TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

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welcomes contributions for the next *Transactions* (VOL XXX)

Front cover illustration: Fenton Tower from the south-west.The year 2012 marked the 10th anniversary of the restoration of the sixteenth-century tower house. (Courtesy of Fenton Tower)

Back cover illustration: Living history in Prestonpans: re-enacting the moment in September 1745 when the Jacobite army, led by Prince Charles Edward Stuart, emerged from the Riggonhead defile in the early morning mist to surprise the 'Redcoat' army. (Courtesy of Prestoungrange Arts Festival)

Further information about the Society can be found on the website: http://eastlothianantiquarians.org.uk/site/

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Figure 1: Norman Cartwright
(Courtesy of Shena Jamieson)

OBITUARY:
NORMAN CARTWRIGHT

Born 19 December 1912 – Died 10 May 2004

by STEPHEN BUNYAN

President

East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society

Norman was born and educated in Birkenhead. He served an apprenticeship as a mechanical engineer and this was to be a life-long career. He came to Scotland in 1956, and settled at Bolton in 1964. He soon became involved in East Lothian life and was involved in setting up the Lamp of Lothian Collegiate Trust in 1967. He was particularly interested in industrial archaeology, and joined excavations in the Hebrides (Benbecula and Rum) and Orkney (Skara Brae and Westray) as a safety officer.

Norman became a member of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society in 1964, and served as our honorary secretary from 1972 to 1982, then as a vice president from 1983 to 1988. He devoted a huge amount of time to the affairs of the society. He moved the society's property from Colstoun and established the society's room in Haddington House.

Norman was closely associated with various archaeological projects in East Lothian, and he encouraged other members to take an interest too. He involved pupils from Dunbar Grammar School in three projects at Whitekirk, two under his own direction - looking for the 'Holy Well' and clearing the 'Tithe Barn' of pigeon-droppings! He also involved them in two 'digs' then being undertaken by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland - at the Iron-Age site on New Mains farm in 1970, and the medieval pottery kiln site at Colstoun in 1971. Being involved in these NMAS-led excavations was a great experience, much appreciated by the pupils involved. By far the most ambitious project he involved the Dunbar pupils in was his valiant attempt to dismantle and remove the wooden drum threshing mill and horse-gin from the Meikle Mill at Beltondod in 1977.

Norman wrote various articles for the *Transactions*, including the one on the Meikle Mill at Beltondod in volume 11 (1968). He also took a great interest in the 'Bolton Hearse' (fig 2), donated to the Royal Scottish Museum (now National Museums Scotland), which ensured local interest in it continued; his notice about it is reproduced at the end of this obituary. Norman was also responsible for the preservation of the 'Bolton Mort-safe', which can now be seen in the porch of Bolton Church.

In 1981 Norman was successful in securing the involvement of the Institution of Civil Engineers and Sir Robert McAlpine and Sons Ltd in a project to re-site the Rennie Memorial, outside East Linton. The memorial had originally

been erected in 1936 beside the then A1 trunk road, but the location was proving increasingly unsatisfactory because the increased volume of traffic was making public access difficult. Thanks to Norman's efforts, the memorial was moved to a more appropriate location, set into the boundary wall of Phantassie House, where it still stands.

The importance of Norman's initiative was demonstrated in the society's anniversary celebrations to commemorate the 250th anniversary of John Rennie's birth (7 June 1761), which were held in June 2011. The society re-dedicated the refurbished memorial on 4 June, and Professor Roland Paxton, MBE, FICE, FRSE, gave a lecture entitled 'John Rennie's improvement of Scotland's infrastructure: 1779-1821' in the church at Prestonkirk on 7 June. A fuller notice of the society's anniversary celebrations may be found on pages 99-101

As well as serving the society well, Norman was also chairman of the Haddington Literary Club and the Bolton Community Association.

We are delighted that his daughter, Shena, has become a member of the council of the society.

Figure 2: The Bolton Hearse with the Bolton Mort-safe in the left foreground (Private Collection)

THE BOLTON HEARSE

Bolton Kirk Session records of April 1783 register a resolution that the heritors should purchase 'a new fashionable hearse out of the funds belonging to the poor'. This hearse was purchased by November 1783 and in that same year it is said to have brought the body of the 10th Lord Blantyre from Bath, in Somerset, back home. Robert Burns' mother, his brother Gilbert and sister Annabella, were all conveyed to their last resting place in Bolton Kirkyard in this hearse. It was in use in the parish of Bolton until 1844 but remained in the Hearse House until it was donated to the Royal Scottish Museum in 1932.

The coachwork of the hearse is a composite structure, the hearse body being fitted on to an under-carriage which is probably that of a family coach of the mid-seventeenth century (or earlier?). Originally the under-carriage had a post at each corner from which the coach body was slung by leather straps. The maker or fitter of the hearse body cut away the two front posts and substituted curved wooden ones, carved so as to resemble laminated iron springs, but springing was still achieved as in the original leather straps.

The style of the roof was probably influenced by the contemporary Chinese-Chippendale taste in furnishings. Its sides are decorated to include 'Memento Mori' a skull – 'remember that you must die' – and 'Hora Fugit' an hour glass – 'the hour flies'. The workmanship of the hearse body is distinctly inferior to that of the earlier under-carriage with its straked iron tyres (ie. made in pieces), but it is believed to be the oldest surviving road vehicle in Scotland.

J N Cartwright 1974

Figure 1: St Andrew's Kirk from the north-east.

‘AMIDST THE IVY THOU PERCEIV’ST A RUIN’: EXAMINING THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ST ANDREW’S KIRK, GULLANE

by DIANA SPROAT

‘Amidst the ivy thou perceiv’st a ruin,
Long since it was the parish church of Gullane.
Its palmy days have long since passed away -
The days when arrant Popery had full sway;
The blessed Reformation brought more light,
God’s people then assembled with delight.
The population small, and not o’er wealthy they,
This ruin which you see fell to decay.’
(W T Hogg, Gullane: A Poem (Edinburgh, 1875)

ABSTRACT

The old Norman church in Gullane (fig 1) was an ivy-covered ruin until a decade or so ago, the heavy vegetation threatening to pull down what remained of the stone building that has stood on the site since the twelfth century. However, residents of the village and locality, interested in discovering the true story behind their kirk, slowly began to remove the ivy in the late 1980s to expose the walls and the secrets they held, as without detailed intervention, conservation and preservation measures, the building would eventually have declined, its secrets lost forever. It was only when the Gullane and Dirleton History Society, formed in 1995, started to think seriously about raising funds to preserve the ruin that a concerted scheme developed. In 2009 the Society secured a grant from Historic Scotland for half the cost of the works, with East Lothian Council providing ‘in kind’ management assistance. A further £10,000 was raised by the local community, with the balance coming from two more Council funds, the local Community Council and the Tyne Esk Leader fund. This article explores the first element of that work - the recording, research and analysis of the fabric - which enabled a fuller understanding of the history of the building from its twelfth-century origins to the present day to be made. The study subsequently helped inform the conservation programme for the ancient kirk and its interpretation to visitors, including a fine guidebook written by Bill Nimmo for the Gullane and Dirleton History Society, published in 2012.

‘AMIDST THE IVY THOU PERCEIV’ST A RUIN’: EXAMINING THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ST ANDREW’S KIRK, GULLANE

INTRODUCTION

In 2010 AOC Archaeology Group was commissioned to undertake a detailed analysis and recording programme of St Andrew’s Kirk in Gullane, located to the west side of the village and set back from the road within its own discrete churchyard (fig.2). With the assistance of historical researcher, Morag Cross, together with a detailed survey and analysis of the structure itself, a history of the origins and subsequent development of the building from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries emerged. The lower parts of the original building were mostly hidden from sight, the ground level having risen by at least a metre since the 1100s, but elsewhere rebuilding phases appeared, as did insertions and blocked openings, the majority of them carried out in the nineteenth century, when the Cochrane, Congleton, Forrest and Yule families used the ruin for private burial aisles. The latest memorial plaque to be placed in the Yule burial aisle, which now occupies the former medieval chancel, dates to 2001, bringing the ancient building’s history of use right into the twenty-first century.

HISTORY: MEDIEVAL ORIGINS

There is a possibility that the origins of the site as a place of Christian worship reach back into the first millennium AD, possibly to the mid-seventh century (Mitchell 1988). Two examples of early Christian sculpture associated with Gullane survive – one a fragment of a cross-arm and the other an encircled cross carved in relief (Mitchell 1989, 1-2; *PSAS* 1936, 20). Whether these crosses were associated with an early church at Gullane is unknown, but we can suppose that an earlier church may have been present on the site, prior to the construction of the present building, and its dedication to St Andrew, in the twelfth century (see Ash & Broun 1994, 16-24).

In the absence of hard evidence we can only surmise that St Andrew’s was the first building on the site. The simple two-cell design – a small chancel to the east and a larger nave to the west - coupled with the characteristic chevron decoration on both the chancel arch (fig 3) and main doorway into the nave (fig 4), date it securely to the twelfth century (Fawcett 2011, 44-57). The church was built against the backdrop of the emerging parish system in Scotland, which David I established in the first half of that century (Cowan 1961). Gullane’s then situation, right beside Aberlady Bay and the open sea, gave it a prominent location status for transport to Fife and beyond. In addition to the royal manor at ‘Eldbotl’ (Eldbottle), in today’s Archerfield Estate, the land around Gullane was then held by two principal families, the de Vauxs and the Congletons (also Congalton). John de Vaux had been granted the estate of Dirleton and Gullane by 1170, and quite possibly Eldbottle also by then (Morrison et al 2008, 41). John de Vaux is credited with having ordered the building of St Andrew’s prior to his death around 1187. His family had close links with Dryburgh Abbey, and it was the Premonstratensian canons based there who probably maintained the round of services in the kirk (Cowan 1967).

Figure 2: St Andrew’s Kirk, site location plan.

Figure 3: General view of the west face of the chancel arch.

Little information has been gained from the documents concerning the development of the kirk throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Mitchell (1988) has detailed this period in the kirk’s history, including its relationship with Dryburgh Abbey, the diocese of St Andrews (particularly its rededication by Bishop David de Bernham in 1242), and information regarding its priests. In the later fifteenth century, perhaps around 1490, a north transept was added, most likely to serve as a private chapel for one of the leading local families (Grose 1798, 74; Ryan 1970). It was accessed through a new large arch knocked through the east end of the north wall of the nave; a large, probably traceried window (now blocked) in the transept’s north wall lit the space. Beneath the window was a tomb recess, though whether it ever held a stone effigy of the chapel’s patron is not known. It is generally believed that the Congleton family commissioned the new transept, on the basis that there is a record of an altar in the church being dedicated to the Holy Trinity by Andrew Congalton in 1523 (Douglas 1798, 522), the date traditionally ascribed to the new aisle (Nimmo 2012). At some point, possibly around the same time as the creation of the new transept, the kirk underwent extensive rebuilding, which certainly extended the length of the nave and quite possibly the chancel also.[1]

Figure 4: The carved chevron detail on voussoirs of the (blocked) original south doorway into the nave.

HISTORY: POST REFORMATION TIMES

Following the Reformation of 1560, the kirk appears to have been converted relatively easily from Roman Catholic to Protestant worship, although this must have resulted in major changes to the internal layout of the kirk. The focus was now no longer on the altar and the mass in the chancel but on the pulpit and the word of God. The raised pulpits used by the new reformed ministers were normally placed along one side of the nave, usually along the south wall, and this may well have been the case at Gullane, with the congregation gathered about, including possibly in first-floor timber ‘lofts’ or galleries.

Here again the records go quiet until the kirk is abandoned for worship in the early seventeenth century. It appears that sand blowing in from Aberlady Bay had eventually defeated the congregation’s best efforts to keep the building accessible, and that more maintenance and more rebuilding was going to be fruitless, especially as it was also clear that the church was now too small for the increasing congregation. A petition eventually led to a new church being constructed at Dirleton in 1612; fortunately for us a proposal to demolish the old kirk and use the materials for the new one was not acted upon (Cocker 2008).

Given the early date for St Andrew’s abandonment as a place of worship, it is understandable that the earliest cartographic sources tell us little about its development after the Reformation. The first map in which it is depicted is John Adair’s 1682 map, which is wholly schematic, as is his map of 1736.

Figure 5: Extract from William Forrest’s ‘Map of Haddingtonshire’, 1799. (Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.)

William Roy’s Military Survey map of the early 1750s (2007, plate 44) also shows no distinct remains of the church, and it is not until William Forrest’s 1799 map, that it is represented as a ruin (fig 5). However, James Grose’s valuable etching, also dating to the 1790s, shows the appearance of the interior of the church a little less than 200 years after its abandonment (fig 6). There are some discrepancies in Grose’s drawing with what survives today, the most obvious being the existence of two orders of chevron decoration over the chancel arch, where only one survives today, suggesting that the second (inner) order may well be concealed behind the present blocking. Window openings are also depicted on the north wall of the nave, although no evidence for these exists today, blocked or otherwise. It is, therefore, distinctly possible that some artistic licence was at play when the drawing was completed, although the windblown sand over the previous 200 years could have blocked up at least the lower window. What Grose’s drawing does show, however, is that the abandoned kirk seems not yet to have been given over for use as enclosed burial aisles (though the angle of view hides the north side of the chancel, where the Cochrane Aisle is). It is not until the sketch plan of 1817 that graveslabs appear in the nave and the Cochrane Aisle to the north of the chancel (fig 7). The annotation in the 1817 plan shows three of the slabs in the nave dating to 1690, 1733 and 1766 respectively. Whether these were the dates in which they were placed there is unknown, and we must assume that they have either subsequently been removed or now lie beneath the present ground level.

Figure 6: James Grose’s view of the interior of the kirk in the 1790s, from his Antiquities of Scotland.

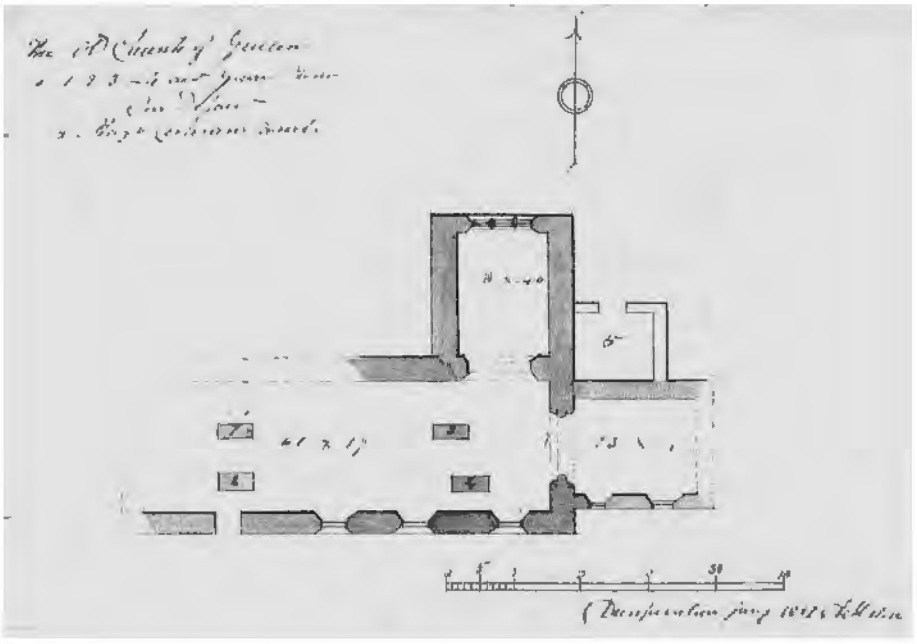

Figure 7: Plan of St Andrew’s Kirk, dated 1817.

The final phase of alterations to the church came in the nineteenth century. It is clear from Grose’s drawing that the west wall of the nave had by then collapsed, and from the 1817 plan that the chancel’s east wall also no longer stood. The 1854 Ordnance Survey (OS) map shows that the building was by then fully enclosed by a boundary wall, and that the Yule family’s burial aisle had been created within the former chancel (fig 8). The same layout, albeit slightly more detailed, is seen in the OS 1894 map, whilst the OS 1907 map shows that an additional wall had been built in the nave. MacGibbon & Ross (1896, 339-41) show the chancel arch blocked, so separating the Yule Aisle from the nave, whilst their plan shows that the Forrest Aisle, to the west of the nave, had also been formed by then; the OS 1894 map may simply have omitted that wall. A 1948 plan of the church shows an additional wall to the west of the nave which no longer exists and is presumed to have collapsed.

Figure 8: Extract from the 1854 Ordnance Survey map, Haddingtonshire sheet 4. (Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.)

SURVEY

The survey of the kirk completed in 2010 is the most thorough undertaken to date (Sproat, Hudson & Cross 2011). An essential tool for understanding the needs of heritage conservation, it included a full internal and external elevation survey, floor plan survey, east/west and north/south sections, and a context record of all the features identified in the building. A detailed photographic record was also taken. Using a 3D laser scanner, the survey was tied in to control survey to create ‘point cloud’ data of the building from which detailed 2D plans and elevations could be extracted (figs 9 & 10). The resulting annotated drawings provided the perfect benchmark in which to phase the building, from its earliest stonework to its latest interventions in the nineteenth century. As well as the detailed drawings, phased

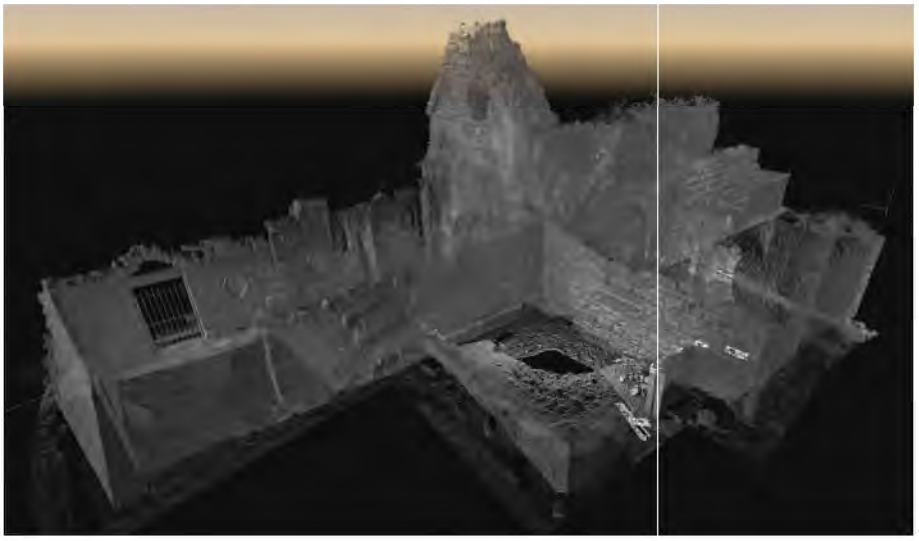

Figure 9: ‘Point cloud’ data from the scan of the kirk, viewed from the north-east.

Figure 10: ‘Point cloud’ data from the scan of the kirk, from the south-west showing the chancel arch.

plans and elevations were produced, and from these we can identify the sequence of events, in terms of the history and development of the building, insofar as it can be ascertained from the above-ground evidence, and see this development in terms of a wider context (fig 11). In most cases, dates cannot be firmly ascribed to developments or alterations, although a general sequence can be estimated given what we know from the historical research.

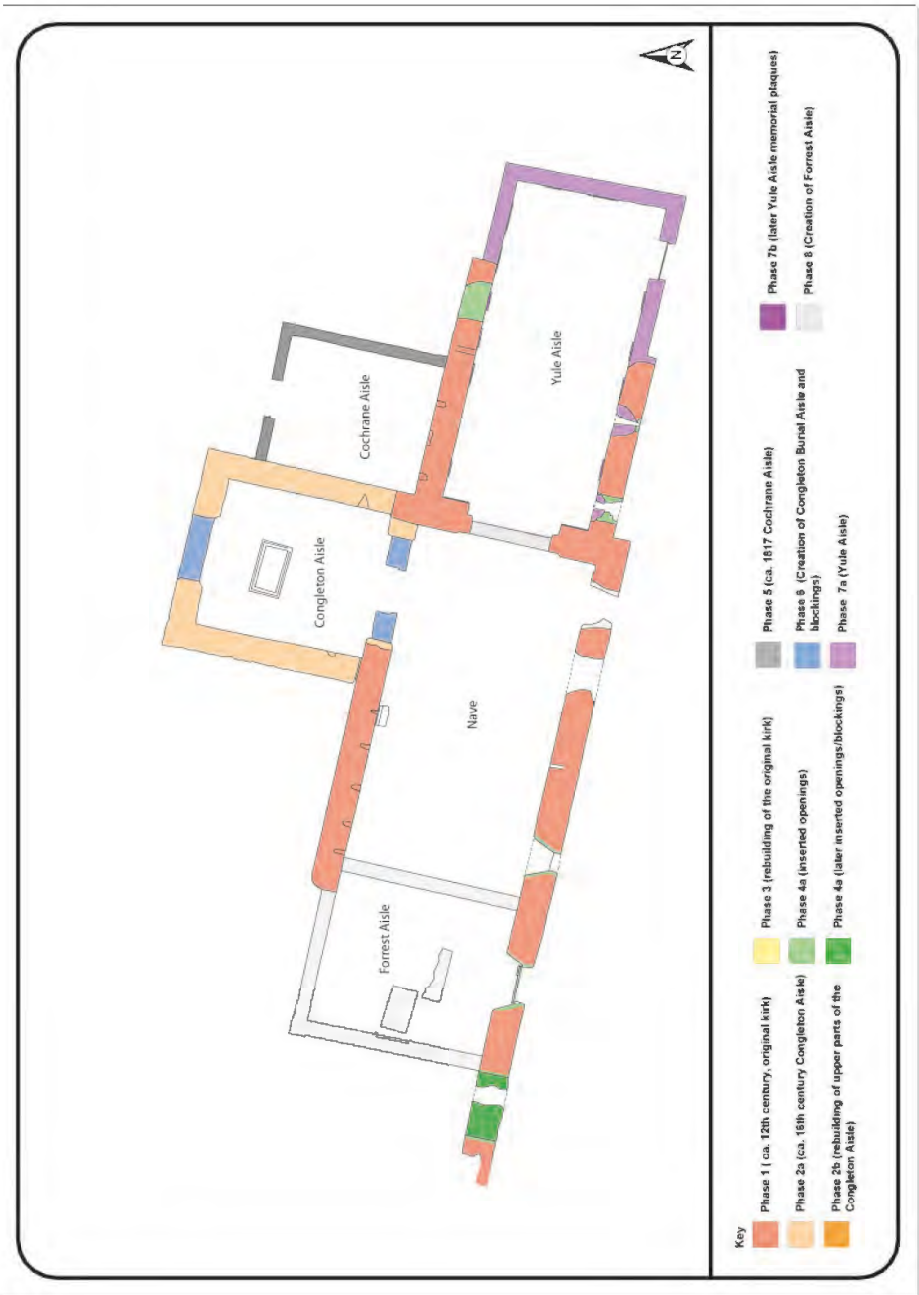

Figure 11: Phased plan of St Andrew’s Kirk.

PHASE 1 (the original kirk and early alterations)

Churches of this size in the Norman era are typically simple and basic in design - a two-cell building in stone, with a chancel to the east and a larger nave to the west, separated by a chancel arch. In some cases, these buildings had apses attached to the east end, as for example at Tyninghame Church (Fawcett 2011, 52-3). MacGibbon & Ross (1896, 339-41) supposed that the chancel originally had an eastern apse, as is the case at Tyninghame, but there is no evidence for this, the chancel’s east wall having long been lost, and replaced by the nineteenth-century wall enclosing the Yule Aisle. Only archaeological excavation can now determine this. It is also possible that there may have been a western tower against the nave, as for example at Dalmeny Church, West Lothian (Macwilliam 1978, 168-70), but here too only archaeological excavation can potentially solve the riddle.

Figure 12: Detail of the Romanesque cushion capital on the east side of the chancel arch.

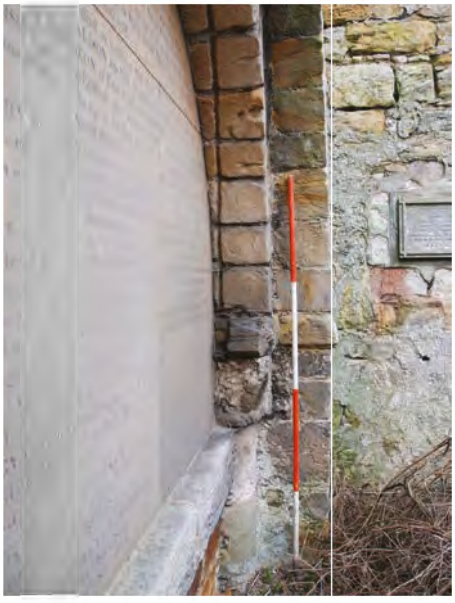

Figure 13: Detail of the groove on the soffit of the chancel arch.

The earliest architectural feature to date the original building is the chevron ornament, which appears on the west face of the chancel arch and on the fragmentary remains of the original south door into the nave (see figs 3 & 4). Other diagnostic twelfth-century features are the nook-shafts and scalloped capitals on the east side of the chancel arch (fig 12), and the stretches of string-course along the outside walls. The chancel arch’s chevron enrichment is relatively crudely executed, the detail added to the existing stonework, which, because the individual stones are of irregular width, has created an uneven, non-symmetrical effect; this

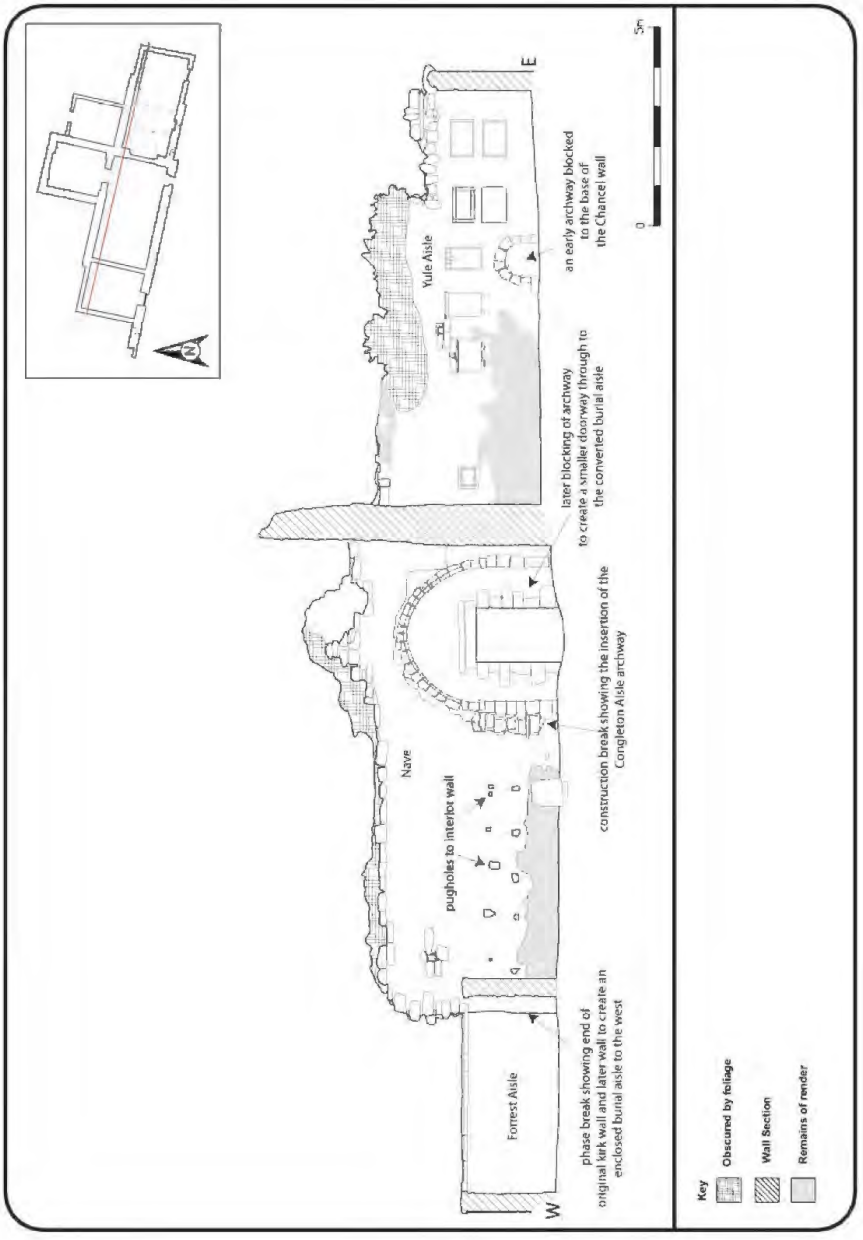

Figure 14: Elevation of the interior walls of the nave and chancel, showing in particular the putlogs through the nave wall.

debased masonwork in itself points to a date later in the twelfth century, in contrast to more proficiently executed examples at, for example, Tyninghame, dated to the middle of the century. The nook-shafts and scalloped capitals mentioned above, however, are similar to those at Tyninghame and St Margaret’s Chapel, Edinburgh Castle (MacGibbon & Ross, 1896, 224-30), suggesting perhaps that the chancel arch was built around the middle of the century and subsequently enhanced by the addition of the chevron ornament.

In terms of features that have now long gone, it was also typical to have a timber screen between the chancel and nave, and evidence of this can be seen in the groove on the inside of the chancel arch on its east side (fig 13). Also common were separate entrances for the clergy and laity. The blocked arched entrance in the south wall of the nave with its chevron ornament has already been mentioned, but there are two small blocked-up openings surviving at a very low level in the south wall of the chancel. Whilst the former opening works comfortably as an entrance doorway, it must be questioned whether the two in the chancel were ever doorways, although alternative explanations are not obvious (Nimmo 2012).

Regarding the actual construction of the church, we can look at both the known historical record and the evidence we can see on site. Various putlogs in the side walls of the nave (fig 14) indicate the location of the scaffolding used to erect the building (or later rebuilding) which would have been necessary to build the upper walls roof; similar scaffolding holes are to be seen in the nave of the twelfth-century St Martin’s Kirk, Haddington (RCAHMS 1924, 14-15).

PHASE 2 (creation of north transept)

The creation of the north transept (the later Congleton Aisle) has been dated to the late fifteenth century (see Grose 1798, 72), and it is clear, from looking at the fabric, how this was slotted crudely into the north side of the nave (see fig 14). The ground level has clearly risen considerably here, for the ogee-headed aumbry near the floor in the east wall of the transept would have served as a receptacle for the vessels used at the adjacent altar during mass (fig 15). Looking at the fabric of the walls, it also appears that the upper parts of the transept were rebuilt at some point.

Figure 15: The aumbry in the east interior wall of the north transept (Congalton Aisle).

PHASE 3 (later alterations to the kirk in general)

As stated above, pinning down exactly when in the sequence the phases of rebuilding and repair occurred is difficult given the lack of documentary evidence. However, it is clear from the survey that there was a large rebuilding programme in the nave at some point; the distinct change in the stonework towards the west end of the south wall, in a much lighter orange sandstone and without the characteristic chamfered string course of the original build, indicates this. This may have occurred in the later fifteenth century, around the same time as the north transept was built, although the stonework is quite different. It is also possible that it took place after the Reformation, where changes to the building would have been needed to convert the building for Protestant worship. Certainly, new entrances would have been required in the nave for separate use by the minister and congregation, as well as new windows, to light the minister’s pulpit and most probably also the new lofts at the upper level.

PHASE 4 (some blocking or earlier openings and insertion of new ones)

The changes here included the blocking of the original entrance door in the south wall of the nave and the narrowing of two thirteenth-century lancet windows in the south wall of the chancel. Here again, the work cannot be dated with any precision into the sequence of general changes and alterations to the church, and could have occurred at the same time as the rebuilding programme of Phase 3.

PHASE 5 (conversion of nave into burial aisle and creation of Cochrane Aisle)

The historical research has placed the abandonment of the kirk to the early seventeenth century, at which point we can assume that the building was left to become a ruin. Within a century graveslabs had begun appearing in the nave, as we can see from the 1817 plan. The Cochrane Aisle also appears to have been created by this time, to the north of the chancel. This small burial enclosure has a gated doorway to the north. The ground level has increased dramatically over the 200 years or so it has existed. However, little of the height of the wall – or any memorials or graveslabs within it – can now be seen.

PHASE 6 (conversion of the north transept into the Congleton Aisle)

We know that the conversion of the north transept to a burial aisle had not yet been carried out by 1817, looking at the plan of that date (see fig 7). However, at some point in the early 1800s, the large archway into the transept was partially blocked and a smaller rectangular doorway formed (see fig 14). The large north window in the transept was also blocked, adding further security. One possibility is that the graveslabs in the nave related to the Congleton family, and that at a later date these were moved to the more secure confines of a formal burial aisle in the north transept. The large table tomb that presently sits within the aisle has clearly been moved there, lying as it does over accumulated rubble.

PHASE 7 (creation of the Yule Aisle)

The medieval chancel, by the early nineteenth century, only existed to the west side, the east end having collapsed. The Yule family, wishing to create a formal burial aisle, re-enclosed the chancel and blocked up the chancel arch to create a secure space. The two lancets in the south wall were now blocked up almost completely to create an almost impenetrable enclosed space. We can confidently date this phase, as the Yule family are known to have obtained use of the chancel through a £20 fee to Dirleton Kirk in 1827 (Nimmo 2012).

PHASE 8 (creation of the Forrest Aisle)

The final change to the building was the creation of the Forrest Aisle at the west end of the nave. Grey dressed stone blocks were used to create a wall to the west, north and east sides (the west side of the nave having completely collapsed); the same stonework can be seen at the top of the blocking of the chancel arch (see fig 3). A memorial against the west wall of the Aisle bears the dates 1819 and 1825, which suggests a possible date for the creation of the Aisle, although it could have been placed therein from elsewhere later. A displaced memorial slab also survives on the floor of the Aisle, although without further excavation, a date, or detail of the inscriptions, could not be ascertained. Another interesting feature is the lintel stone into the Aisle, which is formed from a re-used grave slab of medieval date (fig 16).

Figure 16: The medieval grave slab re-used as a lintel in the Forrest Aisle. (Courtesy of Bill Nimmo)

SUMMARY

The detailed research and on-site analysis has demonstrated that the old ruined kirk at Gullane, founded over 800 years ago, has a much more complex history than first thought. The original later twelfth-century building was a comparatively simple two-cell design, with a small chancel to the east and slightly larger nave to the west, with architectural detail restricted to the chancel arch, entrance doorway and external string course. Because of the subsequent rise in the ground level, only archaeological excavation has the potential to confirm whether the original building had an eastern apse. An early adornment was the addition of

two lancets through the south wall of the chancel, probably in the early thirteenth century. The nave was extended westward at some later date, perhaps in the fifteenth century, and a north transept added to the nave, probably around 1490. The kirk building, abandoned in 1612 because it was becoming ‘continewallie o’er blawn with sand’, was subsequently altered by the creation of burial aisles for prominent local families.

NOTES

[1] Chris Tabraham has suggested that another, more likely, contender, for building the north transept is the Haliburton family, who had taken over the lordship of Dirleton Castle from the de Vauxs through marriage in the mid fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Haliburtons were by far the most important landowners in the parish, and enhancing the parish kirk - including lengthening it and providing a private chantry chapel - would have been a perfectly acceptable thing for them to do. That the chapel was taken over by the Congaltons early in the sixteenth century is entirely possible, given that the Haliburton line itself died out around 1505 and their successors at Dirleton Castle, the Ruthvens, were non-resident, living at the House of Ruthven (now Huntingtower), near Perth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like first and foremost to thank Bill Nimmo, of the Gullane and Dirleton History Society, whose enthusiasm and knowledge of the site and history of the area proved invaluable for the interpretation and understanding of the site, and who also took the time and trouble to look over this paper. Thanks also go to Chris Tabraham, who not only edited the paper but added some kernels of experience and knowledge to the history and development of the kirk. The author is also indebted to Morag Cross, who provided the majority of the background research - including primary sources – on the site and the early history of the kirk. At AOC, thanks go to Gemma Hudson, who, together with the author, undertook the on-site measured survey of the kirk.

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Figure 1: Baro kirkyard.

