and livestock traffic (*ibid, 225*). The W extent of the wall is thought to have formed a boundary to the burgage plots to the W side of High Street, probably running along what is now Lawson Place (*ibid, 225*). The layout of central Dunbar retains its medieval character, having a wide main street with long narrow burgage plots extending from the backs of the properties on both sides at right angles

REDISCOVERING DUNBAR'S TOWN WALL: EXCAVATIONS AT LAWSON PLACE, 2001-2

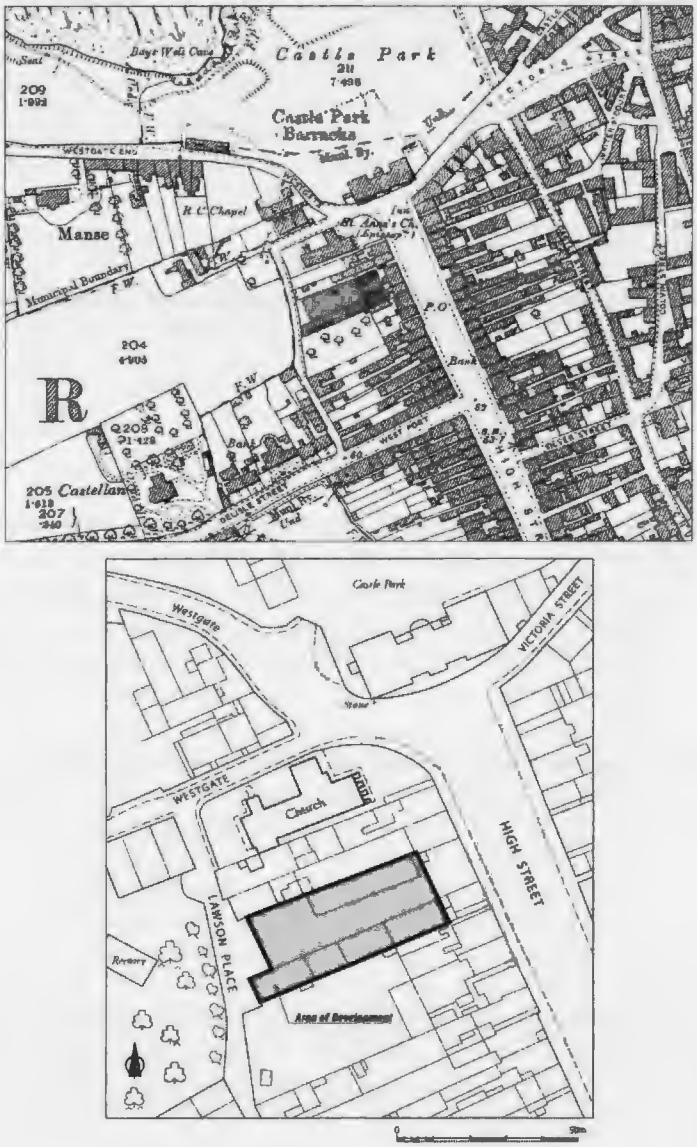

Figure 1: Location maps.
(top) The site location superimposed on the 1st edition O.S. map of 1854.
(bottom) The site location on the modern town map.

(*ibid, 225*). Cartographic evidence indicates that the more southerly end of the High Street was formally laid out in post-medieval times (Dennison *et al* forthcoming).

A previous excavation at 75-79 High Street revealed medieval grave-marker stones and a rich organic soil layer sealed beneath deposits containing medieval pottery (Reed 1999). Excavations at the back of 128 High Street (John Muir's birthplace) revealed several phases of activity, including a possible ditch containing the remains of a fence or timber lining and green-glazed pottery of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date and a cobbled surface above a marine sand layer from which a fifteenth-century spur was recovered (Morrison 2002). A large quantity of pottery of twelfth- to nineteenth-century date was recovered from the site (*ibid*).

THE EXCAVATION

The fieldwork was undertaken over two separate phases. Six trial trenches with a total area of 62m^2 were excavated in December 2001 (Suddaby 2002; fig 2: trenches 1 to 6), and a watching brief was carried out in September 2002 during the excavation for building foundations and drains (Mitchell 2002; fig 2).

The results indicated that a watching brief would be adequate to monitor the excavation of the foundation and drainage trenches, which were proposed to be c 1m deep and thus unlikely to disturb archaeologically important deposits. In actuality, the drainage ditches were excavated to a maximum depth of 1.2m and the foundation trenches were *c* 0.8m wide and excavated to a maximum depth of 1m at the NE end of the site. However, due to a last minute design change, the depth of the foundations required at the SW end of the site was increased to 2.4m. Had this design change been known of earlier, East Lothian Council would have required area excavation in the vicinity of the deep foundation trenches (B Simpson *pers comm*). Be that as it may, no areas outside the limits of the foundations and drains were investigated, with the exception of the evaluation trenches. This 'key-hole' approach has constrained our ability to produce a full and stratigraphically rigorous account of the remains preserved on this site. The account of the excavation must be read with this constraint in mind: doubtless further features of significance are preserved *in situ* beneath the new building at Lawson Place and it is almost certain that any further excavation would at least enhance, if not modify, the interpretations presented below. Nevertheless, it has been possible to divide the features and deposits into three broad phases.

The depth and character of the deposits differed markedly between the E and W ends of the site. On the basis of the stratification observed, several distinct phases of activity were identified. Three-digit numbers in the following text and

on figs 3 to 4 are unique context identifiers assigned during the evaluation and watching brief. Full descriptions of all contexts can be found in the archive reports (Suddaby 2002; Mitchell 2002); only those required to provide an account of the main historical phases are used in this report. Summary specialist overviews of the artefacts are presented thereafter. Securely stratified, datable finds are described; detailed descriptions of the remaining finds have been lodged with the site archive.

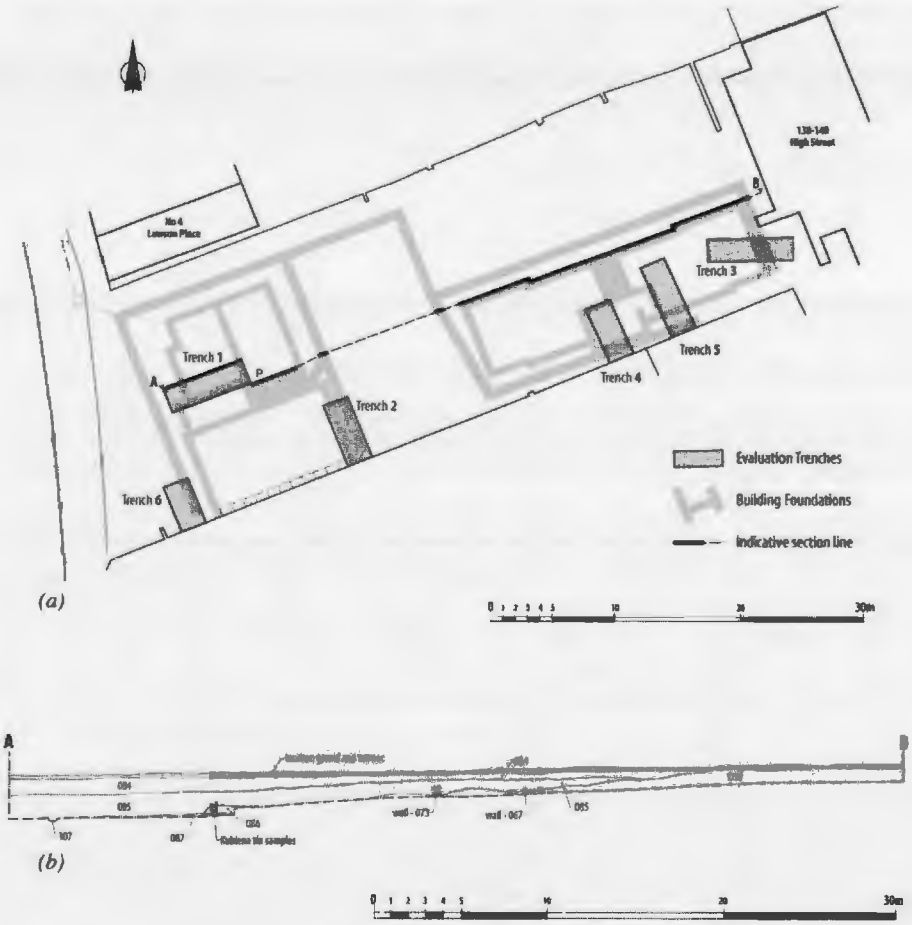

Figure 2: Site plan and section.

(a) Site plan showing evaluation trenches, foundation and service trenches, and the position of the long section through the site (fig 2b).

(b) Long section through the site, showing location of Kubiena tin samples.

SITE GEOLOGY

Fine pale sand subsoil lay at a maximum depth of 2.4m beneath the current street level of Lawson Place (fig 2b). A thin deposit of dark clay-rich soil (087), which contained occasional shell fragments, overlay and partially merged with the sand over much of the W part of the site. A layer of reddish brown sand (086) sealed the dark clay-rich soil for much of the W third of the site. Both layers were demonstrated to be of probable fluvio-glacial derivation by soil micro-morphological analysis. The earliest deposit revealed in the E part of the site was coarse red sandy gravel at *c* 0.6m - 1m beneath the surface.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

INTRODUCTION

The three main phases of anthropogenic activity are described in the text below and are shown on fig 3. On the figure, features and layers discovered within the trenches have been extrapolated where such a process has seemed reasonable to the authors; the trench layout shown in the background on each of the phase plans demonstrates where the features and layers were discovered from which the extrapolations were drawn.

A single long section, running E-W across the site, was put together from a variety of short sections. Fig 2 shows the long section; the positions of the short sections from which the long section was put together; and the position of a large gap in the section, which has been filled by extrapolation.

PHASE 1: MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL FEATURES

Probable medieval refuse pits

Two pits, which were cut into the reddish sand, were partially exposed on the E side of the site (fig 3). One (030) measured 1.5m in diameter and 2m deep, and had vertical sides. Its fill comprised almost exclusively limpet shells, with occasional bones, mussel shells and periwinkles. A rim sherd dating to the fourteenth century and a basal sherd tentatively dated to the eighteenth century were recovered from the fill. The second pit (316) was 3m in diameter and 0.7m deep with sloping sides. Its fill comprised layers of shell, bone and loose soil. Two sherds of unglazed medieval pottery, tentatively dated to *c* 1300, and a hammer stone were recovered from its fill.

Wall Foundation and Ditch

The footings of a wall were revealed in the E part of trench 6 as a double row of stones (604; figs 3 and 4). They ran for *c* 1m and were set within a cut in the

Figure 3: Plans of key phases of anthropogenic activity.

natural sand; the full width of the wall was not exposed. Part of a ditch (608), cut into the natural sand, ran parallel to the wall footings, 1.5m to its W (fig 4). A section excavated across the ditch demonstrated that it was 0.2m deep and 0.8m wide. A probable continuation of the ditch (106) was revealed in trench 1 (fig 3). In both trenches the ditch and wall were sealed by a deep buried post-medieval topsoil (085; phase 2, below). The ditch had a shallow U-shaped profile (fig 2b).

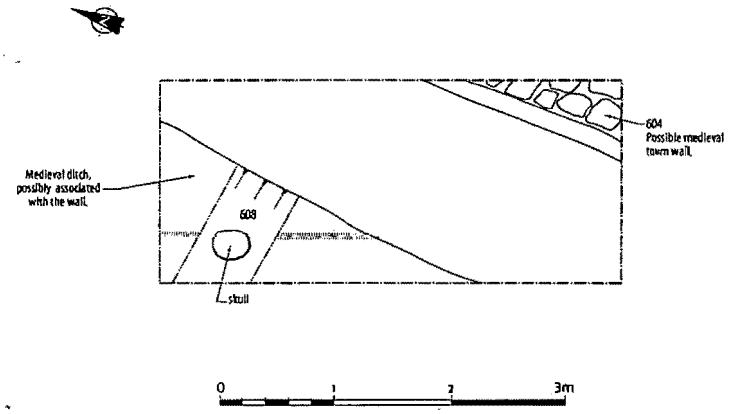

Figure 4: Plan of probable town wall (604) and associated ditch (608) within trench 6.

The character and location of the wall footings suggest that they were the foundations of the former town wall, which was in place by the seventeenth century (Pugh 2003, 225). The ditch was probably contemporary with the wall, although association with the earth dyke that enclosed Dunbar by the mid-sixteenth century (*ibid*) cannot be discounted.

A disarticulated human skull was discovered in the base of the ditch in trench 6 (fig 4). No further bones or material remains were associated with it. The radiocarbon date obtained for the skull (GU10970; 1355 ± 45 BP; d13 -20.3‰) indicates a date of death *c* 600-780 AD.

Wall footings

Two wall footings (067, 120) were revealed just E of the centre of the site, aligned SW-NE (figs 2 and 3). They were set into the surface of the red natural sand (018) and were built from large, roughly hewn sandstone. They survived as a single course and were sealed by a deep buried topsoil (085). A third possible wall (073) survived as a rough alignment of loose stones contained within the base of the deep buried topsoil (fig 3). Sixteenth-century pottery was found in association with this possible wall.

PHASE 2: POST-MEDIEVAL TOPSOIL ACCUMULATION

A relic topsoil deposit (085), up to 1.2 m deep, sealed the walls and ditch. It covered much of the W two-thirds of the site, and extended towards its N corner (fig 3). Its full original extent remains unknown, as no excavation occurred in the N corner of the development area, and later building activity (see below) cut through the soil at the E end of the site. The topsoil was well-sorted mid-brown sandy silt containing abundant animal bones and occasional pottery dating from the late-twelfth to the eighteenth century. Soil micro-morphological analysis demonstrated that this deepened soil had gradually accumulated as an unintentional by-product of waste dumping and/or manuring. The high degree of biological reworking of this deposit, coupled with the broad date range of the pottery recovered, indicates that this deposit cannot be dated in anything other than the broadest terms.

PHASE 3: 19TH-- 20TH CENTURY

Several wall footings (005, 089 and 118) and a drainage channel with a V-shaped profile (055) were revealed in the E half of the development area aligned either parallel with, or perpendicular to, the High Street (fig 3). They were built from a mix of large undressed and roughly hewn sandstone blocks with occasional patches of mortar. Layers of demolition debris including mortar, rubble and collapsed sandstone walls were associated with them.

One wall footing (005) had a double-faced construction, was *c* 0.8m wide, and was set onto the surface of the natural red sand. Another (118), set on the surface of the medieval topsoil and aligned SW-NE, was built from two faces of large rough hewn and undressed sandstones. It had a cavity between the faces and was mortar bonded.

The foundations of a sandstone wall (089) ran the entire length of the site parallel to the existing boundary walls. The foundation was visible on the surface and part of the wall is still extant as the SE-facing gable of 138 High Street. The wall most probably formed the W elevation of a former roofed building depicted on the 1854 1st edition OS map. The locations of many of the wall footings in the E half of the site correspond with the walls of buildings which are also depicted on this map.

A dense black soil layer (084) sealed the wall footings and post-medieval topsoil layer. It was up to 1m thick and was present over the entire W extent of the site. It comprised firm homogenous black silty clay with abundant modern artefacts including coal, bones, glass and bricks.

The remains of a track, built from coal-rich hard-core laid on a mortar and rubble base, were revealed at the entrance to the site from Lawson Place. The track probably once led into the yard of Aitken's lemonade factory. Abundant fragments of stoneware ginger beer and lemonade bottles associated with the factory were contained within the surrounding surface rubble. The entire E half of the site was sealed partially by tarmac and modern rubble hard-core. Much of this derived from the demolition of Aitken's factory.