LOST IN THE LANDSCAPE: THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE OF BARO

by STEPHANIE LEITH

In a quiet corner of Baro Farm, along a track and through a wood, lie the remains of Baro kirkyard. It is a romantic spot, surrounded by old trees, and a number of moss-covered gravestones and table tombs, dating mostly to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can still be seen (fig 1). Today the kirkyard stands on its own, surrounded by farmland, but during the medieval period this was the centre of a bustling community - the village of Baro. Baro Farm is located 3.5 miles to the north-east of Gifford, on a ridge overlooking the Tyne valley which lies 5.5 miles to the north-west.

EARLY CHARTERS

The story of Baro (also known as Barow or Bara) begins in the twelfth century with Countess Ada de Warenne (c.1120–78), a key figure in the history of Haddington and the surrounding area. Descended from a noble Norman family hailing from Bellencombre, near Dieppe (Ritchie 1954, 276), Ada was gifted a rich dower estate in 1139 by King David I (1124-53) when she married his son and heir, Prince Henry. She lived at the royal palace in Haddington (on the site where the Sheriff Court now stands) and founded the Cistercian nunnery of St Mary's to the east of the town. In an early charter, sometime between 1153 and 1178, Countess Ada granted the lands of Athelstaneford, Duncanlaw, Baro and others to Alexander de St Martin (East Lothian Deeds, no.1; PoMS, 3/5/11; http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/844/accessed 09/12/2012). This is the earliest mention of Baro in documentary sources found so far.

Alexander de St Martin had close ties with Countess Ada and her sons Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William the Lion (1165-1214). The hamlet of St Martin is also near Bellencombre, and Alexander probably came to Scotland in Ada's retinue (Barrow 1980, 127). Ada's Norman grandmother is thought to have been Emma de St Martin. The St Martin family had a position of favour within the royal court of Ada and her sons, and not surprisingly Alexander appears as a witness to many charters of Ada and William I. In a charter dating to 1170 x 1178, Alexander gave back to the church of Bara all the lands it had previously possessed (PoMS, 3/523/2; http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5916/accessed 09/12/2012). The church lands had presumably been included in the gift of land at Baro from Ada.

Alexander served not only as sheriff of Haddington for William the Lion, but also as sheriff of Hugh Giffard of Yester, whose family hailed from Longueville-la-Gifart, not far from Bellencombre (Barrow 1980, 43). It was

unusual for an individual landholder to employ a sheriff, a fact which reflects the relative importance of the Yester estate at this time. Alexander lived at Duncanlaw, which was not then in its current location but opposite Crosshill, on the road to Sheriffside, next to the lands of Yester.

In about 1180 Alexander's daughter, Ela de St Martin, married Thomas de Morham. Thomas was originally called Malherbe, another family also rooted in Upper Normandy (Barrow 1980, 96-7), but when he moved to Morham he adopted the name 'de Morham'. It is through Ela de St Martin that the Morham family gained the lands of Duncanlaw. Ela must also have had land at Baro, for a charter of her uncle, Gilbert de St Martin of Baro, mentions the land of the moor of Bara, which had been divided between Ela de St Martin and Gilbert. In this charter, Gilbert granted his half of the moor of Bara, 'next to the hill called Whitelaw, towards the west', to May Priory (PoMS, 3/523/8; http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5936/accessed 09/12/2012)). These are probably the 'Maylands of Baro' mentioned in later centuries.

Euphemia Morham, born about 1300, was the last in the line of the family of Morham. She married Sir John Giffard of Yester, and numerous writs and charters by both Euphemia and John survive. Baro features in several of these. In a charter of 1322 by Sir Thomas Morham, either Euphemia's father or grandfather, Euphemia and John were granted all of his major hereditary holdings in the baronies of Morham and Duncanlaw, which probably included Baro (*Yester writs*, no. 19). This charter was confirmed by King Robert the Bruce.

In a charter dated to 1340, Euphemia granted half a carucate of land in her tenement of 'Barrow' to Richard de Dale and his heirs for his faithful service (*Yester writs*, no. 24). He was also given the right to grind his grain at her mill of Duncanlaw. The list of witnesses to this charter reads like a *Who's Who* of 1340 East Lothian, with such major figures as Robert de Lauder, Justiciar, Lord James Douglas 'The Good', Robert de Keith, Henry St Clair, and Alexander de Seaton. In describing the bounds of the land given to Richard de Dale, this charter gives the names of some of the places in or around Baro in 1340: Vydenmyr (probably Winding Law), Harlawmore, the road called Fawsyd gait, and the bridge called Cachtlamis Brighe.

In 1390 Thomas Hay of Locharwart (now Borthwick, Midlothian) became the owner of Gowrlayis (Gourlays) in the tenement of Baro in the Barony of Duncanlaw (*Yester writs*, no. 37). By 1397 Hugh de Gifford had died and the Yester estate was divided between his four daughters and their husbands. Thomas Hay of Locharwart was married to the eldest, Johanna, and inherited the main Yester estates, and from him the later Lords Hay of Yester are descended (Anderson 1998, 8-9).

In 1436 Edmund Hay of Tala, an estate in the Upper Tweed valley, was made Baron of Linplum, within Baro parish (Anderson 1998, 9-10). Of Edmund's sons, William inherited Linplum, and 'ane other son' became 'Laird of Bara'. It is not known where the house was where the Laird of Baro stayed, but it is referred to in later sasines as the mansion house.

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND HOSPITAL OF BARO

One of the earliest references to the church at Baro, or Bara, dates from 1178, when Alexander de St Martin granted a gift of 5 shillings annually from the church of Bara to the Augustinian priory at St Andrews (PoMS, 3/523/3; http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5935/accessed 09/12/2012)). Many churches in East Lothian were built in the twelfth century, through the influence of David I and his grandsons. However, these were often built on the site of an earlier pre-Norman church, and this may be the case at Baro.

Alexander de St Martin's charter of 1170 x 1178 (PoMS, 3/523/2, see above) describes the land previously held by Bara church, and which he returned to the church. This included all the land next to 'Alnet', parts of two meadows, a full toft next to the church with a yardland (*virgulata*), and one full toft next to the burn which flowed near the house of Henry his brother. This charter also mentions a mill that may have been at Baro: 'he takes his mill and assigns it to others'. However, he may have been referring to the mill at Duncanlaw, which is mentioned in several other charters.

Baro church belonged to the Augustinian abbey at Holyrood, and was part of the diocese of St Andrews. On 24 April 1242 it was consecrated by Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews, who had set about rededicating all the churches in his diocese at this time. There are records of him consecrating Pencaitland church in the same year, and those at Morham and Bolton in 1244, among others (Lockhart, 1889, 49).

In a charter of 1454 between David Hay, Lord of Yester, and John of Duncanlaw, regarding land at Duncanlaw, an interesting reference is made to Baro church: 'Paying therefor yearly to St Kentigern in the Parish Kirk of Barow, 5 pounds wax at the Feast of St Michael the Archangel (*Yester writs*, no. 109). This could suggest that there was a chapel or altar dedicated to St Kentigern within Baro church, or that the church itself was dedicated to St Kentigern. As with many medieval churches in East Lothian, the legacy of John Knox and the Protestant Reformation of 1560 means that the original saint dedication of Baro church has been lost. The link between Baro church and the sixth-century saint, also known as St Mungo, is not surprising, considering that Traprain Law features in the stories of St Kentigern's origins (Towill 1983, 128-35).

There is little other documentary evidence for the medieval church of Baro before the Reformation. However, much information can be gleaned from the Ordnance Survey [OS] 1st edition map of 1855, which shows the outline of the ruined church shortly before it was completely demolished in the 1860s (fig 2). The map shows the church as a simple rectangle, aligned east-west, and measuring 22m long by 8m wide. Few medieval churches survive intact in their original form in East Lothian, but the form and dimensions of Baro church can be compared with the ruined church at Keith Marischal, which was also a simple rectangle in plan, measuring 20m by 7m.

In 1853 the OS Name Book (nos. 42, 29, 35) describes the church thus: 'All that remains of this ancient edifice is a fragment of the outer walls, elevated

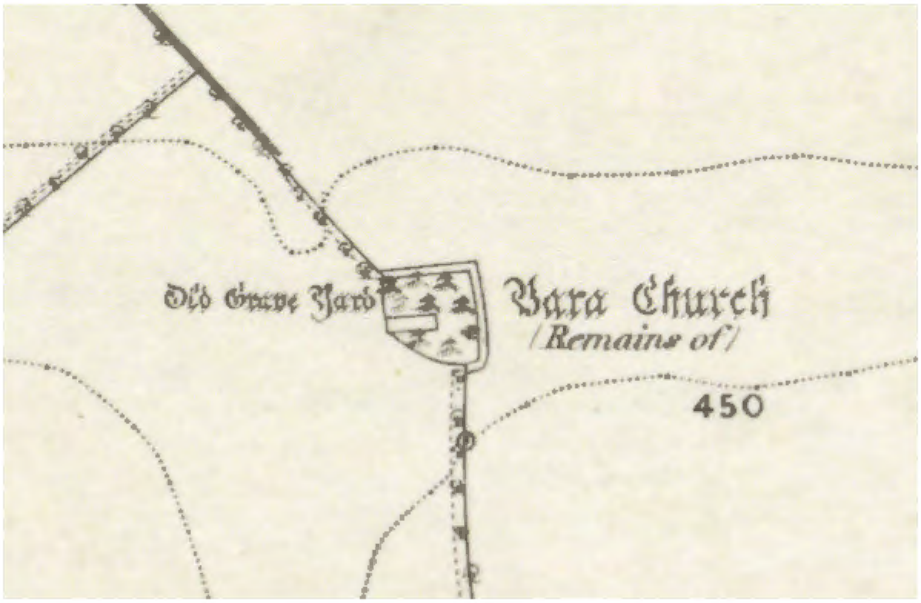

Figure 2: Ordnance Survey six-inch 1st edition map, Haddingtonshire, Sheet 10, 1855. (Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.)

3 feet above the surface of the ground; the whole outline of the building is distinctly visible'. The OS 1st edition map also shows the church within an enclosed graveyard. The boundary on the east and north side of the graveyard is shown as a double line, and could indicate a wall and bank. It is likely that this was the original boundary of the kirkyard, and it still survives today, although in a ruinous state. The boundary on the south and west sides is shown as a single curving line, incorporating the west end of the church. This does not appear to be the original boundary of the kirkyard, and it seems likely that the kirkyard originally extended further to the west and south.

Excavated medieval church sites suggest that the kirkyard at Baro might have also contained a priest's house and possibly a latrine. At Linlithgow, a priest's house was found next to the thirteenth-century chapel, near the west door (Yeoman 1995, 44-5). It was a small timber building with a floor hearth, a good water supply and sanitary arrangements. A well next to the house had an overflow channel which flushed a latrine in a small hut. A teind barn might also have existed near the church at Baro, providing a collection point and storage for the teinds, or tithes, presented to the church in the form of produce. The teind barn at Whitekirk can still be seen, now converted into a private house.

Euphemia's charter, dated 1340, mentions a hospital (*domus hospitalis*) at Baro (*Yester writs*, no. 24). These were often religious foundations, or founded by individual benefactors or the royal family, and endowed with funds for

their upkeep, usually in the form of land providing an annual rent. Cowan and Easson (1976, 162-200) give a list of medieval hospitals in Scotland, and note their various functions. These included almshouses, poorhouses, leper hospitals, hospices for travellers or pilgrims, and hospitals for the care of the sick. The specific function of the hospital at Baro is unknown. However, the presence of a hospital at Baro in the fourteenth century suggests that either the local community was large enough to need a hospital to serve the needs of its sick and elderly, or that Baro was on a major routeway, probably a road to Haddington. This may have been used by pilgrims en route from the port at Aberlady via Haddington to the village of Bothans (near Yester House) and thence over the Lammermuir Hills. This pilgrimage route has been postulated by Simon Taylor (1999, 48), based on place-name evidence, and he makes a convincing case for this route over the Lammermuirs being part of an early Christian routeway linking not only Haddington and Berwick-on-Tweed, but also Iona and Lindisfarne.

THE POST-REFORMATION CHURCH AT BARO

After 1565 Baro became part of the presbytery of Haddington. The parish records survive from this time, and these, with a few other seventeenth-century documents, mean that the history of Baro church is well documented from this time.

In her book *Garvald: The History of an East Lothian Parish*, Irene Anderson draws out a few interesting tales about colourful ministers of Baro. From 1578 to 1589 James Reid was minister at both Garvald and Baro churches. The parish records tell of how he did not have a manse at Baro, and was long coming to church on Sunday. He also played cards and drank until 10 or 11 at night! Because of this behaviour, he was suspended for a year. However, ministers must have been hard to come by, for he was subsequently re-instated at Garvald, where he served for a further 32 years.

George Chalmers was minister at Baro in 1593-4, but for some reason William Hay of Linplum took exception to him, took matters into his own hands, got out his pistols and chased him out of the parish; the unfortunate reverend sought refuge in Haddington. The next minister was David Ogil. He too was attacked by William Hay because Ogil was taking his stipend as minister whilst still being in charge of a school in Haddington. David Ogil stayed at Baro until 1629, and in 1627 he wrote a very useful document, in response to the King's Commissioners, all about the current state of Baro parish (see MacDonald 1835, 104-5). This tells us that in 1627 there were 120 communicants in Baro parish, and that the church was located in the east part of the parish. The minister's stipend was 400 merks, of which two-thirds was to be paid by Lady Yester out of the vicarage belonging to the house of Linplum, and one third by Lord Yester out of the parsonage of Duncanlaw. The document also lists all the farms or estates in the parish, their worth and their yearly teind. In the east part of the parish there was Linplum, Wyndoun (now Winding Law) and Baro – probably also Chesters. In the west was Duncanlaw, Sheriffside, Walden and Kirkbank (now Sunnyside).

Robert Colville was minister at Baro in 1694-99. He recorded a list of the church elders at this time: James Row of Chesters, John Hay of Baro, John Hay of Duncanlaw, Patrick Witherspoon and James Witherspoon of Walden. James Witherspoon died in 1711, at the age of 62, and his gravestone can be seen at Baro (see Martine 1890, 69-71, and Graham 1960, 226-7 for the gravestone inscriptions). Colville also lists a series of improvements to the church: repair to the communion table, installation of a new seat for the minister's family, installation of a table for the communion elements, installation of two seats for the 'aisle without the kirk'. The Marquess of Tweeddale and Sir James Hay of Linplum were each asked to pay half (Anderson 1992, 11-12).

In 1702 Yester church was being built, and the parish boundaries were changed as a result. Duncanlaw, Sheriffside, Kirkbank and Winding Law were removed from Baro and added to Yester parish. This was the beginning of the end for Baro church, for as the population of Baro dropped so church maintenance was not kept up. At this time Archibald Muir was minister at Baro and also minister at Garvald. By 1719 he had acquired the reputation of being not only a drunkard but also a Jacobite. He declared from the pulpit that King George I (1714-25) had no more right to the crown than a crowing cock; he was promptly suspended.

In 1721 Andrew Dunlop became minister, and in 1722 Garvald and Bara parishes were united, with services being taken alternately at the two churches. From 1721 to 1725, the minister lived at Baro manse whilst repairs were undertaken at Garvald church and manse. When he moved to the new manse at Garvald in 1725, he remarked on the bad condition of the 'office houses' at Baro (this might be a polite term for the sanitary arrangements) (Anderson 1992, 14). In 1743 the roof of Baro church fell in. It was not repaired and the church was abandoned. In 1860 Robert Hay of Linplum and Nunraw used the stone of the ruined church to build the wall around the kirkyard and completely demolished the remains of the church.

THE DECLINE OF BARO VILLAGE

During the seventeenth century numerous Hays of Baro were distinguished in Law and held official posts, and perhaps for this reason they chose to live in Edinburgh rather than at Baro. For example, James Hay was Commissary for Edinburgh before 1653 and William Hay Commissary of Glasgow from 1640 to 1653.

Perhaps the best known and most important of the Hays of Baro was Sir John Hay. The list of his official appointments is impressive, and included Town Clerk of Edinburgh in 1622, Provost of Edinburgh, Lord Advocate in 1634, Clerk of Rolls 1634, a Lord of Council, a Lord of Exchequer, and Lord Registrar. In 1634 he acquired the Maylands of Baro with the mansion. This was the western part of Baro, stretching to Duncanlaw. Sir John was a Royalist, and in 1641 he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for treason. After he was freed in 1642 he joined the Duke of Montrose and fought with him at the Battle of Philiphaugh in 1645, where he was captured and held prisoner. After his release he was forced to go into

hiding. He eventually retired to Duddingston and was buried in the family lair at Greyfriars in 1654.

Sir John's grandson, Richard Hay (1666-1730), was sent to France to train as a priest. He wrote a book called *Genealogie of the Hays*, which charted his family history, including the Hays of Baro and Yester. In 1685 Richard, now a Roman Catholic priest, was given the honour of organising the refurbishment of what was left of the old abbey at Holyrood, to create a new Chapel Royal for King James VII (1685-88). However, when King James was deposed, Father Richard returned to France and served there as a prior.

In 1704 Lt Col Robert Hay inherited Linplum. Robert had three spinster sisters but he never married, so after his death the baronetcy of Linplum became extinct (Anderson 1998, 13-4). After the Act of Union in 1707, there was much discontent in Scotland over paying increased custom dues. As a result, many took to smuggling goods such as tea, wine, brandy and silk into Scotland from the continent. It was at this time that the barracks were built at Baro (fig 3). Lt Col Hay was responsible for the soldiers stationed there, from the Royal Scots Greys regiment. Their task was to intercept smugglers carrying goods from the port at Aberlady, heading over the Lammermuirs to the Borders. After the barracks were no longer needed for soldiers, the buildings were used as houses.

Figure 3: William Forrest's Map of Haddingtonshire, 1802.
(Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.)

The population of Baro continued to fall during the eighteenth century. Many of the farms reverted to the Marquess of Tweeddale and as the buildings were abandoned they fell into decay. John Adair's map of 1682 shows that already by the seventeenth century the focus of Baro had shifted to the south, away from the church and the site of the medieval village, towards the road leading from Gifford to Garvald (now the B6370). The decline of Baro is part of a wider trend seen across lowland Scotland in the late medieval period. A general decline in population led to many villages being abandoned and there was a return to a more dispersed settlement pattern. By the eighteenth century, increased industrialisation and agricultural improvements led to a further depopulation of the countryside in favour of the cities.

Baro in its heyday in the medieval period would have been a substantial village centred on the church, hospital, mansion house, and possibly a mill, teind barn and priest's house. Now only the kirkyard remains to remind us of the medieval village that once stood here (fig 4).

Figure 4: A seventeenth-century gravestone in Baro kirkyard.

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Figure 1: Fenton Tower before restoration (top) and after restoration (bottom)

ANATOMY OF A JACOBEAN TOWER HOUSE: SURVEY AND EXCAVATION AT FENTON TOWER

by MICHAEL CRESSEY, DEREK ALEXANDER, KEVIN HICKS & IAN SUDDABY
with contributions by ANNE CRONE & CHRIS TABRAHAM

INTRODUCTION

The year 2012 marked the 10th anniversary of the restoration of Fenton Tower, near North Berwick, as a holiday residence (fig 1). Of the 200+ castles and tower houses across East Lothian (Coventry 1997, 28-9), Fenton Tower, built at some point in the sixteenth century, is one of a very few that have been fully restored. This article presents the results of research undertaken by CFA Archaeology in 2000-1 at the tower on behalf of Fenton Tower Ltd, prior to that restoration. The aims of the project were threefold: (1) to produce a detailed structural record of the tower house, internally and externally; (2) to assess the survival of buried archaeological remains in and adjacent to the tower; and (3) to place the results in the context of the documented history of the tower.

In this report the historical context is presented first, followed by results of the building survey and the archaeological investigations, and finally by the results of dendrochronological analysis of the numerous floor joists discovered in the building. The report concludes by examining how these three strands of evidence combine to help forge a fresh understanding of Fenton Tower as a Jacobean tower house.

A comprehensive account of the results from the building survey and archaeological excavation is lodged in the site archive held at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. The finds have been allocated to East Lothian Museums.

LOCATION

Fenton Tower (NGR: NT 543822) is located on the lower slopes of a rocky hill to the south-east of Kingston, a little inland from North Berwick (fig 2). The site is completely surrounded by agricultural land and commands extensive views. The tower is approached from the south-west along a track that has been cut into outcropping bedrock. Areas along the east side of the outcrop have been quarried. The area to the south of the tower incorporates a basalt knoll enclosed by a modern field dyke. Two features, neither archaeologically examined, may be associated with the occupation of the tower, possibly even earlier. At the south-west corner of the area, where the track approaches the tower, there is a noticeable scarped edge

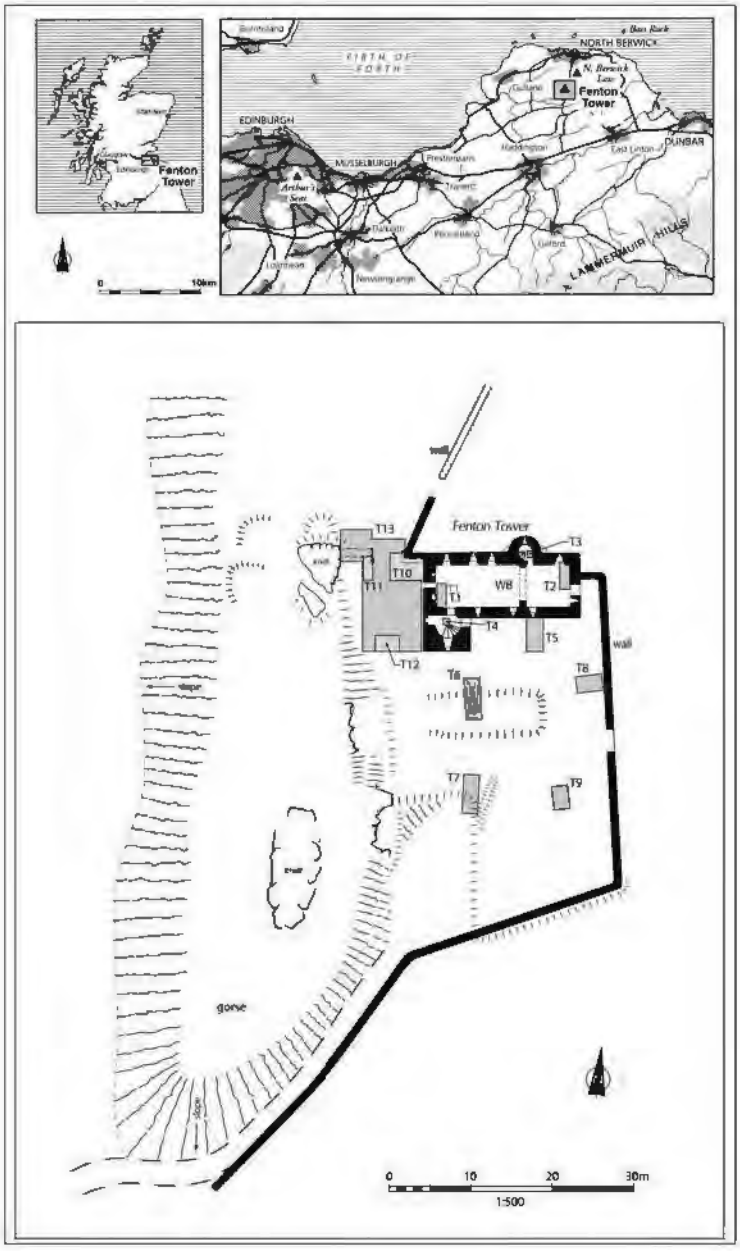

Figure 2: Location and topographical plan showing positions of the excavation trenches.

rising 1m onto the flat terrace south of the tower which may represent the former line of the enclosing barmkin (perimeter) wall. About 5m south of the tower, and parallel to it, is a more irregular turf-covered mound, c.15m long by 5m wide, which may also represent the foundations of a structure.

The L-planned tower, three storeys and an attic high, comprises a main rectangular block, 17.4m long by 7.4m wide over walls 1.3m thick, with an attached jamb, or wing, projecting from its south-west corner. The front door lies in the re-entrant angle between the main block and the jamb. This gave access both to the vaulted ground floor and to a spiral stair leading to the first floor. Two round stair turrets, both accessed from first-floor level, provided access to the upper floors - one via the front stair and the other attached to the north side of the main block.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT *by Chris Tabraham*

A tower is reputed to have stood on the site since the twelfth century (Tranter 1962, 28-9), though there is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, to substantiate this. The earliest reference to the lands of 'Estirfenton' (to distinguish them from the lands of Wester Fenton) is in a charter from Robert I, of c.1315-21, to John Marischal, a veteran who fought for Wallace at Falkirk in 1298, but makes no mention of a fortalice on the estate (Thomson 1984, 1, no. 60). The earliest reference to a fortalice on the lands comes in May 1571, early in James VI's reign, when John Carmichael of that ilk, younger, is granted by 'gift of escheat' (ie, property forfeited by another) 'the lands of Quhitlaw [Whitelaw], the lands of Fentoun called Over Sydserf, with 40s. of annualrent from the lands of Nethir Sydserf and the towers, fortalices and manors of the lands of Quhitlaw [Berwickshire] and Fentoun… which formerly pertained to the deceased Patrick Quhitelaw, sometime of that ilk, and fell to the Crown through his forfeiture in Parliament for treason' (Donaldson 1963, no.1166). Patrick was most likely forfeited for supporting Queen Mary in the civil war that followed her flight from Scotland in 1568. The reference to 'towers, fortalices and manors' is slightly ambiguous, as it does not specifically attest to the presence of such at Easter Fenton; not so the next documented reference.

In 1576 a charter makes specific reference to 'the lands of Over Sydserf or Fentountoure' being held, still by escheat, by John Carmichael of that ilk (Donaldson 1966, no.696). This seems to confirm the observation noted by D Croal (1873, 214) that the date 1577, along with the Carmichael arms (a 'fess tortilé') and the initials J C, were carved on the armorial panel (now missing) located directly over the front door. In 1576 Sir John Carmichael was serving as warden of the Scottish Middle March, and in this capacity was embroiled in a bloody, but comparatively minor, border incident known as the 'Raid of Reidswire' (Fraser 1971, 267-9). However, Sir John fell foul of King James in 1582 through his involvement in the political coup known as the 'Ruthven Raid', led by William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, who owned nearby Dirleton Castle. Because of their treason, in 1584 Carmichael, Gowrie and the Earl of Angus were stripped of 'the

ward and non-entry of the lands of Quhytlaw, Fentoun Manys [Mains] and Myd Fentoun, with the tower, place and fortalice of Fentoun', the beneficiaries being George Home, of Manderston, and David Murray, one of the king's 'maister stabulars' (Donaldson 1982, no.2484). Not for long though. In 1587 Sir John Carmichael and his wife, Margaret Douglas, were regranted 'the lands of East Fentoun commonly called Fentountoure or Ovir Syidsarff, with its fortalice and manor place' (Thomson 1984, 5, no.1348). This reference is absolutely unambiguous.

Here again, though, the Carmichaels' tenure was brief, for in 1594 James VI settled 'the lands of East Fentoun, now called Fentoun-toure or Over Sydserfe, with its fortalice and manor place', on David Murray, of Cockpool, Dumfriesshire (Thomson 1984, 6, no.57). By 1607, the rightful heir of Sir Patrick Whitelaw, his daughter Margaret, had lawfully regained her inheritance, for in that year a charter records her transferring 'a third part of the lands of Over Sydeserf alias Fentoun-tour with its fortalice' to her husband, Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick.

Whilst this documented history of Easter Fenton/Over Sydserf/Fenton Tower places Sir John Carmichael at the scene in the 1570s, thereby helping to confirm Mr Croal's observations of the armorial plaque, the fact that Sir John held it only through a 'grant of escheat' (meaning he had no permanent right to the lands but might have had to return it to the rightful heir at some future date) casts doubt on whether he and his wife would have risked the considerable expense of building the tower in such circumstances.

The subsequent history of the tower and its occupants is largely immaterial to the present study. Suffice to say that in 1663 the lands passed to Sir John Nisbet, also scion of a Berwickshire family. He or his son built Archerfield House, by Dirleton, and never resided at Fenton Tower as far as we know. Most probably it was lived in either by a junior member of the family or by tenants lower down the social scale. Fenton Tower remained with the Nisbets until the early 1900s, when it was purchased by the Simpson family, who farmed Sydserf. In 1998 Ian Simpson and John Macaskill, under the auspices of Fenton Tower Ltd, embarked on the tower's restoration, which they completed in 2002 (*Country Life* 2003, 64-7).

BUILDING SURVEY RESULTS

EXTERIOR

South elevation (fig 3)

A specific area of interest here is the composition of the wall structure, which shows four different forms of stone construction (denoted by the dashed lines in fig 3, and very clear on fig 1 (top). Most significantly, perhaps, the ground- and first-floor levels are built mostly of local dark grey basalt, whilst the walling above is largely formed of red sandstone. This distinctiveness is repeated around the other three elevations and on the elevations of the south-west tower. Also of interest are the windows, for most bore evidence for iron grille-bars, either in the form of sockets or scars where the bars had been forcibly removed. There is

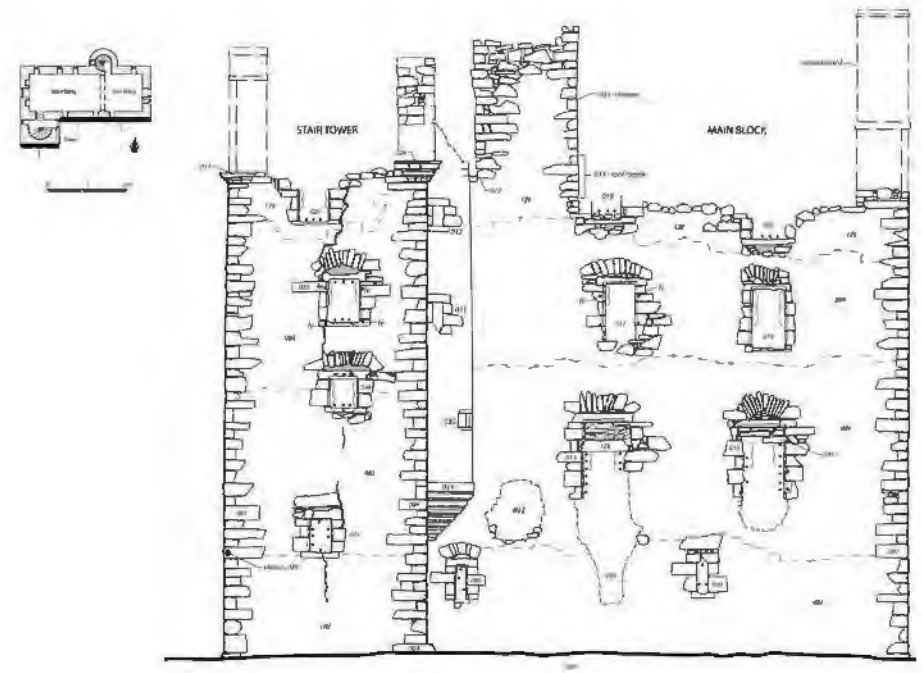

Figure 3: South external elevation.

evidence for two small 'rounds' atop the south-west and south-east corners of the projecting tower.

West elevation (fig 4)

Here too the wall construction shows signs of different composition (again denoted by the dashed lines), the most significant being the preponderance of dark grey basalt in the lower two storeys and red sandstone above. The windows were also evidently iron-grilled. A patch of lime harl, or render, survived above and to the left of the large window lighting the hall, the main room in the tower. The tiny slit in the third storey lit a small closet entered from the south-west tower.

The most significant feature is the pitched roof-raggle at the north end, indicating that a building had subsequently been attached to this end of the tower. It stood over 5m high, suggesting a structure of one-and-a-half storeys, and was clearly accessed from the tower by a door whose narrowness, and lack of any moulded surrounds on it, suggests it was probably knocked through later. Evidence for the added building was found by excavation, and its interpretation as a possible kitchen is discussed below. The blocked door and small window or serving hatch to the right of the door appear to be secondary also, for both lack moulded surrounds.

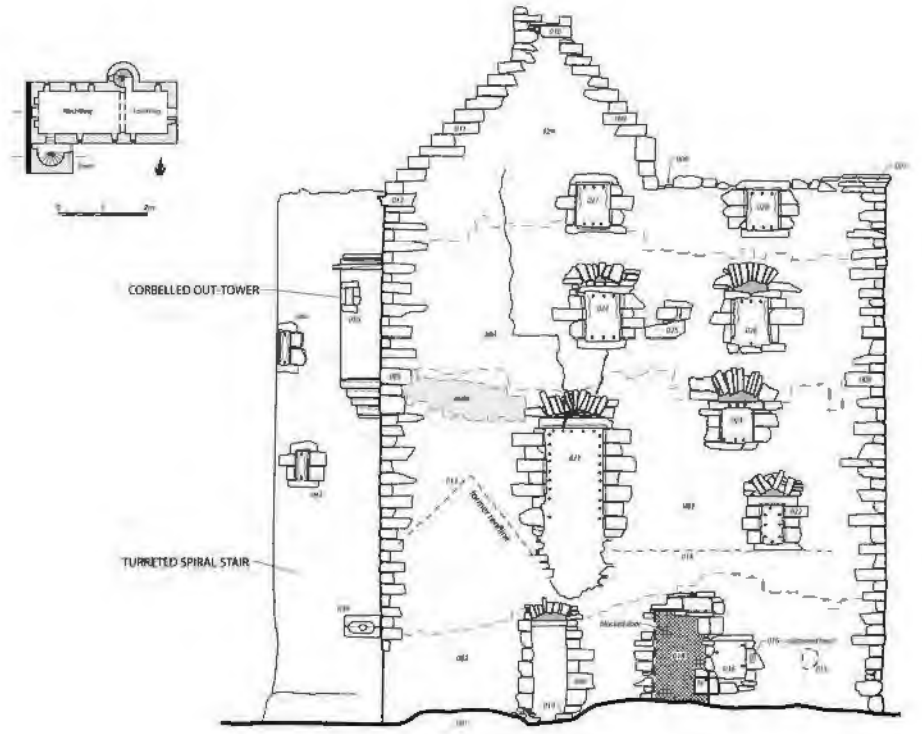

Figure 4: West external elevation.

Intriguingly, the right-hand surround of the window/hatch bears a small sandstone sculpture of a human head (fig 5). Although badly weathered, it consists of a front-facing head, 260mm by 170mm, shaped like a simple heraldic shield, in which the eyes and nose are readily discernible, but not much else. There is nothing about it that lends itself to any rigorous stylistic analyses. It is centrally placed on the front face of the jamb stone and appears to have been carved at the same time the jamb was shaped. When this was exactly is questionable, and it is perhaps worth considering a date earlier in the sixteenth century for it. Its positioning - on the jamb of a minor window on the side of the house - seems odd, especially

Figure 5: The carved stone head on the west external elevation.

as it is only one of two items of carved detail (the other was the now missing armorial plaque over the front door) on the exterior of the whole building (Caldwell in archive). It is possible that it may have been re-cycled from elsewhere in the building.

North elevation (fig 6)

The wall construction here mirrors that of the south and west elevations, with dark grey basalt prevailing in the lower two storeys and red sandstone above. Most of the windows showed signs of having been protected by iron grilles. This north elevation is also the only one where there is evidence for gun-holes (see fig 4) - three oval, wide-mouthed ones (039, 041 & 043) - of a type that first appeared in Scotland c.1520 at Dunbar Castle (MacIvor 1981, 104-22). Their presence here at the back of the building makes the absence of any gunholes 'covering' the entrance door on the south more remarkable. Another feature of note is the relieving arch (019) immediately to the right of the projecting stair turret. What did it relieve - a fireplace, window or door?

Figure 6: The north external elevation being surveyed by CFA Archaeology.

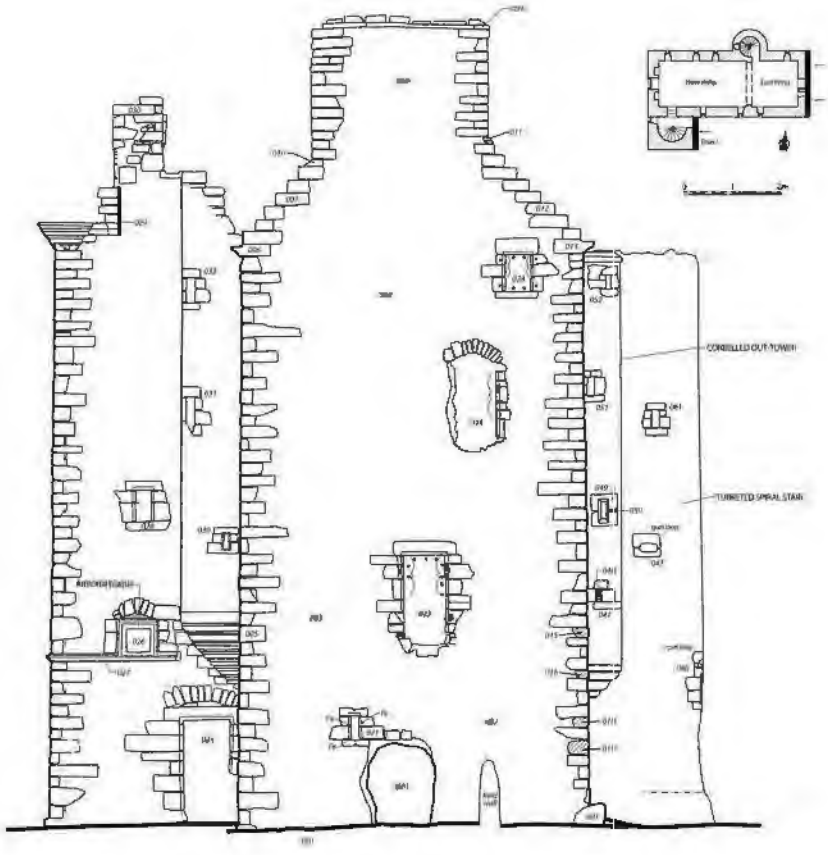

Figure 7: East external elevation.

East elevation (fig 7)

This elevation is one of the plainest in the building. Because of the greater survival of lime harling here, the varied composition of the wall structure, noted on the other elevations, was not so obvious. The feature of most note was the doorway leading into the ground floor. Unfortunately, all its dressed jambs had been robbed, resulting in a large irregular gap. However, such a doorway in this position would be most unusual in a Jacobean tower house, and the probability is that this too was knocked through later, just like the door in the west elevation.

The east elevation of the south-west tower incorporated the only original entrance into the building at ground level - a square-headed doorway set below a relieving arch, with a moulded string-course directly above incorporating the stone frame for an armorial plaque, recorded by Croal in 1873. This feature had a relieving arch above it, suggesting that it may originally have simply been a window, though there was no evidence for such on the interior.

INTERIOR (figs 8, 9 & 10)

The interior comprised a main rectangular block, three storeys and an attic high. A north/south spine wall rose up through the full height of the building, thereby dividing each floor into two unequal parts, the larger to the west of the wall. The south-west tower (see fig 9) incorporated the main stair in its lowest storey, with individual rooms above reached either from the stair-turret squeezed into the north-east corner of the re-entrant angle or directly from the westernmost rooms in the upper floors of the main block.

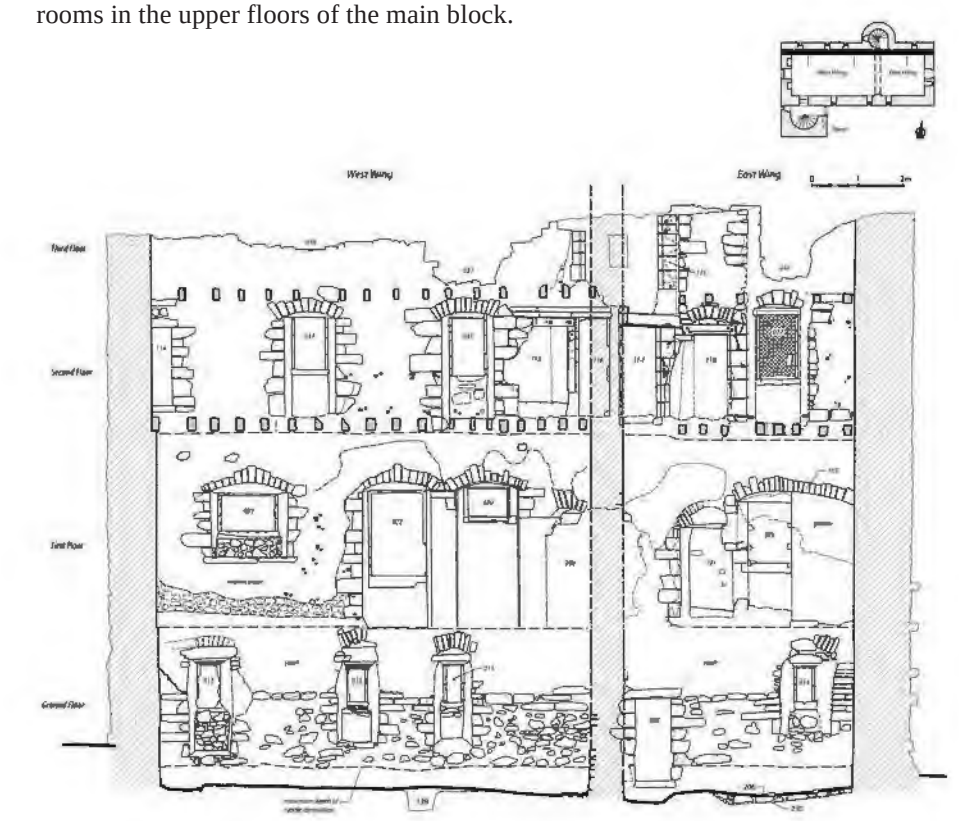

Figure 8: The north internal elevation.

Ground floor

The ground floor of the main block was covered with a barrel vault (see fig 9), parts of which still survived (at the east and west ends), with the remainder self-evident in the long side walls (see figs 8 & 10). The main features of interest at this level were the two opposing entrance doorways through the east and west walls, noted above and probably knocked through later. A door (not illustrated) linked the two unequal parts of the ground floor, whilst two other doors led to the entrance in

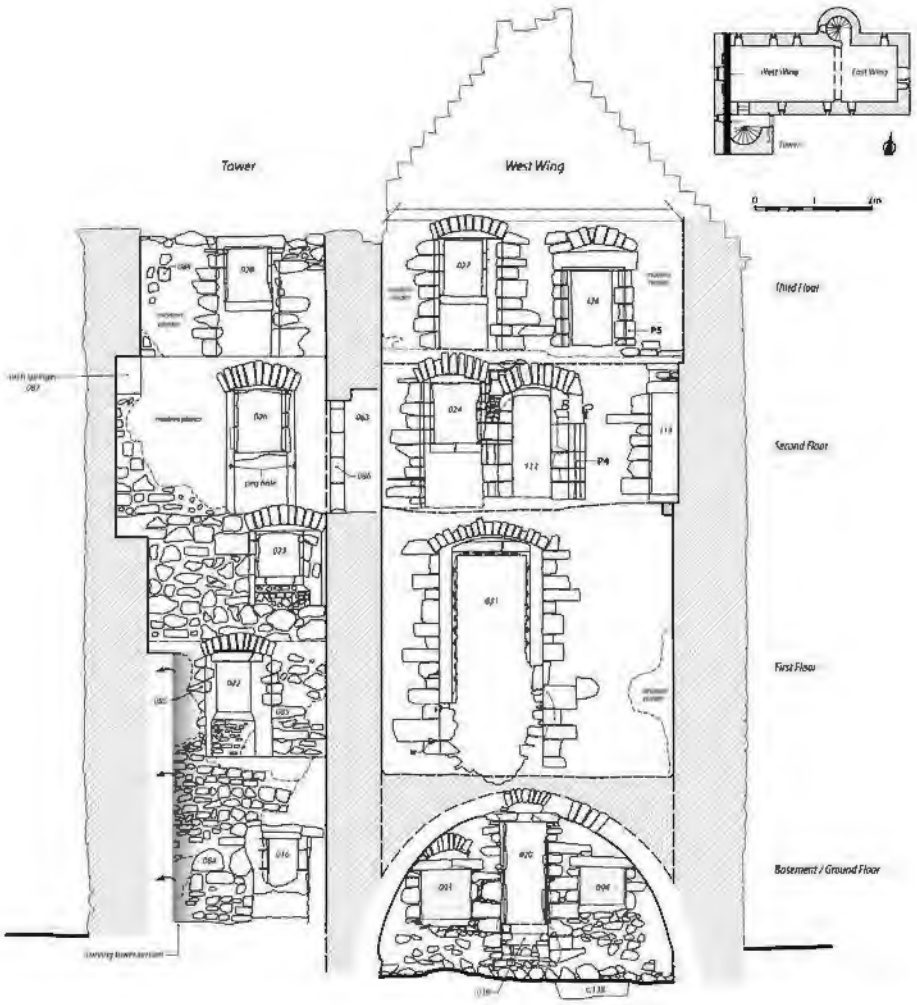

Figure 9: The west internal elevation.

the south-west tower and the stair turret on the north side respectively. Two blocked aumbries (cupboards) flanked the slapped west entrance into the ground floor (see fig 9).

The chief puzzle about this ground floor is the apparent absence of a kitchen, something which archaeological excavation also failed to locate. By the late 1500s, towers such as Fenton would routinely have incorporated such a facility within their vaulted ground floors. A possible reason for its absence is discussed below.

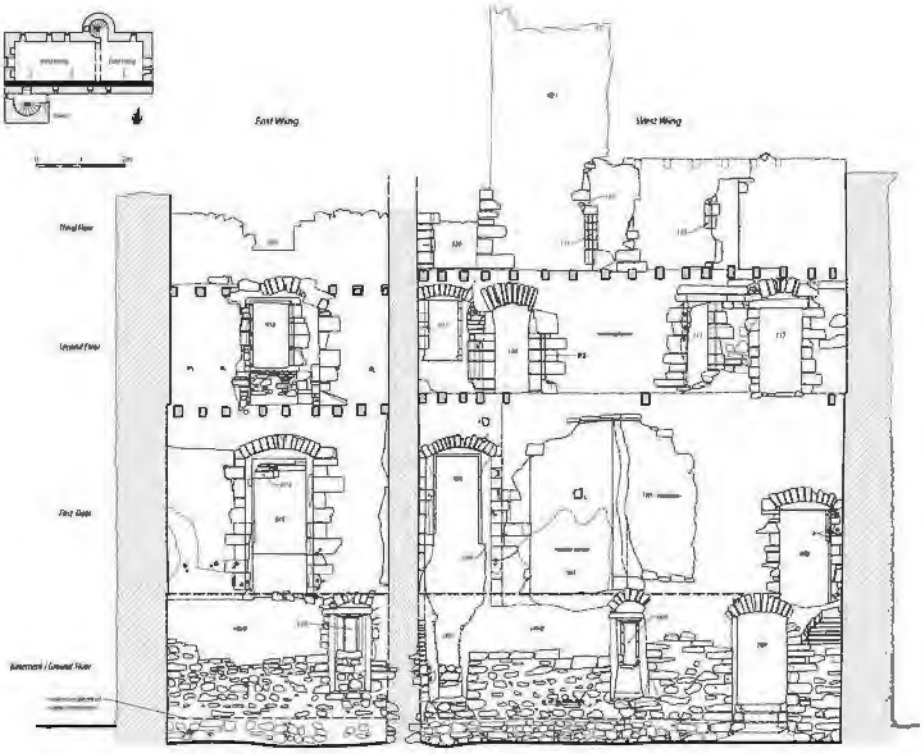

Figure 10: The south internal elevation.

First floor

The first floor of the main block was also divided into two unequal parts by the spine wall. The larger area to the west measured 10.65 by 5.5m, and the smaller area to the east 5.24m by 5.12m. Both rooms were 4.40m high. The larger room, by analogy with elsewhere, served as the hall (sometimes erroneously called the 'great hall'), the principal reception room in the residence. The smaller area, sometimes called the bedchamber, more likely served as a withdrawing chamber off the hall. The bedchamber of the lord and lady of the house was more likely located on the floor directly above, and separately accessed by the spiral stair in the north turret. Indeed, the lord and lady's private suite of rooms may well have embraced the full height of the tower east of the spine wall.

Features of interest at this level included the large fireplace in the south wall of the hall, by far the largest in the tower, the smaller fireplace in the withdrawing chamber, and a door in the north wall of that chamber that led into a small closet. Small holes in the walls of both rooms suggest that the rooms had been part-panelled as well as plastered (for which evidence also remained).

Second floor and attic

Here too the main block was divided into two unequal areas, measuring 9.52m by 5.26m and 5.20m by 5m respectively. The ceiling heights here were much lower, barely over 2m. The smaller east room, interpreted as the lord and lady's bedchamber, also had the fireplace in the east wall, so that it could share the flue rising from the floor below. Similarly, there was another small closet in the north wall, entered through a door. The larger, west room was clearly once partitioned into two, because of the existence of two fireplaces, in the south and west walls; the attic storey had a similar arrangement. It is likely that these upper storeys to the west of the spine wall were reserved for use by either junior members of the family or guests. The two rooms on each floor could have served either as a two-roomed apartment or as two single rooms, the in-built flexibility made possible by the presence of two access stairs, the one in the south-west tower and the other at the back (north) of the building.

At these upper levels there was more evidence of changes to the built fabric, chiefly in the form of altered windows and the narrowed fireplace. Another small sign of change was the piece of roll-moulding re-used in the fireplace in the east room on the second floor, which may well have been recycled from elsewhere in the building.

EXCAVATION RESULTS (fig 11)

In order to determine the nature and extent of any surviving archaeological deposits, trenches were excavated within the tower (1-4) and outside it, five to the south (5-9) and four to the west (10-13).

INSIDE THE TOWER

Trench 1 was positioned adjacent to the west entrance into the vaulted ground floor. At its north end, the upper fill included glass bottle sherds, pot shards and shotgun cartridges. Midway along the trench, a pit cut into the natural subsoil may have been a post-hole, perhaps cut during construction of the vaulting, although it appeared to cut the layer of mortar at the base of the construction trench for the west wall; that foundation trench contained a fragment of clay-pipe bowl. Two small depressions may represent the position of scaffold-props.

Spatially, the dominant feature in the western half of the ground floor was a large, shallow and irregular pit, a small part of the fill of which covered the entire width of the floor. The pit, 3.6 by 4m, reached a depth of 200mm. Within it were two further significant cuts into the natural clay, with other ephemeral, shallow variations in its flattish base. The upper fill of the pit contained fired-clay tiles, and at the base broken sandstone slates. The significant underlying cuts contained coal fragments. Immediately to the pit's west was a post-hole, whose fill contained modern glass and a fragment of tile. Another pit, in the north-west corner, was filled with ash and coal

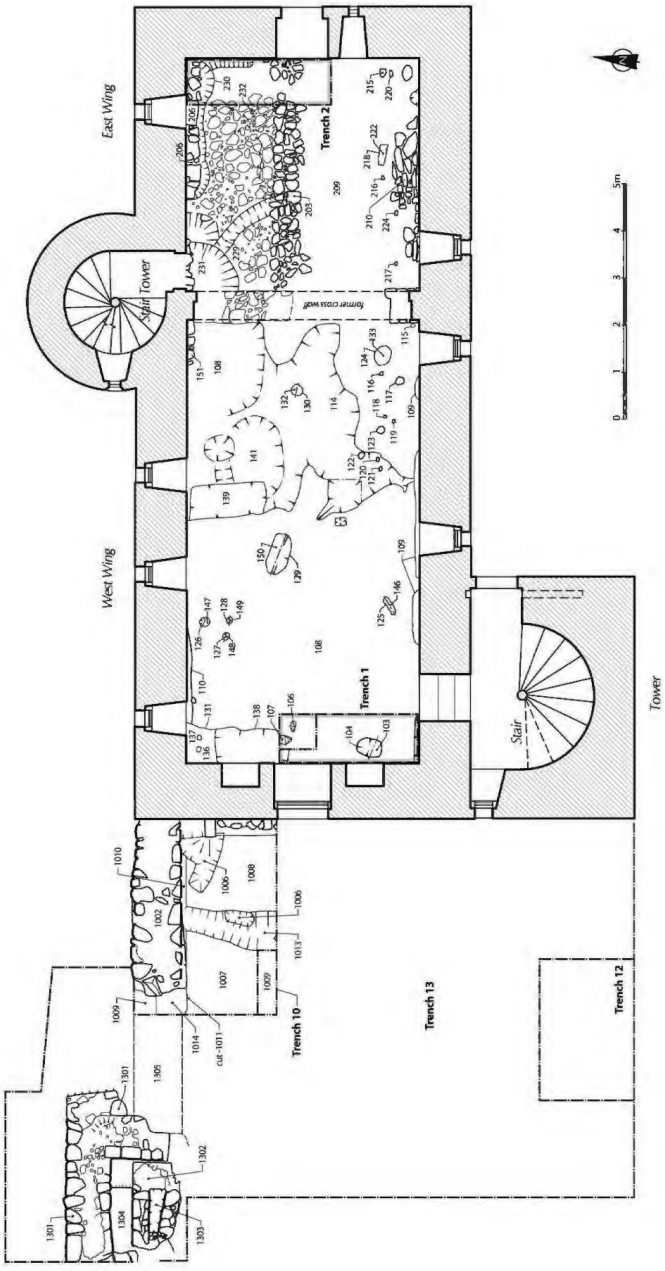

Figure 11: The ground floor plan showing the areas excavated.

above purple/brown gritty clay. Two stake-holes were found at its base, cut into natural clay. Also found were three closely-associated shallow post-holes near to the north wall, which may also be associated with scaffold props.

The most coherent negative remains were the foundation trenches for the tower walls, including a linear series of paired stake-holes, possibly with associated post-holes. The main concentration of these was parallel with the south wall in the east part. They comprised a single stake-hole as well as pairs. Another two were located in the north-west corner. Finally, a fragment of paving was found against the base of the wall in the north-east corner, which may represent the only remaining primary internal paving in the ground floor.

Trench 2 revealed more areas of paving which, despite being set at the same level as that in trench 1, were different in character. The paving to the south extended for 3.5m along the south wall but only 750mm out from this wall, barely enough to clear the remaining arch of the vault above. It was characterised by an uneven finish and included several edge-set stones that tended to topple away from the remainder of the paving. The paving to the north comprised a more level surface of large igneous cobbles, set horizontally and including an open V-shaped drain on its southern edge. The drain appeared to be integral with the paving. Between the areas of paving lay a probable destruction layer of compact clay, mortar and stone chips that had clearly been cut through by the paving.

Several stake-holes were found at the south-east corner, seemingly in alignment with a sub-rectangular post-hole. The stake-holes, up to 300mm deep, had V-shaped profiles at their base. Sharpened stakes had clearly been driven into the ground and, once their purpose had been served, attempts had been made to withdraw them. In the case of one this had been successful, but the rest had either degraded or had preserved wood remains in them. This alignment of stake-holes continued into the west end. A single, isolated stake-hole was seen 1.4m from the north wall. These stake-holes are thought to be derived from the insertion of scaffold-props [to support the wooden former used to construct the stone vault], that were reinforced by the larger post inserted into a post-hole. These features were situated 500mm from, and parallel to, the south wall. Four well-preserved samples of wood recovered from them were analysed in the hope that they might help date the construction of the vault. Unfortunately, the timbers turned out to be of Scots Pine, which is not usually suitable for dendrochronological dating; oak tends to be the preferred species. Post-medieval finds were recovered from the deposits on and overlying the areas of paving. Neither the underlying mortar-rich demolition deposits nor the foundation trenches for the walls produced any finds. Trenches 3 & 4 revealed nothing of any substance.

OUTSIDE THE TOWER

Trenches 5 - 9, all to the south of the tower, were also sterile of any significant archaeological features, containing only modern glass and pottery, suggesting that this area had been landscaped comparatively recently.

Trenches 10 – 13 were located immediately west of the tower. Trenches 10 and 13 alone revealed features of interest, namely walling associated with the ancillary building added to the tower. Trench 12 produced no evidence at all, whilst trench 11 revealed the footings of a mortared wall (1107), almost invisible on the surface, seemingly running SSW up onto the knoll, where its line could be further traced by protruding stones. The wall was 1m wide and 700mm high and its external elevation (north-facing) was vertical and well-faced, with no trace of an external batter. The limited excavation produced no finds so the relationship of it to the tower could not be established.

In trench 10, at the eastern end closest to the tower, directly below the roof-raggle visible in the wall above (see fig 4), a series of stones forming a possible floor protruded from the base of the tower wall. This floor was at the same level as the topmost of the three steps rising up from the tower's ground floor, though no clear association could be established. The floor overlay the foundation cut for the tower wall (1012). The finds included sherds of post-medieval pottery and a broken clay tile.

Trench 13 was a far larger area incorporating trenches 10 – 12. Archaeological remains were confined to the north edge of the trench and included modern glass and pottery. A stretch of wall (1301), L-shaped on plan, was found, built of undressed mortared sandstone forming the outside faces with rubble at its core. A second wall (1302) lay between the north-south axis of the east end of that wall. This was revetted into natural outcropping sandstone. Between the walls was a cavity, 450mm wide and about 1m deep, filled with a dark brown soil rich in mortar and stone and the occasional fragment of nineteenth-century pottery. Nothing more can usefully be said of the walls, either as to date or form of construction.

THE FINDS

A large quantity of modern glass, pottery and china was recovered during the excavations within the tower, along with smaller quantities of animal bone, ironmongery, clay tiles and marbles. From within the stratified deposits under the post-abandonment overburden came post-medieval finds, sandstone slates underlying clay tiles from the roof, a range of glass, small amounts of post-medieval pottery, iron nails, animal bones and a knife. Finds that possibly related to the primary occupation of the tower were sparse; for example, just one fragment of medieval pottery was recovered, from trench 5. A full list of the finds is deposited with the site archive.

DENDROCHRONOLOGY RESULTS *by Anne Crone*

During the renovation of the tower, lengths of original floor joists were removed from socket-holes in the upper floors (Cressey et al 2001). Some 25 fragments were removed, all of which were identified as oak. The condition of the

timbers varied greatly; some were still structurally sound and retained their original surfaces, whilst in others the lignin [the polymer which strengthens plant cells and makes them rigid] had decayed to such an extent that the wood could be cut like butter and the surfaces had crumbled away.

The dimensions and characteristics of the 18 best-preserved timbers were fully recorded. They were all rectangular in cross-section and had been converted from either whole logs (A1) or half-logs (B1) (table 1), the faces being axe-dressed. Slices were removed by band-saw from each timber to determine which had the most suitable ring-patterns for tree-ring analysis. A sub-sample of ten timbers was finally selected, the selection based on the length and clarity of the ring-pattern and/or the presence of sapwood (the outermost rings of oak which are essential in providing precise felling dates). An eleventh timber was selected for analysis during the course of the work.

Sample	Dimensions in mm	Conv. code	No. of rings	Bark edge	Sapwood rings	Dendro Date	felling date/range
FT1	220 x 130	A1	161	/	/	1344 - 1504	*tpq* 1519
FT4	105+ x 110	A1	153	/	/	1347 - 1499	*tpq* 1514
FT6	160 x125	A1	152	/	/	1396 - 1547	*tpq* 1562
FT7	160 x 120	A1	175	/	h/s?	-	-
FT9	230 x 120	B1	239	/	16	1332 - 1570	1570 - 1584
FT12	190 x 125	B1	172	/	/	1366 - 1537	*tpq* 1552
FT13	200 x 135	A/B1	186	Y	20	1387 - 1572	1572
FT14	200 x 145	A1	166	/	/	1371 - 1536	*tpq* 1551
FT15	110 x 80+	A1	197	/	/	1318 - 1514	*tpq* 1529
FT17	120 x 100+	A1	170	/	13	1388 - 1557	1557 - 1574
FT18	180 x 115	B1	176	/	/	1372 - 1547	*tpq* 1562

Table 1: Details of the timbers used in the analyses of the Fenton Tower floor joists. (Conv code in column 3 relates to the timber conversion criteria devised by Crone and Barber 1981.)

The surfaces of the sliced samples were sanded with progressively finer sandpaper until the ring-pattern became clearly visible. The pattern was then enhanced by rubbing powdered chalk into the surface. The ring-pattern was measured under a binocular microscope and the data logged onto a computer. Data analysis was undertaken using *Dendro for Windows* (Tyers 1999).

RESULTS

All the analysed timbers had long, sensitive ring-patterns, varying between 152 and 239 rings. As the timbers had all been fully converted from the round, the outermost rings of most of the timbers had been removed. Only three timbers

retained any sapwood and, of those, only FT13 retained the bark edge. The ring-patterns of the ten samples analysed initially were compared with each other. Two distinct groups emerged, each with strong internal correlations, and consequently two site chronologies were constructed (table 2).

FTMAS1						**FTMAS2**				
	FT18	**FT6**	**FT12**	**FT14**			**FT1**	**FT9**	**FT13**	**FT15**
FT18	/					**FT1**	/			
FT6	5.82	/				**FT9**	7.50	/		
FT12	6.82	5.31	/			**FT13**	4.37	7.52	/	
FT14	8.60	5.47	7.46	/		**FT15**	4.20	5.44	4.21	/
FT4	4.51	3.81	3.78	4.01		~~	6.19	7.43	5.64	11.72

Table 2: Internal correlations for the site chronologies. The figures are t-values, the statistic used to describe the degree of correlation between two sequences; values over 3.5 are considered significant, and the higher the value the greater the agreement between the two sequences.

FTMAS1 (FTMAS = Fenton Tower Master Sequence) consisted of FT18, FT6, FT12 and FT14 and is 182 years long. FTMAS2 consisted of FT1, FT9, FT13 and FT15 and is 255 years long. There was very little correlation between the individual components of the two site chronologies, and there was no significant correlation between the two chronologies themselves. Two sequences, FT7 and FT17, could not be matched against either the individual sequences or the site chronologies. In an attempt to find other matches which might link these two sequences into the two site chronologies, FT4 was selected for analysis. Its ring-pattern matched most strongly with the individual sequences in FTMAS2, in particular with FT15, and consequently it was incorporated within that site chronology. Interestingly, FT4 is the only sequence which matched consistently with the individuals of both site chronologies (see table 2) and its incorporation into FTMAS2 produced a significant correlation of t = 4.76 between the two site chronologies.

The two site chronologies and the two individual sequences were then compared with master chronologies from Scotland, England and Ireland, in the first instance. The two Fenton Tower site chronologies produced highly significant, replicated correlations with only one group of master chronologies - those Scottish chronologies based on imported timber from the Scandinavian countries (fig 3). These correlations date FTMAS1 to 1366–1547 and FTMAS2 to 1318–1572. The calendar dates of the individual sequences are given in table 1. The site chronologies and the individual sequences were also compared with chronologies from Scandinavia, the Baltic and Europe. Again, the most significant correlations were with those from Scandinavia (table 4).

	FTMAS1	FTMAS2
@ date	1547	1572
Edincas2 (1358-1509)	4.93	11.58
Great Hall, Edinburgh Castle		
Bedmast1 (1355-1538)	9.38	7.26
Queen's bedchamber, Stirling Castle		
Brechin1 (1359-1470)	4.88	7.31
68-75 High St, Brechin		
Gardyne A2_3 (1376-1595*)	6.37	3.92
Gardyne's Land, Dundee		
Garoof1 (1348-1464)	4.43	4.24
Guthrie Aisle, Angus		
Garoof2 (1350-1458)	5.53	4.93
Guthrie Aisle, Angus		
Grthall (1382-1571)	8.07	6.42
Great Hall, Stirling Castle		
kbed2_3 (1363-1500)	5.21	7.29
King's bedchamber, Stirling Castle		
Midhope (1265-1505)	7.59	4.95
Midhope Castle, West Lothian		
OSU1new (1391-1520*)	5.8	4.24
Old Student Union, St Andrews		
PanlK139 (1366-1569*)	3.95	6.87
Mary of Guise's Palace, Edinburgh		
(*single sequence)		

Table 3: Statistical correlations between the Fenton Tower site chronologies and other Scottish 'import' chronologies (table 2 explains the figures).

		FTMAS1	FTMAS2
	@ date	1547	1572
Regional chronologies			
2X90001 (830 - 1997)		12.91	6.32
Sealand (Denmark)			
sm000012 (1125 - 1720)		11.45	6.08
Western Sweden			
JUTLAND6 (846 - 1793)		10.85	7.18
Jutland (Denmark)			
Sm00005 (1274 - 1974)		9.36	5.13
Scania-Blekinge (Sweden)			
SNorway1 (1375 - 1698)		6.47	11.04
(S Norway)			
Grimstad (1403 - 1731)		4.22	10.38
(S Norway)			
21015M02 (1305 - 1743)		5.22	8.88
Norwegian timbers from waterfront, Copenhagen			

Table 4: Statistical correlations between the Fenton Tower site chronologies and regional and site chronologies from Scandinavia (table 2 explains the figures).

Neither of the individual sequences, FT7 and FT17, matched any of the imported timber chronologies, but FT17 did produce low, but consistent, correlations with some of the Scandinavian master chronologies and a few master chronologies from Germany (see table 4), thus dating the sequence to 1388–1557. FT7 is the only sequence that remains undated, despite the ring-pattern having wide bands of very narrow, compressed rings and being re-measured to check for possible errors.

INTERPRETATION: DATING THE TOWER

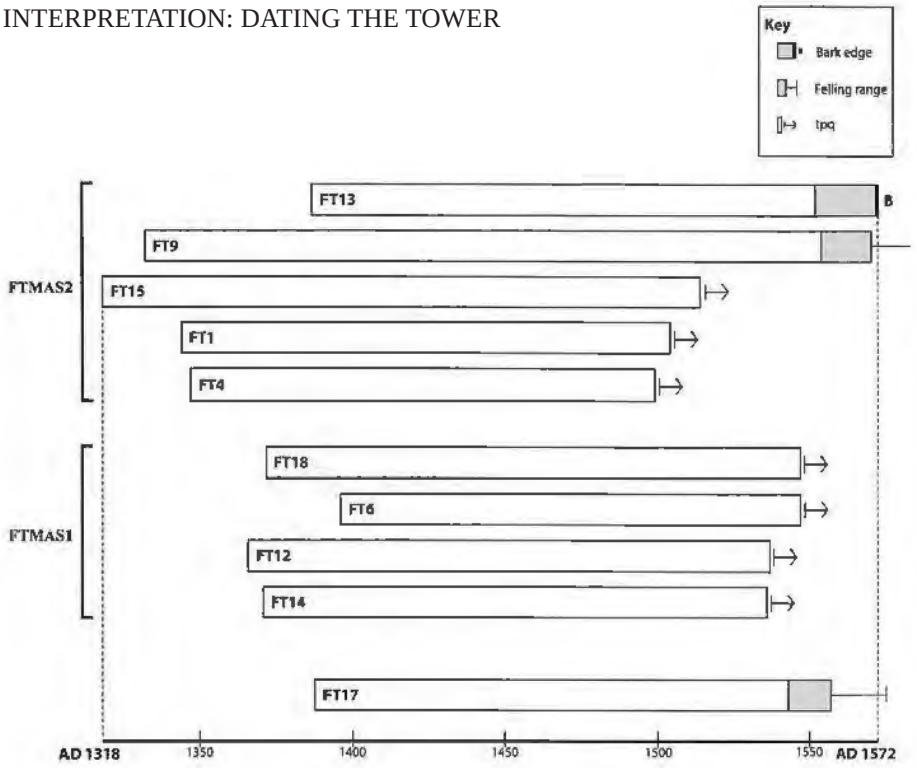

Figure 12: Chronological relationships between the dated timbers. Each bar represents the chronological span of each timber.

Figure 12 shows the chronological relationships of the dated sequences, arranged in the groups which show best internal correlation. Only one sample, FT13, retained the bark edge, and the springwood pores of the outermost ring had only just been laid down, indicating that the tree had been felled in the spring/summer of 1572. FT9 and FT17 both retained sapwood rings and it is therefore possible to calculate the range within which the trees would have been felled. Sapwood estimates vary across Europe, decreasing as one moves further east (Hillam et al 1987). A sapwood estimate of 15-30 years is used for mature trees in Denmark and southern Sweden (Niels Bonde *pers comm*). When this estimate is added to FT9 and FT17, felling ranges of 1570–1584 and 1557–1574 respectively are produced, ranges which span 1572, the year in which FT13 was felled.

The remaining timbers had been heavily trimmed, thus removing many heartwood rings. An allowance for the minimum amount of sapwood likely to be present (ie, 15 rings) is added to the last ring to estimate a terminus post quem (*tpq*) for the felling of the tree (see table 2). It is feasible that most of the remaining

timbers were felled around the same time as FT13. However, one group, consisting of FT1, FT4 and FT15, seem to have had an inordinate amount of timber trimmed off; for instance, if FT1 was felled in AD1572, then some 68 rings would have had to be trimmed off. It is therefore likely that these three timbers represent an earlier phase of construction (see general discussion below).

With only one timber with complete sapwood, the relationship between felling date and construction date is difficult to determine. Was this timber obtained just prior to construction, or was it just one of many timbers from a mixed-age stockpile, the AD 1572 date bearing no clear relation to the date of construction other than providing a *tpq*? In the case of the roof of the Great Hall in Edinburgh Castle, it was possible to demonstrate that the timber had been stock-piled over some five years because bark-edge had survived on a significant proportion of the timbers (Crone & Gallagher 2008). However, that roof was of such a scale that it required very large quantities of wood to be readily available once construction started; hence the need to stock-pile.

In contrast, the construction of Fenton Tower, a more modest undertaking, would not have required such a vast supply of timber. Furthermore, the timbers themselves bore evidence that they were not stock-piled for any duration after felling. As oak seasons, it can develop shakes (cracks that open up along the rays), and the patterning of these cracks can be used to determine whether the timber had been seasoned in the round, or been dressed while green (ie, soon after felling) (Darrah 1982). Many of the Fenton Tower timbers displayed shakes which open out along the squared faces, causing in some cases slight distortion to the rectangular cross-section, indicating that the timbers were probably squared while still green. This could have happened at source. However, the mixture of conversion types at Fenton Tower (see table 1), and the amounts of wood that appear to have been trimmed from the log in order to achieve the right scantling, suggest that undressed logs of variable size were brought to Fenton and dressed on site. F13 was probably felled in the spring of 1572 so it could have been shipped over to Scotland from Scandinavia in the summer of that same year (for discussion of felling and shipping seasons see Crone & Mills in press). Building may have continued through the winter but it seems more likely that the builders would have waited for improved conditions in the following spring, so the joists were probably not inserted into the building until 1573, or shortly thereafter. The implications of this are discussed below.

SOURCE OF THE TIMBER

The lack of correlation between the two site masters, and the absence of any correlations with FT17, indicate that at least three sources of timber had been used, pointing to the use of a middle man, a merchant's yard perhaps, where the timber was bought. The statistical correlations with the regional chronologies (see table 4) indicate that the timber in both FTMAS1 and FTMAS2 was Scandinavian in origin but they also show that it was coming from different regions. FTMAS1 correlates most strongly with chronologies from Sweden and Denmark while FTMAS2

correlates most strongly with chronologies from Norway. This is confirmed by the correlations with many of the Scottish 'import' chronologies (see table 3). FTMAS2 correlates best with those Scottish 'import' chronologies that we now know are Norwegian in origin, such as Edinburgh Castle (Crone & Gallagher 2008), while FTMAS1 correlates best with chronologies such as those from Stirling Palace, which also came from Sweden and/or Denmark (Crone 2008). The source of this southern Scandinavian timber is more likely to be Sweden than Denmark because, from the mid-sixteenth century on, Denmark's own timber resources were running low so, as well as periodically banning the export of wood, it was also probably getting wood supplies from its other dominions, ie. western Sweden and Norway (Fritzboger 2004, 125).

The absence of any correlation between FT17 and the Scottish 'import' chronologies, coupled with the weak correlations with the Scandinavian master chronologies, suggests that Scandinavia is not the source of this particular timber. It is possible that it originated in southern Denmark/north Germany but the correlations are too weak to be certain.

DENDROCHRONOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

When the Fenton Tower timber assemblage was first analysed over a decade ago, it was very difficult to identify Norwegian timber in the dendrochronological record because there were very few native oak chronologies available from that country (Crone & Mills in press). This was partly because in Norway, during the later medieval period, oak was considered more valuable as an export commodity and so was rarely used in local building; consequently, there was very little native oak available with which to build chronologies (Thun 2002, 25-6). It has only been through the development of a network of stepwise connections between 'import' chronologies in other countries that we can now more confidently identify Norwegian timber in Scotland, and FTMAS2 has proved instrumental in this process.