THE ARTEFACTS

POTTERY

George Haggarty

Sherds from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries were recovered from across the site. Much of it was unstratified or residual, recovered from the spoil during the watching brief. Significant disturbance and redeposition of many site contexts is indicated by stratigraphical overlap in pottery types. Only finds from pits (030 and 316), the wall (073) and the buried soil (085) were securely stratified. Nevertheless, the assemblage recovered is of some interest. The majority of the sherds were of Scottish white gritty ware, of which a few may be of late-twelfth-century date; most are likely to be of thirteenth or fourteenth century origin. The assemblage also included a possible medieval French white ware; fifteenth-century green-glazed wares; Yorkshire wares; Scottish post-medieval grey wares and a Low Countries red ware pipkin (sixteenth century); Scottish post-medieval oxidised wares and stonewares (seventeenth century); Scottish industrial red wares (eighteenth century); and a small assemblage of nineteenth-century blue and white transfer-printed earthenware.

The assemblage reflects occupation and domestic use from the late-twelfth-century onwards. The Low Countries pipkin, Westerwald, French and Yorkshire wares indicate extensive North Sea trade and communication throughout the history of the site.

Pottery from the refuse pits

Pit 030:

Base sherd of Scottish post-medieval oxidised ware. Fabric much redder and potting cruder than normal for this type of pottery, suggesting it may be a local variant. Decomposed green glaze on interior. Possibly eighteenth century.

Abraded rim sherd from Scottish white gritty ware jug. Fourteenth century.

Pit 316:

Rim sherd from rounded jar with slightly everted rim and pronounced shoulder. White fabric slightly laminated with a coarse but ungritty feel and several haematite inclusions. Does not appear to be

Scottish white gritty ware, but possibly French. Late twelfth century.
Basal angle sherd from jug with traces of lead glaze on exterior. Heavy fabric with dark inclusions which look brown on the surface where pot has been oxidised. Probably late twelfth-thirteenth century.

Pottery in association with wall 073:
Sherd from a green-glazed, grey ware jug. Sixteenth century.
Pottery from the post-medieval topsoil accumulation 085:
Sherd from small flat dish of Scottish industrial red ware. Eighteenth century.
Body sherd of Scottish post-medieval oxidised ware. Seventeenth century.
Base sherd from jug of Scottish white gritty ware. Thirteenth-fourteenth century.
Small body sherd from jug of Scottish white gritty ware. Late twelfth-thirteenth century.
Abraded body sherd from jug of Scottish white gritty ware.
Body sherd of Scottish white gritty ware with external green glaze.

GLASS

Robin K Murdoch

The glass artefacts all derived from the upper soil layer (084) and the late rubble deposits. Three small complete bottles were recovered from the upper soil layer (084): a small beer bottle, embossed Dudgeon & Co, is representative of the output of Belhaven Brewery around the middle of the twentieth century, whilst two aerated water bottles bearing the name of Aitken, a local chemist, date to the late nineteenth-early-twentieth-century. A small sherd from a wine bottle, recovered from the rubble deposits, dates to the first half of the eighteenth century. A glass marble, also from the rubble, almost certainly derives from a 'Codd' bottle, first patented in the 1870s and in use till the 1930s.

COARSE STONE

Adam Jackson

Two coarse stone finds were recovered. The first, a hammer stone made of dolerite and measuring 114mm long by 71mm wide and 49mm thick, was recovered from the shell midden pit (316). Such cobble tools are commonplace on Scottish sites of prehistoric and later date. The second, a shallow trough recovered from overburden during excavation of the foundation trenches at the W side of the site, of coarse-grained sandstone and measuring 362mm by 245mm and 132mm thick, has a roughly-worked exterior and a pecked and carved interior, forming a rectangular bowl measuring 265mm by 145mm and 42mm deep. It is rectangular with a flat bottom and straight sides, and has some discolouration, possibly caused by fire. Its function is unknown.

THE ECOFACTS

THE HUMAN SKULL

Tom McCullough

The skull was well preserved, and bore only minor evidence of post-mortem erosion of the cortical surface of the bone. However, these remains were highly incomplete, and consisted solely of cranial elements, with no remnants of the mandible or post-cranial skeleton present.

The individual was tentatively determined as being female and aged between 35 and 56 years at death. Only one tooth was present; the root of the left maxillary lateral incisor. Examination of the alveolar process of the maxillae yielded evidence of remodelling of most of this region, leading to obliteration of all but one of the dental sockets. On this basis, it is possible to state that this individual had lost almost all of her maxillary teeth *in vivo*.

Minor clustered lytic porosity was noted bilaterally on the superior anterio-lateral surfaces of the eye sockets. This was identified as mild cribra orbitalia, an alteration typically associated with anaemia (Roberts & Manchester 1995). Whilst other chronic conditions, such as localised infection or scurvy, could also lead to the presence of reactive bone on the roof of the sockets, the specific nature of the lesions observed discounted other potential diseases. Iron-deficiency anaemia would seem to be the most likely.

MAMMAL BONE

Jennifer Thoms

Of the 144 bone fragments recovered from the refuse pits (030 and 316), 116 were not identifiable to species or element. The 28 identifiable fragments derived from cattle, horse, pig (probably domestic) and goat. Three fragments identified as rib, and three fragments of vertebra, all derived from a large mammal (cattle or horse), were present, as were two rib fragments from medium-sized mammals (goat or pig). The remaining identifiable fragments, identified to element and species, are listed in an archive catalogue. No bird or small mammal remains were retrieved. The assemblage represents domestic waste, derived from common domestic animals. All parts of the skeleton are present and some display signs of butchery and burning. The material disposed of in pits has survived better than the material deposited elsewhere.

The cattle bones derived from mature animals and 36% displayed butchery marks. The absence of immature animals would be expected in an urban environment where the animal bones represent animals prepared for the table.

However, as young bones are more fragile and less likely to survive in an identifiable state, it may be that some younger animals were originally present in the assemblage. All parts of the body are represented in the cattle bones, low meat bones from the head, lower legs and feet, as well as high meat-yielding bones from the shoulders and forelimbs. It is likely that more domestic use was made of the lower meat-yielding bones in the past than is the case today, so the presence of these elements does not necessarily suggest industrial or butchery waste.

The goat bones similarly reflect an assemblage derived from domestic refuse, with evidence of butchery marks on one fragment and of burning on another. The bones are all dense, suggesting the original assemblage has been subjected to compression, rendering many of them unidentifiable. This could have resulted from trampling and redeposition during building work and rubbish removal in the past, as well as more recent excavation and redeposition activities. With the exception of a fragment of pelvis and a fragment of tibia, all goat bones derive from the head and lower legs. These do not represent high meat-yielding parts of the animal.

Of the two fragments of pig bone retrieved, only one displayed ageing information, indicating a young animal. The horse tooth, an unusual find in kitchen waste, is from an old horse.

FISH, MARINE SHELL AND CRUSTACEAN REMAINS.

Ruby Cerón-Carrasco

The assemblage was derived from the refuse pits (030 and 316). Only marine fish were present, including haddock (the main species), cod, herring and mackerel. Both haddock and cod have a long history as important sources of food and have been either consumed as fresh or salted, dried or smoked products. A few of the fish remains were burnt black, grey and white, indicating burning at high temperature, possibly as a result of rubbish disposal.

The only marine shells recovered were common limpets. These were mainly immature specimens, which may have served as fishing bait. Two samples contained remains of crab; most fragments recovered were burnt white, possibly as a result of rubbish disposal.

PLANT REMAINS

Susan Lyons

The carbonised cereal remains from the refuse pits (030, 316) included many abraded cereal grains that proved difficult to identify. They included barley in low to medium concentrations, with a scatter of hulled barley in low

concentrations from shell-rich deposits. Oats were also found in low to medium concentrations, with pit (316) containing a higher proportion of oat grains along with oat chaff. Low concentrations of wheat were recovered from four of the samples. The grains were identified as bread/club wheat. Flax seeds were retrieved from the buried topsoil (085) and pit (316) and one grain of rye from pit (316). These cereal grains are typical of the cereal assemblage from other medieval sites in Scotland (Boyd 1988).

The weed seed assemblage was primarily found in the shell-rich pit (316) and contained low concentrations of knotgrass, corn spurrey and charlock, all common arable weeds that may have been introduced inadvertently with the cultivated crops.

The plant assemblage was concentrated within the shell midden pits with shell and animal bone. This array of material would support the interpretation that these deposits represent domestic waste. The scant plant remains from the samples of the other contexts on site are therefore likely to be the scattering of re-deposited material from this source, which has been redistributed across the site.

ANALYSIS OF SOIL THIN SECTIONS

Stephen Lancaster

Five samples were taken (fig 2) across three contexts. Two were processed: Sample 1 was taken across the boundary between contexts 086 and 087; Sample 5 was taken across the boundary between contexts 085 and 086. They were selected for processing with a view to establishing that the interpretations of the sediments were appropriate and to investigate the processes of deposition and the sources of the deposits.

The micro-morphological analysis showed that the profile contained evidence for three phases of sediment deposition. The first two phases were due to natural late glacial processes (reddish sand (086) and dark soil layer (087) overlying natural sand in the W of the site), with no archaeological significance. The third sedimentary phase resulted in a typical deepened topsoil (085) of medieval or post-medieval date. Contexts 087 and 086 are both natural sediments of fluvio-glacial origin and therefore their deposition and early history have no direct archaeological significance. It is likely that the variations observed in the field may be explicable in terms of natural variations in deposition of the fluvio-glacial deposits.

The available evidence suggests that 085 was a deep topsoil of post-medieval age. Such deepened soils are typical of medieval urban sites (Carter

2001). The gradual accumulation of the deposit, with small inclusions of ash, suggests that the deepening of the soil was the unintentional effect of either waste dumping and/or manuring. The high degree of biological reworking of this deposit indicates that this deposit cannot be dated in anything other than the broadest terms.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The archaeological investigations at Lawson Place revealed structural remains of sixteenth century and later date. A wall (604) and ditch (608) discovered at the W edge of the site were probably the remains of the former town wall and an associated ditch. The ditch was probably contemporary with the wall, although association with the earth dyke that enclosed Dunbar by the mid-sixteenth century cannot be discounted. A disarticulated skull recovered from the ditch fill, radiocarbon-dated to 600-780 cal AD, predates the documented dates for the town ditch and wall by around 1000 years. It seems most likely that the skull was redeposited from a nearby early medieval burial during the backfilling of the ditch, which must have occurred at some point after the mid-sixteenth century and before the deposition of the post-medieval topsoil accumulation of Phase 2. The nearest known early medieval cemetery is less than 100m away at Castle Park (Perry 2000, 283-293 and illus 2, 140 and 141). It is probable that the skull originated from there, although origins in another, currently unknown, cemetery in the vicinity cannot be ruled out; early medieval cemeteries are common in East Lothian (see Rees 2002 for a recent review of the distribution and dates). Shell midden pits (030, 316) and early wall foundations (067, 073, 120) are further indicators of probable sixteenth – eighteenth century activity.

A deep topsoil deposit (085) filling and sealing the ditch (608) and walls (067, 073, 120, 604) appears to have accumulated over several centuries. Pottery recovered from the topsoil deposit dates from the late twelfth century to the eighteenth century. If the wall footings (604) at the W edge of the site are the remains of the town wall, it is likely that the topsoil accumulated during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and that the early pottery within this layer was redeposited. It is likely that the topsoil accumulation once covered the entire site, but had been removed from the E side of the site by the construction of buildings during the late eighteenth to nineteenth century. The ecofacts recovered from the soil, along with those from the shell midden pits (030, 316) at the E side of the site, suggest that gardening and/or small-scale cultivation was being carried out, although the homogenous nature of the topsoil suggest that it was deposited during a sustained fallow period in human activity.

The next phase saw extensive building on the surface of the medieval topsoil and on the red gravel in the E side of the site. Some of those buildings are depicted on the 1854 1st edition OS map, suggesting that the wall footings which do not appear on that map were demolished prior to the mid-nineteenth century. One wall is still partially extant as the gable end to 138 High Street. The entire E side of the site had been heavily disturbed by building and demolition activity, and little appeared to remain in situ of the original structures.

A black soil deposit, which accumulated during the later-nineteenth and earlier-twentieth centuries, sealed most of the wall footings and contained a variety of modern artefacts. The final phase of activity visible on the site was represented by the numerous ginger beer and lemonade bottle fragments contained within the surface rubble, associated with Aitken's lemonade factory.

CONCLUSION

The results of the archaeological investigations at Lawson Place have added to our knowledge of medieval and post-medieval Dunbar. The most important feature discovered was undoubtedly the probable footings of the seventeenth-century town wall. Pugh (2003, 225) notes that the W wall is thought to have formed a boundary to the burgage plots to the W side of High Street, probably running parallel to what is now Lawson Place; the excavation at Lawson Place has confirmed this supposition.

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Archive data structure reports (Mitchell 2002; Suddaby 2002), full versions of the specialist reports, and the site archive have been deposited at the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

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MANAGING THE WOODLANDS OF EAST LOTHIAN, 1585-1765*

By T.C. SMOUT

* THIS ARTICLE IS OFFERED IN MEMORY OF PROF. ROSALIND 'ROWY' MITCHISON, DEAR FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, FORMER EDITOR OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*, WHO DIED IN 2002.

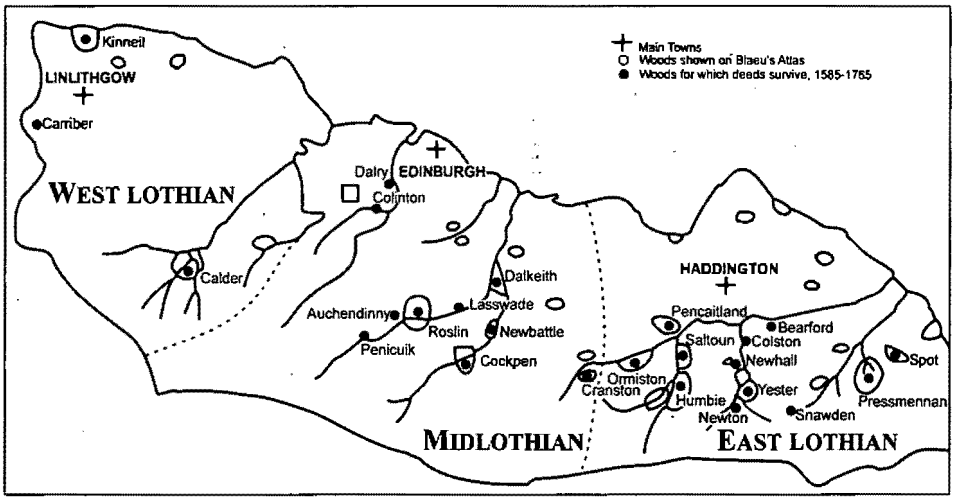
Although East Lothian is not a notably wooded county, there can be few parts where woods, spinneys and groups of trees are not a conspicuous and softening feature of the landscape. Many of these were planted from the sixteenth century onwards for ornament and utility, as around tower-houses and mansions, or primarily for utility, following in particular the lead of the seventeenth-century Hays of Yester, later marquises of Tweeddale, and then of the sixth earl of Haddington, who, from 1707, at his wife's instigation, enclosed 375 acres near his house at Tyninghame and so planted Binning Wood, the first large commercial plantation in Lothian. Many more have been regenerating naturally on the same site for millennia: they are the fragmentary survivors of the prehistoric wildwood cleared elsewhere for husbandry or settlement, often detected now by a suite of wild plants on the woodland floor known to ecologists as 'ancient woodland indicators' (appendix 1). Such woods are not unaltered: they have been used and modified by people at least since Neolithic times. In many cases tree species not native to Scotland have been introduced into them, characteristically beech and sycamore, with some Scots pine, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and European and North American conifers subsequently. Such introductions grew among, but did not at this period replace, the native trees, principally oak, ash, hazel, willow and birch.