Despite the fact that tower houses are a common feature of the Scottish landscape, very few retain much of their original timberwork. Just three examples still retaining their original roof structures are known to the authors – Alloa Tower, Bardowie Castle and Claypotts. Thus, there are relatively few opportunities in Scotland to examine this vital element of the building fabric. Fenton Tower is an important reminder of the quality of timber that may still survive in unexpected conditions, and its study has not only helped to confirm the dating of the tower itself but made a valuable contribution to the history of the timber trade in Scotland as a whole.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS *by Chris Tabraham*

The single most appealing feature of the Scottish tower house as a building type is its considerable variety. Builders in Jacobean times (1567-1625) took the original simple rectangular form and stretched it, added to it and contorted it into all shapes and sizes (see for example Cruden 1981 & McKean 2001). The closest parallels for the layout at Fenton are to be found at two castles north of the River Forth - Pitcullo, near Leuchars in Fife, (RCAHMS 1933, no.399), and Pitheavlis,

beside Perth (see McKean 2001, plate 17). Like Fenton, they comprised a long rectangular main block, oriented east-west, with a large square jamb at the south-west corner incorporating the entrance doorway in the re-entrant angle, and two smaller projecting round stair turrets, one placed directly above the entrance, and the other part-way along the rear (north) side. So similar were they that Zeune (1992, 258) suggested they may have been designed by the same architect. A closer inspection, however, reveals a significant difference between Fenton and the other two, for Fenton had no kitchen internally. Furthermore, the excavations reported on here failed to find any evidence for one. This is a significant omission, for by the later 1500s all tower houses routinely had 'fitted kitchens' in their ground floors (Tabraham 2005, 103). The question therefore arises – why no kitchen? The survey work reported on here may have provided the answer.

The archaeological work carried out at Fenton Tower has shed important light on its development. Undoubtedly the most significant contribution has been Anne Crone's dendrochronological study of the floor joists retrieved from the upper levels of the tower. This has shown that the majority were inserted no earlier than 1573, which happily corroborates Croal's observation in 1873 that the armorial plaque above the entrance doorway bore the date 1577. Yet how does that square with the possibility – nay, probability – flagged up in the documentary study (page 000) that a tower or fortalice very probably existed at Fenton by 1571? Two possibilities spring to mind: either the earlier fortalice was demolished and replaced by the present structure, or it was retained but substantially altered in the 1570s.

The lack of a kitchen in the ground floor hints at the possibility that the present building has its origin in an age before the 'tower-house boom' of the Jacobean age. There is another datable feature in the tower that may also have a bearing – the dry-stool closets in the upper floors - for such closets, containing portable soil boxes called 'closed stools', replaced the antiquated open-chuted latrines from the 1570s on (Tabraham 2005, 102-3).

There is another possible clue in the building fabric to suggest that Fenton Tower, as it stands, represents a remodelling of an older structure. The building survey highlights a distinct change in the composition of the wall masonry above the first floor, from dark-grey basalt to red sandstone. Of course, such changes can be explained in other ways, most obviously through a seasonal break in the building programme, coupled with a fresh delivery of stone from a different quarry source, and this cannot be ruled out at Fenton. However, Zeune (1992, 46-9) has demonstrated that a considerable number of supposedly Jacobean tower houses were actually remodellings of pre-existing buildings. He also highlighted the fact that dated armorial plaques have been responsible for the misdating of numerous structures, and that may well be the case with Fenton.

The probability that Fenton Tower, as it stands, incorporates an earlier structure is reinforced by two other discoveries. The first is Anne Crone's suggestion that three of the timber joists (F1, F4 & F15) appear to have been felled well before 1573. The second is the re-cycling of carved stonework, most significantly the face on the west elevation.

The combination of documentary research, building survey and dendrochronological analysis presented here, therefore, flags up the real possibility that the L-shaped Fenton Tower standing today was a substantial remodelling in the 1570s of a more modest L-shaped fortalice. The 'make-over', most probably by Sir John and Lady Margaret Carmichael, involved a wholesale remodelling of a pre-existing building, probably built by the Whitelaws of that ilk a generation or so earlier. That remodelling seems to have involved a heightening of the structure by two storeys, its completion recorded by the armorial plaque above the front door. However, for whatever reason, that remodelling did not extend to incorporating a kitchen in the ground floor; the excavations demonstrated that. (Carsluith Castle, Kirkcudbrightshire, is another instance of an older tower house not getting a kitchen after a remodelling, this one in 1568 (for the plan see Grove 1996, 24.)) However, the confirmation of the former existence of an ancillary building subsequently added to the west side of the tower has raised the probability that this structure functioned as the kitchen for the remodelled tower, though just when it was added remains unknown.

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EDITOR'S FOOTNOTE
EXCAVATIONS ON KINGSTON COMMON

In 2001, during the restoration of Fenton Tower, Ian Suddaby, for CFA Archaeology, directed an archaeological investigation on Kingston Common, immediately north of the tower. The work, commissioned by Historic Scotland, followed the unexpected discovery of human remains by workmen digging a water-pipe trench. The excavations revealed a range of archaeological features, including two prehistoric short-cist and 38 early medieval long-cist burials. As the site was not threatened by further development, none of the graves was excavated. A full report of the work has been published on the internet - www.sair.org.uk: Suddaby, I 'Two prehistoric short-cists and an early medieval long-cist cemetery with dug graves on Kingston Common, North Berwick, East Lothian', *Scottish Archaeological Internet Report* 34 (2009).

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Figure 1: Hailes Castle, beside the River Tyne a little upstream from East Linton, was acquired by the Hepburns during the reign of David II (1329-71) and remained one of their chief seats throughout the later Middle Ages. Photograph courtesy of Historic Scotland.

A COUNTY SET:
THE HEPBURNS OF EAST LOTHIAN:
A BRIEF OVERVIEW

by DAVID K AFFLECK

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the publication of my article on Sir George Buchan-Hepburn, first baronet of Smeaton (1739-1819) in these *Transactions* (2008, 107-15), information on his descendants, or even a collated history of his Hepburn ancestors, was difficult to trace other than that recorded in *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (hereinafter *Burke's Peerage*) and similar publications (eg, Sir Robert Douglas's *The Baronage of Scotland*). However, subsequent contact with the present 7th Baronet gave me access to other papers, including one by an Edward Hepburn entitled *Genealogical Notes of the Hepburn Family*, printed for private circulation in 1925. (A copy has recently been deposited in the John Gray Centre Archives, Haddington; EL362) Because of the significance of the Hepburns in East Lothian's history, I offer this brief overview of this and other relevant sources.

EDWARD HEPBURN'S *GENEALOGICAL NOTES OF THE HEPBURN FAMILY*

Gregory Lauder-Frost (2006, 110-11) challenged the approach by Bruce McAndrew (2006) of 'using heraldry for genealogical purposes'. He then disputed McAndrew's finding that the ancestry of the Hepburns of Hailes predated the Hepburns of Waughton. Edward Hepburn, in his *Genealogical Notes*, identified James Sandilands' marriage to Eleanor de Bruce in 1346 resulting in issue that became the Hepburns of Waughton - through her son, James, who 'married in 1384 the Lady Jean, or Joan, lawful daughter of King Robert II, being the great-great-grandfather of Christine Sandilands, wife of David Hepburn of Waughton (sixth in line from Sir Robert Hyburne of the manor of Newton in Northumberland)'. Edward Hepburn further added that Eleanor de Bruce later took, as her fifth husband, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes. The *Genealogical Notes* then identify references to fifteenth-century archive material, including inter-family links with the Lindsays of the Byres, the Homes of Wedderburn, the Mures of Abercorn, the Gourlays and their lands at Drem, and the marriage on 5 June 1497 between Kentigern (or Mungo), eldest son of David Hepburn of Waughton, and Margaret, daughter of Robert Lauder of the Bass. Kentigern is later designated as 'of Luffness'. From this marriage was born a Patrick Hepburn who, as the eldest son, subsequently became Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton. Edward Hepburn declares he was knighted before 22 February 1527.

Another issue touched on by Edward Hepburn in his *Genealogical Notes* concerns the Hepburns of Craggis, in Angus. Sir Adam Hepburn of Craggis was Master of the King's Stables before his death at Flodden in 1513. He left four

Figure 2: Waughton Castle, 4.5km (3 miles) NNW of East Linton, was once as impressive as Hailes, but little masonry remains standing today other than this projecting tower. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

daughters. There are differing accounts of their names and whom they married, especially in relation to Margaret and Agnes. Janet married a James Auchinleck of Kemnay after her first marriage, to John, 3rd Lord Somerville, was dissolved in 1515/16; details of that second marriage are referred to in my article on the Auchinleck genealogy in *The Scottish Genealogist* (2007, 86). Another of the daughters, Helen, married her cousin, Patrick, son of Sir Patrick Hepburn, at Bolton, near Haddington, after special dispensation was granted by Archbishop Alexander Stewart of St Andrews; the children of Helen and Patrick are detailed in *Burke's Peerage*. However, it is Edward Hepburn's research that identifies the charters that refer to the transfer of lands at Houston, Stevenson, Hailes and Luffness. Helen and Patrick's first son was also named Patrick; the second was

George, who was rector of Prestonhaugh and founder of the Hepburns of Monkrig, whilst Adam, their third son, became the first Hepburn of Smeaton-Hepburn in 1546. Another son, William, is referred to as 'of Gilmertoun'. Interestingly, a daughter, Margaret 'of the Senys' is bequeathed £100 in Sir Patrick's will, dated 1547. The nuns of the Dominican house of St Katherine of Siena at Sciennes, in Edinburgh, had Elizabeth Auchinleck, half-sister of James Auchinleck of Kemnay, and Katherine Seton (buried at Seton Collegiate Church) as their successive prioresses between 1538 and 1541.

Edward Hepburn's record continues by noting that 'on 13 August 1562, Mr George Hepburn, rector of Hauch alias Lintounkirk, sold the church lands and rectory to his brother Adam Hepburn of Smeaton, and that the charter was confirmed by King James VI on 24 July 1577 (two weeks after the death of this Mr George Hepburn).' The notes further identify that another George Hepburn succeeded the rectory in 1562 and that he died on 21 October 1585 'leaving his widow and a brother and sister named Robert and Elizabeth'. The notes are further helpful in tracing the Hepburn families of Athelstaneford, Haddington, Stevenson, New Mylnes, Wester and Easter Monkrig, Abbeymilne and Chesham, with additional notes on Sir John Hepburn, founder and first colonel of the Royal Scots in 1633.

Edward Hepburn's *Genealogical Notes* also help us look more closely at the contribution family history research can make to our understanding of wider national historical events. We know much about James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell (c.1535-78), and the intrigues surrounding his relationship with Queen Mary, his second wife, thanks largely to the publications of the late Professor Gordon Donaldson, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland (see for example Donaldson 1983). However, Edward Hepburn records, in addition, for example, a 1558 charter by Bothwell granting the whole earldom of Bothwell 'to his chosen cousin, William Hepburn, brother germane of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton'. Another charter mentioned by Edward Hepburn, dated 13 August 1562, deals with the sale of the church lands and rectory of Lintounkirk (Prestonkirk) by George Hepburn, rector, to Adam Hepburn of Smeaton, his brother, thereby invalidating the family story, related by the 7th Baronet of Smeaton-Hepburn, that Bothwell sold the lands because he needed the money.

JAMES ALEXANDER DUNCAN'S *THE DESCENT OF THE HEPBURNS*

Another set of papers, produced by James Alexander Duncan and entitled *The Descent of the Hepburns*, was privately printed in Edinburgh by T N Foulis in 1911. These cover some of the period researched by Edward Hepburn but with additional information showing 'every generation back to George Hepburn of, or in, Athelstaneford, East Lothian, who died 10 July 1577'. The papers also refer to Sir Adam of Hailes, eldest son of the first Lord Hailes, whose eldest son, Patrick, became the first Earl of Bothwell. However, the narrative does not always correlate with the detailed notes of this line in *Burke's Peerage*. Tales or stories with the heading 'Some Family Leaves' add interest for the reader, even when they include sections that lack validation.

A COUNTY SET:
THE HEPBURNS OF EAST LOTHIAN: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

ALEXANDER NISBET'S *SYSTEM OF HERALDRY*

Alexander Nisbet's two-volume *Speculative and Practical* treatise was published in Edinburgh in 1722. It contains historical and genealogical notes relating to the arms of 'the most considerable surnames and families in Scotland', and volume I has a number of notes on the Hepburn family. One in particular notes the charter of 4 February 1463 whereby William Bickerton granted the barony of Luffness to Sir John Hepburn of Waughton. Nisbet adds: 'The family all along married with the best families in the country, being both powerful and rich; of late it ended in an heiress, who was married to Sir Andrew Ramsay, son and heir to Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall.' (The lands of Waughton were subsequently acquired by the Ramsays in 1650, and included Old Cambus, Berwickshire, which they sold on to Sir John Hall of Dunglass in 1682; see Rankin 1981, 58.) Nisbet continues: 'The next family of the name now standing and male representative of Waughton, by the documents that I have seen, is Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton, whose progenitor was Adam Hepburn of Smeaton, second son of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, knight, and his lady, Helen Hepburn, niece of Adam, Earl of Bothwell, that was killed at Flodden [1513].' Nisbet's further notes are also helpful in their reference to the Hepburns of Alderston, Bearford, Beanston, Humbie, Kirklandhill, Riccarton, Whitsome and Blackcastle.

DOCUMENTS IN THE NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND

The National Records of Scotland have an abundance of material relating to the Hepburns. They include notes by T C Martine, a local historian, on the history of lands in the Haddington area, together with an index (GD 302/94, 1610-1960). Places mentioned include Alderston, Byres, Clerkington, Garleton, Letham, Lethington, Monkrig, New Mills, Samuelston, St Laurence House and Stevenson. They contain numerous references to Hepburns, many based on sasines and charters. One significant branch covered is that of Sir Robert Hepburn de Alderston. The value of Martine's notes is that he is using records from his own local East Lothian research. These include details of the Buchan family of Letham, and the nine children of John Buchan and his second wife, Ann Brown, of Colstoun, whom he married on 26 February 1790. Martine gives details of their marriages.

Also in the NRS are Exchequer Records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Hearth Tax, Window Tax and other miscellaneous revenue-raising taxes; most relate to the eighteenth century (E 326/1; E326/12 & E 69). Some details have now been extracted by Joy Dodd, our Society's treasurer, for ease of access; these cover parishes in the eastern part of the county, including Prestonkirk. For example, in the section relating to 'Clock and Watch Tax' for 1797-98, George Buchan-Hepburn is listed as having two clocks, five gold watches and four silver watches, whilst the recorded entry for 'Consolidated Tax for 1798-99 is: 70 windows, four male servants, one four-wheel carriage, four horses and twelve farm horses.

In addition to giving an indication of how taxation was imposed in the years 1748 to 1799, we can see that in 1748, for instance, the house occupied by George

Hepburn of Smeaton, the first baronet's uncle, had 26 windows, two of which were in the 'milk house', whilst the 1753 assessment was for just 19 windows. Verifying the identity of the individual is obviously easier where the surname is Buchan-Hepburn, but surnames listed simply as Hepburn, coupled with the all-too-frequent use of first names such as Patrick, make life difficult within the wider family network. Nevertheless, these records remain of great interest. Window Tax records show that Luffness was occupied in 1753 by a Mr Hepburn, and later by a Col Hepburn in 1784. Carriage Tax records show a Col Hepburn residing at Congalton from 1785/86 to 1788/89. A separate study of this Hepburn line is planned.

Also in the NRS is the General Register of Sasines, recording property transfers from 1617 (RS 27). These are not complete, nor do they include property transfers within burghs until the 1900s. The information is useful in providing an indication of the extensive property held by members of the Hepburn network as recorded when transfer of property took place. For example, on 9 September 1654 we find John Hepburn of Smeaton transferring six properties with his spouse, Helen Syntoun, whilst nine transfers are recorded by George Buchan-Hepburn between 1772 and 1780.

Finally, there are the papers of Dr J Wallace-Jones, a Haddington doctor and keen antiquarian (GD 1/413/11), comprising a set of bound note-books containing indexed notes of records relating to the Hepburns of Waughton. The period covers subjects, usually estates, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. A separate set of loose-leaf notes appear to be related to Heritor and Presbytery records from 1587 to 1831 (GD 1/413/22). An explanatory note advises that they were found in the records of Haddington Kirk Session and returned to Presbytery c.1865.

DIRECTORY OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN SCOTLAND, 1770

This publication, edited by Loretta R Timperley for the *Scottish Record Society*, published in 1976, lists the following in relation to East Lothian/ Haddingtonshire:

NAME	PARISH	VALUE
Robert Hepburn	Garvald	£501
Mr George Buchan-Hepburn	Haddington	£1642
Mr George Buchan-Hepburn	North Berwick	£231.2s 8d
Mr George Buchan-Hepburn	Smeaton	£1392.3s 2d
John Hepburn	Prestonpans	£25

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE BUCHAN-HEPBURNS OF SMEATON

It is unfortunate that the archives of the Buchan-Hepburn line were apparently lost at the time the mansion house at Smeaton was sold in 1934. Reconstructing the five generations who held the baronetcy since its granting to Sir George Buchan-Hepburn in May 1815 has been possible and is detailed in the heraldic records (The Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland) held at the Court of the Lord Lyon, Register House, Edinburgh. This information can

be supplemented by local newspaper reports in the *Haddingtonshire/East Lothian Courier* archives. An account dated 19 October 1883, for example, has information on the seventeenth-century Hepburns of Smeaton, including an extract of the service of heirs, dated 1659.

Material elsewhere relates to later generations. For example, an article by A S Cunningham in the *Scottish Field* of December 1915 gives details of his visit to the estate and provides a reference to additional selected material on the family and estate history. The article records that Sir Archibald Buchan-Hepburn was appointed chairman of the new Edinburgh (Haymarket) rink in recognition for what he had done for the sport of curling in East Lothian (a photograph of Sir Archibald in 1911, taken as he throws a curling stone at the newly-opened Haymarket rink, is in the Edinburgh Curling Club archives). Sir Archibald succeeded to the title and the estate in 1893 as John, the eldest son of Sir Thomas, had died earlier, in 1883. A barrister at the Inner Temple in London, he returned to Scotland and took an active part in East Lothian life, becoming chairman of East Lothian Council, and captain of both Dunbar and North Berwick Golf Clubs. We know from an account by Sir Herbert Maxwell of his visit to Smeaton-Hepburn in 1908, that the Smeaton estate had 'a remarkable collection of trees, shrubs and flowering herbs thanks to the enthusiasm of two generations of amateurs' (Maxwell 1908,21). Sir Archibald was president of the Scottish Horticultural Society in 1909, at a time when its possible amalgamation with the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Society was being discussed; two of his ancestors, Sir George and Sir Thomas, had been involved with the latter organisation.

One particular record, located in 2011, was the catalogue of Old English Silver Plate sold at auction by Messrs Christie, Manson & Woods on 28 February, 1934 (British Library: Mic.B619/422 HMNTS SC2086). The 18-page list indicates the quantity of silver ware in the possession of the Buchan-Hepburns at the time of the sale. However, we know that other items, such as a set of Dresden chamber pots (Affleck 2008, 114), must have been sold earlier. These were sold by auction under the authority of the Judicial Factor and included a small number of articles with the arms of Fraser impaling Beck, the property of Margaretta Henrietta Beck, widow of Brigadier–General Fraser, who married Sir George, the 1st Baronet, in 1781. It is possible to identify through some of the inscribed dates and arms those clearly belonging to Sir George Buchan-Hepburn, those of his second wife and some of the later items presumably acquired by the 3rd and 4th baronet. The provenance of the early eighteenth- century silver is not known.

APPENDIX
SMEATON HOUSE, AUSTRALIA

On an estate in Victoria, Australia, is a property called Smeaton House. It was built in 1849-50 by a Captain John Hepburn 'after the home of his ancestors'. A book on the story of the captain and the house has been published by Lucille Quinian (1967). Captain Hepburn appears to have been a brother of James Hepburn, who was estate factor at Smeaton and Prestonmains until his death in 1888. (The 1841 census lists James and his wife, Sibella, both aged 22, as being resident in Smeaton House; presumably the Buchan-Hepburns were absent on the day of the census.) There has been a view by some of his descendants that they had owned 'the big house', but the legitimate line clearly passed to George Buchan in 1764, who then adopted the name Buchan-Hepburn. Alison Hepburn, a direct descendent of James Hepburn, the estate factor, and who is compiling her family tree, believes she may have located a painting of Sir Thomas Buchan-Hepburn.

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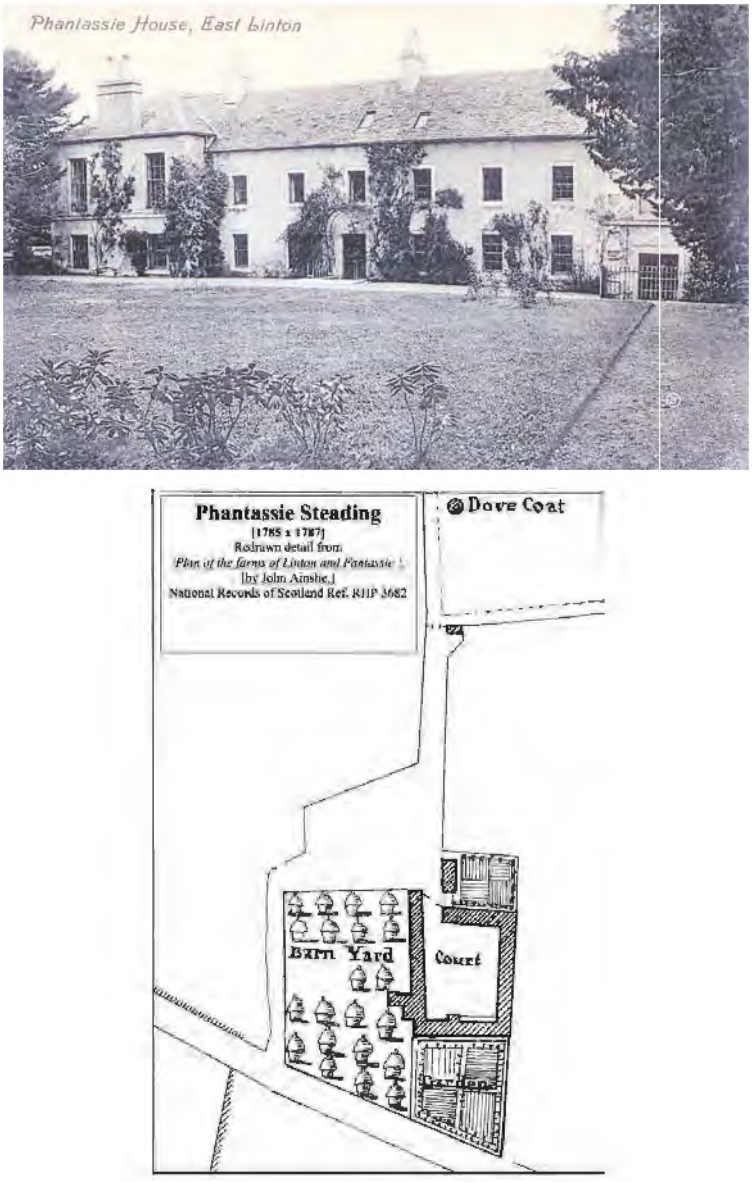


Figure 1: (top) The south front of Phantassie House depicted on an early 20th-century postcard (authors' collection), and (bottom) the plan of Phantassie Steading (north to the top), redrawn from 'Plan of the Farms of Linton and Fantassie' [1785 x 1787] RHP: 3682 (courtesy of National Records of Scotland). (W A Dodd)

‘THE MOST SKILFUL AND SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURISTS’: THE RENNIES AT PHANTASSIE

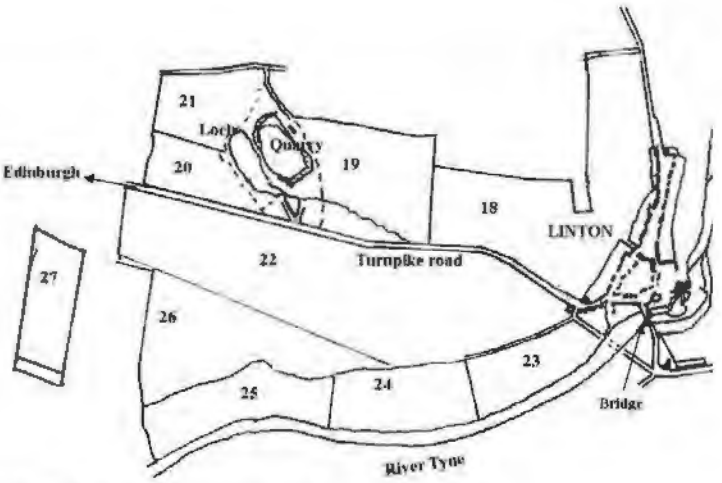
by WILLIAM AND JOY DODD

INTRODUCTION

In the last volume of these *Transactions* there appeared our joint article ‘Man of Invention: Bi-Centenary of Andrew Meikle *1719-1811* Civil Engineer and Millwright’ (Dodd & Dodd 2010). This was extracted from an over-long draft, attempting to interweave the parallel lives of the neighbouring Meikle and Rennie families, while living at Phantassie, in Prestonkirk parish (fig 1). The present article seeks to trace the fortunes of the three generations of Rennies, resident at Phantassie from 1742 to 1840, effectively the period of the agricultural revolution in Scotland, in which they played notable parts.

In volume 11 of these *Transactions*, Alexander ‘Sandy’ Fenton (1963) traced the East Lothian origins, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of the profound changes in agricultural practices which became known as the ‘Agricultural Revolution’ of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that eventually affected most of Scotland. East Lothian had always had the outstanding advantages of naturally fertile soils, temperate climate and more sunshine than anywhere else in Scotland, but the nation had lacked a settled peace under which tillage could emulate developing practices in more productive agriculture among the Dutch and English, so enabling these natural advantages of East Lothian to be effectively exploited. As Simon Schama (2001, 388) has justly observed, after Culloden [1746] Scotland became ‘the most dynamically modernizing society in Europe’. Landlords were the only class who could set the agricultural revolution in motion by the enclosing and redistributing of land-holdings, and a ‘Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland’ was founded in 1723, to encourage ‘improvement’ as a national aim. This soon involved many new experimental practices, such as periodically leaving fertile ground fallow in the rotation of crops, growing more varied selected crops, growing turnips to allow cattle to be fed through the winter months, growing potatoes as an alternative food for people, and the granting of leases for a minimum of 19 years, to ensure the tenant had the security of a just return for his efforts, with conditional renewal if the tenant undertook to follow approved farming practices and continued to enclose, drain and improve, by tillage, the extent of his land.

The inherited farming system had involved separate open fields, each divided by drainage ditches into broad, serpentine raised rigs. Such fields were spread around the ‘fermtoun’ of the joint tenants, who each farmed separate rigs, mixed ‘runrig’ among the others, so that there was an equitable division of the best, and the poorer, land. The closest land (the infield) received all the dung of the



SKETCH PLAN OF PHANTASSIE UNDER GEORGE RENNIE
Based on
'PLAN OF THE FARMS OF LINTON AND FANTASSIE'
By John Ainslie [1785 x 1787] RHP3682 © National Records of Scotland

[*Note on Scottish land measure*
15.5 feet = 1 fall (F): 40 falls = 1 rood (R): 4 roods = 1 Acre (A)]

Table of areas and land use in RHP3682

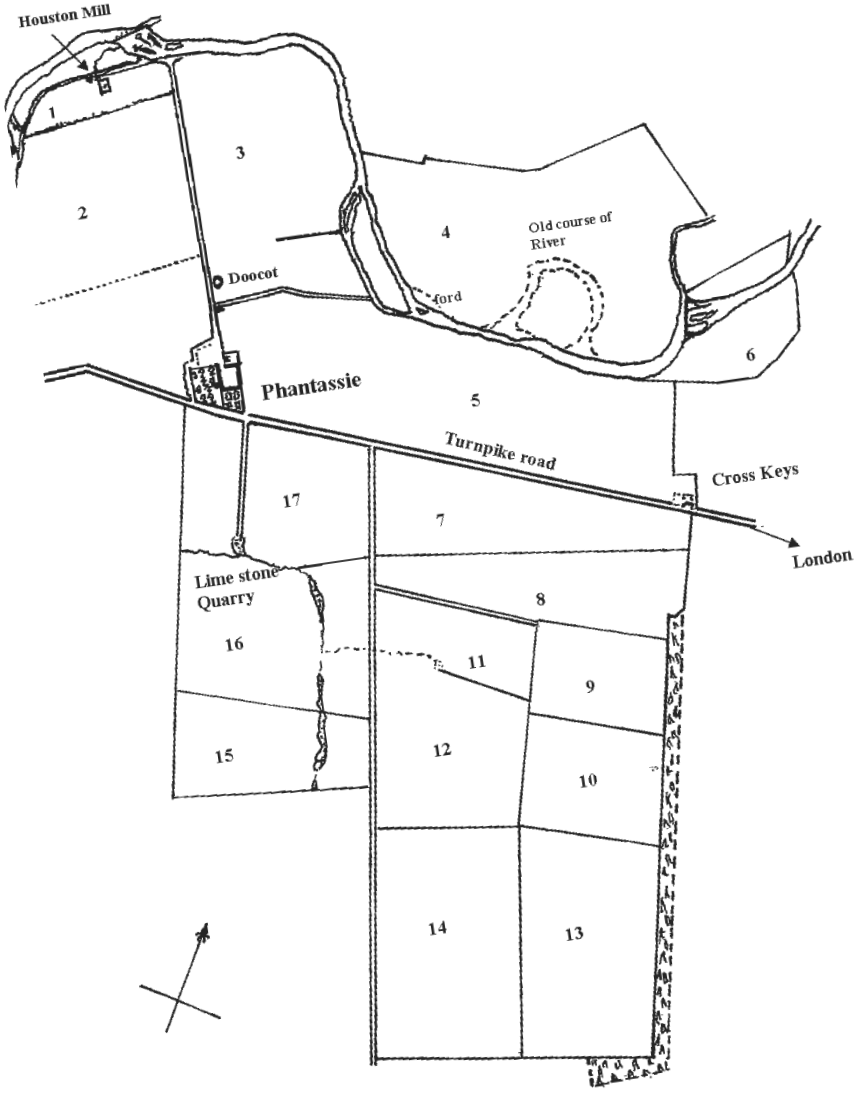
	Infield			Outfield			Pasture & Bog.			Farm totals		
	A	R	F	A	R	T	A	R	F	A	R	F
Linton Farm	100	2	3	9	0	20	11	3	11	121	2	33
Phantassie Farm	332	1	35				13	0	1	345	1	36
Houston Mill	5	3	15				0	3	38	6	3	15
Land use totals	**438**	**3**	**12**	**9**	**0**	**20**	**25**	**2**	**10**	**473**	**2**	**2**

Key derived from plan and its Contents
HOUSTON MILL
(1). Houston Mill [6-3-13]

PHANTASSIE FARM
(2) Linn Park [35-2-38]
(3) Dovecot Field [26-1-7]
(4) North Haugh [35-0-2]
(5) St Helen's Flat [41-0-20]
(6) Pies Haugh [5-3-19 +N 1-3-12]
(7) 'Bank to east' [20-3-11]
(8) Dysart [14-2-29]
(9) Lerigam Hill park [9-2-26]
(10) East & West Riggs Park [11-3-3]
(11) Lerigam Hill [8-0-29]
(12) Dobie Shot [17-3-11]
(13) Blacklands Park East [22-2-20]
(14) Blacklands Park West [24-3-22]
(15) Gurly Hill [13-2-28]
(16) Quarry Shot [18-3-30]
(17) 'Bank to the west' [12-0-35]

LINTON FARM
(18) Croft [21-1-16]
(19) Bog Know [A 4-0-21/B 1-2-6]
(20) Bog Know [C 3-2-8/ D 11-3-5]
(21) Bogdales [5-1-17]
(22) Bank [32-2-33]
(23) Dean Brae Infield [5-0-21]
(24) Dean Brae Outfield [7-0-6]
(25) Dean Brae Pasture [7-0-35]
(26) Deans Hill [12-3-3]
(27) Barebones [5-2-27]

Figure 2: Sketch map of Phantassie under George Rennie, based on ‘Plan of the Farms of Linton and



Fantassie’ [1785 x 1787] RHP. 3682 (courtesy of National Records of Scotland). (W A Dodd)

animals and was cropped continuously in a traditional rotation, while up to twice this area beyond (the outfield) was less cultivated and mostly used for folding animals (feeding cattle and sheep in moveable temporary enclosures), whose droppings might fertilise a crop. Rents were paid largely in produce, tenants were thirled to use only their landlord’s mill, and tacks were too short to encourage any initiative for change among the tenants. The extensive rough landscape between towns, with distinct islands of cultivation, was mapped by William Roy’s military survey team around 1752 (2007, particularly plate 44) and required a century of determined effort by the farmers of the ‘age of improvement’ to produce the transformed tidied landscape of enclosed rectangular fields and unitary farms, with isolated farm steadings, which produced the basis of the countryside familiar today. The basic peasant subsistence agriculture was transformed ‘to a productive, market-orientated agriculture that became the envy of Europe’ (McClure 2002, 4)

At first experienced farmers from England were imported, but there soon emerged a new class of knowledgeable Scots tenant farmers, with capital and securities, who could be entrusted with bringing about their landlord’s ambition for continually improving the value of his estate and his income. Fenton (1963, 14) observes that ‘after about 1800, it was the tenant farmers rather than the landlords who kept the flow of agricultural improvements in rapid motion.’

THE LANDS OF PHANTASSIE AND LINTON

The linked farms of Linton and Phantassie, the core area farmed by the Rennies, when surveyed at a date between 1785 and 1787, comprised three adjoining parts bordering the River Tyne. Linton Farm (121 acres), including the town, a sitt-house (farmhouse) and its separate steading on the western edge of the town, and all the adjacent fields on the north bank sloping up westwards to Pencraig Hill; Phantassie Farm (345 acres), mainly on the south bank, with rich alluvial soils in a broad meander belt extending from The Linn falls eastwards to the parish boundary; and Houston Mill (6 acres), comprising a fulling mill, workshops, house and five acres of land, from centuries past occupying the north end of what had become Linn Park, the field of Phantassie nearest to the town - all in the parish of Prestonkirk, in the county of Haddingtonshire (now East Lothian) (fig 2). Sited on the great post road from the south, Linton (sometimes called ‘Linton-briggis’) was the principal crossing over the Tyne for travellers passing between Berwick upon Tweed and Edinburgh. The isolated courtyard group of buildings of Phantassie steading appeared to the right, where a road to Houston waulkmill struck off to the north, as Linton Bridge was approached by this turnpike road, here running from the east. Phantassie’s ‘cotthouses’ appear to have been grouped next to the crossroads at the bridge-end.

The meaning of the name Phantassie (sometimes Fantassie, Fantacie or Fantasy) is unclear as there are no spellings earlier than the late seventeenth century. W J Watson (1926, 142) suggests that ‘Phantassie’ is probably derived from the Gaelic *fàn taise*, meaning ‘slope of softness’, that is wetness, and all three Phantassies in Scotland (the other two are in the Garleton Hills and Kirkcaldy) all

share the geographical feature of a gentle slope running down to soft ground at its foot (Patterson 1999, 30). Certainly the alluvial land near the Tyne is liable to flooding, but the house, doocot and steading were situated far enough away on the rising slope of higher ground closer to the road.

When tracing the early history of this estate one needs to look to the history of the medieval friary of Houstoun, founded c.1270 as a Trinitarian (Red Friars) house by Christina, daughter and heiress of Bernard Fraser of Tweeddale, and widow of Roger de Mubray (Cowan & Easson 1976, 109). A charter of 1271-72 by King Alexander III confirmed her endowment. The friary buildings were sited between the parish kirk and the north bank of the River Tyne, but its cultivated lands and fulling mill lay on the south bank within the great bend of the river. Trinitarian houses were small, often with only three priests and three lay brethren, under the leadership of a prior. It is possible that Houston Friary served as a hospital for travellers using the great post road between Scotland and England. By 1531, according to James V in a letter to Pope Clement VII, there had apparently been no monastic life there ‘for many years past’, and its lands had long been continuously leased to laymen (Hannay & Hay 1954, 204-5). In that year King James granted the ministry of Houston and its lands to the Trinitarian friary of Cross Kirk, Peebles, an action confirmed in 1541 (Paul & Thomson 1984, iii, no. 2569).

By 1549 the lands of Houstoun – ‘loco et monasterio de Houstoun pertinentum’ - had passed into the secular hands of the local Hepburns of Waughton (Retours of Services of Heirs, Inquisitiones Speciales, Haddington, 1). By 1649, when John Hepburn succeeded his father Sir Patrick Hepburn ‘of Waughton’, the description was ‘villam et maynes [mains] de Houston - cum molendinis fullorum [fulling mill] lie Walkmyle de Houstoun’ (Retours *op. cit.* 219).

John Hepburn was the last of his line to hold the lands of Waughton. His eldest daughter and heiress, Margaret, married Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall and the lands passed to the Ramsays. Margaret died in 1672, and Sir Andrew in 1680, to be succeeded by his son, also Sir Andrew. A retour of 19 May 1680 records ‘villa et terris et dominicalibus de Houstoune, cum piscationabus salmonum [salmon fishings] in aqua de Tyne’ (Retours *op. cit.* 388). In the 1690s a rental of ‘the Barony of Waughton and Pople [Papple] belonging to Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, lying within the parochim of Prestonhaugh’ (GD110/875), names the tenants of these lands as: George Martine for half the lands of Houston & Fantasie; John Begbie for the other half; Gilbert Jamieson for Houston waulkmiln.

This is the earliest mention we have found of the name ‘Fantassie’ on these lands of Houston, and it may be at a time when a new name was needed for a new consolidated farm holding, the essential precursor of ‘improvement’. The Ramsays may even have introduced the name from their Fife holdings, together with ‘Dysart’, here found as a field name. A damaged document of 1701/2 (RH9/3/70) shows George Martine still tenant of half the lands of Houston, the names of the other two tenants being lost. Their rent was paid in wheat, oats, bere, rye, capons, beans, carts of coal and some money.

‘THE MOST SKILFUL AND SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURISTS’: THE RENNIES AT PHANTASSIE

In 1705 Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall sold the lands of Myreside and East Fotune (both in the parish of Athelstaneford), Linton and Houston to John Hamilton, 2nd Lord Belhaven, who had his seat at Biel, a short ride south-east from Linton, and who had published in 1699 the earliest text instructing ‘the farmers in East Lothian how to Labour and Improve their Ground’. Phantassie is not named in the document of sale, but when in 1729 William, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen, acquires the same lands from him for £111,430 and 2 shillings, the ‘lands and tenandrys [tenantries] of Houston and Phantassie’ appear.

Thereafter, each time the properties changed ownership the description always included the formula: ‘all and sundry the teind sheaves and other teinds great and small, parsonage and vicarage’. The names of the tenants in the early eighteenth century have not been found, but it is recorded that in September 1742 James Rennie and his father George, tenant in Aldhame [Auldhame] (then in the parish of Tyninghame), were jointly granted a lease of the lands of Phantassie by William, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen.

ORIGINS OF THE RENNIES

The earliest local mention of the surname Rennie, of which there are 16 variant spellings, in Haddingtonshire/East Lothian is found in the Old Parish Register (OPR) of births for the parish of Prestonpans in 1598. By 1615 the name is found in the parish of Tranent, by 1650 in Pencaitland and by 1655 in Haddington. The first mention of this surname in the parish of Prestonkirk is in 1744 and refers to the Rennies at Phantassie (McNicoll 1999, 249). This raises the question: where did George Rennie, tenant at Auldhame, and his son James come from?

It is recorded that George Rennie married Marion Brownfield, daughter of Alexander Brownfield, tenant in Auldhame, and Marion Kirkwood his spouse, on 15 November 1717 in Whitekirk (OPR 723). Their first three children were born in Prestonpans parish where George is described as a sclater [a slater was then a specialised craft, requiring capital, management and ability, and using transported materials of slate, lead & timber]. Looking further back, a George Rennie was born on 13 January 1691, son of James Rennie, sclater in Prestonpans and his wife Janet Reed. A second son John was born to this couple on 15 March 1694. This James Rennie ‘sclater’ is recorded in the Prestonpans Kirk Session Minutes doing repairs to both the church roof (1704) and the church and manse (1707). When James Rennie (later of Phantassie), George Rennie’s second son, was born on 15 November 1719 in Prestonpans parish, one of the witnesses to his baptism was a James Rennie.

By 1724, when their fourth child Jannet was born, the family had moved to the Myldes [Myles], a farm on the higher ground south-west of Tranent. There they had a further six children, the last, John, being born in 1737 (fig 3). George Rennie had taken a joint tenancy of the Myldes farm with a John Rennie, possibly his brother. About 1739 George passed his half tenancy over to his eldest son Alexander, who continued farming at the Myldes until taking a tenancy of Markle Mains in the parish of Prestonkirk around 1750. In 1745 Alexander acknowledged

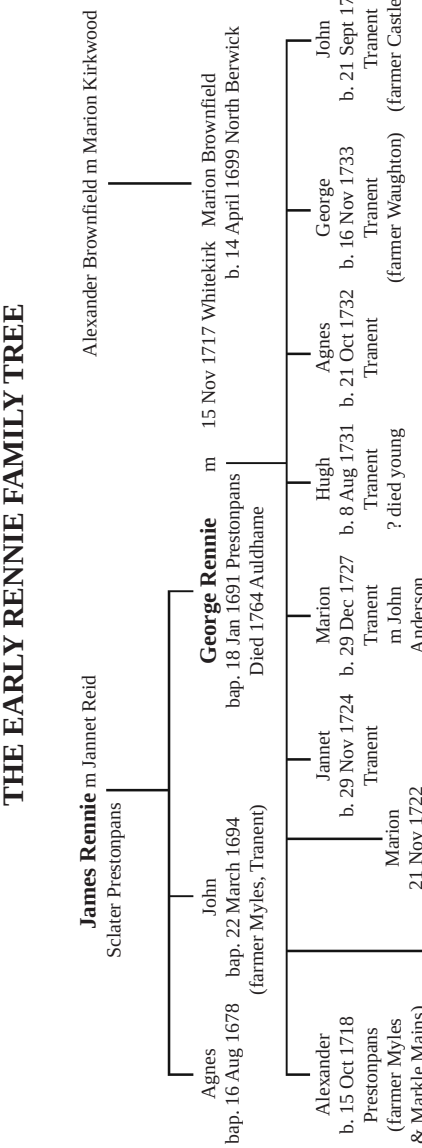


Figure 3: Family tree of the early Rennie family, compiled by Joy Dodd.

legally that he had received all he could claim or receive from his parents for himself and his heirs (SC40/57/13). When Alexander Rennie gave up his half of the tenancy of the Myldes, John Rennie took on the whole lease, and his sons continued as tenants up until 1780, when they moved to the neighbouring farm of Fa’side.

Sometime after 1739 George Rennie took a tenancy of Auldhame - the same farm earlier tenanted by his late father-in-law Alexander Brounfield. Following this move to the more fertile east of the county George Rennie was energetic in getting all his sons settled. Not only did he take on the lease at Auldhame himself, he also took on the joint tenancy with James at Phantassie in 1742. In 1748 his daughter Marion married John Anderson, second son of John Anderson of Windygoul (also in the parish of Tranent), who had taken two 19-year leases of Waughton Mains and Jagg (a now vanished settlement south-east of Waughton) in the parish of Prestonkirk in 1747. In June 1751 John Anderson died, leaving his widow, aged 23, with two young daughters. Shortly after this, George Rennie negotiated with the Earl of Hopetoun and John Anderson’s family for his own third son, George, to take over the lease of Waughton (GD364/1 138). John Rennie, his youngest son, remained at Auldhame with his father, taking on the lease after his father’s death in 1764 (‘May 1764: the hearse from Oldham (sic) to North Berwick with the corpse of George Rennie’ (CH2/306/3)). By the 1750s, with Alexander, the eldest son, having given up his half tenancy of the Myldes, this family were farming Auldhame, Markle Mains, Waughton Mains, Phantassie and Linton (James Rennie had farmed Linton from 1746).

JAMES RENNIE AT PHANTASSIE

Following his family’s move east, James Rennie, then aged 19 or 20 and describing himself as a merchant in Auldhame, is found in the records of Haddington Sheriff Court Protests pursuing various people for non-payment of debts owed to him (SC40/57/12). On 20 March 1742 ‘James Rennie mer[chan]t at Oldham’ is owed £9 13s sterling by Alexander Begbie. Later, and around the time he moved to Phantassie, the following entries appear: 8 May 1742 ‘James Rennie mert in Oldham against Mr Gilbert Reid, tenant in Linton for £4 13s 4d’; 19 November 1742 - ‘James Rennie tenant in Fantassie against Andrew Dunn living in Pencatling [Pencaitland] for £13 13s 4d’.

On 25 September 1742 George Rennie, tenant in Auldhame, and his son James Rennie, then aged 23, were granted a lease of the estate of Phantassie for 21 years, and James started farming the estate. William, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen, granted the lease, but following his death in 1745 his lands in East Lothian were granted in life-rent to his widow, Countess Anne, who, until her own death on 26 June 1791, was the landlord of the estate of Phantassie. In 1746 James Rennie entered into possession of the farm and miln of Linton upon the bankruptcy of Gilbert Reid, his predecessor there. At first he paid no rent but was granted a lease of these lands together with a new lease of Phantassie in 1760. He also at this time acquired the lease of Myreside. The document reads in part:

‘THE MOST SKILFUL AND SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURISTS’: THE RENNIES AT PHANTASSIE

By tack dated the 28 of March 1760 entered into betwixt the deceased Anne Countess Dowager of Aberdeen on the one part and the said James Rennie on the other part the said Countess for the causes therein specified Let to the said James Rennie and his heirs and successors the lands and farm of Linton with the Mill thereof multures, sucken, sequels and Knaveship of the said, also the lands & farms of Fantasie and Houston all lying within the parish of Prestonhaugh, Constabularly of Haddington and shire of Edinburgh and that for the space and endurance after mentioned viz – the said farm and lands of Linton with the Mill thereof for the space of twenty six years and crops after his entry thereto which is thereby said to have begun to the sitt house [dwelling house], offices and pertinents on the Whitsunday 1758, to the arable lands at Martinmas thereafter and to the Cotthouses at Whitsunday 1759 And the said lands of Fantasie and Houston for the space of 21 years and crops after his entry thereto, which is declared to begin sitt house, offices and pertinents on the Whitsunday 1763, to the arable lands at Martinmas thereafter and to the Cotthouses with the pertinents at Whitsunday 1764- whereby the issue of the said tack is declared to happen and both the said farms to become vacant at the same periods for which tack and upon the other part the said James Rennie bound and obliged himself and his foresaids to pay and deliver to the said Countess and her assigns the tack duties after specified respectively, To witt for the said farm of Linton with the miln thereof and pertinents £166/13/4 scots of money rent and the number and quantity of 56 bolls 2 firlots 2 pecks and 3 lippies of wheat, 64 bolls 2 firlots and 2 pecks and 3 lippies barley, 55 bolls 2 pecks and 3 lippies of Oats all well winn and properly dighted victual fit for the mercat of the growth and increase of the said last above mentioned lands allenarly with six carriages and one swine of 3/- for each carriage and £10 for the said swine both in the option of the said Countess allenarly And that yearly and each year for the haill space of 21 years and crops completed Declaring the first years payment of the said money rent to have been due at the time of Martinmas then last and of the victual and carriages between Christmas thereafter and Candlemas then last 1760 , for the preceding crop 1759 and so furth yearly thereafter during the currency of this tack over and upon foresaid lands of and Miln of Linton together with the sum of £150 scots of penalty for each year’s failure on payment of the said tack duty over and above payment. For Fantassie & Houston £18/8/- scots of money, 92 bolls wheat, 154 bolls Barley, 92 bolls oats, first years money payment beginning Martinmas 1764 and victual between Christmas & Candlemas 1765. £200 scots penalty for each terms failure. And the said James Rennie also bound and obliged himself and his foresaids yearly during the foresaid Tack for the respective spaces above expresses to carry and transport the foresaid victual upon his own horses in his own sacks and upon his own charges to Haddington, Dunbar or North Berwick or any other place of like distance from

the said lands as they should be desired and to measure and deliver the same with the said Noble Countess her baron firlot of the said lands. As also over and above the tack duties before specified to make payment to the Minister of the said parish of the vicarage teinds due forth of the said lands according to use and wont And to free and relieve the said Noble Countess of Aberdeen her foresaids thereof That by contract entered into between the said Countess and James Rennie upon the said 28 March 1760 preceding upon the narrative. That as the greatest part of the rental of the said Countess's locality lands was payable by the said James Rennie and that it was understood at settling for the tack before recited that he should make effectual the rental and accompt to her for the same. Therefore the said Countess assigned to him the whole rents of her locality lands for 26 crops commencing with the crop 1759 and ending with the crop 1784 And on the other part he became bound to make effectual and to accompt for the said rental. That by tack granted to George Bowsie tenant in Myreside the said lands of Myreside lying within the said constabulary of Haddington etc were let to him for the period herein mentioned and for payment of 18 bolls wheat, 32 bolls barley and 46 bolls of oats yearly rent payable at terms therein specified And which tack was assigned and conveyed by the said George Bowsie to the said James Rennie.

It is also recorded that:

> *. . . as the sett house, office houses and cott houses upon the whole lands and the dovecot are now in a good and lasting condition and thereby accepted as such by the said James Rennie. He is at his own proper charges and expenses not only to maintain and uphold the same in the like good condition.* (Extracts from CS235/A/10/1)

Window Tax Records (E326/1) show that considerable work was done to the house at Phantassie around 1760. From 1748 up to Martinmas – Whitsunday 1759 James Rennie regularly paid tax for ten windows at Phantassie. For the next two years he only paid the default house duty of 2/6 for a house in Linton. In the return for Martinmas 1761 he was back at Phantassie paying tax for 17 windows. This vacancy of the house appears to date the building of the extension of the older part of the present house to this time, and probably produced the curiously asymmetrical character of the house's surviving south front (figs 4, 5 & 6). The extension will have required reordering of the layout of the courtyard steading, itself possibly planned on Belhaven's formula whereby the house faces south for warmth (ideally a permanent building of two storeys, built of stone and lime mortar). Barns for different crops occupy the west range (with opposed doorways for wind to help in winnowing). The barn-yard, where the harvest is stored in tall, thatched circular stacks, lies to the west of the barn range: the byres, stables and lesser buildings make up the remainder of the courtyard, entered from the east, with the precious dung-heap in the centre, and the domestic vegetable garden planted outside the north side of the courtyard of buildings, in the popular layout recommended in the publication by the preceding landlord from 1705 – 1729, the

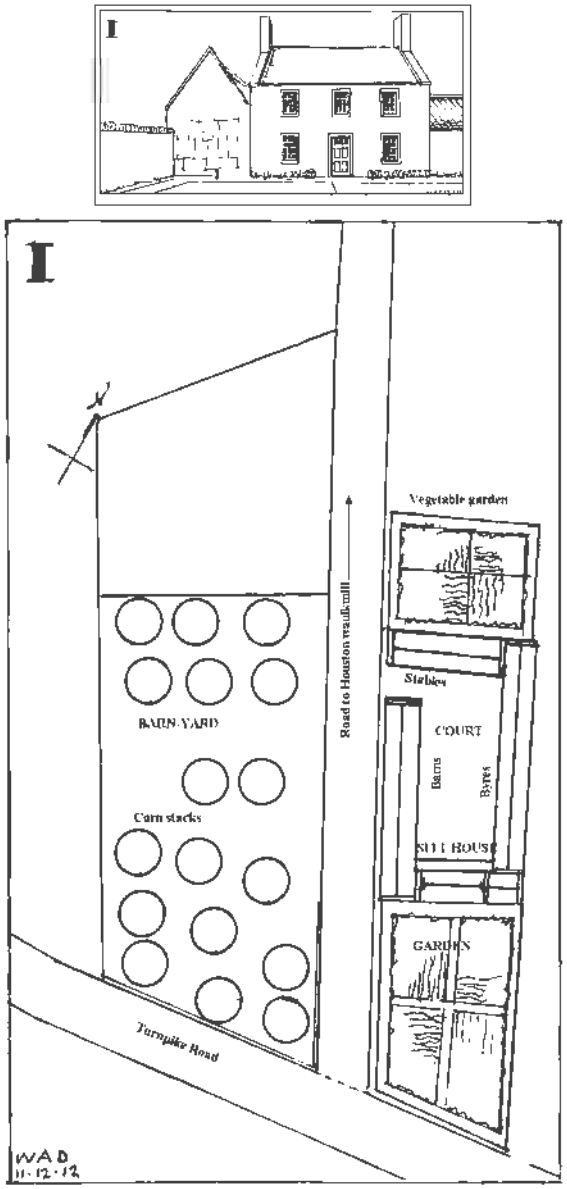


Figure 4: Phantassie Steading prior to 1759, plan and south front; a conjectural plan based on relict features recorded in RHP: 3682 (W A Dodd), and south front based on analysis of the present house (W A Dodd).

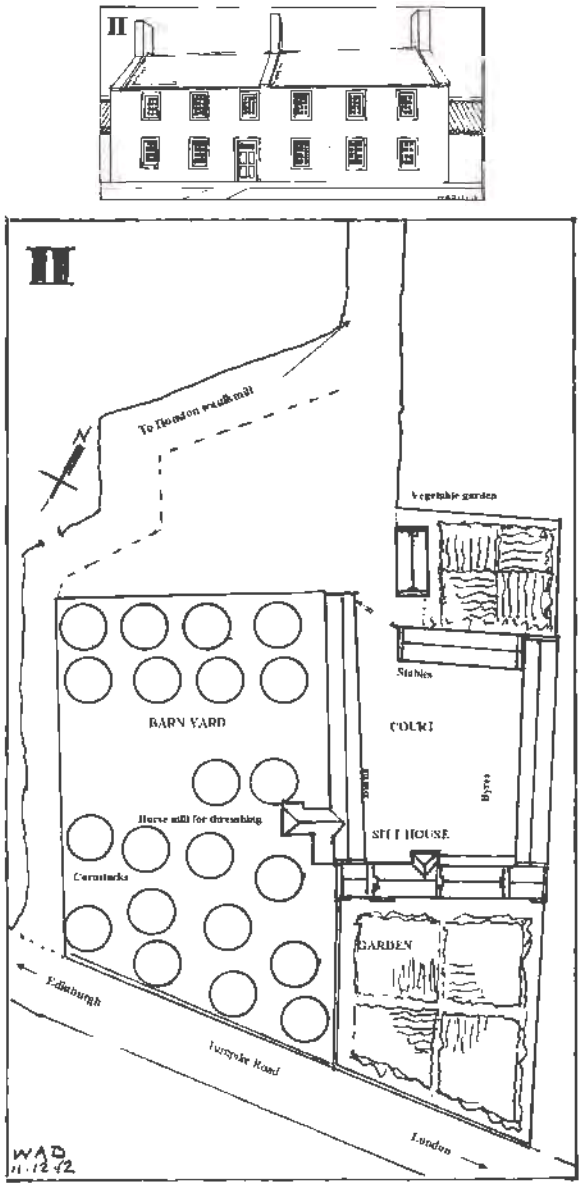


Figure 5: Phantassie Steading 1785 x 1787: plan and south front; the plan interprets that shown in fig 1 by Lord Belhaven’s model (1699) and site topography, plus the projecting rectangular horse-mill for the new threshing machine (W A Dodd); the south front based on analysis of the present house (W A Dodd).

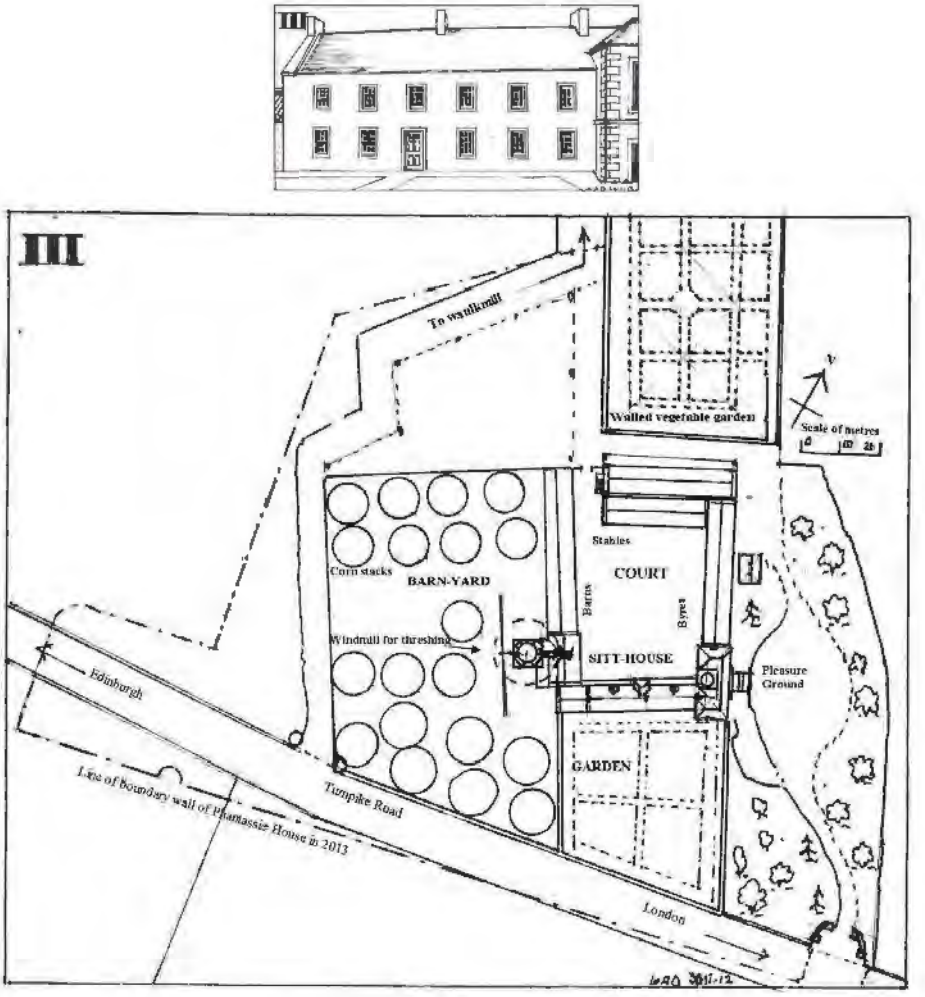


Figure 6: Phantassie Steading in the early 19th century: plan and south front; plan with new east wing, eastern ‘pleasure grounds’ and threshing windmill (W A Dodd); south front with roof heightened and architecturally sophisticated east entrance wing added (W A Dodd).

2nd Lord Belhaven (see Bunyan (2008); Belhaven 1699, quoted in Fenton 1963, 14-15 and discussed in Glendinning & Wade-Martin 2008, Fenton & Veitch 2011, and Shaw, 2003, passim).

As Phantassie is built on a sloping site with a fall to the north, the model appears to have been adapted to prevent the effluent of livestock draining towards the house. The house occupies the south range looking into a walled garden between it and the turnpike road. The barns were built in line northwards from the west end of the house, with entrance to the courtyard from the existing minor road to the west. The barn-yard was to the west of the barns (possibly sited across this Mill Road as originally laid out). The byres and stables closed the east and north sides of the court, and a small domestic vegetable garden extended to the north. It is assumed that no further such drastic alteration proved necessary up to the date (1785x87) of the courtyard layout (see fig 1), with the notable exception of what appears to be the then recent addition of the projecting rectangular horse-mill for the prototype drum threshing machine installed by Andrew Meikle. A possible reconstruction of the steading’s layout prior to its re-ordering has been attempted (see fig 4), based on relict features recorded in the Plan.

A great advantage had accrued to the estate when Andrew Meikle, millwright, took a tack of the waulkmill at Houston in 1749 and set up his engineering business there (Dodd & Dodd 2010, 48). He and James Rennie became firm friends and their children went to school together; in later years the Rennies recalled lingering daily to glimpse the wonders of Meikle’s workshop at Houston Mill which was on their way to the school beside the parish kirk.

In 1751 James Rennie purchased from the trustees of the late Gilbert Reid a small tenement of land in Linton on the north bank of the river Tyne (now lost under the railway bridge), which was thereafter used by himself and his servants as a brewery.

Once settled at Phantassie, James Rennie married Jean Rennie, daughter of James Rennie and Jannet Craigdaillie who farmed at Huntlaw Mains in the parish of Pencaitland. A family tree in the Rennie archive in the National Library of Scotland (Acc.11320) gives their relationship as first cousins. However, further research suggests that their relationship was more distant - i.e. second or third cousins. James and Jean Rennie had nine children, five daughters and four sons (fig 7). Their eldest daughter Marion was baptised on 8 August 1744, married James Mylne of Lochhill, farmer and minor poet, in the parish of Aberlady, died in 1809 and is buried in Aberlady kirkyard. Their second daughter Janet was baptised on 18 November 1745, married James Carnegie, farmer at Ferrygate, in the parish of Dirleton (moving later to Linton farmhouse), died about 1815 and was buried in Prestonkirk kirkyard. Two other daughters, Jean born in 1747 and Agnes born in 1751, probably died young. Their eldest son George (see below) was baptised on 17 April 1749. Henrietta, their fifth daughter, was born in 1753. She never married, but kept house for her brother George for many years, and subsequently looked after the children of her younger brother, John Rennie, the famous engineer, in London, following the death of his wife in 1808; she herself

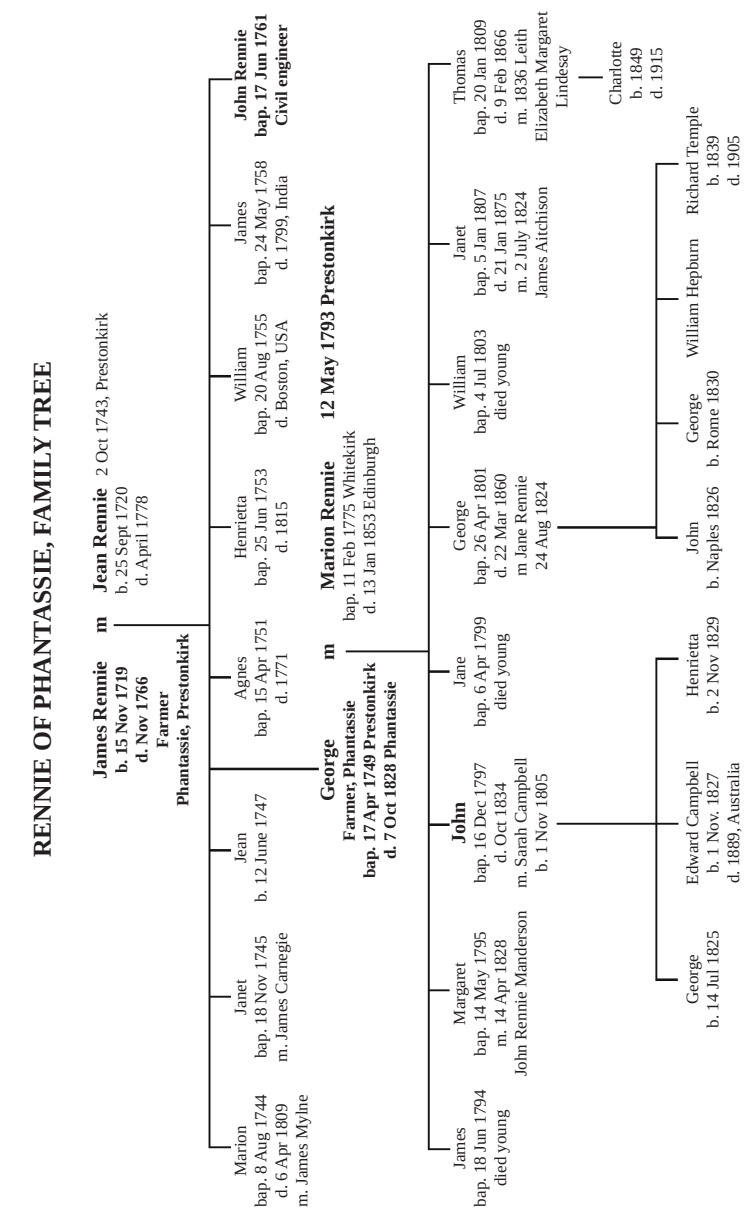


Figure 7: Family tree of the Rennies of Phantassie, compiled by Joy Dodd.

died in 1815. The second son William was born in 1755, went to sea, and died as a prisoner of war in Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A., during the War of American Independence (1775 – 83). James, the third son, was born in 1758, became a surgeon, joined the army, and died in 1799 at the battle of Seringapatam, in India, while dressing his commanding officer’s wounds. James and Jean’s most famous son was their youngest, John, the civil engineer, who has left a world-renowned legacy of works (Smiles 1874); he was born at Phantassie on 7 June 1761.

With enterprise and hard work James Rennie built up a successful improving farming business, on the adjoining farms of Phantassie and Linton, introducing turnips into the rotation, further enclosing fields and building a reputation as an expert farmer. George, 3rd Earl of Aberdeen, to encourage him, granted in 1762:

> *As follows – ‘Mr Rannie as you were desirous to Improve and enclose the lands of Fantassie, Houston, Linton & Myreside lying within the Constabulary of Haddington whereof you have presently current tacks from the Countess Dowager of Aberdeen liferentrix of the said lands, I hereby for your encouragement and as security to you for your continuing in the possession after the said Countess decease, Engage and oblige me my heirs to grant to you your heirs a tack of the said lands at the present rent paid by you to the said Countess and that for the space of nineteen years to commence and take effect from the first term of Whitsunday after the said Countess death Upon payment to be made by you or your heirs to me or my heirs at your entry of the sum of six hundred and five pounds sterling of fine or grassum for the said tack so to be granted. In witness whereof this letter is written and addressed by Charles Gordon writer in Edinburgh and subscribed by me at Canongate of Edinburgh the 11th day of Sept 1762 years before these witnesses Charles Gordon and James Boyd stabler in Canongate.* [signed Aberdeen] (CS235/18119/1)

Following his father George’s death in 1764, everything changed. James Rennie was struggling to make enough money to meet his obligations and was being pursued by creditors. He seems to have overstretched himself, and may have been seriously ill. George, his eldest son and then aged 16, had been sent on a tour of progressive farms in the Borders, visiting Hume of Ninewells, Renton of Lammerton and Fordyce of Ayton among others, to observe and learn different techniques of farming. On 13 October 1766 James sold the whole stock of Myreside, (except the crop) for £135 sterling to Alexander Howden. He also sold him his right of possession of Goodfellow’s lands and farm in Athelstaneford parish for £50. This was still not enough to pay his debts, and on 15 November 1766 Hay Donaldson, writer in Haddington, came to Phantassie to draw up a Deed of Settlement:

> *In presence of James Rennie tenant in Fantasie considering that I am justly resting and owing to the Right Honourable the Countess of Aberdeen, Sir George Suttee of Balgone Bart, Oliver Coult of Auldhame, and John Rennie*

> *tenant in Auldhame, George Rennie tenant in Waughton both my brothers, Thomas Rennie tenant in Longniddrie, John Nisbet merchant in Eyemouth, Robert Turnbull tenant in Whittinghame New Mains, Patrick Black in ---- -- , John Dudgeon tenant in Tynninghame, Archibald Cochrane portioner of Musselburgh, John Craig mealmaker there, James Veitch merchant in Haddington, Thomas Rannie merchant in Edinburgh, James Carnegy tenant in Ferrygate several debts and sums of money contained in bonds and bills granted by me to them or other vouchers or instruments of debt and being Resolved in order to prevent the expense of diligence and that my said creditors or any other who may therein be omitted to be named may be more readily paid I convey and make over my whole means and estates to Trustees.* (RD4/200/2)

The trustees appointed were Thomas Rennie, tenant in Longniddry, his brother-in-law; John Rennie, tenant in Auldhame, his brother; and James Milln, tenant in Lochhill, his son-in-law. This suggests failing health and a desire to sort out his affairs and attempt to provide for his family. The deed was signed by James Rennie, and witnessed by his eldest son George. Two weeks later James Rennie was dead. The kirk session accounts for Prestonkirk of November 1766 record payment for the use of the hearse to take his body to the churchyard for burial (CH2/307/3). At his death he left his widow penniless, with five children still at home - George aged 17, Henrietta 13, William 11, James 8 and John 5. Anne, Countess of Aberdeen, obtained a decree at Haddington on 26 May 1767 to evict the family from the farms (ref: Patricia Stephen's papers). However, in 1768 she seems to have decided not to ruin the family and gave George the opportunity to prove himself by granting him a new lease on 17 May 1768, with consent of the trustees, to the lands of Phantassie Farm alone (345 acres). Apparently he was considered too young to farm Linton Farm as well (121 acres). George was expressly 'bound to support his mother and her younger children and for this purpose as the father's failure had left them without a farthing the good lady advanced to the respondent £50 sterling' (CS235/A/10/1).

GEORGE RENNIE AS TENANT FARMER

When the young George Rennie was granted the tack of Phantassie and Houston in 1768 it was for the remaining years of his fathers tack as follows:

> *All and Haill the lands and farms of Fantassie and Houston with houses, biggings, yeards, pastures, dovecotes, fishings and other parts and pendicles and pertinents of the said lands as the same are presently occupied and possessed by the said George Rennie lying within the parish of Preston Haugh Constabulary of Haddington and shire of Edinburgh together with the privilege of digging, quarrying and burning as many Lime stones out of the lime quarry in the said lands as four men can quarry and win yearly forth of the same and of using as much of the said stones and as shall be*

> *necessary for liming of the said lands of Fantassie and Houston hereby sett and for using and disposing of what part of the same shall not be needful for the said lands But reserving always to the said Countess full power and Liberty not only for digging quarrying and burning what stones furth thereof the said Countess shall need for her other lands but also of a Cart Road through the lands hereby sett to and from the said quarry for carriage of the said stones and lime and accepting always from this present tack ----------. George Rennie to pay to the Countess £18/8 shillings scots of money rent and the number and quantity of 92 bolls of wheat 1504 bolls of barley and 90 bolls of oats all of good and sufficient victual off the grounds of the lands of Fantassie and Houston and that yearly and each year for the space of 18 years.* (CS235/A/10/1)

This suggests that a lime kiln associated with the estate of Phantassie was already in existence and that his father James had already been using lime on the fields. (The fine lime kiln still standing beside the road to Stenton [NT602768], on what was then Phantassie land, may be later and built by George Rennie).

From 1767 the lands of Linton (121 acres) were let to Thomas Forrest, who was succeeded by his son Peter; they held them until 1787 when George Rennie regained them. During those 20 years George Rennie, through his industry and knowledge, was building up a reputation as a notable farmer. In 1783 the brewery lands in Linton, purchased by his father, were developed into a distillery at a cost of upwards of £1000 sterling. His large head of cattle and hogs were raised on the grain from the distillery and hay brought from neighbouring farms. He then had the dung spread on the lands of Phantassie and Houston progressively, applying manure to eight acres annually. It was said that having re-acquired Linton, he applied the greater part of the dung to that farm alone, bringing it into a high state of cultivation. He managed the distillery himself until 1797, when it was let, thereby enabling him to concentrate on agriculture.

In April 1778 his mother Jean died and was buried alongside her husband in the graveyard at Prestonkirk. John, his youngest brother and by then aged 17, was working with Andrew Meikle, the renowned millwright and future inventor of the ‘Thrashing Machine’, who had lived and had his workshops at Houston Mill, and then from 1760 at Knowes Mill, since George Rennie was a young lad. George recalls in a letter published in the *Farmer’s Magazine* in 1811, in support of Meikle that ‘he [George] passed through his [Meikle’s] workshops twice or thrice every day ---- viewed the machines and models of machines that were making: in which way I acquired some mechanical knowledge, or at least a disposition to inquire into, and investigate such new inventions.’ George Rennie had the first prototype horse-driven drum threshing machine ever, which was erected at Phantassie by 1787. This machine was later supplemented by a powerful windmill, specifically marked on Forrest’s county map of 1799 as ‘Threshing Wind Machine’ (fig 8).

Figure 8: Phantassie Steading with its ‘Threshing Wind Machine’ in 1799; enlarged detail from Forrest’s ‘Map of East Lothian 1799’ (1802). (Courtesy of National Library of Scotland)

By the 1780s George Rennie was considered to be a successful ‘agriculturist’ and visitors from home and abroad came to observe and learn from his methods. A plan of the farms of Linton and Phantassie, attributed to John Ainslie (Adams 1974, 45), and from internal evidence datable no earlier than 1785 and no later than 1787, survives in the National Records of Scotland (RHP 3682) (see fig 1).