In the years 1600-1800 most managed woods were these 'ancient semi-natural woods' (as conservationists term them), rather than plantations on ground that was already entirely or mainly clear, like Binning Wood. Even now, woods of this character are not rare, though they are certainly precious for their notable biodiversity. They are even abundant on the northern edge of the Lammermuirs, where Averis (see appendix 1) has detected over 40 woods, mostly small and surviving in ravines and gullies. Elsewhere they are not so thick on the ground, but Chris Badenoch (2005) has listed some 72 'major' woods in East Lothian (compared to 41 in Midlothian and 68 in West Lothian) which he describes as 'marked on the maps of c 1700-1750'; not all are on the sites of original or 'natural' woods, though most would be.

Map 1: East Lothian, by Blaeu (1654)

Many of the most important woods in Lothian, however, were already shown on the maps published by Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam in 1654, based exclusively in the case of Lothian on the manuscript maps of Timothy Pont who surveyed Scotland between 1583 and 1596. Indeed, Blaeu's publication of Pont's map of Lothian had already been anticipated by Hondius in 1630 from a plate engraved not later than 1612 and virtually identical to the later map of 1654. So this is effectively a depiction of the late sixteenth century. It shows 34 woods (17 in East Lothian), of which about half are probably planted around great houses as parks of no great size, but the remainder are probably substantial ancient semi-natural woods.

Map 1 is a reproduction of the right-hand half of Blaeu's plate, showing East Lothian and its woods. Map 2 is based on a tracing of the whole of the plate, including Midlothian and West Lothian, but superimposed upon it are the sites of 25 woods or groups of woods (12 in East Lothian) which were the subject of one or more woodland deeds of sale, or articles of roup, between 1585 and 1765.



Map 2: Woods mentioned in deeds 1585-1765 (after Blaeu).

These documents are the main basis for the account of contemporary woodland management that follows, and the coincidence of so many of the deeds with the location of the larger woods suggests that they do indeed principally refer to the main local sources of woodland produce in the period. They do not cover any woods where the exploitation throughout this period was carried out by the estate's own workforce (like Binning Wood), and the chances of survival and registration also do not permit a series whereby we could study changing practices in a

particular wood. Subject to these limitations, however, they open a window through which to study how the Lothian woods were managed.

Deeds of sale are usually found either in the official Register of Deeds or in collections of estate papers, but articles of roup only among estate papers. Their purposes are identical, to lay out conditions under which a buyer of standing wood might fell and remove timber and tanbark. Articles of roup are unknown before the early eighteenth century, when some landowners (notably the Tweeddale estate at Yester) preferred a public auction to a private sale. Appendix 2 lists 20 such documents, plus a further four relating to the sale of bark, the appointment of a forester or the adjustment of debt following a sale: for full references please refer to this appendix under the date cited.

What do such documents tell us? First of all, they locate the area to be felled, sometimes in great detail, and in this way act incidentally as a source of local place-names and a description of micro-topography. Thus, in 1633 John Lawson of Humbie sold his:

> 'wod of Humbie . . . boundit within the merches and meithes [boundary markers] eftir-mentionat, viz. fra that pairt of the saids lands callit the Mearis park dyke, with the timber growand thairon, westward to the Skitterin lin, and fra the said Skitterin lin northward to Keith water, and eistward doune the said water of Keith to the Hielie burne at that pairt quhair the samen Hielie burne enteris to Keith water, up the said Hielie burne to the said Mearis park dyke, and fra that southward up the west syd of the said Mearis park dyke to the greene insch . . .'

The convention is similar over a hundred years later, in 1765, in the roup of the Broadwood in Yester parks:

> 'bounded as follows, viz. on the east by the Ox park and from the foot of the Ox park by the vestige of ane old faill dyke, running into the water opposite to the back gate of the Bleachfield, on the north east by the hedge inclosing the Bleachfeild from the floodgate to the said back gate, on the north-west by the park wall, on the south west by a hedge at the foot of the wester beats; as also the wood growing in the saugh [willow] park . . .'

They then specify what to cut. Often, by implication, it is the entire wood within the specified area, though perhaps not all of it in the same year. Sometimes there is a helpful species list of what it contains. A deed from 1617 of a wood known as 'Newtoun birks' referred to 'all sortis of tries as aike, birk, asche, aller [alder], quaikin asp [aspen], rountrie [rowan], sauch', and the 1633 deed from Humbie spoke of 'tries of aik, birk, asche, aller, sauch and all uthers presentlie

standing'. At the wood 'lyeing near to the old castle of Yester' in 1710, the buyer was forbidden to touch the beech and the ash but allowed 'the haill other timber such as oak, birk, allar, sauch, quakehesp and hissell [hazel]' and in 1733 at Newhall 'ane hagg of wood' consisted of 'oak, ash, birch, plain [sycamore], thorn, alder and quaikasp'. Apart from the one reference to beech and one to sycamore, these were all native woods with little sign of planting in them.

Elm is surprisingly absent from these four lists, but in the Yester group of woods it occurs more frequently, alongside other native and many more planted trees. The Tweeddale family were admirers of the great English pioneer of forestry, John Evelyn, and their estate also practised a policy of wood management different from the usual clear fell of everything except young trees of no value plus sometimes a few 'standards'. At Yester the estate reserved a significant proportion of trees to grōw ōn. In 1738 they sold what was described as:

> 'a certain number of trees in and around the garden at Yester . . . three hundred beeches, one hundred and twenty one ashes, thirtty two oakes, thirtty nine plains, twenty two elms, eighty three lymes, five chestnut trees, fourty seven alders and eight saugh trees.'

But held back from the sale were 19 oaks, 26 ashes, 87 beeches, eleven elms, two sycamores, four limes, a chestnut and an alder, 'conform to a note thereof given in by Charles Emerson, gardiner'. The beeches, sycamores, limes and chestnuts at least were planted trees, not natives, the beech possibly the crop from two pounds of beech mast purchased from a nurseryman in 1694, or from some earlier sowing. At least some of the elms and ashes at Yester had also been planted, in what were described as 'alem orchards' and 'asche orchards'.

In a similar way, at Castle Wood of Yester in 1755, all the planted Scots pines and beeches, more than 200 oaks, 313 elms, 105 ashes, two willows, 19 sycamores and four alders were exempted from the sale, and at the sale of the Broadwood in 1765, 47 oaks, two ashes, 43 elms, all the geans [wild cherry] and apples (probably crab apples), a row of sycamores and all the hedgerow trees were spared. By contrast in 1750, 'a parcel of timber at Bearfoord belonging to the honourable Francis Charteris of Amisfield', consisting of 112 ashes, 29 elms and 30 sycamore, sounds as if it may have been a completely modern plantation, not an ancient wood modified by recent planting, and one felled in its entirety.

In their day to day management, woods were often under the charge of foresters, or 'fosters' as they were generally called. They are shadowy figures in East Lothian, but one deed of 1654 related to the appointment for one year of 'George Dicksone in Carfrae' to 'undertake the keeping of his lordshipis woods

of Snawdone', for John, Lord Hay of Yester. In return he receives two bolls of oatmeal, a shilling sterling for every person he shall bring to book for cutting or destroying the wood, and half the fines levied in the sheriff court. If Hay finds out, however, that there are individuals destroying the wood whom he does not accuse, Dickson shall pay two shillings and sixpence per person. He is more of a warden than a forester. However, the Tweeddale estate, like others, did generally employ professional foresters who helped with work on the ground – a deed of 1703 speaks of 'the use of my Lord Marquesses fosters for cutting of the great ashes and oaks in Walden cleuch', though it was the gardener's job at Yester in 1738 to mark the trees that were to be spared from felling.

The deeds are also full of information of what Oliver Rackham calls 'woodmanship', the technical details of management. For example, a large wood would not all be felled at once, but divided into 'haggs', and one felled each year. Thus Pencaitland wood in 1665 and Humbie wood in 1675 were both divided into haggs to be felled over nine years. Within the haggs, there was often a restriction on taking very young trees: thus at Pressmennan in 1585, elm trees were reserved and 'young treis of aik, callit siplingis'; in Newhall in 1733 and the Broadwood of Yester in 1765 young seedling trees of every kind were reserved if they 'will not take a wimble bore' (or 'womble bore'), that is, a gimlet. Occasionally, but apparently not often in East Lothian outside the Tweeddale estate in the eighteenth century, the buyers agreed to leave a number of trees as 'standards' to grow on until the next cutting: this happened at Pencaitland in 1665, when 60 oaks were left uncut, a trifling number in a big wood.

The manner in which the stumps were treated was important: in Pencaitland the buyers 'sall cutt the tries as they aught to be, so as the stokes be not spoyled to the prejudice of the new grouth', more closely specified at Ormiston in 1736 as 'clean and sloping according to use and wont'. It was necessary to avoid rain lodging in the stumps and rotting them before new shoots could arise from the base, ensuring the sustainable continuation of the wood into another rotation. The timing of felling was also important, especially for oak trees where the bark was taken in spring when it parted readily from the trunk and branches, and because it was feared that if cutting continued late in the summer it would harm the chance of regrowth from the stumps. So at Pressmennan in 1585 and in Newton Birks in 1617 the time of cutting was specified as from 1 April to 1 August, at Spott in 1668 as from 10 April to 1 August. It was also important to clear up the debris before it obstructed regrowth, specified at Pressmennan as by St Andrew's Day and in Spott as by Martinmas (30 November and 11 November respectively).

Then there were important stipulations to be made about enclosure and the management of animals. Blaeu's map shows the Lothian woods as enclosed even in the sixteenth century, and though this may well not have applied to smaller upland woods, it was probably universally true of those on low ground. That part of Pressmennan called the Monkwood, for example, was described in 1708 as 'bounded within the old faill [turf] dyke on the east and south, the gott [ditch, ravine] called the Catcleugh on the west, and the water on the north'. It was the responsibility of the landowner to maintain this boundary, and if it was in disrepair the buyers of the timber expected the seller to 'dyke and fence the wood without', as at Pencaitland in 1665.

Because the mature woods were normally used as grazing and shelter for stock, it was often considered equally important to enclose the young growth in the yearly haggs by temporary wattle fences. These were sometimes erected by the buyer, sometimes by the landowner's men with the buyer providing the 'staik and rice' [stakes and twigs] to make the wattle. The buyers at Humbie in 1675 were bound to 'cutt the saids woods in haggs regularlie, and to leave or give to the forrester staik and ryce for making of divisione and hayning [enclosure] to the young woods', and in Newhall in 1707 the buyers had to construct 'a sufficient staik and rice dyke six quarters high'.

Buyers were allowed to graze their animals in the wood, but only to a limited degree. Animals were forbidden in 'hagg tyme' [the cutting season] at Humbie in 1675, and at Yester in 1760 'no horses whatever are to be allowed at any time or any pretence to unyoke within the deer park'. Oxen are mentioned only in the two sixteenth-century deeds, in 1585 from Pressmennan and in 1593 from Yester: in the former it was stipulated that four oxen were to be allowed in with the horses to transport the timber and bark by daylight, but at night the animals were to be pastured on the laird's farm land, to secure their dung for the arable ground. Particularly when bark was to be hauled some distance, the landowner might provide the transport. In 1633 John Lawson of Humbie provided 'twentie single horss yeirlie' (possibly the meaning is horse loads), ten to take bark to Edinburgh and ten to Haddington, and in 1736 John Cockburn of Ormiston furnished 'a wagon and carriages [carriage animals] to drive their oak bark, according to use and wont, and the said purchasers oblidge themselves to uphold the said wagon during the time they make use of it'. Additional clauses guaranteed freedom of entry, sometimes by specified gates or road, and occasionally (as at Yester in 1593 and Humbie in 1675) the deeds contained clauses whereby the landowner undertook to pursue in the baron courts anyone who disturbed the cutters or stole the wood. It might be necessary to permit the buyers some temporary accommodation, as

at Pressmennan in 1585 where they were allowed to build at their own expense 'houssis for thair easementis and ordouring of thair meit', or at Pencaitland in 1665 where they were given two storeys 'of the sclait hous in Wodhall and ane barne ther', probably for keeping bark.

What sort of people became involved in the business of buying woods in this way? Out of 33 named, 17 were described as indwellers, tenants, portioners or feuars (therefore mostly probably local farmers), nine were wrights (mostly local, but one from Roslin and two from Edinburgh), three were merchants (two from Haddington, one from Edinburgh), one was 'timberman' of Leith, one was just described as a burgess and another as a mason in Haddington, and one was a clerk of session in Edinburgh. Particularly interesting are those who appear more than once. George Johnstone, wright in Haddington, in 1592 appears operating 17 miles away in Aikieside, near Cockburnspath in Berwickshire, and next year at Yester. Alexander Cockburne and George Carstaires, indwellers in Ormiston, described themselves as 'woodbuyers' in one deed: in 1665 they are busy (with John Gilbert) at Pencaitland, three years later at Spott and two years after that at Roslin. A Midlothian partnership of William Johnston, wright in Roslin, William Noble, wright in Lasswade, and Robert Ker, portioner in Gilmerton, were cutting in Humbie in 1706 and Pressmennan in 1708, the latter being 25 miles from Roslin. These are as much professionals as Archibald Coustoune, self-proclaimed 'timberman in Leith', who in 1637 was operating both in Pressmennan and in Aikieside, some 40 miles away by sea. Here, surely, is a school for small business.

Some of the capital sums involved were quite large. The nine-year contract to cut Pencaitland in 1665 undertaken by the Ormiston 'woodbuyers' was worth £22,660 Scots, and that of the same length to cut Humbie in 1675 undertaken by Robert Hamilton of Beill, clerk of session, and James Hamilton, merchant burgess in Edinburgh, was worth £13,000 Scots. These were two out of the four largest bargains, out of a total of 68 in the whole of Scotland registered around this time, and that from Pencaitland was the most costly of them all. To a degree, however, they must have been self-financing, as the produce of the first year's hagg would have been available to finance the second, and so forth. Considered in terms of how much money had to be found each year, the most expensive bargains were at Humbie in 1633 (to Robert Yeman, burgess of Haddington), at £3333 Scots, and the aforementioned one at Pencaitland in 1675, at £2518 Scots. To put these sums in perspective, when Alexander Pyper, a prominent merchant of Edinburgh, died in 1699, the value of his stock in shipping and cargoes ranging from New York, Barbados and the Canaries to France and Norway, came to about £16,000 Scots. Most of the contracts involved much smaller sums than those quoted, such as the

one for Pressmennan in 1708 where the Midlothian partnership was to pay a total of 7,000 merks Scots (£4,666) over three years, with a reduction of 500 merks if a peace treaty was signed between Britain and France, an indication of how prices were sensitive to the disruption of imports in wartime.

How was the value of a wood divided between the timber and the bark? For this, one has to turn to estate records, which are less common and which we have not analysed as fully as the deeds. In 1757, a hagg of Saltoun Wood yielded £78 sterling in timber and £58 in bark, and in 1758 the next hagg yielded £75 in timber and £61 in bark. The bark was peeled from the felled trunks by women and children. At Saltoun in 1757 and 1758, they were paid 3d. sterling a day, most of them being employed for about nine weeks, involving up to 14 females and three males. The expenses of provision for the peelers included '4 yeards of cours shilen [rough planks] for a bark shit'.

Though beyond our period, the timber at Pressmennan in 1797 was worth £611, the bark £410. These suggest that in these instances bark accounted for 40-45% of total value. Most of it was probably oak bark (we know it all was at Pressmennan), and the value of oak timber was also much greater than that of other wood. Thus a timber valuation of one hagg in Saltoun Wood in 1757 estimated that 1443 oak trees were worth £75, and 1468 birch trees £34, but 7 ashes were worth 6d. each and 52 alders were worth 12 shillings in total. This also gives an indication of how many trees (about 3000) were felled in a season. At Pressmennan in 1797, in a valuation of an entire wood, the difference was still more marked: 5500 oaks were worth £472 for their timber, 3550 birch were worth £95, 162 ash were worth £40 (in price per foot, more valuable than oak), and some 40 other miscellaneous trees, including four hornbeams, worth £4 in all. At Pressmennan, including timber and bark, the oak provided no less than 85% of the value of the whole wood.

Finally, to what markets was all this effort directed? Bark was easier to transport than timber, and was often moved further. In a deed subcontracting the sale of bark from Pressmennan and Aikieside in 1637, Archibald Coustoune, 'timberman in Leith and now in Presmynnan Wod' sold 105 bolls of oak bark to be delivered at the shore of Dunbar or Belhaven to two 'cordiners' (shoemakers) at the Potterow, Edinburgh, clearly for onward transport. In another deed concerning Pressmennan of 1708, the seller agreed to carry half the bark 'ten or twelve miles distant', which would have brought it to the shore or as far as Haddington. In 1720, two shoemakers at Polwarth in Berwickshire undertook to buy and peel 'the whole of the birtch and saugh and oak bark' in the 'Hirslwood belonging to the Marquess

of Tweeddale'. In 1757 and 1758, the bark from Saltoun Wood was sold to a tanner in Tranent, 32 wagon loads in the first year and 33 in the second. Tranent was five miles from Saltoun and, according to the *Old Statistical Account* in 1792, had a 'considerable tannery' and 62 shoemakers, the most numerous trade in the parish.

In the case of the timber, the only direct evidence comes from the sales at Saltoun. In 1757, it was disposed of by the estate in 174 parcels, most of it destined for use on the estate itself or to neighbouring tenants and wrights within four miles (once to a baker, no doubt for fuel for his ovens). The remainder almost all went to destinations within eight miles, including places like Prestonpans, Aberlady, Gosford and Gladsmuir, apart from a parcel to a wright in Lauder, 12 miles away. One interesting purchase was from a 'heelmaker' in Cockenzie, who bought eight alders: plainly, he was a specialised part of the local shoe manufacturing industry, alder being renowned for its ability to resist rot in contact with damp ground.

There was no purchaser of timber at Saltoun in 1757 from Edinburgh, though only some 17 miles away, the intense building activity going on in the city being supplied, as earlier, mainly by softwood from Scandinavia and the Baltic imported through Leith. That is not to say, however, that Edinburgh had no influence on the price of the local woods in East Lothian. It did so partly through the shoe trade: the cordiners of the Potterow and Tranent would sell primarily to the citizens of the capital, and the price of bark reflected this. Edinburgh's prosperity and proximity also had a more general indirect effect on the income of the farms, estates and towns throughout East Lothian, stimulating their consumption of timber for new buildings and repairs which could be met more cheaply from local resources than from imports, since overland transport costs were high. It is possible that intermittently the county had sent some wood directly to the capital – hence, for example, the interest of Edinburgh entrepreneurs in the Humbie contract of 1675 – but it seems unlikely that Scottish wood of any provenance ever featured much in the construction of her buildings in these centuries. Adam Smith in 1776 remarked that 'in the new town of Edinburgh built within these last few years, there is not, perhaps, a single stick of Scotch timber', and archaeological investigation shows that the primacy of foreign softwood in the capital went back long before then. Nevertheless, the woods of East Lothian flourished, and were worth managing, exploiting and maintaining, not least because Edinburgh was so close at hand.

APPENDIX 1

Ferns, flowering plants and grasses almost always associated with natural woodland sites in Lothians, as noted by Averis (2002) and in Scottish Natural Heritage Survey files, and which are recorded in Smith *et al* (2002). Reproduced by kind permission of Chris Badenoch.

FERNS:

Equisetum sylvaticum	Wood Horsetail
Gymnocarpium dryopteris	Oak Fern
Polystichum aculeatum	Hard Shield Fern

FLOWERING PLANTS & GRASSES:

Adoxa moschatellina	Moschatel
Allium ursinum	Ramsons
Ajuga reptans	Bugle
Brachypodium sylvaticum	False Brome
Bromus ramosus	Hairy Brome
Campanula latifolia	Giant Bellflower
Carex laevigata	Smooth-stalked Sedge
Carex remota	Remote Sedge
Carex sylvatica	Wood Sedge
Chrysosplenium alternifolium	Alternate-leaved Golden Saxifrage
Elymus caninus	Bearded Couch
Epipactus helleborine	Broad-leaved Helleborine
Festuca altissima	Wood Fescue
Festuca gigantea	Giant Fescue
Galium odoratum	Woodruff
Hyacinthoides non-scripta	Wild Hyacinth
Lathrea squamaria	Toothwort
Luzula sylvatica	Great Woodrush
Melica uniflora	Wood Melick
Mercurialis perennis	Dog's Mercury
Millium effusum	Wood Millet
Moerhingia trinervia	Three-nerved Sandwort
Neottia nidus-avis	Bird's Nest Orchid
Poa nemoralis	Wood Meadow Grass
Prunus padus	Bird Cherry
Rancunculus auricomus	Goldilocks
Sanicula europaea	Sanicle
Stellaria nemorum	Wood Stitchwort
Trientalis europaea	Chickweed Wintergreen
Veronica montana	Wood Speedwell

APPENDIX 2

List of Woodland Deeds and Articles of Roup relating to East Lothian, 1585-1765
NB. This list should be treated as provisional

Date	Location of Woods	Reference
1.4.1585	Pressmennan	NAS: CC.8/12/16, reg. 18.11.1586
27.5.1593	Yester	NLS: MS.14755, ff.7-8
30.7.1617	Newton Birks, near Yester	NAS: RD.1/302, ff.220-1, another copy in NLS: MS 7105, ff/2-3
31.5.1633	Humbie	NAS: RD.1/473, f.166
6.3.1637	Pressmennan (sale of bark)	NAS: RD.1/513, ff.203-4
11.2.1654	Snawden (appointment of forester)	NLS: MS. 14751, f.63
27.4.1665	Pencaitland	NAS: RD. 13/1670, no. 388
9.4.1668	'Howburne' at Spott	NAS: RD. 13/1670, no. 280
9.10.1675	Humbie	NAS: RD. 12/1680, no. 947
19.5.1703	Grantswood, by Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, f.47
26.2.1706	Humbie	NAS: RD. 13/1710, no. 171
21.5.1707	Newhall	NAS: RD. 13/1709, no. 365
21.4.1708	Pressmennan	NAS: RD. 13/1710, no. 570
12.5.1710	Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, ff.49-50
8.5.1713	Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, ff. 151-2
17.5.1720	'Herslwood' on Tweeddale estate (sale of bark)	NAS: RD. 14, reg. 7.6.1721
21.2.1726	Saltoun, Colston, Humbie and Leston (adjustment of debts)	NLS: MS. 17148, f.114
28.3.1733	Newhall	NAS: RD. 13, reg. 26.5.1735
1.12.1736	Ormiston	NAS: RD. 12, reg. 1.12.1738
11.11.1738	Yester	NAS: RD. 13, reg. 27.11.1739
12.10.1750	Bearford	NAS: RD. 14, reg. 13.6.1754
1.5.1755	Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, ff.53-4
28.7.1760	Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, f.55
5.2.1765	Yester	NLS: MS. 14754, ff.59-60

Transcripts of a calendar of these deeds, very kindly made by John Ballantyne, are available from the author on request.

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Figure 1: General Sir David Baird (1757-1829). (Study related to the battle of Alexandria and the landing of British troops at Aboukir). 1802; Attributed to Philip James de Loutherbourg (1740-1812). (Scottish National Portrait Gallery.)

GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD AND THE BAIRDS OF NEWBYTH HOUSE

by STEPHEN BUNYAN

INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the twentieth century, the whole imperial theme had become unfashionable. We no longer live in an heroic age. A number of figures who were considered heroes when our grandparents were young seem now to have almost disappeared from view. This appears to be the case with General Sir David Baird (fig 1), except on the local scene. (The Baird family owned Newbyth until well into the twentieth century and the family remained part of the local folklore.) Sir David did not figure, for instance, in a relatively recent book on the British Raj, *India Britannica*, by Geoffrey Moorhouse (1983). A recent TV series 'Empire', based on Professor Niall Ferguson's book *Empire: How Britain Made The Modern World* (2004), has to some extent revived interest in Imperial Themes, but we would still need to push hard to get the great contribution of Scots generally recognised.

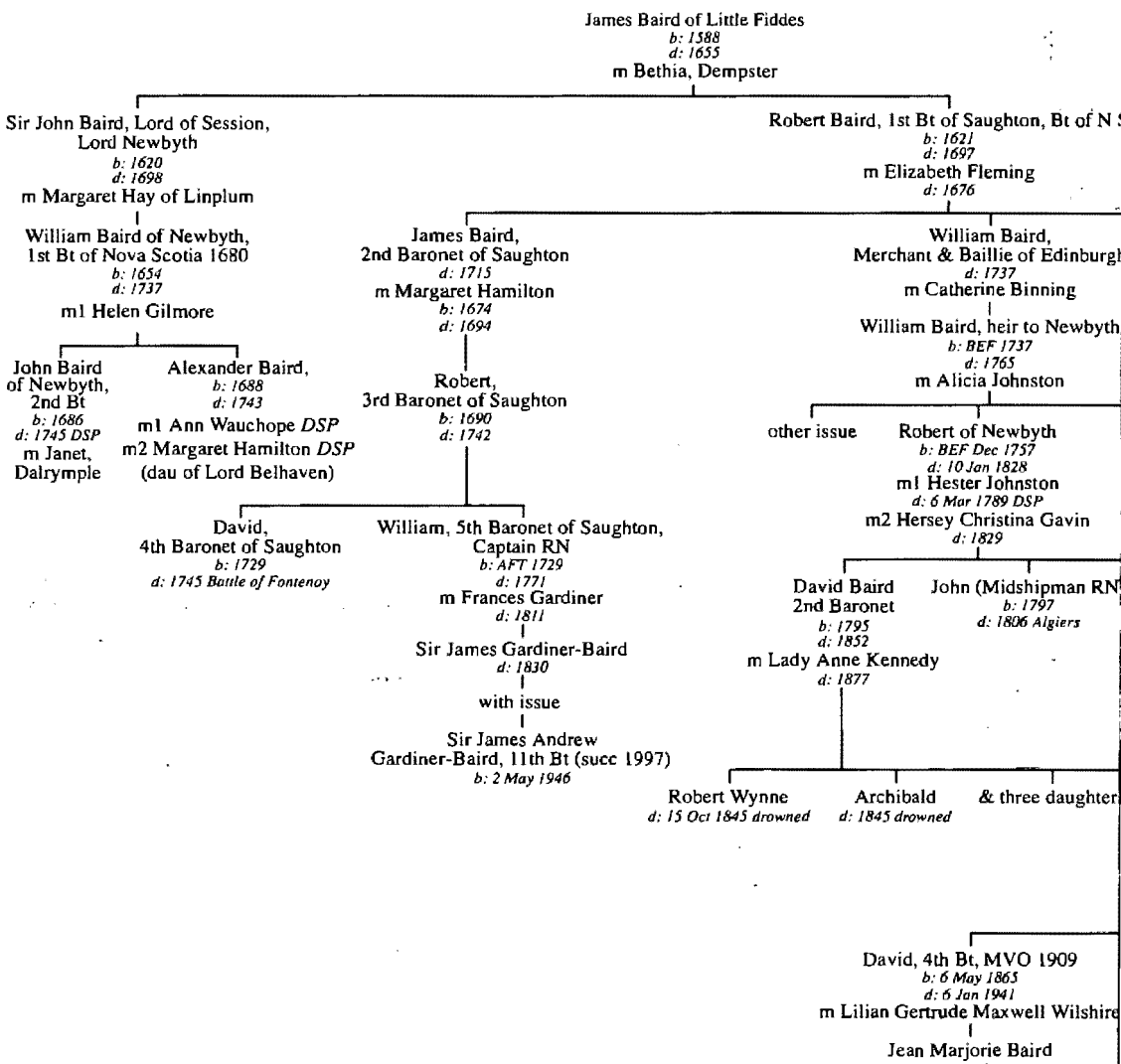
This article tells the story of the Bairds of Newbyth (see the family tree on pages 56-7), concentrating on General Sir David Baird (1757-1829) and reassessing his role in the history of Newbyth House.

THE BAIRDS COME TO NEWBYTH

The Bairds were an ancient Aberdeenshire family dating back to at least the fourteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, James Baird, the fourth son of George Baird of Auchmeddon, purchased the adjacent estate of Byth, ENE of Turriff, in Aberdeenshire. A commissary of the ecclesiastical court, he would have been created Lord Doveran by a grateful Charles I, had the latter not been executed in 1649 before the patent was issued. (Cromwell was not into creating lords.) James Baird also purchased Whitekirk, in East Lothian, which had been part of the estate of the diocese of Edinburgh, created by Charles 1 in 1633 and abolished by Cromwell in the 1650s.