Sadly, on 26 June 1791, Anne, Dowager Countess of Aberdeen, died. George immediately found his security of tenure threatened. Under the terms of the Obligation granted to James Rennie by George, 3rd Earl of Aberdeen, in 1762, a fine or grassum of £605 sterling was to be paid to the earl upon him granting a new lease of Linton and Phantassie on the death of the Dowager Countess. George Rennie duly offered this sum to William Anderson W.S., the earl’s agent, but

the earl declined the payment and refused to grant a new lease. George Rennie travelled all the way to Haddo House, Aberdeenshire, and on 14 May 1792, in the presence of a notary and witnesses, counted out to the earl the said sum of £605 sterling. The earl again refused the money or to grant a lease, thus bringing matters to a head. Both parties issued a summons against the other in the courts in Edinburgh.

Fortunately for us today, it is in the legal documents concerning these proceedings (CS235/A/10) that much of the information about tacks, obligations and expenditure on the estate are to be found. The Earl of Aberdeen considered that, because of the break in the lease following the death of James Rennie, his Obligation of 1762 was no longer valid, and he did not want to grant a new lease on similar terms. He considered George Rennie had no right to remain in possession of farms let at a rent he thought was below their current value. George Rennie, on the contrary, maintained he had a right to a new lease. He had spent considerable effort building up the farms and had attracted universal attention for his achievements. He listed the money spent by him on improvements as follows:

Fantassie

To 36 roods stone and lime Dykes @ 42 shillings per rood	*£285.12s*
@ 10 shillings per rood	*£350*
To a new threshing mill Barn and Shade	*£105*
To a new roof and repairs to the dwelling house	*£70*
To cattle shade extra	*£40*
To liming of last cropt	*£35*
To Water cutting and banking	*£50*
To land manured by dung produced from the distillery from Martinmas 1784 – Martinmas 1787, 3 years, 80 acres quarterly at 36 per acre	*£1440*
From Martinmas 1787 – Martinmas 1792, 57 acres at £6	*£1710*
To draining	*£45*
Total	*£4130.12s*

Linton

To dung laid on Linton far these bygone five years it will appear from Mr Forrest letter 155 acres @ £6	*£690*
To 20 roods stone & lime dyke built	*£42*
To repairs to the miln and kiln	*£60*
To building cattle shades & stable on the farm	*£120*
To buildings and utensils for the distillery which without the farm are of no use	*£1000*
To draining of the lands	*£40*
Total	*£1952*
Whole total	*£6082.12s*

Besides the above the whole barns stables and byres have been new built since the year 1788 which cost upwards of £100 and the whole arable lands had been once and 12 acres twice fallowed.

George Rennie also produced details of rents for the surrounding farms that showed that he was already paying more rent for Linton and Phantassie than his neighbours for their farms. Eventually, in May 1783, judgement was passed in favour of George Rennie, and he was able to continue as tenant.

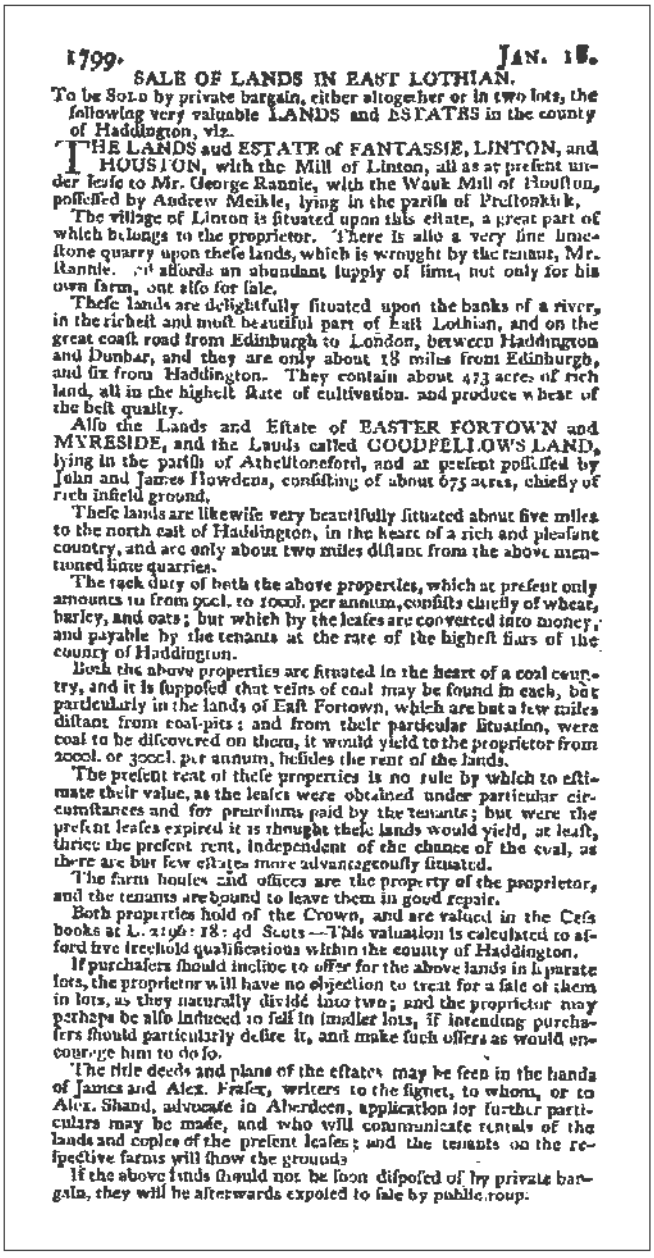
Once these matters were settled in his favour and aged 44, George Rennie married, on 12 May 1793, his first cousin Marion Rennie, daughter of his uncle, John Rennie, tenant at Auldhame, one of his father’s trustees. Shortly afterwards, George, together with two other renowned local farmers, Robert Brown of Markle and John Shirreff of Captainhead (now Carperstane) at the request of Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement, travelled to the West Riding of Yorkshire. Their report, ‘General view of the agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with observations on the means of its improvement’ was submitted to the Board in January 1794 (see Affleck 2010, 32-3).

In 1799 the Earl of Aberdeen decided to sell his estates in Haddingtonshire and advertisements for their sale appeared in the newspapers (fig 9). They were purchased by James Walker W.S. in 1800, and George Rennie continued farming at Phantassie. However, a secret agreement must have been reached before this purchase, as on 8 June 1803, when James Walker gave sasine to George Rennie, on payment of £1000, for the lands of Phantassie, Houston and Linton, he stated that ‘it would seem that the whole of the said lands and others had been purchased for my sole behoof, yet the fact is that they were purchased for the joint behoof of Mr George Rennie now of Phantassie and me’ (Book of Council & Session 1803). George Rennie was now the owner of:

> *All and whole the parts and portions of the lands and tenandaries of Houston and Fantassie annexed to the Barony of Waughton which are particularly after described. All and whole the town and lands of Lintoun and all and sundry the church lands lying within the village and territory of Lintoun called Friarlee with all and sundry pendicles and pertinents on the same lying on the east side of Quarrellboig and all and whole the waulk mill of Houston with houses, biggings, yards, toft, crofts and four acres of arable land adjoining and pertaining to the said mill; and also all and sundry those lands called Hoggsland and Taith and church lands of the same with houses, biggings, mills, multures, fishings, dovecoates, parts, pendicles and pertinents of all the lands above written, together with the office of Baillie of all and sundry the lands particularly above disponed belonging to the said tendary of Houston and to the brethren of the Cross Kirk of Peebles in so far only as the said office is connected with.*

GEORGE RENNIE AS OWNER OF PHANTASSIE.

On 2 October 1804 both George Rennie and James Walker were enrolled as Freeholders of the County of Haddingtonshire (*Caledonian Mercury* 23 Aug 1804). From then on George seems to have taken an interest in county matters. He



1799. JAN. 18.

SALE OF LANDS IN EAST LOTHIAN.

To be SOLD by private bargain, either altogether or in two lots, the following very valuable LANDS and ESTATES in the county of Haddington, viz.

THE LANDS and ESTATE of FANTASSIE, LINTON, and HOUSTON, with the Mill of Linton, all as at present under leafe to Mr. George Rannie, with the Wauk Mill of Houſton, poſſeſſed by Andrew Meikle, lying in the parish of Preſtonkirk.

The village of Linton is ſituated upon this eſtate, a great part of which belongs to the proprietor. There is alſo a very fine limeſtone quarry upon theſe lands, which is wrought by the tenant, Mr. Rannie. It affords an abundant ſupply of lime, not only for his own farm, but alſo for ſale.

Theſe lands are delightfully ſituated upon the banks of a river, in the richeſt and moſt beautiful part of Eaſt Lothian, and on the great coaſt road from Edinburgh to London, between Haddington and Dunbar, and they are only about 18 miles from Edinburgh, and ſix from Haddington. They contain about 473 acres of rich land, all in the higheſt ſtate of cultivation, and produce wheat of the beſt quality.

Alſo the Lands and Eſtate of EASTER FORTOWN and MYRESIDE, and the Lands called GOODFELLOWS LAND, lying in the pariſh of Athelſtoneford, and at preſent poſſeſſed by John and James Howdens, conſiſting of about 675 acres, chiefly of rich infield ground.

Theſe lands are likewiſe very beautifully ſituated about five miles to the north eaſt of Haddington, in the heart of a rich and pleaſant country, and are only about two miles diſtant from the above mentioned lime quarries.

The rack duty of both the above properties, which at preſent only amounts to from 900l. to 1000l. per annum, conſiſts chiefly of wheat, barley, and oats; but which by the leaſes are converted into money, and payable by the tenants at the rate of the higheſt fiars of the county of Haddington.

Both the above properties are ſituated in the heart of a coal country, and it is ſuppoſed that veins of coal may be found in each, but particularly in the lands of Eaſt Fortown, which are but a few miles diſtant from coal-pits; and from their particular ſituation, were coal to be diſcovered on them, it would yield to the proprietor from 2000l. or 3000l. per annum, beſides the rent of the lands.

The preſent rent of theſe properties is no rule by which to eſtimate their value, as the leaſes were obtained under particular circumſtances and for premiums paid by the tenants; but were the preſent leaſes expired it is thought theſe lands would yield, at leaſt, thrice the preſent rent, independent of the chance of the coal, as there are but few eſtates more advantageouſly ſituated.

The farm houſes and offices are the property of the proprietor, and the tenants are bound to leave them in good repair.

Both properties hold of the Crown, and are valued in the Caſs books at L. 2196: 18: 4d Scots.—This valuation is calculated to afford five freehold qualifications within the county of Haddington.

If purchaſers ſhould incline to offer for the above lands in ſeparate lots, the proprietor will have no objection to treat for a ſale of them in lots, as they naturally divide into two; and the proprietor may perhaps be alſo induced to ſell in ſmaller lots, if intending purchaſers ſhould particularly deſire it, and make ſuch offers as would encourage him to do ſo.

The title deeds and plans of the eſtates may be ſeen in the hands of James and Alex. Fraſer, writers to the ſignet, to whom, or to Alex. Shand, advocate in Aberdeen, application for further particulars may be made, and who will communicate rentals of the lands and copies of the preſent leaſes; and the tenants on the reſpective farms will ſhow the grounds.

If the above lands ſhould not be ſoon diſpoſed of by private bargain, they will be afterwards expoſed to ſale by public roup.

Figure 9: Advertisement for the sale of Phantassie, etc., Edinburgh Advertiser, 18 Jan 1799 ……..

was present at a meeting for ‘Better regulating the Courts of Justice in Scotland’ held in Haddington in March 1807 (*Caledonian Mercury*), and became a Justice of the Peace, sitting in many Sheriff Court proceedings in Haddington. In this role he frequently helped the local baillie to keep order at time of harvest, when there were many itinerant workers on the farms.

Having acquired the farms of Phantassie and Linton, George expanded his land holdings. In 1806 he improved the ground on the south-facing slope by the Tyne to the south-west of Linton (Dean Brae infield ‘23’ on fig 2) and planted the Linton Orchard there, which quickly became famous for its apples and strawberries. In 1807 Linton Common was legally divided and George Rennie gained land as one of the principal proprietors (Adams & Timperley 1988). He bought Gourlaybank and Sherifflees in April 1812 (Instrument of Sasine 25 April 1812); in 1815 land at Reidless and Langside (on the northern edge of East Linton) and 10 acres of land at Standingstone; in 1819 he acquired from George Buchan-Hepburn lands at Ruchflatt or Barebones (East Linton) and in 1820 he acquired the superiority of Somnerfield (west of Haddington). In addition, in 1814 he took a 999-year lease of two flour mills, the upper and lower mills, on the Tyne at Linton belonging to Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple.

When Robert Brown of Markle started publishing the *Farmer’s Magazine* in January 1800, George Rennie, under the pseudonym ‘Arator’ (Latin for ‘husbundman’), became a regular contributor. When in 1811 Sir John Sinclair published his *General Report of the Board of Agriculture*, he got several of the most distinguished practical farmers in the country to act as a committee of inspectors in revising the different divisions of that important work; George Rennie was one of them. George Rennie was also one of the founding members of the East Lothian Agricultural Society at its formation in 1819 and served on its committee for many years.

A biographical memoir of George Rennie, published in the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture* a year after his death, included the following testimonials as to the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow farmers. Mr Carnegie, of Edrom in Berwickshire, a nephew, wrote that:

> *...his property was completely fenced, thoroughly drained, well manured, and most perfectly cleaned of every kind of annual weed. This was effected by drilled crops, which were horse-hoed, hand-hoed, and thereafter, if necessary, hand-picked. In short, his whole operations were conducted in such a masterly style, and the culture of his farm in every respect so perfect, that it was not only vastly increased in productive value, but has the appearance of a well-kept garden.*

Mr Curwen, of Workington Hall, Cumberland, then on a tour of the counties of northern England and eastern Scotland, wrote that:

> *…the beauty and regularity of the crops, the extreme cleanness of the fallows, struck me more than anything I had ever before beheld in any country. Where the management is everywhere good, it is difficult for*

> *superiority to be assigned to any individual. Without fear of offending, or suspicion of flattery, I may however award the palm to Mr G Rennie of Phantassie, who has for forty years, bestowed unremitting attention to the subject of farming. I have no hesitation in saying both the soil and the management exceed any thing I ever witnessed in any other part of Great Britain.*

Sir John Sinclair and Mr Curwen drew up a joint ‘Account of the mode of Cultivating Turnips on the farm of George Rennie, Esq. of Phantassie’, which was published in the 64th edition of the *Farmer’s Magazine*, in which they observed:

> *Having lately spent some days in surveying the agriculture of that interesting part of East Lothian in the neighbourhood of Linton, we were much struck, among many other particulars worthy of observation, with the great extent of most excellent turnips, both of the Swedish and common sorts, on the farm of George Rennie, Esq. of Phantassie, and have been led to draw up the following short statement of some circumstances connected with Mr Rennie’s turnip crops, for the information of those who may be anxious to know what produce of that valuable root may be raised on good land properly cultivated, and by what means.*

Once the Napoleonic Wars were over (1815), many visitors came to Phantassie to view Rennie’s fields, learn from his experience and enjoy his hospitality. The epitaph on his gravestone in Prestonkirk graveyard (fig 10), composed by Robert Brown of Markle, tells of visits ‘not only by the leading agriculturists of England and Ireland, but many noblemen and gentlemen from France, Russia, Germany, Poland Hungary and other European states’ (PBGSG, 34, D11); one is said to have been Grand Duke Nicholas (later Czar Nicholas I of Russia), who toured Great Britain in 1816/17. In 1816, when the 42nd regiment returning from Waterloo marched passed Phantassie on their way to Edinburgh, George Rennie stopped the march and entertained the officers and men with refreshments.

The profits on the sale of grain and other produce during the Napoleonic Wars, and the increased visiting by continental agriculturists after 1815, presumably explains the eastern extension to Phantassie House, with its sophisticated architectural design - *a piano nobile* [principal floor] raised above a basement - and the development of a pleasure ground on the eastern side of the farmstead with elegant gate piers to the road (see fig 6).

By 1820, with his family growing up, George Rennie, looking to the future, granted life-rents to his two eldest surviving sons. John, his eldest son, who was working closely with his father and shared his father’s interest in agriculture, had by this time become a noted cattle breeder. He got life-rent of lands around Phantassie and East Linton. George, the second son, then studying sculpture in Rome and Naples, was given life-rent of the distillery lands and Somnerfield.

George Rennie’s interests extended beyond agriculture. He was present at a meeting in 1822 to promote an application to Parliament to improve the road from Morpeth via Wooler to Edinburgh, and in 1825 was one of the subscribers to a

GEORGE RENNIE ESQ OF PHANTASSIE
DIED ON THE 10TH OF OCTOBER 1828
AGED 79 YEARS.
IN THIS COUNTRY SO CELEBRATED FOR ITS FERTILE
SOIL, AND THE PERFECTION OF ITS CULTIVATION,
MR RENNIE WAS ACKNOWLEDGED BY HIS
CONTEMPORARIES TO BE THE MOST SKILFUL AND
SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURIST. NOR WAS THE REPUTATION
HE SO JUSTLY MERITED, CONFINED TO HIS NATIVE LAND.
HE CORRESPONDED WITH, AND WAS VISITED NOT ONLY BY
THE LEADING AGRICULTURISTS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,
BUT MANY NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN FROM FRANCE,
RUSSIA, GERMANY, POLAND AND HUNGARY
AND OTHER EUROPEAN STATES
SEEKING INFORMATION TO IMPROVE THEIR DOMAINS,
WERE HOSPITABLY RECEIVED BY HIM, AND INSTRUCTED IN
HIS THEORIES AND PRACTICE, HE PERFORMED ZEALOUSLY
AND IMPARTIALLY THE DUTIES OF A MAGISTRATE,
AND WAS EVER READY TO ADVISE OR ASSIST THOSE,
WHO SOUGHT RELIEF FROM DIFFICULTIES OR MISFORTUNE.
DEEPLY LAMENTED BY HIS WIFE,
FAMILY, FRIENDS AND DEPENDENTS.
HIS MEMORY WILL LONG BE CHERISHED AND RESPECTED.
ON THE 13TH OF JANUARY 1853 DIED
MARION, WIFE OF THE ABOVE, AGED 78 YEARS
CLOSING A LIFE PASSED IN THE FULFILMENT OF EVERY
CONJUGAL AND MATERNAL DUTY HER LOSS IS SINCERELY
REGRETTED BY HER FAMILY AND BY ATTACHED AND
APPRECIATED FRIENDS, MANY UNOSTENTATIOUS
LIBERALITIES AND CHARITIES EXEMPLIFIED THE TRULY
SELF DENYING BENEVOLENCE OF HER DISPOSITION.

Figure 10: George Rennie’s gravestone in Prestonkirk churchyard (photo: Joy Dodd), and its inscription, composed by his friend Robert Brown of Markle.

survey for a double rail-road from the River Esk east to Haddington, to be part of an uninterrupted rail route linking Dunbar and Haddington to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

When, on 6 October 1828, George Rennie died at Phantassie at the aged of 79, he was buried in the family lair at Prestonkirk. His memoir described him as a man of six foot in stature, slender, dark-haired, with a quick eye and striking countenance. (Portraits were painted of George and Marion Rennie by A. Reddock, who also painted the portrait of Andrew Meikle reproduced in the last *Transactions* (2010, 42); these were left by Marion Rennie to her daughter Janet, but have not been located.) George’s character is described in the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture* thus:

> *As a parent, he was affectionate and kind; as a friend, sincere and attached; as a man of business, open, punctual and accurate. In the forwarding of others, he spared neither time, trouble, or expense; and he needed only to have merit pointed out to him, that he might exert himself in its behalf. But to the poor and friendless he was a friend in time of need, he was to idleness a declared enemy; and it was remarked of him, that, by the idle and dissolute of his neighbourhood, his presence was dreaded as something they dared not to encounter. By the sober and industrious, he was consequently looked up to and respected as a patron, and such were anxious to enter into his service; for he did everything in his power to increase their comforts, and to further the interests of their families, to whatever line of life they were pleased to devote them, and success was only to be attained by attention, exertion, and temperance. A convincing proof of kindness on his part, and of attachment on theirs, may be found in the duration of many of their services; and in the reluctance with which they left them when circumstances so required.*

George Rennie was survived by his wife Marion, three sons and two daughters. John Rennie, the eldest surviving son, was born in 1797 (see fig 7). George Rennie, the second son, was born at Phantassie, baptised on 26 April 1801, and married his cousin Jane Rennie, eldest daughter of his uncle John Rennie, the famous civil engineer, on 25 August 1821 at St Martin’s in the Field, London. He studied sculpture in Rome, and exhibited at London’s Royal Academy from 1828 to 1837. His works include a sculpture of Andrew Meikle (see Dodd & Dodd 2010, 75) and another, of his uncle, John Rennie. In 1841 he became Liberal Member of Parliament for Ipswich, retiring before the 1847 election. In 1842 he proposed the ‘New Edinburgh’ scheme for a Scottish settlement in New Zealand - Dunedin. On 15 December 1847 he was appointed Governor of the Falkland Islands, returning to London in 1855, where he died in 1860.

Thomas Rennie, the third son, born 1809, was a seaman working for the East India Company, and retired to farm at Cornbank, near Penicuik. He married Elizabeth Margaret Lindesay in 1836 in Leith, and had one daughter Charlotte. He died in 1866. Margaret, the eldest daughter, born in 1795, married her cousin John Rennie Manderson, from Pinkerton, Dunbar, in 1828, captain of the East India Company ship, the ‘Bridgewater’. She died in London in 1846. Janet, the second

daughter, born in 1807, married James Aitchison, of Drummore, near Tranent, a distant relation, in 1824. The Aitchisons were renowned distillers at St Clements Wells and the couple later bought Alderston House, Haddington. Janet died there in 1875 and is buried in the Aitchison lair in Inveresk kirkyard.

JOHN RENNIE, RENOWNED CATTLE BREEDER

John Rennie, the eldest surviving son, was born in 1797. He shared his father’s interest in farming and by the age of 20 was becoming well known as an enterprising cattle breeder. When the East Lothian Agricultural Society held its first show in April 1820 he won the premium of 5 guineas for the second best bull, and continued to win prizes not only for cattle, but for sheep and pigs also. In 1822 he became a member of the Highland Society. On 30 July 1825 he married Sarah Elizabeth Amelia Campbell, daughter of Edward Campbell, grain merchant in Newcastle, and moved into Linton farmhouse. As well as farming Phantassie with his father he was tenant at Linkfield, Dunbar, and leased other lands at Markle to raise his cattle. In July 1827, at a Tup Show and Sale held in Linton, John sold or rented some 44 fine animals to some of the most distinguished breeders in the North of England and Scotland. Sir John Sinclair was present at the event and commended John’s enterprise in improving stock.

In 1817 George Rennie had set up a Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement, the trustees being his wife Marion, John, his civil engineer brother, William Rennie, his brother-in-law, and James Carnegie, his nephew. In a codicil in 1826, James Aitchison, his son-in-law was appointed in place of John Rennie, who had died in 1821. At the time of his own death in 1828, George Rennie was a wealthy man, leaving £13,811.15.4 to his family, with detailed instructions as to its distribution.

However, within a few months John Rennie was in difficulties. He was declared bankrupt, and on 28 August 1829 the estates were sequestrated by the Lords of Council and Session. An editorial in the *Scotsman* of 26 August 1829, headed ‘Heavy Failure’, questioned how a man, besides being an enterprising agriculturalist, and an extensive dealer in grain, and one of the most successful breeders of fat cattle ever known in this country, could have failed. He is described as being ‘indefatigable in his exertions, skilful and experienced in his business, punctual to his engagements, frank and open in his manner, conducting all his transactions in the most gentlemanly manner, he possessed the warmest esteem and the entire confidence of all his acquaintances.’

A meeting of his creditors was arranged for 26 August 1829 in Edinburgh and a list published in the First Division lists 76 claims amounting to £72,078/10/4½ (CS96/2372). At a meeting of the Trustees & Commissioners of Sequestrated Estates on 12 April 1834 it was considered that George Rennie and John Rennie were jointly concerned and were partners after 1816 and that therefore the estate funds and effects of George Rennie were liable for the debts (CS96/2372). From then on the Commissioners pursued George Rennie’s trustees, calling in accounts, cattle books and bank statements in attempts to

prove the partnership. However, John Rennie never registered himself as heir to his father, and George had not executed a special conveyance before his death, so on 18 June 1833 George’s trustees raised letters of general charge against John Rennie to ‘enter himself heir to the said George Rennie within forty days’. The letters were delivered to his house, 1 Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, by the Messengers at Arms. He was not at home on that occasion, or on subsequent visits, and never responded to the charge. By not registering himself as heir to his father, John appears to have attempted to protect the estate and his family from his creditors.

In spite of his financial difficulties, John continued to breed cattle, and in May 1834 he gave a formal dinner aboard a vessel lying at Leith, as noted in the *Scotsman*, for 10 May. He had purchased the wooden cutter ‘Defiance’ in 1834 to convey cattle to London. Successful trips were made in June and July 1834, and in the autumn he set out to Shetland to buy cattle. A report in the *Caledonian Mercury* for 11 December 1834, titled ‘Supposed loss of the cutter *Defiance* of Leith, details the disaster that befell the vessel. She had apparently encountered tempestuous weather when crossing the Pentland Firth on her return, with upwards of 100 head of cattle on board. She called at Wick for a refit, and departed therefrom on 18 October for Leith, but was later posted missing; all aboard, including John himself, were presumed dead.

After John Rennie’s death, further meetings of his creditors were advertised and the Commissioners of Sequestered Estates continued to pursue his father George’s trustees for payment of his debts. Final discharge of debts did not take place until 1858. As John had never been registered legal heir of his father’s estate, this could not pass to his children and remained in the hands of the trustees. Sarah Campbell, John’s widow, claimed for her annuity as the widow of a bankrupt and then seems to have returned to Newcastle, where she later re-married.

For the ten years following the death of George Rennie, the lands of Phantassie and Linton continued to be farmed under the control of the trustees. Adverts appeared regularly in both the *Scotsman* and *Caledonian Mercury* for the sale of turnips and for the letting of the grass parks. The flour mills in Linton, which George Rennie had taken a 999-year lease of, were advertised for rent in 1834.

On 27 March 1840, George Rennie junior renounced his rights of life-rent granted to him in 1821, in favour of his father’s trustees. The rights of his elder brother John had been extinguished by his death. The trustees then sold the estate of Phantassie and Linton and all other lands for the sum of £33,750 sterling to William Mitchell-Innes Esq., of Ayton and Parsons Green, and Thomas Sharpe Mitchell-Innes, his second son (sasine dated 3 July 1843 following disposition May 1840). A notable exception from the sale was ‘the burial ground belonging to the family of Fantassie in the churchyard at Preston’. The Rennies had left Phantassie for good.

CONCLUSIONS

For the best part of a century the Rennies farmed the lands of Phantassie - 50 years as tenant farmers, and nearly 50 years as owners. When James Rennie, the first of the three generations of Rennies to work Phantassie, arrived there in 1742, methods of agriculture had been steadily advancing for two generations. Outfield and infield were still to be found on some farms in the county, but John Cockburn of Ormiston had ‘burst open the high walls of tradition on his estate’ (Smout 1969, 292), introducing, amongst other initiatives, the cultivation of turnips. James Rennie brought this crop into general use on his farms, straightened his rigs and enclosed his fields, and through his industry and good management built a reputation as a successful farmer. He extended and modernised the house at Phantassie, and rebuilt the farm buildings. His untimely death aged 47 in 1766 left his family in difficulties. Fortunately his foresight in sending his eldest son George to tour progressive farms in the Borders, thereby giving him the opportunity to learn more about methods of breeding cattle and other improvements, together with the kindness of Anne, Dowager Countess of Aberdeen, in giving him a lease and a loan, enabled this young man to continue farming at Phantassie.

George Rennie, the second generation, through his hard work, skill, enterprise and meticulous husbandry, developed Phantassie into one of the finest farms in the county. He built superior modern enclosures with stone dykes and better maintained fences. He introduced a better rotation of crops, applied lime and manure to the lands and installed the first horse-driven threshing machine, later supplementing it by a windmill. He bred some of the finest cattle in the country, a skill that he passed on to his son John, the third generation, who in his turn won renown as one of the finest of cattle breeders and winner of many prizes. It is to be regretted that George Rennie’s legacy of experience, gained through his industry, passed to other hands with the financial difficulties and early death of his son in 1834, only six years after his own demise.

The country and the county owe a great debt to this exceptional family, which rose from being sclaters in Prestonpans in the seventeenth century to provide such exceptional scions - George Rennie, one of the leading proponents of the Agrarian Revolution in Scotland; his brother John Rennie FRS, the world-renowned civil engineer; and in the next generation, John Rennie junior (1797–1834), renowned cattle breeder; George Rennie,(1801–1860) sculptor, MP and diplomat; and the sons of John Rennie, FRS. George (1791–1866) and Sir John (1794-1874), who continued and added lustre to their fathers’ great engineering tradition.

‘THE MOST SKILFUL AND SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURISTS’: THE RENNIES AT PHANTASSIE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Our grateful thanks are owed to Patricia Stephen, present owner of Phantassie, for giving us access to the legal documents concerning the estate now in her possession.

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Figure 11: John Rennie FRS, civil engineer, 1761-1821, bronze memorial portrait roundel by Alexander Carrick RSA, 1936, after conservation in 2011. (Photo: Joy Dodd)

POSTSCRIPT:
COMMEMORATING THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF JOHN RENNIE
7 JUNE 1761 – 4 OCTOBER 1821

by STEPHEN BUNYAN

INTRODUCTION

The East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists’ Society commemorated the 250th anniversary of the birth of John Rennie, the world-renowned civil engineer, with a busy programme of events.

Rennie, who was born at Phantassie on 7 June 1761, is a figure of national, and indeed international, importance and his anniversary was recognised in London and no doubt elsewhere. The council of this society recognised that it had a duty to raise awareness of his importance in his native county. We believed that by so doing we would enhance the profile of East Lothian. We further believed that we should help to demonstrate Rennie’s importance as part of our local heritage to local people, and in particular to the young.

THE RENNIE MEMORIAL

A memorial to John Rennie, funded by public subscription, was placed on the original A1 road (East Linton by-pass) in October 1936. Designed by J Wilson Patterson CVO, chief architect with the Office of Works in Scotland, the memorial incorporates a baluster from Rennie’s Waterloo Bridge in London and a bronze memorial portrait roundel by the renowned Scottish sculptor, Alexander Carrick RSA (fig 11).

In September 1981, this society and the Institution of Civil Engineers, with the agreement of East Lothian District Council and the support of Sir Robert McAlpine and Sons Ltd, were instrumental in re-locating the memorial from what had by then become a dangerous position on the A1 trunk road to its present position, set into an embayment in the south boundary wall of Phantassie estate, where he was born. Douglas Tweedie, then owner of Phantassie, granted a long lease of the site on which the memorial was located to the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists’ Society.

The society subsequently secured funding from the European Leader fund, and an award from the Civic Pride Fund of East Lothian Council, to enable it to carry out some necessary upgrading and repairs to it in time for the 250th anniversary of Rennie’ birth. The work, directed by Bob Heath (architect), was undertaken by Graciella Ainsworth (conservator), and R McArthur and Sons of East Linton (joinery and paving).

COMMEMORATING JOHN RENNIE

The society held a commemoration on Saturday 4 June at 2.30pm. The short ceremony at the memorial, led by the Rev David Scott, the local minister, was followed by a perambulation through the grounds of Phantassie House, by kind invitation of its owner, Patricia Stephen (fig 12). Patricia spoke about the house, then Joy Dodd led the party by way of Phantassie Doocot and Houston Mill to Prestonkirk Church, the route the Rennie family would have taken going to the parish kirk and school.

On Tuesday 7 June, East Lothian Council hosted a reception in the John Muir House, in Haddington, where the marble bust of John Rennie, by Sir Francis Chantrey, was on display. That evening, in Prestonkirk Church, a lecture entitled ‘John Rennie’s Improvement of Scotland’s Infrastructure, 1779-1821’ was given by Professor Roland Paxton, FRSE, followed by a short soirée in the manse stables, where Birthday Cake and wine were partaken.

EXHIBITIONS

In September 1981, the society, with the co-operation of the Institution of Civil Engineers, had mounted an exhibition in Haddington House. We hoped to emulate it. With the co-operation of Professor Paxton and the Institution, and in conjunction with East Lothian Museum Service, an exhibition entitled ‘John Rennie, FRS: East Lothian’s Engineering Genius’ was held in John Muir’s birthplace in Dunbar High Street in June and July 2011.

A reception was held on 3 June, and the exhibition was opened to the public on the following day. Members of this society visited on that day. It was to have run until 3 July but proved so popular that this was extended until later in the month.

Holding the exhibition in Dunbar was particularly appropriate because John Rennie had been a pupil at the old Burgh School behind the Town House; indeed he was probably its most famous pupil. Clearly a ‘Lad o Pairts’, Rennie was offered the role as pupil teacher but decided, rightly as it turned out, that he was destined for higher things and went off to Edinburgh University. East Lothian Library Service mounted a travelling exhibition, which was displayed in the county’s local libraries.

OTHER EVENTS

We were delighted that others followed our lead. Under the direction of David Affleck, ‘East Linton in Bloom’ became involved in the celebration, as did the Outreach Service of the John Gray Centre, Haddington, who organised a bridge-building workshop which involved parents and pupils of East Linton Primary School. Dunbar Community Council recommended that a new street in Dunbar be named after Rennie, and this proposal was accepted - as Rennie Drive. At the same time the adjacent street was called Meikle Park Road after Andrew Meikle, the famous millwright and neighbour of the Rennies of Phantassie, whose extraordinary career was charted by Bill and Joy Dodd in the last volume of these *Transactions*.

Figure 12: The 250th birthday commemoration at the John Rennie Memorial, Phantassie, 2011. From left: John Scott (Alexander Carrick’s grandson), Rev David Scott (minister of Traprain), Patricia Stephen (owner of Phantassie), Prof Roland Paxton, Alex Reid (one of the builders of the original memorial, aged 101), Stephen Bunyan (president of this society), Jacquie Bell, Shena Jamieson and Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple Bart. (Photo: Joy Dodd)

JOHN RENNIE’S CAREER: A BRIEF OUTLINE

On leaving Edinburgh University in 1783, Rennie initially worked alongside Andrew Meikle before managing his own millwright’s business. In 1784, aged 23, he went south to England to join the firm of Boulton & Watt where he undertook the design, manufacture and installation of all the pioneering iron machinery for the steam-engine-driven Albion Flour Mills, in Blackfriars, London, work that established his reputation as one of Britain’s leading mechanical engineers. By 1791 he had established his own engineering business in Blackfriars, from where he conducted his successful business for the rest of his life. He undertook canal construction (including the Crinan and Kennet & Avon Canals) and large drainage schemes (including of the Lincolnshire and other fens). He designed bridges, including those at Kelso and Musselburgh, but most notably those in London – the pioneering iron Southwark Bridge, the magnificent Greek Doric Waterloo Bridge, and London Bridge (the latter, replacing the medieval London Bridge, completed posthumously by his sons to their father’s design). His *magnum opus* was Plymouth breakwater, begun in 1811 and completed after his death by his son, Sir John Rennie.

John Rennie was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1798. He died at his home in Stamford Street, London, on 4 October 1821 and was buried in St Paul’s Cathedral.

Figure 1: A shell dish sitting on three dolphins and decorated in majolica colours; it is possible that this is the cover for a much grander vessel. (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Figure 2: The workforce at Belfield's Pottery in 1904. (Courtesy of City of Edinburgh Museums)

POTS AT THE PANS II: BELFIELD'S POTTERY, CUTTLE, PRESTONPANS

by GEORGE R. HAGGARTY

INTRODUCTION

The name of Belfield (or Bellfield) has been associated with the manufacture of pottery in Prestonpans since the later 1700s. In the 1830s Belfield & Company's pottery manufactory was established at Seacliff, at the west end of the town's High Street. Initially, the works may have produced refined white earthenware in an earlier style using transfer prints and moulds purchased from the recently defunct Old Kirk and Bankfoot potteries, but quickly responded to Victorian changes in popular taste, by diversifying into new lines, including the use of majolica colours (fig 1). Belfield's continued in production until the late 1930s, by which date they were the last surviving large white ware pottery manufactory in an area with a continuous history of refined ceramic production reaching back almost 200 years (Dalgleish & Forbes 2012) (fig 2).