James Baird had two sons, John and Robert; both are important in our story. John (1620-98) was knighted and created a lord of Session; he was known as Lord Newbyth, which became the barony of Newbyth. In 1667, he purchased the estate of Gilmerton, near Edinburgh. He married Margaret Hay of Linplum, a niece of the first earl of Tweeddale, and by her had two sons, William and Alexander. William

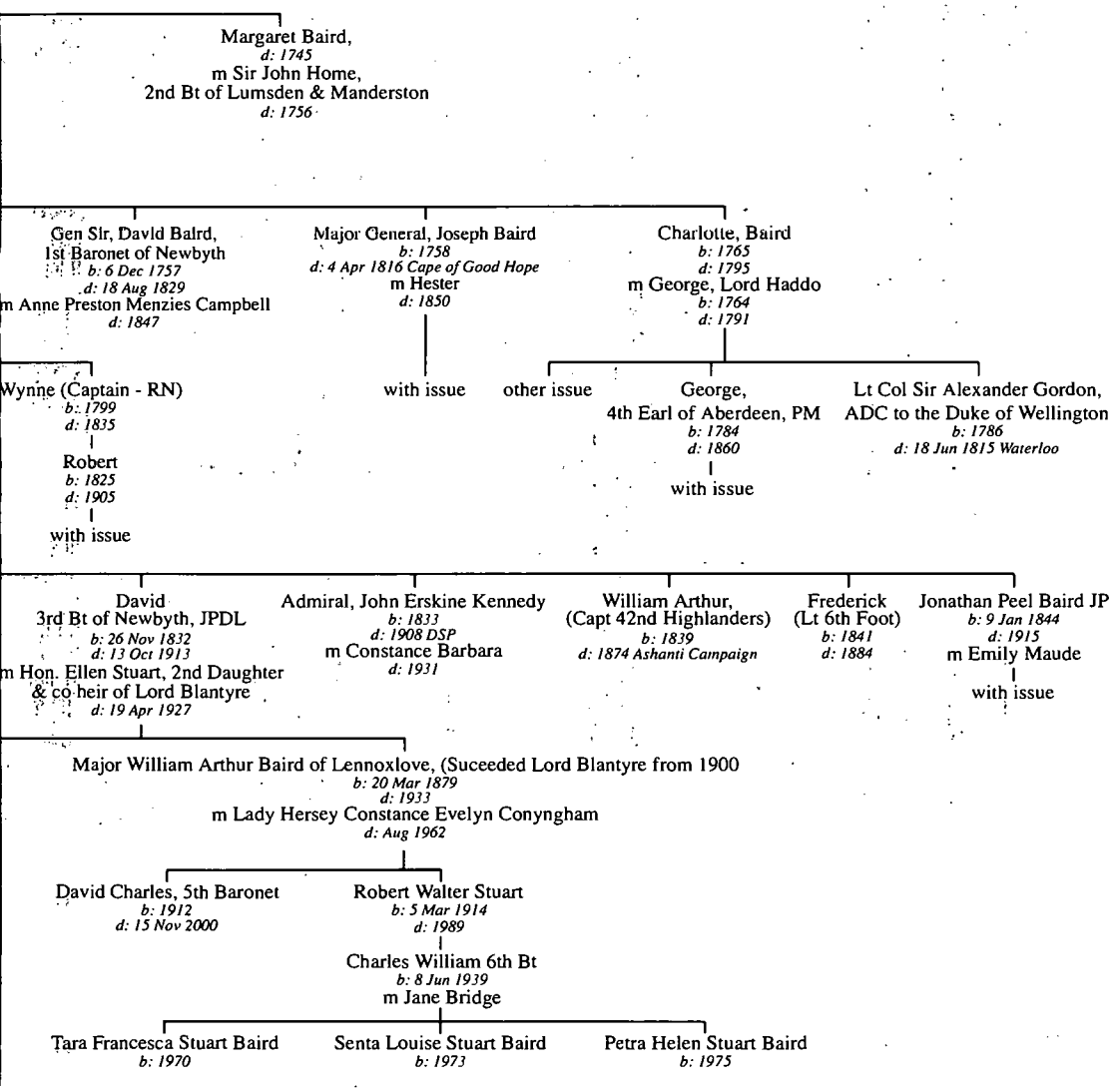
GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD AND THE BAIRDS OF NEWBYTH HOUSE



THE BAIRD FAMILY FROM 1588-2000

(with omissions)

GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD AND THE BAIRDS OF NEWBYTH HOUSE



(1654-1737), who married Helen Gilmore of Craigmillar and became a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1680 and MP for Edinburgh, was known as 'of Newbyth'. His son, John, born in 1686, became the second baronet in 1737 but died, without issue, in 1745. He was predeceased by his younger brother, Alexander, likewise without issue, in 1743. Thus, by John's death in 1745, the baronetcy of Newbyth became extinct.

For the succession to the lands, but not the title, we have to look to the descendants of James Baird's second son, Robert, who died in 1697. He too became a baronet of Nova Scotia, in 1695/6, and was known as 'of Saughton Hall'. Robert married Elizabeth Fleming and they too had two sons, James and William. Through James, the second baronet of Saughton Hall, descended the Bairds and Gardiner-Bairds, down to the present eleventh baronet. He and other members of that branch of the family are also descended from Colonel Gardiner, of Bankton House, near Tranent. Gardiner was mortally wounded within sight of his house, fighting on the government side at the battle of Prestonpans in 1745. His house was then in Jacobite hands and the colonel was taken to Tranent manse, where he died.

William, the second son, was a merchant and baillie in Edinburgh. In 1697, he married Catherine, daughter of Sir William Binning, lord provost of Edinburgh. He died in 1737. He had a son, also William, who was declared heir to his cousin, John 'of Newbyth'. When John died in 1745, William, who was married to Alicia Johnston, inherited Newbyth. William had, with other issue, two sons who are of particular interest to our theme - firstly Robert 'of Newbyth', who died in 1828, and secondly David, born at Newbyth in 1757, and who died in 1829.

Let us pause here and leave the family for the time being and consider Newbyth, the house and the estate, and in particular the question 'who built Newbyth House?' (Fig 2)

The late eighteenth century was a period of great prosperity for the landed gentry of Scotland. It was indeed a golden age for estates in East Lothian, a time of much building and rebuilding, both of mansion houses and ancillary buildings. There was great wealth coming from various sources - from improved agriculture; the colonies, particularly from business ventures in Edinburgh and elsewhere; from India and the West Indies; from industry and mineral extraction; from the Law; from Government offices and sinecures; from service in the armed forces, especially the military service of the East India Company; and from shrewd marriages to rich heiresses, whose property ca me under the control of their husbands. Canny landholders would want to profit by a combination of these means.

Local perception about Newbyth seems to be at odds with the evidence. The impression I have gained over forty years or so was that Newbyth was essentially the home of General Sir David Baird, who was born there in 1757, the implication being that he built it, presumably by wealth gained in the East, as a showcase for the trophies of his distinguished career. The interior was dominated by the splendid Wilkie portrait (now in the National Gallery of Scotland). This idea was firmly stated in an estate agent's brief dated 2003, where it said: 'Georgian Mansion built by David Baird in 1812'. The truth is rather different.

Figure 2: Newbyth House. (Photo: Garry Menzies)

The house that stands at Newbyth today was indeed built in the early nineteenth century. There must, however, have been an earlier seventeenth-century mansion, the one in which David Baird is reported to have been born in 1757. Whilst David spent long years away from Scotland, pursuing his military career, a subject to which I shall return, life for the Bairds of Newbyth went on, both as East Lothian lairds in a period of intensive agricultural development and as merchants in Edinburgh. Family life at Newbyth was a life of increasing stability and prosperity.

GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD AND THE BAIRDS OF NEWBYTH HOUSE

Thomas Hannan, in his *Famous Scottish Houses* (1928), says that Newbyth House was built towards the end of the eighteenth century to designs by Robert and James Adam. There exist in fact designs by their father, William Adam, for Newbyth (or Whitekirk House), similar to his Palladian design for Hopetoun House, in West Lothian (*Vitruvius Scoticus*, p.38). Another account (by Jack Baird *pers comm*) has the house built *c* 1800 to a design by James Burn, the noted Haddington architect. There is a report that the mansion was destroyed by fire early in the nineteenth century. MacWilliam (1978, 350-1) states firmly that the house which survives was built in 1817 by Archibald Elliot, the architect responsible for Waterloo Place in Edinburgh, and that a new range was added *c* 1900. These statements at first appear contradictory, but all are apparently true.

There is evidence for a much earlier house on the Newbyth estate, and also for an Adam mansion. The conclusion has to be that important work was done when General Sir David Baird was furth of Scotland and that the main construction work was carried out for his elder brother, Robert, the actual owner of the house. This is confirmed in a sasine (no.789 of 30 Dec 1829) to Robert's son and heir, also a David. There was also an agreement between them about life rent, which may have been because of the younger David's marriage, in 1821, to Lady Anne Kennedy. Their impending nuptials may in fact have prompted the building of the new mansion. David was confirmed as heir male to his father, Robert, on 21 Oct 1829.

Robert 'of Newbyth' was a magistrate and country gentleman with political ambitions. He became MP for the Haddington burghs in 1801-2, and was the owner of famous horses. His sisters had made good marriages, particularly Charlotte, who married Lord Haddo, heir to the earl of Aberdeen. She was the mother of the fourth earl of Aberdeen, the future prime minister.

GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD (1757-1829)

David Baird was the fifth son of William Baird of Newbyth (he is listed second in Burke, but other issue are omitted). Though most probably born at Newbyth, 'our Davy' was actually brought up in Gordon House, at the top of Castle Hill in Edinburgh. It was a building divided into apartments, where there was a convivial, democratic style of life, so much the hallmark of the Old Town and which was soon to be swept away with the building of the New Town.

The Baird family increased annually. William, the father, died in 1765, when David was eight, and his widow was left to raise seven boys and seven girls. Her technique was to show no sign of affection. David appears to have given her most trouble. Perhaps influenced by the location of Gordon House close to Edinburgh

Castle, David had an early desire to be a soldier. His mother was quoted as saying: 'Davy was born a soldier.' The problem of a commission for him was solved when one purchased for a brother of his, who then died an untimely death, was transferred, still in his brother's name, to David.

David joined the 2nd Regt of Foot as an ensign on 14 December 1772; he was just short of his fifteenth birthday. He had a slight education, a narrow outlook, a sharp intelligence, a splendid physique and considerable self confidence. He went for a year to Locke's academy in Chelsea where he learned military tactics. He then spent three years in Gibraltar with his regiment. In 1777, ten new regiments were formed, and Baird, then aged 20, got a captaincy in Lord Macleod's Regiment, the 73rd (later the 71st). In January 1780, he arrived in Madras, India.

The story of David Baird's astonishing career in India is not the subject matter of this paper, but it was to become a legendary part of the history of the British Raj. It is probably desirable to sketch in a few details.

Britain had become the main European power influencing India as a result of her success against the French in the Seven Years' War (1756-63). India had become 'the corn chest for the Scottish gentry' (see Dalrymple 2003). Lord Cornwallis tried to set up peaceful rule but was faced with the hostile Hyder Ali (1721-82), chief of the Mahrattas, and his son, Tippu Sultan (1750-99), the 'Tiger of Mysore'. On his arrival in India, Baird was at once involved in the Second Mysore War (1780-84), and in particular the Battle of Pollilur, 'the most grievous disaster which has as yet befallen the British arms in India' (Rev G Gleig, *Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro*, 1830, quoted in Buddle 1999, p.15). Baird was severely wounded but miraculously survived the battlefield, with its spearmen, trampling elephants, thirst, hunger and so forth. He was, however, captured shortly after and imprisoned in Sirangapatnam (or Seringapatam) in awful conditions and shackled. When this was reported to his mother, she remarked famously: 'Lord help the chiel that's chained to oor Davy!' (quoted in Sir Walter Scott (1999)/Arthur Haley *Our Davy* (1989)).

Baird survived the ordeal, and after the Treaty of Bangalore (1784) he was freed and made a major. He returned to Britain - and to Newbyth - in 1787. His mother had recently died. The Edinburgh business was flourishing, and so was his brother, Robert, at Newbyth. David was there when he was urged to hasten south to be on the spot for possible promotion. He refused help to enable him to purchase promotion, which was unfortunate for it meant that John Moore was gazetted first; as we shall see, this was to affect Baird's later career. This is always an important issue in the army, which even today is concerned with seniority.

In March 1791, Baird returned to India and once again came up against the hostile Tippu Sultan. In 1797, he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope with the rank of brigadier-general.

Meanwhile, Lord Mornington (Richard Wellesley) had arrived in India as governor-general. A Francophobe, he decided on a more aggressive policy. Baird was promoted to major-general and recalled to India, where he was dramatically involved in General Harris's siege of Seringapatam which resulted in the death of Tippu on 4 May 1799. This is the event commemorated in Wilkie's great picture of General Sir David Baird, painted in 1839, which became one of the icons of the nineteenth century.

Baird suffered from the egotism and self-serving of the Wellesley brothers who, both in India and elsewhere, diminished his contribution to enhance that of Colonel Arthur Wellesley who was given the governorship at Seringapatam. Baird commented: 'Before the sweat was dry on my brow I was superseded by an inferior officer.' He felt he had been treated with disrespect. Later he received the thanks of Parliament and the East India Company, and was offered a pension by the Company which he declined, rather hoping for the Order of the Bath instead.

Wellesley, however, believed himself to be the right man for the job and justified the situation with this comment: 'Baird was a gallant hard-headed officer but he had no talent, no tact, had an unpredictable temper and by past experience was unfitted to govern the natives.' He continued: 'Notwithstanding this, he and I were on the best of terms and I don't think any man rejoiced more sincerely than he did in my ulterior success.' General Harris's share of the prize money from Seringapatam was £142,000; Baird, who had risked his life, got a paltry £1,200. He was, however, presented with a jewelled sword costing 200 guineas by his brother officers. A later member of the family asked what it was worth and was told: 'Money would not buy it, dear. As dear as honour is, must ever be, the soldier's sword.' (*Weekly Scotsman*, 1899).

David Baird's career continued. He was involved in the expedition to Egypt in 1801 which hoped to expel the French. In 1802, he returned to India, where there was further friction with the Wellesleys. He resigned and returned to Britain. He was knighted in 1804, was at last made a member of the Order of the Bath, and awarded the Order of the Crescent from the Sultan for his achievements in Egypt. He was further promoted to lieutenant-general. In 1805-06, he successfully commanded the expedition against the Dutch in the Cape of Good Hope. He was, however, persuaded to supply troops to Commodore Sir Home Riggs Popham, who had co-

operated with him in the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope, for an expedition to Buenos Aires to aid the Spanish colonists who were showing signs of discontent. The enterprise took place with Popham's squadron and 1400 soldiers. The Spanish were not minded to accept British help. Popham was recalled and censured by a court martial for leaving his station. The failure of this enterprise led to Baird's recall by the 'Ministry of all the Talents' (so-called because they were deemed mediocre!). He was not allowed on a naval ship and had to travel privately. He chartered a whaler. It was captured in the Bay of Biscay. He asked to stay on his small craft with his baggage and gave his parole. It was then recaptured by a naval cutter. He was then exchanged for a French general so that he could continue to serve.

Sir David was exonerated for the Popham business by Lord Castlereagh. In 1807, he took part in the bombardment of Copenhagen under Lieutenant-General Lord Cathcart, where he was wounded in the shoulder. He was then put in charge of the Militia summer camp at the Curragh, Ireland. At 51, he was not pressing for an active role. Fate, however, played another hand. In 1808 came his final challenge, in the Peninsular campaign in Spain and Portugal.

Arthur Wellesley seemed the right man for the task but was too junior a lieutenant-general. He was also opposed by the Whigs. The duke of York wanted to break the tradition of patronage and went for the other evil of seniority. They tried an odd stratagem. They appointed senior officers to command - firstly Sir Hew Dalrymple, secondly Sir Harry Burrard, (both elderly guards officers), thirdly Sir John Moore, acceptable to the Whigs, and fourthly Wellesley, who sailed at once for Portugal. They expected Moore to refuse to go, so making Wellesley the *de facto* commander. Moore did not play ball. He went - and he asked for Baird, who was senior to Wellesley, as his second-in-command. (The whole incident was reminiscent of Baird and the Wellesleys in India.) Baird took his nephew, Captain Gordon, Lady Haddo's son, as his aide.

The Corunna campaign is a story on its own. Suffice to say conditions were terrible and morale was low. It should be noted that Baird had urged Moore to look to the safety of the troops. Had Moore survived, and had the French Field-Marshal Soult drawn him into his trap, not a single British soldier would have survived. Baird was shot in the arm and had to have it amputated on board ship. These operations were done without anaesthetic. He faced this stoically but it was a terrible trauma for a man of his age, or indeed any age. Victory was achieved, though the whole business is usually classed a disaster. Moore lost his life and was buried at midnight on 16 January 1809. His death is immortalised in Charles Wolfe's famous poem *The Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna.*

The embarkation continued and the British sailed away. Baird had handed over to Sir John Hope when he was wounded, but after the amputation he resumed command. He then prepared to send Gordon with the dispatch reporting the situation to London. This set the cat among the pigeons with Moore's staff. Gordon tried to back out but Baird said: 'If you don't go, I will send Capt Baird [his other nephew]'. Gordon went. Hope sent a second dispatch but, after a stormy passage, Gordon arrived first. Baird embarked to return home. The ship berthed at Plymouth. He discovered that his friend, Dr Macgregor, was at Portsmouth and asked to be taken there. He arrived on 25 January. His brother Joseph (Major-General Baird, who died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1816), who was there also, went on board with the doctor. Baird was swung off in a cot used for visiting ladies; his views on this are not recorded! His convalescence was a long and tedious year in Hertfordshire. He received the thanks of Parliament, was awarded a KB ten years after Mornington had recommended it, and in April reluctantly accepted a baronetcy which was remaindered to his elder brother. As an elderly bachelor, he did not expect a direct heir. He became reconciled to Wellington, who took Captain Gordon as an aide. Wellington probably did this on merit and not as a favour, for he considered him one of his best officers, weeping when he was killed at Waterloo in 1815.

Baird's personal position was difficult. He lacked the fortune he might have expected after his time in India. His older brother, Robert, was at Newbyth, and either he or his son would inherit Baird's title and would presumably have been happy to give him a home. Baird might have found this difficult. He solved the problem in another way.

By summer, Baird's health had improved and he finally married. He took to wife Anne Preston Menzies Campbell, of Ferntower and Cochlane, a Scottish heiress with an estate near Crieff. She was apparently strong-willed for Sir David is quoted as saying: 'I could command 10,000 men yet I cannot command one woman.' The early years of the marriage were divided between London and Ferntower, where they carried out considerable building works. By 1814, this work was complete and Baird's trophies of war were given due prominence therein, as was his mother's chair. Baird became known as 'of Ferntower'. (It should be remembered that at that time the property of married women became their husband's property.) He clearly regarded the place as home. He could hardly use the Newbyth designation with his brother and nephew ensconced there. He took an interest in local Perthshire affairs and showed paternal attention to the tenants and the poor.

Baird still hoped for government recognition. He was promoted to full general in 1814. After the defeat of Napoleon, six generals were awarded £2,000 a year, but not Baird. He had no success with government appointments until 1819, when he became governor of Kinsale, Ireland, and again in 1820, when he was given command of the army in Ireland. One regiment regretted his appointment; its officers had taken a whore into the mess, and Baird had them posted to India in consequence. One of the officers was Sir Walter Scott's son and heir. Scott approved of Baird's action in principle, but feared for his own son's health in India. Young Walter, who was serious about his military career, agonised over whether he should go, quit, or exchange, both of which latter options would affect his promotion. He went, eventually commanding the 15th Hussars at Bangalore, but was invalided home and died off the Cape of Good Hope in 1847. (He must have been home in the meantime because he was at Abbotsford at the time of his father's death in 1832.) Baird, meanwhile, held office till 1822, when the command was reduced and he resigned. He came home to Ferntower and enjoyed it, sitting, when he could, in his favourite spot outside.

There was still controversy about. In 1827, General Harris published a biased report about Seringapatam concerning Baird and Wellesley. Baird let it pass. Scott, in his life of Napoleon, criticised Moore. Sorrell, Baird's secretary, tried to show how Baird would have modified events but received no reply. Nor was there one from Napier, who had done likewise. Lady Baird, however, employed T E Hook to write his two-volume life (published in 1832) to put Baird's side of the story.

In 1828, Baird, by now aged 71, fell from his horse. Even so, he managed to get to Fort George for a levee on 23 April 1829, where he was appointed its governor. In July, he returned to Ferntower, but had a relapse on 10 August and died there on the 18th. He was buried near Crieff but later taken to his wife's burial ground at Culross. In 1832, an obelisk, a replica of Cleopatra's Needle on the London Embankment, was erected in the grounds of Ferntower to his memory.

Baird's achievements were recognised at the time and he remained a hero throughout the nineteenth century. It was unfortunate that he was put into a position of jockeying with the Wellesleys, who had greater social clout and were very ambitious. Baird's splendid trophies, including horse trappings presented by the Pasha of Egypt and Tippu Sultan's sword, were brought to Newbyth; Wilkie's fine portrait joined them, presumably about the time of Lady Anne's death in 1847. The Wilkie portrait now hangs in the National Gallery of Scotland. Tippu's sword apparently made £140,000 at a sale in 2003.

J W Cole, in his *British Generals distinguished during the Peninsular War*, published in 1865/6, wrote of Baird: 'A warrior without fear or reproach, intending no guile and believing in no treachery. Throughout his long life he made many friends and never lost the esteem he once acquired. He was not given to talk of his own services and exploits and was ever ready to bear testimony to the deeds of others. He thought he had been treated with neglect and inadequately rewarded, but he rejoiced when his comrades were successful; and though his application for a peerage was passed over without the courtesy of an answer, he was never heard to insinuate that those preferred were not deserving.'

Arthur Haley, in his book *Our Davy*, concludes: 'From Edinburgh boyhood to landed gentleman at Crieff, the most remarkable impression of the man was how little he was changed by adversity; and how in the pursuit of glory, the bonds of friendship and humanity held firm to the end.'

THE LATER BAIRDS

By the time of General Sir David Baird's death, without heir, in 1829, the Baird family was established at the top rank of East Lothian society, if not quite there in UK terms. David Baird's brother, Robert 'of Newbyth', had died in 1828, and his son, also David, inherited the estate from his father and the title from his uncle in quick succession. Perhaps in anticipation of these changes, he had made a good marriage in 1821 - to Lady Anne Kennedy, eldest daughter of the first marquis of Ailsa. Such a bride would have come with a good marriage settlement. David had been a captain in the army and was with his uncle in Portugal. He fought, and was wounded, at Waterloo. When he succeeded, he took an interest in local life, exchanged some land with Buchan-Hepburn of Smeaton, and was involved with golf at North Berwick and curling at Newbyth.

David had two brothers who served in the Royal Navy - John, a midshipman, who died after a head wound at the attack on Algiers in 1806, and Wynne, a captain, who died in 1835. Wynne's daughter, Christina, became Viscountess Strathallan.

David and Anne had several children. Two sons, Robert and Archibald, were drowned in 1845. David, the third baronet, also made a good marriage, to the Hon Ellen Stuart, co-heiress of Lord Blantyre (of Lennoxlove). He was a deputy-lieutenant and JP, as befitted a considerable landowner. He also served in the army, as a major in the 79th Foot and the 74th Highlanders. He served in the Kaffir War of 1851-2, and was on Sir Colin Campbell's staff in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny. He brought Sir Colin's sword back to Newbyth, where he died on 13 October 1913.

David and Ellen had two sons. The elder, David, the fourth baronet, was a captain in the Black Watch, and ADC to the governor of Malta and to the GOC Scottish Command. He too was deputy-lieutenant and JP, made an MVO in 1909, had one daughter, Marjorie, and died in 1941. Marjorie died unmarried in 1961.

The second son, William, was a major in the Lothians and Border Horse Yeomanry. He succeeded to Lennoxlove, Lord Blantyre's estate, in 1900, and made a number of alterations there. (The duke of Hamilton purchased Lennoxlove in 1947.) William's elder son, David, succeeded as fifth baronet of Newbyth in 1941 but did not reside long at Newbyth, which he sold soon after the war. The books I have consulted say nothing about his achievements. William's second son, Robert, served in the Lothians and Border Horse and was a prisoner of war in World War II. Robert's son, Charles William, who was born in 1939, succeeded his uncle as sixth baronet in 2000.

NEWBYTH AFTER THE BAIRDS

Newbyth was used during World War II by the Army and the Red Cross. At the end of the war, Sir David Baird, fifth baronet, put the estate up for sale. D Chalmers Watson & Sons, a farming enterprise, bought it. They did not wish to buy the house, but when Sir David's attempt to sell it to a Catholic order (the Sisters of the Paraclete) fell through, the Chalmers Watsons bought the house too. They sold it on to the Ministry of Defence, along with seven acres, for use as a store. The ministry installed a caretaker. During this period, the state of the building deteriorated. Lead was stripped from the roof and the fine Chinese wallpaper spoiled.

About 1970, the house and grounds were acquired by Robin Jell, who started a conversion to divide the house into flats. While this was in progress, the house was almost gutted by fire in June 1972. (At the time of the fire, the rest of the estate was reported as belonging to Tennent Caledonian Breweries Ltd.) The work was resumed and successfully completed. Six flats were made in the original 1817 house and a seventh in the library wing. Some features were included at this time from elsewhere, including the dining room panelling from Clerkington House, Haddington. This conversion was done to a high standard. Another developer, Christopher Weekes, turned the fine stable block into five apartments, and David Gallacher developed the adjacent steading into 18 dwellings. There is a comprehensive account of these changes in the landholding in vol 4 of the *East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account* (2006).

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A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

BOBBIE CLARK'S PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUM

by KATHY FAIRWEATHER

INTRODUCTION

In May 2002 a retired couple from Surrey, Bill and Olive Wallace, who were enjoying a holiday in Scotland, drove up to Saltoun Hall. They had with them a photograph album compiled by Bill's grandfather, Bobbie Clark, who had served as a gardener at Saltoun Hall between about 1894 and 1901. The album contained nearly 200 photographs, presented in a scrap-book style with cut-outs and captions. The Wallaces very kindly agreed to leave the album in East Lothian while they completed their holiday, so that the local history library in Haddington could have a look at it. They subsequently allowed the library to make slides of the individual photographs and of the whole pages with their captions. These have now been scanned and are available to those with an interest in local history in East Lothian, and in the Saltoun area in particular.

This article presents a selection of Bobbie Clark's photographs, with accompanying text, as a 'taster' of what his album has to offer. Additional information has come from census data from 1891 and 1901, from the Wallace family records and those in Register House, from the East Lothian Courier of the period and from Margaret Wyllie's book *A History of Saltoun and the Fletcher Family* (1986). The references to photographs in brackets (eg. H15) refer to the index nos. of the images in the Local History Library, Haddington.

H15 - A HAND AT NAP

The gardeners play cards in the garden - one of Bobbie Clark's carefully posed photos.

BOBBIE CLARK - GARDENER AND PHOTOGRAPHER

K18 - R J CLARK. GENERAL FOREMAN

Bobbie Clark stands proudly in the walled garden. Note the reeking lums of the vineries in the background. Bobbie liked writing witty captions, so there is no way of knowing whether his smart attire actually signalled promotion.

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

Robert James Clark (G18) was born in Connecticut, in the USA, in 1876, thus explaining why his birth was not registered in Scotland. (Whereas his marriage certificate actually spells his surname with an 'e', Bobbie in his album consistently spells it without; I shall follow Bobbie's example.) By the time of the 1891 census, Bobbie can be found, aged 15, as an apprentice gardener living at 243 Morningside Road, Edinburgh, with his mother, Catherine, and his younger brother, John, aged 13, a cabinet maker's apprentice. Catherine, a 45-year-old widow, took in lodgers to make ends meet. She had been born in Edinburgh and so was her son John. The family must therefore have returned to Scotland by the time of John's birth in 1879. Bobbie was at school in Rutherglen in 1887. In 1890, he was working at Millbank, a large house in the Blackford area of Edinburgh. Bobbie's late father is described in his marriage certificate as a florist (deceased), but according to family tradition he was also a preacher or schoolmaster.

Bobbie Clark worked in the gardens at Saltoun Hall from 1894, the earliest date of any of the photographs (K6; see front cover), until February 1901. He lived in the garden bothy (E1 and K17) along with probably three other young, unmarried gardeners. During his time at Saltoun, he was promoted to general foreman. He left Saltoun in February 1901 (see back cover). He was not at Saltoun, therefore, for either the 1891 or 1901 census (which were taken in April). Shortly after leaving Saltoun, on 22 February 1901, he married Mary Clanahan (G7) at Appleby, in the parish of Glasserton in Wigtownshire. The couple then moved to the estate of Kinaldy, in Fife, and then in 1906 to Cambusdoon, Alloway in Ayrshire. Bobbie continued to take photographs and completed other albums. He later moved to Ayr, to become head groundsman at Ayr Racecourse where he worked until his retirement. His interest in gardening, however, remained and he became president of the Ayrshire Chrysanthemum Club. He died at Crosshill, near Maybole, on 29 October 1956, aged 80. His sons and grandsons also became groundsmen at racecourses, at York and Epsom as well as Ayr.

Bobbie Clark had obviously learned how to take photographs correctly and took a great deal of trouble with many of his shots (F15). Some were opportunistic snaps (H14), but many were clearly 'posed' and involved a time-delay mechanism, so enabling Bobbie himself to be in quite a few of them (F9). One of the mysteries about him is how and where he acquired his photographic skills. The other mystery is how he came to meet his wife. Mary, from near Stranraer, was serving as a general domestic servant on a farm near Whithorn in 1891. Bobbie does not appear to have had any connections with south-west Scotland.

F9 - A SCOTCH REEL

Bobbie's fellow gardeners pose outside their garden bothy, whilst Bobbie Clark, the photographer, plays the bagpipes. Only the names of Billy Godfrey and Tom Lawson ('Gassy') can be found in the 1901 census.

K17 - INTERIOR OF OOR BOTHY (ONE END)

In 1901 there were four gardeners, all aged between 20 and 22, living in the garden bothy.

E1 - THE BOTHY O!

The garden bothy from the outside.

G7 - AT APPLEBY

This must be Mary Clanahan, whom Bobbie Clark married in February 1901 at Appleby, in Glasserton parish, Wigtownshire.

H14 - MAKING A NEAR CUT HOME

A party climb through the fence, probably members of the Fletcher family, the owners of Saltoun Hall, returning from a visit to the Home Farm

F15 - TAKING A BUST

Bobbie Clark photographs Jamie Scott, the garden boy, whilst two of his fellow gardeners hold the sheet. The vineries are in the background.

THE GARDENS AND GARDENERS

C2 - THE VINERIES FROM TOP OF EAST WALL

The vineries were heated from the other side of the garden wall. Note the row of chimneys above the greenhouses.

B3 - THE BOSS'S HOOSE

The head gardener's cottage. The house is still owned by the Fletcher estate and still lived in.

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

The walled gardens at Saltoun are located about a quarter of a mile from Saltoun Hall on the banks of the Tyne, just below where the Birns Water joins the Tyne and just above the bridge at Spilmersford. Although now derelict and overgrown with trees, the scale of the gardens is still impressive and most of the brick walls are intact. They were very elaborate (C2), with inner and outer walls, massive greenhouses and vineries with heating systems. There were also the garden bothies (see E1) and the head gardener's house (B3). In 1891 the head gardener was 46-year-old Malcolm McLean, and by 1901 John Patterson, aged 65. Interestingly, there are no photographs of either 'boss' in Bobbie's album. The head gardener supervised four gardeners, all young, unmarried men in their teens or early twenties, a gas-maker, who was responsible for the heating, Jamie (Scott), the garden boy (G2), and 'Old Maggie', the garden pony (F14). Jamie Scott was probably the grandson of James Scott farm steward at the Home Farm (see page 81). Jamie was aged 14 in 1901.