This article firstly charts the history of Belfield's Pottery through the use of documents and records, before highlighting the various ceramic products it produced, some of it salvaged in very difficult circumstances in 1989[1].The article concludes with a fascinating collection of photographs taken at Belfield's Pottery prior to its closure in the 1930s, graphically showing the process of pottery manufacture. The site of Belfield's Pottery is now occupied by private housing, collectively known as 'The Pottery'.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The main production site of Belfield's Pottery was the hamlet of Seacliff, situated at the western end of Prestonpans High Street (fig 3). This area, traditionally known as Cuthill (or Cuttle), was close to Bankfoot, the site of a small creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware pottery built by William Caddell on land he had purchased in 1766 (NRS:RS27/175/173). Caddell had previously managed the Old Kirk pottery at the eastern end of Prestonpans, founded in 1750 by his wealthy merchant uncle, William Caddell senior, Samuel Garbett, and the brilliant chemist, Dr. John Roebuck; this pottery almost certainly produced both creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware from the outset (Haggarty 2007, 218-22). In 1795, the Bankfoot pottery was sold to George Gordon senior and his wife, Frances Whyte (NRS:RS27/401/16), and within a few years they were employing up to 50 people (OSA 1796, vol 17, 611). Later, after struggling financially for a while under George Gordon junior, the second son, the Bankfoot pottery was sequestrated in 1838 when it could not pay its coal account to Grant-Suttie (NRS:SC40/20/1930). However, with financial support from his father-in-law Matthew Tod, farmer at Hoprig Mains, and the proceeds from selling his estate at Hilton Hill, Roxburgh, purchased in 1818, George Gordon junior paid off most of his debts.

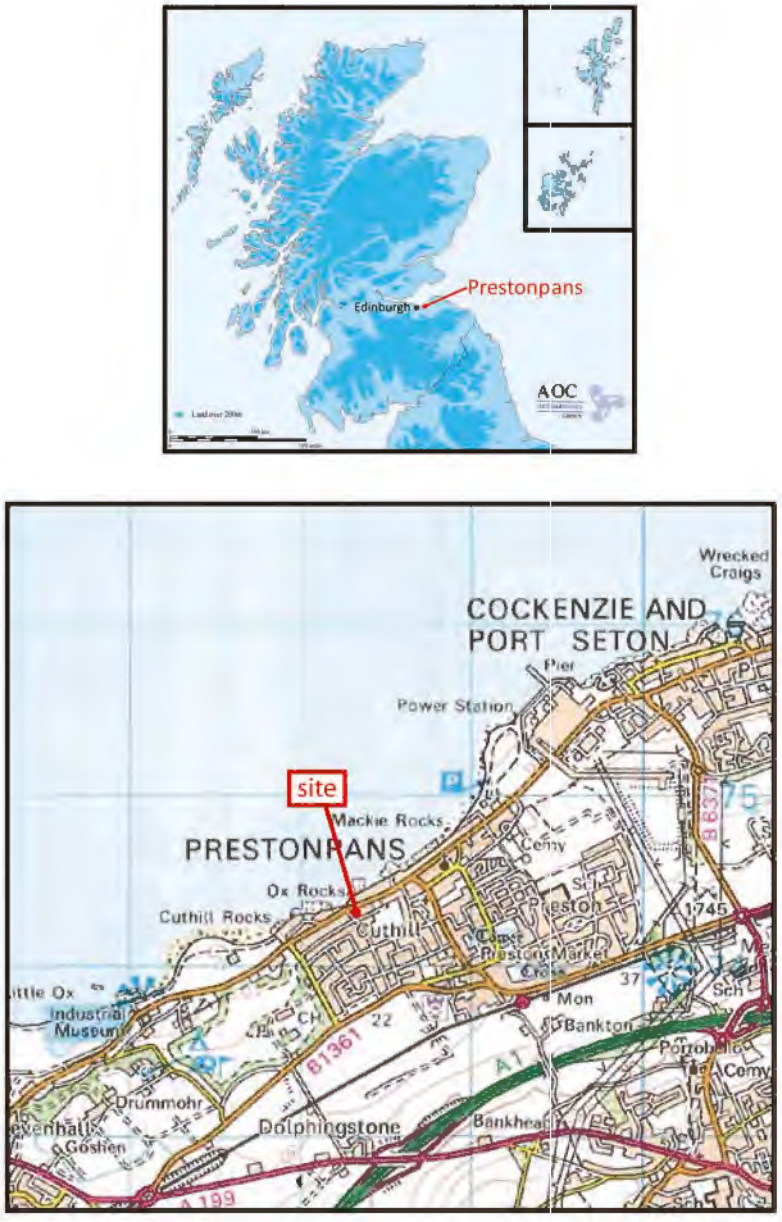

Figure 3: Map showing the location of Belfield's Pottery in Prestonpans.
(Courtesy of AOC Archaeology)

POTS AT THE PANS II:
BELFIELD'S POTTERY, CUTTLE, PRESTONPANS

In 1840 George Gordon took a five-year lease of the Old Kirk pottery, which another potter, Hamilton Watson, had relinquished (NRS:SC40/20/ 186 &196 & CS96/807WRH). The works reportedly comprised 'three kilns and adjacent building along with the two dwelling houses on the Main Street and small garden behind.' However, by the end of his first year at the Old Kirk pottery, George had to relinquish the lease as he could not afford to pay his rent arrears of £17.10s (NRS:SC40/20/196). He was evicted in 1841 and his pottery stock sold off. He died soon after, and his debts were discharged on 14 July 1842 (NRS:GD357/49/30).

To the east of Seacliff, between the High Street and Rope Walk, was another small pottery, referred to in documents as the Garden or Brown pottery. It produced crude red earthenware and comprised a warehouse, workhouse, stable, hothouse and kiln. At one time this too had been leased by Hamilton Watson of the Old Kirk Pottery, but in 1838 Robert Gordon, George Gordon's elder brother, took on the lease. His tenure was short-lived; by 1840 the lease had passed to Belfield's (Shirlaw 2000, 35). The Valuation Rolls of 1855 describe the two Belfield potteries as 'Potteries with Sheds' (NRS:VR99/1). By 1857, Belfield's had relinquished the lease of the Garden pottery.

The Belfield name has been associated with the manufacture of pottery in the area since at least 1789, the year James Belfield registered as a member of Prestonpans Potters' Box Society, having paid his 5 shillings entry fee (NRS:CS96/299). Peter McNeill, writing in the 1890s, states that 'he came from the pottery districts of Derbyshire at the beginning of the present century, at the instigation of the Earl of Stair, to conduct certain branches of pottery in a manufactory on his estate at Cousland, near Dalkeith' (McNeill 1902, 114). Despite documentary research and a programme of geophysics in the area, we still have no positive evidence just when the Cousland pottery was founded or exactly where it was situated[2]. However, it does appear in an advertisement placed in the Edinburgh Advertiser for 14 June 1796. The advertisement reads, in part: 'To be sold, the LEASE of COUSLAND POTTERY, together with the Workmen's Houses, and a large Stock of Clay, Magnezia [almost certainly manganese, used as a colourant] and other materials for making Cream coloured ware; also a great many Models of Dishes &., of the most approved patterns.' To date we can associate just two names, with any certainty, with this pottery - J. Pentland, referred to in the actual advert, and 'Stewart, potter at Cousland', found in the Court of Sessions Minute Book, dated 5 June 1794 (NRS:CS17.1/12). We are also told in the first Statistical Account, that 'near to Cousland are a brickwork and a pottery' (OSA 1796, vol 9, 278).

According to McNeill, James Belfield left Cousland for Prestonpans, taking employment in Gordon's pottery. If this is correct, it must have been at Gordon's pottery at Morrison's Haven, which due to a bitter dispute with the Earl of Hyndford was by 1833 lying vacant. In 1772, George Gordon senior had taken out a 19-year lease on 'a space of ground at Morrison Haven, formerly enclosed as a glasshouse, along with house and buildings erected some time ago, also the sea mill and a range of houses at that time possessed by Anthony Hilcote in which

he carried on a pottery work' (NRS:RD2/214/1/776). The following year (1773), Gordon formed a 19-year partnership with Rowland Bagnall, a potter at Morrison's Haven (NRS:SC8/17/39), with the intention of making 'cream coloured ware: black: tortoise-shell: white, and every other kind of pottery ware'; at its inception it employed six workers (NRS:SC40/20/28, bundle 17). It must have flourished for by 1797 George Gordon, potter and farmer, was a reasonably wealthy man; the Sun Life Insurance Co., insured him for £1,000, which excluded both his farm and pottery, (Macdonald 1994, 7). However, in 1822 he suffered substantial losses with the collapse of the East Lothian Bank, of which he was a founding member. He contested the further demands placed on the investors and was still being pursued for £314. 3s. 9d in 1832 (NRS:SC40/20/164).

Although it has also been alleged, with no reference given, that James Belfield came to East Lothian from either Newcastle-upon-Tyne or Staffordshire (McVeigh 1979, 104), research by Sheila Forbes on the baptismal records in the International Genealogical Index shows that McNeill (1914, 114), although he got the dates wrong, was almost certainly correct. A James Belfield, born to Andrew and Sarah Belfield in Stanley, Derbyshire, in 1769, is the only credible candidate for the James Belfield living in Prestonpans in 1789. On 12 August 1788 he married Christine Rammage, a shoemaker's daughter, in St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh (NRS:OPR685). Their two sons were both baptised in Prestonpans – Charles on 3 May 1789, and James on 17 September 1791 (NRS:OPR717). James Belfield senior died on 27 May 1805 when Charles was 16 years old and James two years younger. Both lads were by then apprentice potters under George Gordon.

In 1812 Charles Belfield married Jane Sinclair, a sailor's daughter, in Canongate Church, Edinburgh (NRS:OPR658). Their three sons – James, born in 1812, George, born in 1814, and Charles, born in 1822 (NRS:OPR717) - were all destined to become potters. George died in his early twenties, but his brothers went on to establish Belfield & Company. A link between Charles Belfield senior and Gordon's pottery can be seen in the inventory of heritable possessions of the late Robert Gordon. This was prepared by his son George on 10 July 1835, following his father's death a year earlier, in July 1834. The document was witnessed by Charles Belfield senior, described as a potter with an address given as 'Bankfoot' (NRS:RS27/1818/185).

It is not entirely clear when the Belfield Pottery was founded or began production, although the year 1835 has been suggested, with the company trading as Mitchell & Belfield (Shirlaw 2000, 34). Certainly, Charles senior and his eldest son, James, were in business together by 1838, when the company was owed £5 for clay by Hamilton Watson, then manager of the Old Kirk pottery. In 1839, Belfield's bought clay and engravings from Watson's bankrupt stock (NRS:CS96/807), and that same year appeared in the country section of the *Edinburgh & Leith Post Office Directory*. A bill, dated 17 March 1839, indicates that they were supplying 'stoneware pots'[3]. Whatever the date of the founding of Belfield & Company, by 1842 it was the only Prestonpans firm still producing pottery in a refined white body.

Initially, the Seacliff property was rented from a Robert Laidlaw, who had used it partly as a salt and magnesia manufactory and partly as a house (McNeill 1902, 114). In 1847, Charles Belfield senior, in partnership with son James and another potter, Andrew Mitchell, brought the property outright:

> *All and whole that heritable property at Seacliff sometime occupied by the said Robert Laidlaw as a Salt Manufactory and offices and presently by the said Belfield and Company as a pottery and by the said Robert Laidlaw as a dwelling house formerly purchased by Alexander Walker Salt Manufacturer*[4] *there from Messrs Mackay Oliphant and Company, Hatters in Edinburgh, and which heritable property is bounded and described in the ancient rights thereof...*
> (NRS:RS27/1818/185).

Andrew Mitchell, born in Dysart, Fife, in 1801 (NRS:OPR426), was very likely a full third partner in the firm; certainly a Mutual Settlement between Mitchell and his wife, drawn up in 1843, makes clear that he had a substantial interest in the company (NRS:SC40/58/11 f377).

By the time of Charles Belfield senior's death in 1850 (NRS:OPR717), his son Charles had joined the firm, almost certainly as a journeyman potter. Mitchell was now senior partner, and the 1851 census shows him as a master potter employing 21 men. The firm expanded under his direction, and by 1861 the census

Figure 4: Excavated cut sponge-decorated shards. (Photo: George Haggarty)

records the pottery employing 24 men, 14 boys and one woman. After Mitchell's death on 5 July 1862 (NRS:SC/M 90A), his third share of the company passed to his wife, Isabella Lockhart (NRS:SC40/58/11 f377). She in turn sold her interest to the Belfield brothers. Thereafter, the firm remained wholly in the Belfield family's hands until its demise in the 1930s. James disappears from the Prestonpans records between 1855 and 1859, and it is likely that he was then living north of the Forth, for on 16 January 1856 he married Isabella Melville in Errol, Perthshire (NRS:RD5/1685/362). By 1860 he was back in Prestonpans, occupying a house at Seacliff, described as in the Bankfoot district (NRS:VR993), and becoming involved in the affairs of the business. When James died in 1878 (NRS:OPR717), his brother Charles assumed full control of Belfield's.

With their purchase of transfer prints, moulds and, quite possibly, undecorated stock from the failed Robert Gordon and Hamilton Watson potteries, it is reasonable to assume that, Belfield's, at least for a period, produced a similar range of goods. That said, the Victorian era brought with it a demand for new forms and wares. Amongst these new lines was an emphasis on cut-sponge decoration (fig 4), bold stylised flower painting (fig 5), the use of majolica colours (see fig 1), and generally heavier wares.

Figure 5: Excavated hand-painted bowl sherds with typical late hand-painting. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

Figure 6: Excavated bisque Victorian water closet. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

McNeill (1902, 115) writes of Belfield's:
They were among the first to make "white" or "sanitary ware" in Scotland, and so famous did their "white ware" from the old sea-side village become, that before long there was scarcely a firm in Edinburgh or Leith but had their name flourishing in the order books of the Belfields (fig 6). *Shortly afterwards they added to their already extensive business the manufacture of Rockingham teapots* (fig 7). *These now, and for years past, are being dispatched over the whole habitable globe. Sometime previous to 1852, the manufacture of drainpipes, etc., was added [. . .] and during that year Mr. Charles Belfield invented a system of hand pressed pipes [. . .]*

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They were as a rule fifteen inches long narrow at the one end and wide at the other. A great many of these pipes were sent into Forfarshire for the purpose of conveying water supplies to towns. They were extensively used in Prestonpans not only for drainage purposes but were actually used for a time as gas pipes. Some time ago quite a number turned up when modern gas pipes were being laid in the streets of the village.

Figure 7: A Rockingham-glazed teapot marked 'Belfield's. (Photo: George Haggarty)

The Belfield family was not without influence in the area, and their strong association with local affairs, in particular the local council, afforded the company considerable commercial leverage (NRS:B76/1). The company continued in the ownership of the Belfield family until the death of the last potters in the family - Charles Belfield, who died some time before 1930, and John Clark Belfield who died on 14 June 1941 (NRS:OPR717). In the latter's will, drawn up in 1940, John is referred to as 'retired earthenware manufacturer' (NRS:SC70/4/776, 337).

Doubt still exists as to the exact date Belfield's Pottery closed. There is an entry in Macdonald's *Scottish Directory & Gazetteer* for 1937-38 for 'Belfield & Co., Earthenware Manufacturers, Prestonpans'. However, the pottery is listed in the

Figure 8: Belfield's Pottery courtyard sometime after the closure of the pottery. (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Valuation Roll for 1940 with the word 'silent' rather poignantly inserted beside it. The property was finally sold by John Clark Belfield's trustees on 20 September 1945 to a John Mackersay, of Portobello (NRS:RS100/399/219). Subsequently, the buildings were used as a tyre-retreading facility which lasted until the early 1970s. Thereafter, the buildings and site lay derelict until falling prey to the bulldozer in 1989 (fig 8).

EXCAVATION AND PRODUCTS

In March1988, on hearing of a proposed housing development for the site of Charles Belfield & Co pottery, the writer wrote to East Lothian District Council, alerting it to the historic importance of the pottery, and asking if he could be kept informed about the proposed development. He heard nothing until January 1989 when a telephone call from a council official informed him that a bulldozer was at work on the site. Regrettably, by this time the buildings had been demolished, and the bulldozer trundling back and forth across the rubble had crushed a large and important assemblage of rain-softened plaster of Paris moulds. Historic Scotland and National Museums Scotland immediately responded by offering funding, and under the auspices of the Council for Scottish Archaeology, and with the approval of ELDC, what can best be described as an archaeological salvage operation was

Figure 9: George Dalgleish & Fiona Ashmore working at the pottery site in 1989.
(Photo: George Haggarty)

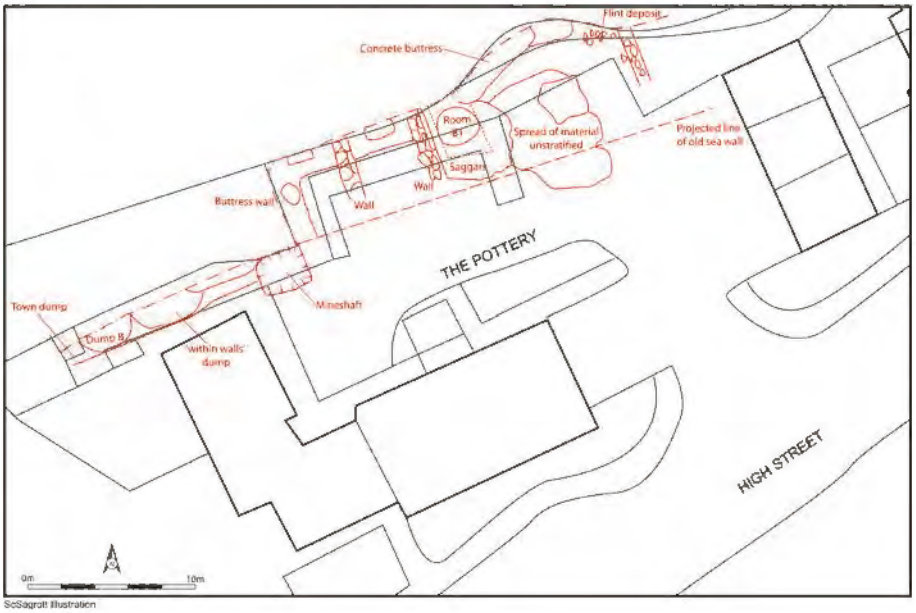

Figure 10: Plan of the site showing (in red) the main archaeological features uncovered.
(Courtesy of AOC Archaeology)

carried out, under the direction of Fiona Ashmore, archaeologist, aided by George Dalgleish, of the National Museums Scotland, and the writer. (figs 9 & 10)

By the time work began, the area was already pock-marked with a number of large craters. In what was for the most part terrible weather, a grid was laid out and attempts made to locate undisturbed stratigraphy. Large amounts of machine-disturbed sherd material littered the site, which was collected and bagged by grid. Eventually, two undisturbed deposits were located under brick flooring in what had been the centre of the pottery. Excavated by hand, these steeply-tipped deposits filled an area between two sea walls. The deposits consisted almost exclusively of ceramic waste, including moulds and pottery sherds, kiln furniture and large amounts of ash. Although the moulds and sherds varied in date, collectively they pointed to a date of deposition in the early 1840s (fig 11 & 12). Somewhat surprisingly, amongst the sherds and moulds was a small transfer printed, willow-pattern plate bearing an impressed Gordon's mark, suggesting that the material dumped between the two sea walls originated not from Belfield's Pottery but from one of the Gordon potteries.

Figure 11: Bisque sherds from a plate discovered at the site in 1989, decorated with a bust of Queen Victoria surrounded by the phrases: 'THE QUEEN AND LIBERTY' and 'THE QUEEN AND THE CONSTITUTION'. A third phrase, reading 'THE QUEEN AND REFORM', is barely visible. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

Figure 12: Bisque sherds from a plate discovered at the site in 1989, similar to fig 11 but decorated with a transfer print of an equestrian Queen Victoria. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

It is still not clear how the Gordon pottery waste came to be deposited under what became the floor of Belfield's Pottery. However, recent archaeological work, notably in Glasgow, has highlighted precisely this problem, for where every kiln site's ceramic assemblage has been examined it has been found to be highly contaminated with material dumped from other potteries. George Gordon's eviction from the Old Kirk pottery in 1841, and the subsequent disposal of his stock prior to his estate being wound up in July 1842, seems the most likely explanation. What is not in doubt is that the salvaged ceramic material has added significantly to our knowledge of both pearlwares and Pratt-decorated wares (fig 13 & 14) produced in East Lothian.

Figure 13: Excavated plaster of Paris mould fragments and matching pearlware tea canisters with Pratt-decoration. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

Figure 14: Excavated bisque figure fragments, some showing evidence of painting in Pratt colours. (Courtesy of Historic Scotland)

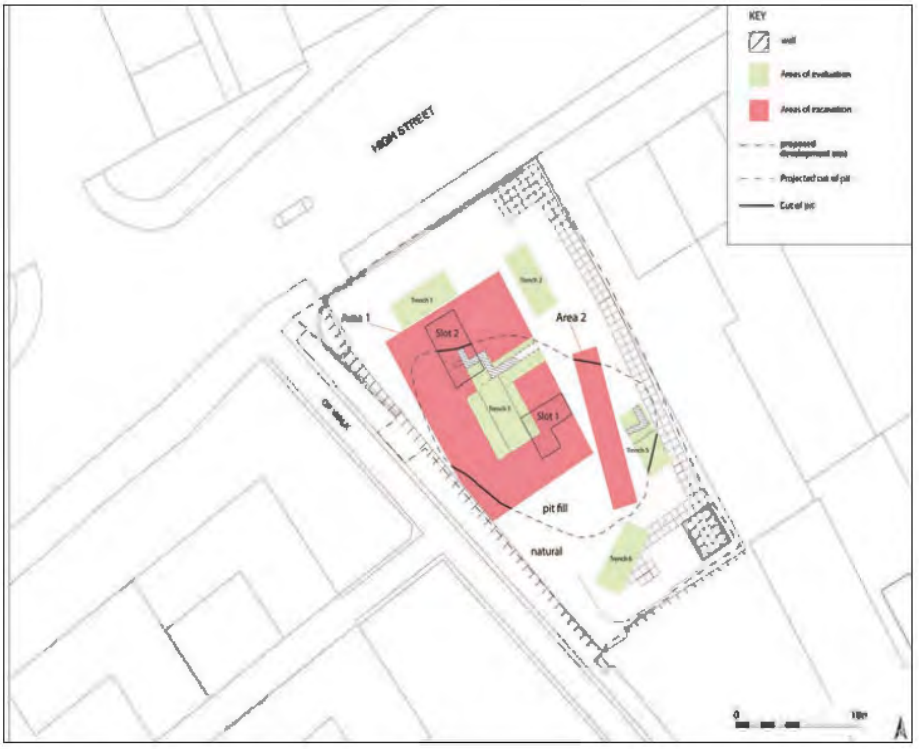

Figure 15: Plan of the site showing the areas examined by AOC Archaeology in 2008, and indicating the probable extent of the large pit. (Courtesy of AOC Archaeology)

Further light was shed on Belfield's Pottery in 2008, when an archaeological evaluation by AOC Archaeology at 239-241 High Street, opposite the former Belfield's Pottery, discovered a large pit (fig 15). Because of safety considerations, the pit could only be excavated to a depth of 1.6m. It was, however, found to contain considerable quantities of pottery wasters in the form of later nineteenth-century stoneware bottles, unmarked and larger than average, along with sherds from salt-glazed bowls, various pottery sherds, mainly Rockingham glazed earthenware, as well as kiln furniture and slag (Haggarty 2010, folders 126-46). There can be no doubt that the Rockingham-glazed sherds derived from the nearby Belfield's Pottery. However, the brown dipped stoneware bottles and sherds from salt-glazed bowls are more problematic. Currently there is no record of Belfield's having had a second kiln for firing stonewares, but as noted above they were supplying, in 1839, what must have been large stoneware pots, priced at a shilling each.

In all likelihood, the pit had been excavated for its clay, possibly for use in Belfield's redware production, although the excavators noted no ceramic waste in its lower fill. It is, therefore, possible that the clay may have been used by one of

the earlier concerns, including the nearby small Garden pottery which produced only redwares, or by one of the brick and tile works in the area; Forrest's 1770 map of Haddingtonshire shows that the site of the pit lay between Ravenscroft tile works and the Bankfoot pottery (see fig 3). What is not in doubt is that Belfield's Pottery eventfully owned a sizeable area of ground in the area of the pit, of which it sold a part in 1909 (NRS:CH21186.94).

CONCLUSION

Thanks to the archaeological salvage work in 1989 and the subsequent excavation of the clay pit in 2008, our knowledge of Belfield's ceramic products is clearer, and also of the Gordon pottery output as recovered from the Belfield's site. The pre-1850s sherds from the deposits between the two sea walls have allowed us to identify a range of important pearlware and Prattware ceramic forms hitherto unknown. Harder to date, but probably from later in Victoria's reign, are the stoneware and Rockingham-glazed sherds from the clay pit excavated by AOC Archaeology. A number of the Rockingham sherds link with a recently-discovered Belfield's catalogue (fig 16).

Figure 16: Pages from a recently-discovered Belfield's catalogue.
(Courtesy of East Lothian Council Museums)

Figure 17: Oval negative copper mould set into a heavy lead casing. The image shows the bust of William Shakespeare on a recessed, slightly domed centre, within a straight raised rim. Almost certainly this was taken from a left- facing, bronzed electrotype portrait plaquette of nineteenth-century date, produced after the Wedgwood and Bentley original by William Hackwood, itself after a print. (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

In the 1950s and 60s, a number of metal and ceramic sprig moulds (fig 17) were donated to National Museums Scotland (Haggarty, Dalgleish & Gray 2012), which has led to the proper classification of some extant items (eg, fig 18) as they came directly from the Belfield family or through the good offices of a family friend, Ian Paul. A few of the ceramic moulds have dates in the 1820s incised on them, and there is evidence of a link, in the form of documentation and a marked plate (fig 19), showing that at least some of these moulds derived from the potteries of George, and later, George and Robert Gordon, in Prestonpans.

Figure 18: Mould (left) and keeper (right) for an 'apostle' plaque (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

In the City of Edinburgh Museum is a box containing 36 ceramic sprig moulds (fig 20), and, although there is no accompanying documentation, it is generally accepted that they likewise came into the collection through the auspices of the Belfield family (Haggarty & Gray 2010). Without doubt, these are amongst our most significant extant Scottish ceramic-related collections. Together with the material salvaged from the site of Belfield's Pottery in 1989, and that found in the clay pit across the road in 2008, they shed important new light on the history of refined ceramic production in East Lothian.

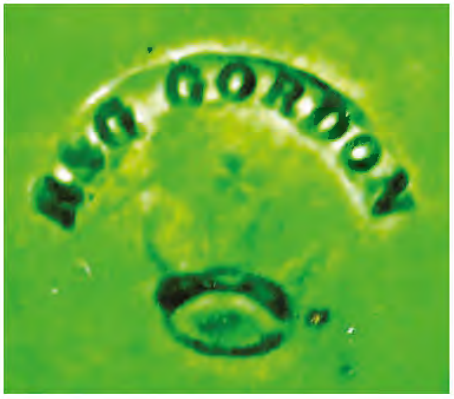

Figure 19: Rear of a green plate bearing the mark - 'R & G Gordon'. (Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Figure 20: Ceramic intaglio sprig mould showing the baptism of Achilles. (Courtesy of City of Edinburgh Museums)

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

- Bisque – pottery fired once, prior to glazing and its second firing. Bisque waster sherds are far more common than glazed sherds on pottery production sites.
- Majolica – refined earthenware created and introduced c.1850 at Minton's pottery, Staffordshire, by Joseph Leon Francois Arnoux, who had been appointed art director in 1848. It was generally relief-moulded, and in Scotland was normally covered with three different coloured glazes.
- Pearlware – refined white earthenware whose glaze has a blue tint derived from adding tiny quantities of cobalt to the lead glaze mix.
- Pratt Wares – a term used for a group of underglaze decorated wares introduced in the 1790s to supplement cobalt blue. Green, brown, yellow, orange, puce and black (Pratt colours) were prepared from metallic oxides.
- Rockingham-type Wares – a term used to identify white or buff refined earthenware covered with a glaze, generally a shade of dark brown derived from manganese.

NOTES

1. The author has published all the excavated material on a CD ROM Resource Disc (Haggarty 2010). Images of all the excavated pottery can be downloaded from the National Museums Scotland website http://repository.nms.ac.uk/305. This article reproduces images of significant and representative pieces.
2. This research can be downloaded from The Big Cousland dig website http://www.scribd.com/digitalpast/d/10274676-Big-Cousland-Dig-08#archive.
3. Reproduced in Scottish Pottery Historical Review, vol 18, 76. This, combined with the stoneware evidence from the AOC excavations, suggests that at this period Belfield's was operating two kilns, as it was not possible to fire earthenware and stoneware in the same kiln.
4. Patrick McVeigh and others mistakenly suggest that the large, old vitriol works was on the site of what would become Belfield's pottery, when in reality it was adjacent to the Old Kirk pottery at the other (eastern) end of Prestonpans. Certainly Walker seems to have diversified from making salt to producing other related chemicals, perhaps including, on a small scale, sulphuric acid.

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APPENDIX
MAKING POTS AT THE PANS

East Lothian Council has in its possession a portfolio of photographs taken at Belfield's Pottery sometime in the 1930s, shortly prior to its closure. They show the various stages in the process of pottery manufacture, and are a lasting record of one of the county's most important industrial concerns. All the photographs reproduced below are courtesy of East Lothian Council Museums.

Figure 21: A potter's assistant (centre) weighs out uniform wedges of clay.

Figure 22: The potter throws the body of a teapot: note the fixed pointed guides.

Figure 23: After throwing, the potter places the pot onto a belt-driven lathe to turn out its base.

Figure 24: A potter adds moulded spouts and handles to teapots.

Figure 25: The teapots are stacked in the drying room prior to glazing; if the pots had been placed in the kiln wet they would have exploded.

Figure 26: After drying, the pots are carried on boards to the kiln for packing into saggers (large ceramic containers protecting the pots from direct heat).

Figure 27: Stacking columns of saggers in the kiln.

Figure 28: Unloading the teapots from the kiln into baskets. Both the kiln entrance and one of the fire boxes are visible.

Figure 1: Workers through the centuries at Prestonpans Labour Club, painted by Michael Jessing.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING: COMMUNITY SELF-ESTEEM IN POST-INDUSTRIAL PRESTONPANS

by ARRAN JOHNSTON AND GORDON PRESTOUNGRANGE

THE BACKGROUND

Prestonpans, with a population of 8000, lost 3000 town-based jobs in just ten devastating years in the middle of the last century. Both of its coal mines closed, the brewery closed, and the brickworks closed. The only new arrival was Cockenzie Power Station, in 1962. As a result the community of Prestonpans, which for a thousand years had been a significant industrial locus (fig 1), entered its post-industrial phase along with many other communities across Scotland. Economies of scale, changing tastes, lower access costs and labour market rigidities were amongst the causes, but even if not wholly blameless it was the individuals who stayed in Prestonpans – affectionately known to them as 'The Pans' – who were the main casualties. They now faced harsh personal choices, mitigated in several respects by the proximity of Edinburgh which at least meant that jobs, although of a quite different nature, were often available. Many younger people managed to secure such work, allowing the family to continue to live in The Pans by a daily commute to the capital. But for the older generation of workers alternative employment was far harder to find, and migration was not a realistic choice.

Institutional assistance was of course very much to hand, and appreciated, with unemployment and housing benefits, health and social care. With good intention the virtues of rebuilding the environment with new housing were extolled, along with the wholesale demolition of the past's industrial structures: the salt pans and brick works went; the remains of Belfield's pottery and Fowler's brewery were demolished; the coal mines were in-filled along with the community's harbour at Morrison's Haven. David Spence, the last area manager of the National Coal Board, managed somehow to preserve steam engines, artefacts and three fine industrial buildings at Prestongrange Pit, which became the foundations for the Heritage Museum. It has since remained little changed for almost fifty years, although for several years the 'steamies' proudly and publicly enjoyed their engines (Boyd, 2003). A new Community Centre was built, spacious but acoustically disadvantaged, whilst the old nineteenth-century Town Hall has been left neglected. Later, a fine swimming pool and an extension to the Carnegie Library were added, and with generous EU funding the eco-friendly Pennypit Centre was developed beside the town's rugby and football fields, on lands reclaimed from the old Northfield or 'Penny' Pit.

As was common in such circumstances, dependency on others became the macro-profile of the community and replaced the proud identity which The Pans had carried as late as the 1950s. It was a dependency on benefits and grants and on commuter jobs in Edinburgh. The town's reputation as hard working and tough thinking, earned from its days in coal mining and brick making, deteriorated to that of an often troubled place on account of the economic deprivation more than a few families had to face. It mattered of course. Such decline could never be accepted as the long-term future of a community so aware of its proud heritage, but the challenge was how to find a way out and up again. How could community self-esteem and spontaneous enterprise be recovered? A renewed built environment that destroyed the proud industrial heritage of Prestonpans, linked to employment opportunities in Edinburgh, was never likely to be good enough. Suburbia beckoned, but not an espoused goal.

COMMUNITY HISTORY PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY

It was in this community context that the Grant-Suttie family (Baker, 2003), holders of the ancient feudal baronies of Prestoungrange and of Dolphinstoun since 1745, decided finally to dispose of their lands. They had not lived in the community since the death of Lady Susan in 1909. In 1997 the Wills family became infeft, with origins from Musselburgh and ancestral links to the Willie Park golfing dynasty. There was no clear notion as to how two nouveau feudal barons might make any contribution whatever across their ancient lands, which had originally covered 10,000 acres, including much of the western half of the town. When it was light-heartedly commented that the new barons could best 'live in the past', the joke set in train what has become an extraordinary case history of community-based socio-economic regeneration. The feudal Barons Courts[1] were resuscitated and became a charity, with the declared commitment that each aspect of the community's past should be researched, interpreted, and honoured through the arts. Crucially, it was to be the community itself that would do the research and become the artists.

Fifteen years later, the evidence now is that community self-esteem has been substantially restored and the town is on the cusp of an improving economic future. Creative Scotland short-listed the town as a Creative Place in 2012, and the community's horizons today stretch right across the world as it embroiders the stories of the Scottish diaspora in 25 countries from Sweden to China, Italy to New Zealand. More than 150,000 visitors have already visited the *Prestonpans Tapestry* which tells the story of Bonnie Prince Charlie's victory there in September 1745 and which goes to Bayeux in 2013 to be exhibited alongside that most famous of embroidered artworks.

HISTORY BROUGHT UP TO DATE

It was fortunate that the history of Prestonpans, from the granting of the baronial lands to the monks of Newbattle Abbey in the twelfth century up to the

end of the nineteenth century, had already been written up by Peter McNeill (1902). The more recent history, however, was patchy in the extreme[2]. So the very first task to which the artists turned their hand was to research the last hundred years, which had seen significant population growth and the peak of the town's industrial activity. Under the editorial guidance of Jane Bonnar and Annemarie Allan, more than a score of well-researched monographs were penned and published (2006). They developed what McNeill had already documented, and added everything that had happened since. Coal mining was an excellent example, since little of consequence had been possible at sea level, where The Pans stands, until the arrival of a Cornish beam engine for pumping water from the pit in 1874 (Wilson, 2006). The struggles to exclude women and children from having to work down the pits, and for better and safer working conditions for the men (Black 2006), also saw considerable success, culminating in the construction of the Miners' Bath House at Prestongrange just a decade before the pit itself closed in the early 1960s. Both the baths and the beam engine still stand, testament to the town's mining heritage.

The extraordinary history of the town's salt pans, from which the name of Priest-Town's-(salt)-Pans is derived, and of its pandores oysters (derived from 'pan doors' because they were to be found near the salt pans), which were long owned and managed by the feudal barons, was also captured, along with the equally fascinating story of glass and pottery making in the community. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Prestonpans was one of the major centres of pottery manufacture in Scotland. The first major book on Prestonpans pottery, together with an accompanying exhibition, was created by Graeme Cruickshank (2007). The local coal mines had found ideal clays for domestic pottery as well as ample fuels to fire brick kilns - the fine Hoffman kiln remains today at Prestongrange. But the town also pioneered and manufactured jointed sewerage pipes for rapidly expanding Victorian cities. To carry these industrial products, and the coal, to ever widening markets, Morrison's Haven was soon connected to the North British Railway (Aitken 2006).