Saltoun Hall itself was heated by a private coal-fired gas supply. Tommy Lawson, known as 'Gassy', was responsible for the gas works (C12), located where the house called Dundas Yews now stands. 'Gassy' lived at the North Lodge (B9). He must have been brought in as a specialist 'gas-maker', for he was an Englishman whose eldest child had been born in Australia. By 1901, the Lawsons and their six children were residing in bigger premises at the cross in East Saltoun. Tommy Lawson's predecessor as gas-maker was a local man, Francis Cowe, from Morham, who was living in the North Lodge with his wife, four children and father-in-law in 1891. By 1901 Mr Cowe had died and his widow and family had moved to West Saltoun, but they were still very much involved with the estate (see page 84).

G2 - CHUCKING IN COALS

Jamie Scott, the garden boy, barrows in coals to stoke the fires heating the bothies and the vineries in the walled garden behind.

The gardens were extended and improved during the time Bobbie Clark worked there, and he photographed workmen erecting new greenhouses (H6), probably specialist workers brought in for the purpose. Casual labour was also brought in when required, but does not always seem to have been very productive (C3)!

F14 - OLD MAGGIE, THE GARDEN PONY

C12 - GASSY AT WORK

Tommy 'Gassy' Lawson, the gasmaker, shovels coking coal at his gasworks. The gasworks were on the site of the house now known as Dundas Yews.

B9 - TOMMY LAWSON

The gasmaker poses outside his home, the North Lodge, described as 'Gassy's Lodge'. The two children in the photo are probably his eldest, Gladys (born in Australia) and Ernest. By 1901, Mr & Mrs Lawson and their six childern were living in bigger premises at East Saltoun.

H6 - WORKMEN AT THE NEW GREENHOUSE

As none of the workmen is named in the album, they were probably not estate workers but contractors brought in especially to erect the new greenhouse.

C3 - FROM TRANENT: STRAWBERRY PICKERS ON STRIKE

Another of Bobbie Clark's posed shots.

H 13 - THIEVES

Two of Bobbie Clarks' workmates pick and eat fruit from the fan-trained and netted bushes in the walled garden.

THE FLETCHERS OF SALTOUN

K10 - THE OLD LAIRD CAUGHT LAUGHING

John Fletcher (second left), the laird, shares a joke at the front entrance to Saltoun Hall. The stout gentleman (centre) looks very much like James Scott, the farm steward at Saltoun Home Farm (see page 81). The young laird and one of the seven daughters are pictured right. The identity of the gentleman on the left is a mystery.

H11 - OUT FOR A DONKEY RIDE: MISS OLIVE CAMPBELL

Miss Olive (on the donkey) may well be a daughter of Evelyn, John and Bertha Fletcher's third daughter, who was married to Lord Blythswood, a Campbell. (It cannot be Olive Fletcher, the old laird's fifth daughter, for she died in 1884, aged 11, falling from the nursery window whilst throwing crumbs to the peacocks.) Could the lady in the background be 'Grandma' Bertha, who was aged 59 in 1901?

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

During the period when Bobbie Clark was working as gardener at Saltoun Hall and taking his photographs, the Fletcher family resided at Saltoun Hall, the descendants of the famous politician and writer, Andrew Fletcher (1653-1716), known as' the patriot'. During Bobbie's time, the family consisted of John Fletcher (1827-1903) (K10), his wife Bertha (née Talbot) (1841-1913) (H11?) and their eight surviving children – seven daughters and a son. In the 1891 census, those members of the family in residence were John Fletcher (landed proprietor), aged 64, his wife, Bertha Isabella, aged 49, the youngest four of their daughters - Kathleen Louise, aged 19, Mary Lucy, aged 16 (J16), Gladys Emily, aged 14, and Ella Geraldine, aged 13 - and their only son and heir, Andrew Mansel Talbot Fletcher, aged 11 (J14). By the time of the 1901 census, those in residence were John and Bertha, Kathleen, still unmarried aged 29, their eldest daughter, Violet Meeking, aged 33, by now widowed (her husband had been killed in South Africa during the Boer War), with her daughters (I9), a nephew, Philip Fletcher, aged 33, and a grandson, Andrew Millar, aged 9 months. The young laird, by now aged 20, was not at home, and may have been serving with the British Army in South Africa.

Bobbie Clark did not of course take photographs of the family inside the hall - that area was strictly 'out of bounds' to the gardeners - but he did take pictures of them when they were outdoors (J9). He photographed, among others, the youngest daughter, Ella, at the stables (H1), and Margaret, Lady Leighton, the second oldest daughter, calling on the farm steward, James Scott, at Saltoun Home Farm (J2). Bobbie also photographed the grandchildren in the grounds (H11 and I9).

J14 - ANDREW FLETCHER ESQ

Andrew, John and Bertha Fletcher's youngest child and their only son, inherited the estate in 1903.

I9 - THE LITTLE MEEKINGS

Violet Charlotte Meeking was the eldest of the Fletchers' daughters. According to the 1901 census, she was widowed and living back at Saltoun Hall with two daughters Violet, aged 4, and Finola, aged 3.

J16 - MISS MARY FLETCHER - NOW MRS GUY SPEIRS

Mary Lucy, the fifth of the Fletcher's seven surviving daughters, poses sitting on the bank above the river below the parapet wall.

H1 - DAVIE MORTON, DASH, ELLA AND SHIFTER

Ella Geraldine, the youngest of the Fletchers' daughters, holds Shifter, the family pet, on Dash, the horse. Davie Morton, the head coachman throughout Bobbie Clark's time at Saltoun Hall, doesn't look too happy about the idea.

J2 - A LOOK ROUND THE FARM

Margaret Francis, Lady Leighton, the Fletchers' second daughter (left), with her two boys, visit James Scott (centre), the farm steward, at his yard at Saltoun Home Farm.

J9 - A SMOKING PARTY

Family and friends pose on the croquet lawn, beside the main drive near the front entrance to Saltoun Hall.

THE HOUSE AND HOUSE SERVANTS

I8 - ON THE BOUDOIR STAIRS

Bobbie Clark (centre) poses with other servants on the steps leading down from Mrs Fletcher's boudoir, the oval garden room leading to the south garden. Clearly Mrs Fletcher is not in residence, or they would not be there! Old Geordie Richardson, mole catcher (see also C19 on page 86) is on the right.

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

The family employed 15 'living in' servants in 1891, and 16 in 1901. These originated from all over the UK, and some, such as a Swiss lady's maid, hailed from abroad. Bobbie Clark photographed the footman, Jack Murray (B18), at the front door, and maids in front of the parapet wall at the north front shaking their dusters (D8). Jamie, the garden boy, would be sent up to the house with a basket of vegetables or fruit or whatever was required (C9).

However, although the gardeners were not permitted in the house (except when the master and mistress were away evidently - G10!), the house servants seem to have been frequent visitors to the garden, and there appears to have been a good deal of fraternisation between the house servants, the gardeners and the other estate workers. Many of the house servants had travelled with the family from furth of East Lothian, but others were from local families. Prominent among these were the Cowes (C17) and Richardsons (see page 89), who supplied both indoor and outdoor servants.

B18 - JACK MURRAY

The footman waits for his master and mistress outside the main door into Saltoun Hall.

C17 - 'THE COWS'

An example of Bobbie Clark's punny captions. The Cowes, a local family, provided quite a few servants up at the Hall. Here, Rosanna Cowe (third from left) poses with two of her daughters (possibly Elizabeth 'Liz' and Christina 'Teen'); the young man may be her son, Francis. Liz and Teen both worked as housemaids. Their grandad was Old Geordie Richardson, the estate's oldest employee (see page 86).

B13 - TEEN COWE, AMY WALKER, LIZ COWE

Two of the 'cows', Christina and Elizabeth, with another housemaid, in their working gear.

D8 - DUST HUNTERS

Three housemaids pose in front of the parapet wall at the main entrance to the Hall.

C9 - JAMIE GETTIN VEGETABLES

Jamie Scott, the garden boy (see also G2), probably ran lots of errands between the garden and the 'big house'.

G10 - ON THE HOUSE TOP

A rare 'out of focus' shot from Bobbie Clark, but then he was up on the roof of Saltoun Hall.

THE ESTATE WORKERS

B2 - A DAY AT THE CARPETS

Everyone, it seems, was drafted in to prepare the Hall for the Fletcher family's arrival. Here, seen beating the house carpets on the north lawn beside the lime tree, are ten men, including 'Gassy' Lawson (back left). Even Old Geordie Richardson (front centre) wasn't excused.

C19 - GEORDIE MOLE CATCHING

Old Geordie Richardson, the oldest servant on the estate (he was aged 83 in 1901), turned his experienced hand to most things - even mole-catching.

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

The estate employed large numbers of local people - as foresters (D3), keepers (C10) and farmworkers (J5) - even mole catchers (C19)! Many of these lived in the villages of East and West Saltoun, as well as in the farmhouses and lodge cottages on the estate. Although they had specific jobs, they were all called upon to take part in major events, such as the 'Big Wood' shoot' (I19) or 'a day at the carpets' in June (B2), when everyone - gardeners, foresters, keepers and 'Gassy' - all joined together in preparing the house for the imminent arrival of the Fletcher family.

The largest of the families working for the estate was undoubtedly the Richardsons, who lived in West Saltoun (G1). Robbie Richardson, the father, was employed as a forester. His father, 'Old Geordie' Richardson, an 83-year-old widower in 1901, was the oldest servant on the estate, working as forester and mole-catcher (see C19). Old Geordie also lived in West Saltoun, with his widowed daughter, Rosanna Cowe (A9), and her daughters, several of whom were 'in service' as housemaids or kitchenmaids up at the Hall (see page 84).

Folk from neighbouring estates also worked at Saltoun when the need arose. John Anderson, a carter living at Easter Pencaitland, and Richard McMinn, a forester living in the South Lodge at Pencaitland House, were both employees of the Ogilvies of Winton House, but Bobbie Clark photographs them helping to mow the considerable expanse of lawns at Saltoun; note the special shoes the horse is wearing to reduce damage to the grass (K20).

119 - AT MILTON BRIDGE: A HALT FOR LUNCH

Presumably the day of the 'Big Wood Shoot'.

C10 - THE SALTOUN KEEPERS

The head gamekeeper in 1901 was George Henderson (50), who lived at the Old Mill. Other keepers included John McLean (25), from West Saltoun, and Archibald Henderson (36) from Woodgate.

D3 - FORESTERS

Two estate foresters pose on the river bank in front of the Wellingtonia - the ubiquitous Old Geordie Richardson (left) and another unnamed. Robert Richardson, Andrew Lumsden and Archibald Darnoch were all foresters registered as living in East Saltoun in 1901.

J5 - THE HINDS OF JEELIS MAINS

There is no farm of this name now, but Julis Mains is referred to as the old name for Saltoun Home Farm in Margaret Wyllie's A History of Saltoun and the Fletcher Family *(1986). Each hind normally looked after a 'pair' of working horses.*

G1 - ROBBIE RICHARDSON'S: THE BIGGEST FAMILY

Robert Richardson (the one with the beard), an estate forester, poses in West Saltoun with his wife, Elizabeth (far left) and their eleven children - Elizabeth (19), Robert (17), Joan (15), Janet (13), Isabella (11), George (9), John (8), Christina (6), Andrew (4), James (2) and Henrietta (1). The children's grandad was Old Geordie Richardson.

K20 - J ANDERSON
AND DICK MCMINN MOWING

John Anderson and Richard McMinn, who worked for the Ogilvies of Winton, lend a hand mowing the extensive lawns of Saltoun Hall.

A9 - UP TO MRS COWE'S

Rosanna Cowe, widow of Francis Cowe, the estate gasmaker in 1891, poses with her father, Old Geordie Richardson, and probably her niece, Agnes Richardson (aged 12 in 1901), outside their home in West Saltoun, most likely the house now known as the Kennels Cottage.

LEISURE AND RECREATION

16 - 'THE BOTHY BAND'

Willie Mills (left), Bobbie Clark (with his bagpipes) and A N Other pose outside their garden bothy.

The gardeners engaged in a wide range of leisure activities and seem to have had time to enjoy them. Many of the photographs were taken on Sundays, when they and the house servants dressed up in their 'Sunday best' for the kirk (D13). Recreational activities included the bothy band (I6) - Bobbie Clark was obviously a keen player of the bagpipes (see F9 on page 74) - games such as 'pitch and toss' (A13) and cards (see page 69). They fished in the Birns Water (D5), although not very professionally it would seem, and at times they obviously enjoyed more than a few drinks (G6). There were days out when all the servants went on jaunts to places easily accessible by train, their main form of transport, such as Roslin Glen (E2), Peebles and Aberlady. On some of these occasions, Bobbie Clark took his bagpipes and dressed appropriately (E12). The gardeners were all members of the Winton Lodge of the Order of Foresters, a mutual benefit society.

Some of Bobbie Clark's photographs must have been taken when the Fletcher family were not in residence, such as a tea party (A12) held at the foot of the steps leading down to the garden from Mrs Fletcher's boudoir. Servants were not allowed in the south garden when the family were present unless they had to work there, according to the Land Girls billeted at Saltoun Hall during the Second World War.

A12 - A COOKIESHINE IN THE OPEN

Presumably the Fletchers were not in residence when Bobbie Clark took this photo of servants having a 'cookieshine' (Scots for a tea-party) at the foot of the 'boudoir' steps leading to the south garden. Old Geordie Richardson pops up again!

D13 - READY FOR THE KIRK

Bobbie Clark (right) and two fellow gardeners dressed in their 'Sunday best'.

G6 - OFF TO THE PUMP

One of Bobbie's colleagues has clearly had one too many - or has he? Another posed shot, perhaps taken at Spilmersford.

A13 - PITCH AND TOSS

Taken outside the garden bothy.

E12 - EN ROUTE FOR ROSLIN GLEN: A HALT AT DALKEITH FOR A DRINK

Bobbie Clark obviously took his bagpipes as well as his camera kit on the Saltoun staff days out.

E2 - SNAPPED AT ROSLIN

They finally made it!

D5 - EAGER SPORTSMEN

Two unnamed workers fish the Birns Water with branches of wood!

LOCALS

G12 - THE BEADLE OF PENCAITLAND KIRK - OLD ARCHIE HAMILTON

In 1901, Old Archie, a 74-year-old widower, lived with his daughter, Eliza (34), and son-in-law, William Hunt (34), a railway labourer, in Wester Pencaitland.

Bobbie Clark also took his camera out into the surrounding villages and in to Haddington (J15) and Pencaitland, photographing landmarks such as Spilmersford Bridge (A11). He also 'snapped' local worthies, such as Constable Ramsay, from East Saltoun police station (I16), locals in East Saltoun preparing for an athletic event (I18), and the beadle of Pencaitland Kirk, 'Old Archie Hamilton' (G12), who at the time of the 1901 census was aged 74 and living with his daughter, Eliza, and son-in-law, William, in Wester Pencaitland. Bobbie took a particularly charming picture of Old Willie Edmonds (A10), an agricultural labourer aged 76 who lived at Spilmersford Cottages.

A10 - OLD WILLIE EDMONDS OF SPILMERSFORD

An agricultural labourer in 1891, Willie lived at Spilmersford Cottages with his nephew, Thomas Simpson (24), a saw miller.

A11 - ON SPILMERSFORD BRIDGE

The chap on the parapet looks like Thomas 'Gassy' Lawson.

E16 - GASSY'S LODGE IN SNOWSTORM

'Gassy' and his family lived at the North Lodge, which then consisted of two separate lodge houses. (The connecting arch was built in 1935.)

J15 - A SNAP IN HADDINGTON

B8 - TOMMY BENTON: OOR BAKER

Tommy Benton delivers bread to the gardeners. Tommy is described in the 1901 census as a 'journeyman baker' boarding in Wester Pencaitland with the local baker and grocer, James Gordon (39), his wife Helen and five children.

116 - JAMES RAMSAY: POLICE CONSTABLE

PC Ramsay is not identified in either the 1891 or 1901 census, but Bobbie Clark also pictures him with PC James Anderson, who was living at East Saltoun police station in 1891.

118 - BILL CRANSTON & BILL MCDERMAID: IN TRAINING

There is a Bill Cranston, aged 30 and a tailor, recorded as living in East Saltoun in 1901. Bill McDermaid is more difficult to identify, but a Hugh McDiarmid (aged 58 and a gamekeeper) is recorded as living at Loanfoot, Pencaitland, with a son, Thomas (24), also a tailor; maybe Bill was another of Hugh's sons.

VISITORS

G4 - VISITORS

An itinerant knife grinder, with his jacketed monkey and scruffy mongrel, makes his way up the main drive.

K12 - VISOTORS: KATIE WELSH & FRANKIE LATIMER

Cycling was all the rage in the 1890s, but who these two were is not known. A family of Latimers were living at Herdmanston Lodge in 1891, and Bobbie Clark includes a photo of 'Old Frankie Latimer of Harestanes' in his album (ref: A17). But where was 'Harestanes'?

The garden seems to have had frequent visitors. These included members of the Fletcher family, servants from the Hall, and local tradesmen. There were social callers too, such as the children of the Rev. T.E.S. Clarke, the minister of East Saltoun, pictured out for a walk with their nursemaid and tricycles (E11), and visitors out for a bicycle ride (K12). There were also visits from itinerant workers, such as the knife grinder complete with monkey and 'mutt' (G4) and 'Tommy Teapots', the tinker (E14).

E14 - 'TERRY TEAPOTS'

This travelling tinker was 'snapped' somewhere in the grounds of Saltoun Hall.

E11 - CHILDREN OF THE REV T E S CLARKE

Bessie (or Jessie) (right), John (left) and Charles (centre) pose with their bicycles beside the Tyne just below one of the bridges. The lady behind is probably their nursery governess, Mary Curry.

REFLECTIONS

Bobbie Clark's photographic album provides a fascinating insight into the way of life in the gardens at Saltoun Hall at the end of the reign of Queen Victoria, a way of life that would be changed for ever within twenty years.

The gardens and their staff had a life of their own, connected to, but in many ways distinct from, the life of the big house. The gardeners got their supplies, except presumably their vegetables and fruit, from the local villages, and not from the Hall, and were familiar with local people and events. The produce of the walled gardens, greenhouses and vineries were the main focus of their efforts. A part of the walled garden alongside the river was designated the 'flower garden', presumably for growing flowers for cutting, but here again the main concern was in producing what was required for the house. The gardeners must also have been responsible for maintaining the lawns (including the croquet lawn) and gardens around the house and the pleasure grounds beyond.

Those working in the house and gardens, as well as elsewhere on the estate, may not have been well-paid, their hours were long and and their living accommodation would now be regarded as overcrowded. However, judging from Bobbie's pictures, they obviously enjoyed a good quality of life. Huge numbers of people were employed on the estate, and by the end of the nineteenth century, many of these were very mobile, no doubt as a result of the development of the railways. On days out, they travelled quite extensively in the local area, they moved around the country from one job to another, and in some instances, such as that of the gas-maker and the photographer himself, had been to Australia and the USA and back. There was a regular turnover of young gardeners. Those listed as living in the bothy in 1901 are all different from those listed in 1891. None of them was a 'local', their places of birth ranging from England to Perthshire, Lanark, Dumfries, etc. In contrast, there was a nucleus of local families, such as the Cowes and Richardsons, who remained in the area and had been employed on the estate and in the big house over several generations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to the staff at the local history library in Haddington, especially Veronica Wallace and Rae Halliday, to Anne Agnew and the staff at the National Archives of Scotland, Register House, Edinburgh - and, of course, to Bill and Olive Wallace, the descendants of Bobbie Clark, our photographer, who inspired this project in the first place. Thanks also to Mona Lewis, for sharing her insights into life in country houses, and to Walter Gordon, one of my neighbours at Saltoun Hall, who met the Wallaces on their first visit and recognised the importance of the album they brought with them.

A SNAPSHOT OF LIFE AT SALTOUN HALL GARDENS IN THE 1890s

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

- Census data for Saltoun and Pencaitland in 1891 and 1901
- Indexed copies of the East Lothian Courier for the period
- Family history data from Register House.
- Wyllie, M 1986 *A History of Saltoun and the Fletcher Family*

B14 - MY LAST DAYS IN SALTOUN

FEBRUARY 1901

Bobbie Clark (on left with pipe) with Tommy 'Gassy' Lawson (centre) and Jamie Scott, the garden boy. Two other gardeners peer out from the bothy window.

ANNUAL REPORT 2003

The seventy-eighth annual meeting of the society took place in Holy Trinity Church, Haddington, on Saturday 18 May 2002. Members were welcomed by the Hon President, Mr S A Bunyan. The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved, as was the treasurer's report for the year. The annual report was also accepted. The president reported that the annual dinner had been held and that Sonia Baker had given a talk entitled 'Gleanings from Grenada: observations on correspondence between George and Ninian Home of Wedderburn'. The Hon Treasurer, Mr Packwood, presented the accounts. The president thanked the treasurer for his work on behalf of the society, and accepted with regret his intention to retire. He also thanked Mr Baptie for scrutinising the accounts, and thanked him, *in absentia*, for his contribution over many years to the society's affairs. The accounts were approved.

The office bearers were re-elected as proposed. Mr F Mayo was elected as Hon Treasurer. Mrs A Maxwell retired from council. Mrs A Mitchell and Professor A Dean were re-elected, and Mrs K Kemball was elected as a member of council. The president thanked Mrs Maxwell for her long contribution to the work of council. Council would look for a new independent financial adviser.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the president led members round Haddington on Jane Welsh Carlyle's Evening Walk. Tea was taken in St Mary's Church, and the tour ended with a visit to Jane Welsh Carlyle's birthplace.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

VISITS

- On Saturday 8 June, members led by Mr John Hunt visited Hopes Reservoir. A visit to Cragside was cancelled for lack of support.
- On 17 August, the society visited Thirlestane Castle.
- On 14 September, the society visited the recently-restored Newhailes House.
- On 19 October, members visited Lauriston Castle, Edinburgh.
- On 29 March 2003, a very successful visit to the recently-restored Fenton Tower took place, by kind invitation of Mr Ian Simpson.

LECTURES

- On 14 November, Professor Alan Dean gave an illustrated lecture on the restoration of Balgone House.
- On 6 February, Professor John Dale gave an illustrated lecture entitled 'Unicorns, virgins and flowers – the history of some medieval tapestries'.

The society is grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen who by their generosity of time and expertise made the annual programme so enjoyable.

OTHER MATTERS

Volume XXV of the *Transactions* has been published, and has been well received. The president represents the society as a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian, on the Traprain Law Advisory Group, which he chairs, and on the John Muir Park Advisory Group. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. Mr J. Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum, the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, the Scottish Churches Architectural Trust, the Council for Scottish Archaeology and the Scottish Industrial Heritage Society.

The East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account project is now well underway and the first volume will be published in 2003. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape, and has taken a particular interest in Archerfield, and the restoration of Newhailes, where the society supported the restoration fund. It is interested in the new development of the John Muir Birthplace, which will open in 2003. Membership of the society is steady at almost 200 family and individual members and 12 institutional members. The *Transactions* are held in high regard and are lodged in the copyright libraries and purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to secondary schools in East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill Schools. The schools value them. Information about the society has been solicited by and placed in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and matters connected with East Lothian continue to be received. Council hopes to issue further editions of the newsletter.

PROGRAMME FOR 2003

VISITS

- Saturday 7 June – visit to Pressmennan Wood, Stenton, led by Mr J Hunt
- Saturday 12 July – visit to Balgone House, by North Berwick, by kind invitation of Professor and Mrs A Dean.
- Saturday 9 August – visit to Stenton Village, led by Mr W Campbell
- Saturday 13 September – visit to Loretto School.
- Saturday 11 October – visit to St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

LECTURES

- Thursday 13 November – Stephen Bunyan: 'Spears to Pruning Hooks – Wingate of Dunbar and the Sudan.'
- Thursday 12 February, 2004 – Biddy Simpson, county archaeologist: 'Archaeology in East Lothian.'

ANNUAL REPORT 2004

The seventy-ninth annual meeting of the society took place in Winton House, Pencaitland, on Saturday 17 May 2003. Members were welcomed by the Hon President, Mr S A Bunyan. The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved, as was the treasurer's report for the year. The annual report was also accepted. The president reported that the annual dinner had been held and that The Very Rev John Cairns gave a most interesting address on the office of Moderator of the Church of Scotland. The Hon Treasurer Mr Mayo presented the accounts. The president thanked the treasurer for his work on behalf of the society. He also thanked Mr Chalke *in absentia*, for scrutinising the accounts. The accounts were approved.

The office bearers were re-elected as proposed: Penelope, Lady Ogilvy retired from council, and it was noted that Dr J P Shaw had ceased to be a member of the society. Ian Hardie, Norman Murphy, Biddy Simpson and Margaret Crow were elected as members of council. The president thanked Lady Ogilvy for her long contribution to the work of council. Life Membership: The society resolved to confer life membership of the society on The Rt Hon the Earl of Wemyss and March KT, vice-president, in recognition of his long association with the society.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Lady Ogilvy and the president led members on tours of Winton House.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

VISITS

- On Saturday 7 June, members led by Mr John Hunt visited Pressmennan Wood.
- On Saturday 12 July, members visited Balgone House by kind invitation of Mr & Mrs A Dean.
- On 9 August, the society visited Stenton village, led by Mr W Campbell.
- On 28 September, the society visited Loretto School Chapel and Pinkie House.
- On 11 October, the society visited St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

LECTURES

- On 13 November, the president gave a lecture entitled 'Spears to pruning hooks: Wingate and the Sudan', to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of General Sir F. R. Wingate.
- On 12 February 2004, Biddy Simpson, county archaeologist, gave a lecture entitled 'Archaeology in East Lothian'.

The society is grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen who by their generosity of time and expertise made the annual programme so enjoyable.

OTHER MATTERS

Council is delighted that Mr C Tabraham has agreed to become Hon Editor of the *Transactions*. The president represents the society as a Trustee of the Lamp of Lothian. The President represents the society on the Traprain Law Advisory Group, which he chairs, and on the John Muir Park Advisory Group. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. Mr J Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum, the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, the Scottish Churches Architectural Heritage Trust, the Council for Scottish Archaeology, and the Scottish Industrial Heritage Society.

The first volume of the *East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account* project has been published and been well received. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape. It is interested in the development of the John Muir Birthplace, which was opened in 2003. Membership of the society is steady.

The society's *Transactions* are held in high regard and are lodged in the UK's copyright libraries and purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to secondary schools in East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill Schools. The schools value them. Information about the society has been solicited by and placed in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and matters connected with East Lothian continue to be received. Council hopes to issue further editions of the newsletter.

PROGRAMME FOR 2004

VISITS

- Saturday 1 May - visit to Alnwick Castle and Gardens
- Saturday 12 June – visit to Barns Ness/Whitesands beach walk
- Saturday 10 July – visit to Dryburgh Abbey, Scotts View & Wallace Monument
- Saturday 14 August – visit to Floors Castle
- Saturday 11 September – visit to Prestoungrange
- Saturday 9 October – visit to Hopetoun House

LECTURES

- Thursday 11 November - Chris Tabraham – 'Castles of East Lothian & Berwickshire.'
- Thursday 10 February 2005 - Mona Lewis – 'Life in the Scottish Country House.'

ANNUAL REPORT 2005

The eightieth annual meeting of the society was held in Gosford House, Longniddry, on Saturday 22 May 2004, by kind invitation of the Earl and Countess of Wemyss and March. Members were welcomed by the Rt Hon the Earl of Wemyss, KT, vice-president of the society.

The Hon President reported that it was in a sense the eightieth birthday of the society, which had been founded on 10 May 1924. It seemed appropriate to mark the occasion by recognising the outstanding contribution to the affairs of the society made by the Earl of Wemyss, who had become a member of council in 1946 and vice-president in 1949. The society conferred on him honorary life membership. The president paid tribute to Norman Cartwright, who had died on 10 May 2004. He was secretary of the society from 1972-82 and vice-president from 1983-88, and was responsible for the re-siting of the John Rennie Memorial in the wall at Phantassie House, East Linton.

The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved, as was the treasurer's report for the year. The annual report was also accepted. The president reported that the annual dinner for 2004 had been held and that Sir Francis Ogilvy, BT, had given a talk entitled 'Corporate Entertaining in your Living Room'. The Hon Treasurer, Mr Mayo, presented the accounts. The president thanked the treasurer for his work on behalf of the society. He also thanked Mr Chalke *in absentia* for scrutinising the accounts. The accounts were approved.

The office bearers were re-elected as proposed: Mr D Thompson retired from council. Mrs E Halliday was elected. The president thanked Mr Thompson for his long contribution to the work of council. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Countess showed members the restoration work being done at Gosford, and the pictures which were being restored to their former positions. Members were full of praise for the work that was being done by the Earl and Countess. At the conclusion of the visit, tea was served and thanks were expressed to the Earl and Countess for their hospitality.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

VISITS

- On Saturday 1 May, members went on an excursion to Alnwick Castle.
- On Saturday 12 June, members visited Whitesands and heard about the geology, and the raised beach, from Mr V Lough. Visits to Scott's View and Floors Castle were cancelled for lack of support.

- On 11 September, the society visited Prestonpans and were shown the Prestoungrange Murals Trail and the recently-restored Gothenburg public house, where the Baron of Prestoungrange arranged for them to have tea.
- On 9 October, members visited the partly-restored Stoneypath Tower, near Garvald, and were entertained to tea by Mr & Mrs I Hardie.
- On Saturday 16 April, Miss Kathy Fairweather arranged for members to visit Saltoun Hall, and Mrs M K Lewis McLeod spoke about the history of the house and the Fletcher family.

LECTURES

- On 11 November, Chris Tabraham gave an illustrated lecture 'Castles and the defence of the Realm'.
- On 10 February 2005, Mrs M K Lewis Mcleod gave an illustrated lecture entitled 'Life in the Scottish Country House'.

ANNUAL DINNER

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield Hotel on Friday 22 April, when Mr Alan Dean spoke on 'Amisfield and the Amisfield Trust'. The society is grateful to all those ladies and gentlemen who by their generosity of time and expertise made the annual programme so enjoyable.

OTHER MATTERS

The president represents the society as a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian. The president represents the society on the Traprain Law Advisory Group, and on the John Muir Park Advisory Group, both of which he chairs. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. Mr J Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum, the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, the Scottish Churches Architectural Trust, the Council for Scottish Archaeology, and the Scottish Industrial Heritage Society.

The East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account project is now well underway; two volumes have been published to date. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape. Membership of the society is steady at almost 200 family and individual members and 10 institutional members. The *Transactions* are held in high regard and are lodged in the copyright libraries and purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to secondary schools in East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill Schools. The schools value them. Information about the society has been solicited by and placed in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and matters connected with East Lothian continue to be received.

THE EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY 2006

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