All this hard work inevitably made workers thirsty, so it was not surprising that a fine brewery, Fowlers, prospered in Prestonpans and became renowned across the Central Lowlands with some 300+ public houses and its legendary 'Wee Heavie' ale (Anderson, 2006). There were more than a few public houses in Prestonpans itself, with none better regarded from 1908 than The Trust Tavern, at the foot of Redburn Road, run strictly on Gothenburg Principles, by which profits above 5% were returned 'in trust' to the community for social purposes. These Principles were now, in their turn, most thoroughly researched, not least to discover why they had come to Prestonpans. In 2002 the Barons' Courts was able to acquire the former tavern, an outstanding 'Arts and Crafts' building, and, by working with community artists, the restoration was completed sufficiently well for CAMRA to recognise it as the Outstanding/Best Pub Restoration project in the whole of the United Kingdom. Now known as The Prestoungrange Gothenburg, it has gone on to win countless community and good food awards, the most recent in 2012 (Prestoungrange, 2006). It also provided the basis for the first international

adventure of the community's artists, who resurrected the Swedish connections that had been unearthed in their research. Since then there have been no fewer than three visits by Gothenburg's Lord Provost, including for its centenary celebrations. The year 2012 also saw Scotland's diaspora impact in Sweden being embroidered there as part of Prestonpans' latest international tapestry project. The Prestoungrange Gothenburg also hosted the official twinning of the local community with Barga, in Tuscany, in 2006, with which reciprocal arts links had already been developed and which have since grown considerably. Barga is also contributing to the Prestonpans-based *Scottish Diaspora Tapestry*.

MURAL ART FOLLOWS LITERATURE

Conducting comprehensive historical research on the community had been the inevitable starting point if the goals of the Barons' Courts were to be addressed (see note 1). But there was initial disappointment. It had been naively assumed that the newly minted historical studies would prove irresistible to teachers and schools at large. But in an already crowded curriculum there were few takers, and so other methods would be needed if the town's heritage was to reach out beyond the history books. The next phase was triggered by an extraordinary coincidence when the Barons were visiting family on Vancouver Island in Canada. By chance they travelled to a place called Chemainus and saw there 50 historical outdoor murals, and immediately met with the local inspiration, Karl Schutz. Although at 1500 souls Chemainus was considerably smaller than The Pans, it was similarly post-industrial. The community had lost its saw mill and extinction beckoned. But whilst holidaying in Romania, Schultz had seen nuns conducting tourists around churches and explaining the frescoes and wall paintings: he took away inspiration. If Chemainus painted its history on the walls of its town then it could attract tourists and provide the community with a new future. By the time of the Barons' visit, Chemainus was attracting 400,000 tourists a year (Dash, 2008).

The success of Chemainus was already well known in North America, Australia and New Zealand. A Global Association of mural towns, with 50+ member communities, already existed. Prestonpans became the 51st and today proudly holds the presidency of that Association in succession to Karl Schutz. In 2006 the member communities sent 138 delegates to Prestonpans as it hosted the Global Association's 6th Biennial Conference. To honour the occasion the community's artists (indispensably assisted by Canadian First Nations) carved a 32-foot totem pole in recognition of the predominant art form around Chemainus (fig 2). That town gifted the red cedar tree which was thus carved and shipped to The Pans. With the assistance of local school children, who submitted designs, Prestonpans community history was retold on the town's new cultural landmark (Prestoungrange, 2006).

But it was of course the murals of Chemainus that provided the greatest fillip for community art and self-esteem (Sneddon *et al*, 2006; Lindsay *et al*, 2008). By 2012 there were some 60+ murals across the community, and maintaining them is as big a challenge as creating anew. As had initially been the case in Chemainus,

Figure 2: The Prestoungrange Totem Pole, designed by local school children and carved in Prestonpans into a gifted Chemainus red cedar by First Nations Canadians in 2006 to celebrate the Global Murals Conference held in Prestonpans.

Figure 3: Summerlee Homes, painted by Tom Ewing.

Figure 4: Prestonpans images at the railway station, painted by Adele Conn with support of young and disabled Panners.

the naysayers were plentiful: 'It might work there but not here'; 'Vandals will wreck them'. Schutz was invited to Prestonpans and hosted by the Royal Musselburgh Golf Club and the Barons' Courts. His advice was simply to start painting and see what reaction emerged.

And so it was. Planning knock-backs came at first, but once it was clarified legally that a mural is a memorial not an advertisement, these disappeared. A sequence of five large-scale murals appeared on the town's sea wall using paints intended to resist all weathers, although storms and winter gales on the Forth get the better of the art from time to time. Then murals came to walls along the High Street, on the Co-operative Store, at the Bowling Club and Sam Burns' Yard, at Cockenzie Power Station, the Heritage Museum, the Primary School, the Burns Shelter, Summerlee and Prestonpans Railway Station (figs 3 & 4). The historical research which had been so carefully collated began to appear all over the town, significantly supplemented by depictions of recent ancestors. As the artists painted the history, Panners passing by added the specifics that connected with today's families. There was no vandalism. Murals, as they say in bislama, *blong yumi ('belong to you and me').*

IT ALL STARTS WITH MURALS

It must be remembered that Prestonpans was a late comer to the Global Murals Association. As such there was potentially much to learn from what others had achieved and how they had done it. Twenty communities across North America and Australasia were visited, and from 2002 Prestonpans attended each and every conference and symposium. At Ely Nevada's Conference in 2004 a survey was undertaken[3] which revealed amongst its conclusions that the murals become the starting point for wider engagement. What happens next is the arrival of visitors, adding to the local economy as they explore the murals, just so long as there is somewhere for them to take a coffee or a meal and maybe buy a souvenir. In other words the retail environment had to develop and adjust to accommodate visitors. The Prestoungrange Gothenburg was restored and reopened just in time to fulfil this role and become the ideal arts 'hub', with its 'Arts and Crafts' status and historical origins making it a perfect ambassador. It also created new local employment.

The 'big hitters' in the Global Murals Association had sailed way past such beginnings of course. Their goal, when green shoots of economic regeneration started to appear, was to build and secure destination status and repeat visits. Chemainus had the inspired idea of building a 300-seat repertory theatre and restaurant; Moosejaw, in Saskatchewan, Canada, had reopened its hot mineral spa and hotel; Sheffield, Tasmania, held an Annual Murals 'Fest' where artists painted competitively to a theme. This Sheffield-style 'Fest' has since been recreated on a regular basis in Prestonpans' Cuthill Park, led by local artist Tom Ewing.

In Prestonpans a group of artists got together in 2006, outwith the Barons' Courts and its deliberate history focus, but with its enduring support, to create an immediately successful community-based '3 Harbours Arts Festival'[4] lasting

two weeks each summer. (The three harbours are the old Morrison's Haven and its neighbours, Cockenzie and Port Seton.) The festival now brings thousands of visitors to the area each year, enjoying and buying works of art, and spending across the retail community. It was just the start of myriad additional artistic endeavours in theatre, music, singing, pottery, painting and drawing classes, and storytelling. A Poet Laureate, John Lindsay, also won widespread acclaim[5]. In partnership with Preston Lodge School, Prestonpans Salt is remade each year, and Newbattle 'Cistercian monks' have started walking to Prestonpans each year to collect it, as they did many centuries ago (fig 5) [6]. A micro-brewery at the Prestoungrange Gothenburg makes Fowler's Ales once more; they include the occasional 'Wee Heavie' and the ever-popular 'Gothenburg Porter'. The Arts Festival's minibus appears in the livery of the original local Wiles bus and coach company.

Figure 5: Salt made today from the waters of the Forth by students at Preston Lodge for the annual walk from Newbattle Abbey.

OF GROTESQUE ART AND WITCHES

The ancestral home of the feudal Barons of Prestoungrange and of Dolphinstoun - the Morrisons, Grants and Grant-Sutties - was Prestoungrange House. In the mid-nineteenth century that building, today the home of the Royal Musselburgh Golf Club, had been remodelled by the famous Scottish architect William Playfair (see Baker 2006). By that time, Scotland's oldest surviving painted wooden ceiling, using Grotesque Art and dated 1581, was hidden from view. It only re-emerged in the 1950s when it was removed to its present Edinburgh location at Merchiston Tower (Allan 2006). It is truly magnificent, and whilst it has been carefully preserved there, its great loss to the community of Prestonpans is often seen today as somewhat unforgivable. Yet perhaps all is not totally lost, for the ceiling of the James Fewell Bar at the Prestoungrange Gothenburg was designed in the same style, and painted in what would have been the great ceiling's original colourings. Painted in 2004 by local artist Andrew Crummy, the ceiling is a constant source of conversation, as well as a perpetual reminder of the loss from Prestoungrange House (fig 6).

Figure 6: Grotesque Art Ceiling at The Prestoungrange Gothenburg, painted by Andrew Crummy.

The ceiling was the first of the interior murals at The Prestoungrange Gothenburg. Kate Hunter then captured the tavern's original manager, James Fewell, and his family in 1908, and combined sitting-room portraits of many famous Panners (Hopkins 2006). Paintings were commissioned to celebrate the first visit by the Lord Provost of Goteborg from Tom Ewing, and Michael MacVeigh captured Morrison's Haven and the Chapmens' Fair at the town's ancient Mercat Cross.

One area of the town's history has, however, been quite deliberately understated in its modes of remembrance. This is the local persecution and execution of witches at the turn of the seventeenth century using the laws enacted earlier under Queen Mary (Allan 2006). The evidence suggests some 81 persons were put to death, for witchcraft and also, in several cases, for the treason of creating storms that imperilled James VI's new bride as she travelled by sea from Denmark. Certainly, the Barons' Courts had every intention of addressing this fascinating history but it was important to approach the issue sensitively.

It was decided to consult one of the world's most successful 'witch tourism' destinations, Salem, Massachusetts, USA. Their advice was simple and straightforward: it was best to commemorate the injustice and suffering perpetuated by the episode rather than to trivialise or sensationalise it. This particular historical research coincided with the legal ending of feudal land tenure in Scotland, on 28 November 2004. It was, therefore, resolved to capitalise on the opportunity presented just prior to the abolition and exercise the remaining legal powers of the Baronial Courts. The Courts were formally fenced, and were to be the last such Proceedings in the nation[7]. All 81 witches were formally pardoned and their names

Figure 7: Miscreant in the Barons' Stocks, July 2004, being the last occasion stocks were legally used for punishment in Scotland by order of the Barons Courts of Prestoungrange and of Dolphinstoun.

recorded on individual tiles set against a mural design by Andrew Crummy in the south-facing garden at The Prestoungrange Gothenburg. More light-heartedly, sentence was then passed on several prominent community members who spent two minutes in the specially-created stocks (fig 7), whilst fines of 40/- were also levied. As Salem had forewarned, the remembrance of the 81 witches turned out to be international news, reported on the BBC, CNN, Reuters and reaching as far afield as New Zealand. Whilst such publicity would in other circumstances have been welcomed and harnessed to advance economic goals, in The Pans there was relief that a commemorative rather than sensationalist approach had been taken. A cycle of three plays was written by Roy Pugh (2004, 2005 & 2006), a historian of witchcraft in East Lothian (Pugh 2001), which traced real cases of horrific persecution, trials and executions.

BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE AND JOHNNIE COPE

At the same time as Barons Courts was exploring how best to commemorate the town's witches, it turned its attention to the iconic battle fought outside the town on 21 September 1745. Of all the moments in its rich history, the Battle of Prestonpans is the most unique and replete with myriad dimensions to explore. A Royal Society for the Arts Coffee House Challenge workshop was convened in the Prestoungrange Gothenburg, and strong local support emerged for action to be taken to interpret and promote the famous battle. A discrete charitable trust was established in 2006 and modern representatives for both Jacobite and Government commanders, including numerous clan chiefs, were invited to join a Committee of High Patronage. All who were invited agreed. Then, as fortune would have it, an American human rights lawyer, Martin Margulies, chose that same year to publish the only book thus far dedicated solely to the battle itself (2006). He had chanced upon the story and subsequently developed a great fascination with it from his holiday home on South Uist, just an island away from where the Prince had landed in the summer of 1745.

From the outset the trustees pledged themselves to ensure the conservation, interpretation and presentation of the battle in a permanent 'living history' context. As well as capturing the history, an economic benefit would be deliberately sought and secured for Prestonpans as it hosted visitors wishing to learn of the battle. Confidence in this purpose was boosted by an early economic feasibility study by the respected Edinburgh forecaster, Max Gaunt. He concluded such a living history centre could be self sustaining provided it was world class, largely due to Prestonpans' proximity to, and easy access from, the nation's capital. The analysis has since been repeated a second time with the same conclusions. East Lothian is an attractive and readily accessible destination for 'single day' visitors.

It would obviously be some time before a campaign for the living history centre could be accomplished. Momentum had first to be established as well as the most thorough harnessing of the arts to the campaign. The Battle of Prestonpans is extremely significant in that it left a major cultural legacy and has long been considered worthy of remembrance. An impressive pyramidal coal bing had

previously been landscaped as a vantage point to view the entire battle sequence, with interpretation boards at its summit. A cairn and a small sculpture close by commemorated the battle. Bankton House, where the important Government officer, Colonel Gardiner, had lived before his death at the battle, had been preserved on the south side of Prestonpans and its dovecot set aside for some modest interpretation. A considerable nineteenth-century obelisk also stands outside the house, erected by public subscription in Gardiner's honour.

But there was more to the Battle of Prestonpans than just the physical memorials. Walter Scott had made it internationally famous through his best-selling novel *Waverley*. The Prince had been accompanied at Prestonpans by the great Gaelic poet Alasdair MacMhaigstir Alasdair, and Adam Skirving had been on hand there too to write his poems, including the famous *Hey Johnnie Cope*. In London news of the defeat triggered a new plea for salvation to be penned, *God Save Great George Our King*, which continues to this day as the British National Anthem (Johnston 2008). This literary legacy provided rich fruit for those wishing to expand appreciation of the battle's significance.

Perhaps the most obvious way for the Battle's new campaigners to raise awareness and develop momentum was by arranging annual re-enactments. The battle's first anniversary, 21 September 1746, was marked only by a visit from Captain James Johnstone, a Jacobite veteran still on the run. Subsequently, however, the *Haddington Courier/East Lothian Courie*r has carried records of the 100th, 150th, 200th and 250th anniversaries[8]. The last of these, in 1995, had been a grand affair with the involvement of one of the present trustees, Pat O'Brien, a former provost of East Lothian. But there had been no continuity since, and the Trust resolved to ensure that would not be so in the future. Help was fortuitously at hand from Derby, England, which over the course of 20 years had built a tradition of continuous annual re-enactments to commemorate the Jacobite army's arrival in that town in December 1745. Derby also proudly displays a statue of Bonnie Prince Charlie.

One of Derby's event organisers was Arran Johnston, joint-author here, who was studying at Edinburgh University at the time of the Trust's formation in Prestonpans and fortuitously encountered the trustees as they stood atop the battle bing on 21 September 2006. In Derby he had already role-played the Prince, and he was immediately invited to reprise that role, and to become a trustee, for Prestonpans. Trustees attended the Derby re-enactments that year, and in the Exeter Room, where the mostly Highland army had originally resolved to return to Scotland, against their Prince's wishes, the trustees now resolved to go straight on! The Trust formed its own 'Alan Breck Prestonpans Volunteer Regiment' with Martin Margulies inducted as colonel-in-chief, and the pipes and drums of the Royal British Legion mustered with them. Generous support from the countless re-enactment regiments across the United Kingdom, and from as far afield as the 77th Montgomeries, in the Czech Republic, ensure annual re-enactments at Prestonpans have grown these past six years, to become the largest Jacobite event in Britain with thousands attending across the two-day event.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING: COMMUNITY SELF-ESTEEM IN POST-INDUSTRIAL PRESTONPANS

One of the challenges of the re-enactments and the trust's determination to be authentic was that there had been no thorough archaeological study of the battlefield. With support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the trust therefore invited Tony Pollard's well-respected team from Glasgow University to undertake that task, and they reached a firm conclusion, namely that initial contact had taken place in the fields east of Prestonpans, close to the site of Seton village, but as the Government forces fought and fled they fell back westwards to the walls of Preston House and Bankton House. The actual battle itself was over quickly, perhaps lasting no more than 15 minutes. However, as is so often the case in battle studies, the manoeuvres and dispositions prior to actual combat are of equal, if not greater, interest. And this is precisely the case at Prestonpans, where the hazards of the Tranent marshes were penetrated by a local guide who brought the Jacobite army by night along the Riggonhead defile and to the east of Sir John Cope's positions. That march has become a signature commemoration each year, with re-enactors leaving Tranent at 5am just as the Jacobites did, arriving on the battlefield at dawn (see back cover).

Further scope for re-enactments was found in the final stages of the battle. Colonel Gardiner was mortally wounded beneath a thorn tree which had survived for two centuries (Hannah 1930). He was later taken to Tranent Manse where he died later that day. Meanwhile, Cope's baggage train and treasury were captured at Cockenzie House, which still stands today. Both these incidents have been re-enacted as part of our commemorations, as also have wider aspects of the engagement dealing with the Prince's capture of Edinburgh excepting the Castle and Cope's landing at Dunbar, the march to Prestonpans and the events there on the day before the battle.

The re-enactments have helped provide inspiration and exposure to other art-forms used to commemorate the battle. Andrew Hillhouse has created a series of fine paintings showing its key phases, including the Camerons' taking of the Redcoats' cannons. Kate Hunter has created timely new portraits of Sir John Cope and Prince Charles Edward, about both of whom there had been much discussion. Ronald Elliot has captured the Prince with his Gaelic tutor, Alasdair MacMaghistir Alasdair, in the immediate aftermath of victory. BAFTA award-winning playwright, Andrew Dallmeyer, working with the Prestoungrange Players and The Laverocks, wrote and directed the musical play The Battle of Pots and Pans (see Lindsay et al., 2008), which toured East Lothian and went to the Edinburgh Fringe. He later followed with *Colonel Gardiner: Vice and Virtue*[9].

Great interest was aroused amongst youngsters and a programme of school visits was instituted as a result. Gordon Veitch, twice European war-games champion, created a large-scale gaming board for schools which not only enables the youngsters to replay the battle on the roll of a die but also shows them how the landscape and buildings of Prestonpans and Tranent appeared in 1745. Sometimes, Johnnie Cope can win! School visits are especially relevant since the primary curriculum now specifically includes the Jacobites (fig 8).

The programme of publications which had already begun for the arts has since been greatly extended in the wake of the establishment of the Battle of Prestonpans (1745) Heritage Trust. An in-depth evaluation of the Prince during 1745-6 was published by Arran Johnston (2010), whilst Roy Pugh (2008) and Sharon Dabell (2008 and 2010) crafted historical novels. Johnston has since written further on all the battlefields of East Lothian, covering the county's military heritage from before Roman times through to the twentieth century (2013). Gordon Prestoungrange has ghosted an autobiographical *Baron's Tale* (2009) as from the pen of the then Baron, William Grant, Lord Advocate.

FINDING INSPIRATION IN BAYEUX

Just as the Baron's meeting with Karl Schutz at Chemainus was a defining moment in the restoration of community self-esteem in The Pans, so too was a chance visit to Bayeux by Prestoungrange. Here he saw in the famous Tapestry parallels between the story of William of Normandy's campaign to overthrow a perceived usurper in 1066 and the story of Bonnie Prince Charlie. On returning to Prestonpans the Arts Festival debated whether such an embroidery might be created to recall the Battle of Prestonpans - and one metre longer than its inspiration too!

Figure 8: The first public exhibition of the Prestonpans Tapestry was in July 2010 at Eriskay where the Prince landed in 1745. Local children provide a brilliant re-enactment in the Village Hall there.

Andrew Crummy, who had been Convenor of the Arts Festival almost since its inception, considered it possible, and his 'embroidery-savvy' wife agreed. So the die was cast. Margulies and Johnston willingly became the designated historians, Gareth Bryn-Jones, a trustee and architect, advised on how buildings looked in 1745, and Andrew Crummy became the tapestry's designer. The tale was to be told from the time the Prince left his father in Rome until he marched out from Edinburgh to invade England. Crummy resolved to use a cartoon-strip format based on an original contemporary cartoon of Cope announcing his defeat at Berwick-upon-Tweed to Lord Kerr in 1745. Dorie Wilkie and Gillian Hart became the Lead Stitcher and Stitching Co-ordinator/Photographer, and volunteers across Scotland and beyond stepped forward to embroider the artwork. It was completed in less than a year.

Today the Prestonpans Tapestry, at 105 metres long and 50cm high, has been marvelled at by more than 150,000 visitors in its first two years since completion (fig 9). It has celebrity status wherever it goes. It has toured along the routes of the Prince's campaigns, and visited Pornichet/St Nazaire, whence the Prince embarked for Scotland. The cartoon format has proved to be an absolute winner with visitors, whether youngsters, casual visitors, serious historians or embroiderers. Crummy's official guide to the Tapestry (2010) includes the stories not only of the Prince but also of all those who created it and why they wanted to do it. It holds attention throughout, and a range of attractive souvenir merchandise and English/French/Gaelic publications, music CD, documentary DVD, and an outstanding animated English/French DVD have all added to the appreciation[10]. Donations for its future permanent home[11] have been generously made. And next year, the Prestonpans Tapestry makes its way to Bayeux for a two-month exhibition alongside the source of its inspiration. What finer compliment could one ask?

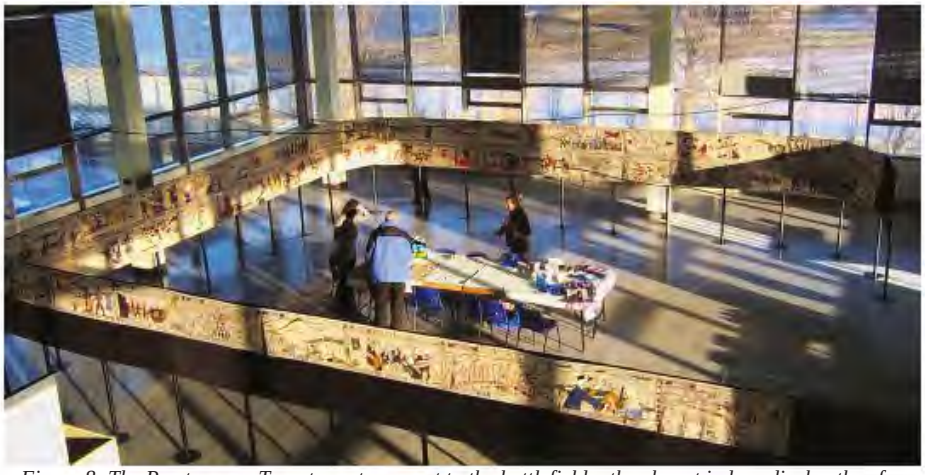

Figure 8: The Prestonpans Tapestry gets nearest to the battlefield – the closest indoor display thus far was at Cockenzie Power Station, less than half a mile from the scene of conflict.

HISTORY HAS BEEN THE KEY THROUGHOUT

Karl Schutz and Chemainus, and the other members of the Global Murals Association, showed the power of community history when told out loud through the arts: its healing power; its potential to restore self-esteem; its dynamic for socio-economic regeneration. Prestonpans has since experienced that sought-after linkage between that recovering esteem and the community's socio-economic regeneration. There is always a time lag for the retail trades to invest and evolve, but the direction of travel is irresistible. And it is infectious. Others visiting The Pans, whether as sporting opponents of Preston Lodge or Athletic, for the '3 Harbours Festival', for the Murals trail, the John Muir Way, or the Edinburgh Marathon, to enjoy the services of the Prestoungrange Gothenburg with its food and real ales, music, song, theatre and storytelling, for the 1745 Battle Re-enactments, as potential imitators (as from Invergordon or Dalkeith), or sharing in the myriad other activities, can all feel it in the air. Those moving into the new homes being built to the south of the town also realise it and soon seek to share in the renewed sense of place which has developed in Prestonpans. The resurrection of Cuthill Park from its abandonment to its Friends' Big Lunches, Murals Fest, community gardens and play areas exemplifies how the town is being restored to life by its own community.

The Prestonpans Tapestry, as it tours the nation and exports the town's story at home and abroad, brings the ambition and determination of the community to a much wider consciousness. As Bayeux is so very well recognised for its tapestry, so increasingly is The Pans. One of these 'out-of-town' exhibitions in Edinburgh so impressed writer Alexander MacCall-Smith that he resolved to invite those who created the Prestonpans Tapestry to embroider the Great History of Scotland[12], set to hang in Scotland's Parliament. And as if that was not enough, the Barons' Courts has now sponsored the Prestoungrange Arts Festival to embroider

Figure 9: The signature panel of Scotland's Diaspora Tapestry, stitched by Gillian Hart and Yvonne Murphy. This second major embroidered community artwork is due to be ready in time for 'Homecoming 2014'.

the stories of emigrant Scots across the globe in the Scottish Diaspora Tapestry (fig 10)[13]. That is destined to become the largest community artwork yet for The Pans, with further support already received from the Scottish Government's International Division, CreativeScotland, EventScotland, and Bord na Gaidhlig. Prestonpans has audaciously invited Scotland's world to embroider their own stories, to bring them back to Prestonpans where they will be permanently exhibited and shared for generations to come, attracting thousands of visitors. Twenty-five countries around the world where Scots have made significant impacts are now telling their stories in readiness for the 2014 'Homecoming' at the request of The Pans – with the script in their own language, in Gaelic and in English.

Such ambitions reveal how far things have come for Prestonpans in the past decade or so. The town has become something of an exemplar for how much a proud community can aspire to - and achieve. Above all, Prestonpans is a striking demonstration of how history, heritage and community identity can be preserved, and then enhanced, for the considerable and measurable benefit of a post-industrial town.

NOTES

1. For details of these, visit: http://www.prestoungrange.org/prestoungrange/html/household/household.asp
2. Volume 5 of the *The Fourth Statistical Account (East Lothian 1945-2000)*, covering the parish of Prestonpans, was published only in 2007.
3. See Prestoungrange, G 2004 *Why do we Love Doing Murals? The Ely Nevada* Survey @ http://www.globalartsandtourism.net/global/html/great_notions
4. See http://www.3harbours.co.uk/about/
5. See *New Poetry in The Pans* by John Lindsay @ http://www.prestoungrange.org/arts-festival/html/poetry/poetry_writing
6. See Hamilton, A 1982 Salt Pans Prestonpans @ http://www.prestoungrange.org/arts-festival/html/news/show_news.asp?newsid=2529&search=Prestonpans+Salt
7. See Barons' Courts of Prestoungrange & of Dolphinstoun, Proceedings: *Trinity Session Elizabeth II*, 53. 2004 – July & November
8. See http://www.battleofprestonpans1745.org/heritagetrust/html/news/show_news.asp?newsid=1971
9. See Dallmeyer, A [2009] Colonel Gardiner:Vice and Virtue – in Arts Arising @ http://www.prestoungrange.org/arts-festival/html/poetry/poetry_writing.htm
10. See: Unwin, J 2012 *The Battle of / La Battaille de Prestonpans 1745*; Greentrax 2010 *Battle of Prestonpans: Music and Songs of the Campaign*; Battle Trust 2010 *Stitches for Charlie*; Battle Trust/OREP 2012 *The Prestonpans Tapestry Animated/ La Tapisserie de Prestonpans Animée*
11. See http://www.prestonpanstapestry.org/tapestry/html/news/show_news.aspx?newsid=3117
12. See http://www.scotlandstapestry.org
13. See http://www.scottishdiasporatapestry.org

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compiled by JOY DODD

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ANNUAL REPORT 2010

The eighty-fifth annual meeting of the society was held in East Linton Community Hall on Saturday 23 May 2009. Thirty two members were welcomed by the president. There were several apologies. Tributes were paid to the contribution made to the society by the late David, Earl of Wemyss and March, KT, who had been a vice-president since 1949, and by John Porter, a former honorary treasurer.

The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved, as was the treasurer's report for the year. The president thanked Mr Mayo for his work on behalf of the society, and also Mr John Sparksman, the external examiner. The office-bearers were re-elected, with the exception that the office of press officer remained vacant. Miss K Fairweather and Mrs R Halliday retired from the council and were thanked for their services.

The president reported that, because of new regulations, the Lamp of Lothian Trust had been advised to reconsider the situation whereby outside bodies had designated trustees, and had asked if the society would relinquish this right. The society agreed to do so but was assured that the president would continue in a personal capacity *pro tem*.

The annual report, which had been circulated beforehand, was accepted.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year 2009/10 excursions were made to St Abb's, led by Mr John Hunt, in June, to Ballencrieff Castle, by kind invitation of Drs George and Joy Sypert, in July, by coach to Linlithgow in August, and to Gunsgreen House, Eyemouth, in September, which was followed by a visit to the World of Boats collection, also in Eyemouth, arranged by Mr George Menzies. These visits were all deemed successful and enjoyable. Unfortunately a proposed visit to Newbattle Abbey had to be cancelled at short notice.

Two lectures were given, the first by Professor Bob Morris entitled 'Historians and Photographs' in September, and the second by Mr David Berry, entitled 'The Lighthouses of The Forth' in November.

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington, on Friday 24 April 2009. Fifty members attended. Dr Fraser Hunter gave an illustrated talk entitled 'Life and Death in Roman East Lothian' to a most appreciative audience. The guest speaker at the annual dinner for 2010, on 16 April, will be Sir Garth Morrison KT, CBE, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian.

OTHER MATTERS

Volume 28 of the *Transactions* is in the hands of the printer and will be issued shortly, hopefully at the AGM. Volume 7 of the *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* was launched at the Lennoxlove Book Fair in November. This final volume is entitled 'Growing up in East Lothian.

The president remains a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian in a personal capacity. The president represents the society on the John Muir Park Advisory Group, which he also chairs. The president also represents the society on the Laws Advisory Group. Mr J Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. The society also supports the Fourth Statistical Account Society of East Lothian. This project is nearing completion with the preparation of an electronic version of the work including supplementary material.

The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape. Membership of the society is steady. An encouraging number of new members have joined in the course of the year. The *Transactions* are held in high regard. They are lodged in the copyright libraries and are purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to Queen Margaret University, secondary schools in East Lothian, to Loretto School, Musselburgh and Belhaven Hill School. Information about the society has been put on the web and in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and about East Lothian continue to be received.

ANNUAL REPORT 2011

The eighty-sixth annual meeting of the society was held in Yester Kirk, Gifford, on Saturday 22 May 2010. Thirty-four members were welcomed by the president. There were several apologies. The president intimated the deaths of four members who had died in the course of the year: Tom Main, Tony Packwood (a former treasurer), Diana Hardy and Mrs Nimmo Smith.

The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved. The annual report, circulated beforehand, was accepted. Mr Mayo presented the accounts and the financial report as approved. The president thanked Mr Mayo for his work on behalf of the society, and also Mr John Sparksman, the external examiner. Mr Mayo had indicated that he wished to retire as treasurer. The president thanked him for his meticulous work in this role over the years. The president reported that volume 28 of the *Transactions* was in the hands of the printer and was expected soon. Mr C Tabraham was thanked for his work as editor of what was going to be a most attractive volume. The office bearers, other than the honorary treasurer, were re-elected. Mrs Joy Dodd had agreed to be nominated for that office and was duly elected. There was no nomination for the position of press officer and it thus remained vacant. Miss V Fletcher was re-elected as a member of council.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Richard Rothery outlined the effort involved in raising funds for the restoration of Yester Kirk, and of the work carried out in its tercentenary year.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. The society visited Ayton Castle, Berwickshire, on 1 May, by kind invitation of Mrs C Liddell Grainger. Members welcomed the opportunity to see this magnificent building and its fine collection. They also enjoyed visiting the stables, where Richard Telford presented the splendid horses and ponies. The aged donkey, Cracker, stole the show (sadly now deceased).

On 5 June a visit was made to Amisfield Walled Garden and Park, in Haddington. Members were impressed by the huge task being undertaken by the Friends of Amisfield and the Amisfield Preservation Trust.

On Saturday 10 July an expedition was made by coach to Blair Adam, Kinross-shire, by kind invitation of Keith and Elizabeth Adam. It was fascinating to see the house of one of Scotland's most important architectural families still serving as a family home, with a huge collection of pictures and family records.

On 24 July the society visited Pilmuir House, near Bolton. This house is not normally open. It was built as a small laird's residence in 1624, with minor alterations being made in the eighteenth century. It has a large doocot in the grounds. Sir Henry Wade bought Pilmuir and established a trust for its preservation. The society was welcomed by Stuart and Shareen Forbes.

On Saturday 4 September a visit was made on the *Forth Belle* to Inchcolm Island, led by Chris Tabraham. The visit focused on the abbey and its substantial remains, of which Chris gave a masterly exposition.

On Saturday 16 October the visit to Newbattle Abbey, which had to be postponed the previous year, was made. This proved an interesting contrast to Inchcolm. Newbattle was one of the great abbeys of the Middle Ages but very little of the medieval abbey now remains. It became a stately home in the possession of the Marquesses of Lothian. It was given to the nation in 1937, to be a college for adults returning to education.

Three lectures were given during the year. On Thursday 11 November Gerald Urwin gave an illustrated lectured entitled 'The Siege of Haddington'. On Thursday 17 February Ralph Moffat gave an illustrated lecture entitled 'The Scottish Sword in the Middle Ages'. On Thursday 10 March Eric Glendinning gave an illustrated talk entitled 'Councillors, Claret and Corruption'.

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington, on Friday 8 April, at which Robert Russell gave an illustrated talk entitled 'Walking the John Muir Way'. The guest speaker at the annual dinner for 2010 was Sir Garth Morrison, KT, CBE, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian, who gave a most interesting talk on the Lieutenancy.

OTHER MATTERS

East Lothian Council, which nominated the *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, has been awarded first prize in the UK-wide Alan Ball Local History Awards for 2010. The project is nearing completion with the preparation of an electronic version of the work including supplementary material.

The president remains a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian in a personal capacity. The president represents the society on the John Muir Park Advisory Group which he chairs. The president represents the society on the Laws Advisory Group. Mr J Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape.

Membership of the society is steady. An encouraging number of new members have joined in the course of the year. The *Transactions* are held in high regard. They are lodged in the copyright libraries and are purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to Queen Margaret University, secondary schools in East Lothian, and to Loretto School and Belhaven Hill School. Information about the society has been put on the web and in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and about East Lothian continue to be received.

ANNUAL REPORT 2012

The eighty-seventh annual meeting of the society was held in Oldhamstocks Parish Church on Saturday 21 May 2011. Thirty-four members were welcomed by the president. There were several apologies. The president intimated the deaths of three members, and one former member, who had died in the course of the year: Elizabeth Jeffrey, Frank Mayo, Norah Mayo and Margaret Wyllie.

The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved. The annual report, which had been circulated beforehand, was accepted. Mrs J Dodd, treasurer, presented the accounts and the financial report was approved. The president thanked Mrs Dodd for her work on behalf of the society, and also Mr John Sparksman, the external examiner.

It was reported that material for the next volume (29) of the *Transactions* was coming to hand and that it was hoped to publish the next volume in 2012. (It will not now appear until 2013.) Mr C Tabraham was thanked for his work as editor.

The office bearers were re-elected. There was no nomination for the position of press officer and the post remained vacant. Mrs K Kemball and Mr N Murphy retired as members of council and the president thanked them for their contribution to the work of the society. Mrs Judith Priest was elected as a member of council.

It was agreed that the subscription should be raised in 2012 to meet rising costs. It was agreed that the subscription should be: Adult £15, Family (including children under 18) £20, Junior (under 18 or full-time students) £8. The category of institutional member was to be discontinued.

It was agreed that some archives could be deposited in the new John Gray Centre, in Haddington.

At the conclusion of the meeting the president gave a short account of the history of Oldhamstocks Church, after which members made a visit to Lammermuir Pipe Organs, where Neil Richerby gave an overview of his work as an organ builder. At the conclusion of this visit members returned to the village hall where a splendid tea had been provided by Bridget Ellwood.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year, the society commemorated the 250th anniversary of the birth of John Rennie, the world–renowned civil engineer, at Phantassie, East Linton, on 7 June 1761. Dunpender Community Council organised a community celebration which involved the local children. The president was delighted to visit the school to talk to a class about Rennie and to arrange for two children to interview Alex Reid, who had worked on the Rennie Memorial at East Linton in 1935 and who gave the children a fascinating account of life in pre- war times. A fuller report of the anniversary celebrations is published elsewhere in these *Transactions* (pages 000-000).

During the year various excursions were made. On Thursday 30 June, by kind invitation of Mr and Mrs C Plowden, a visit was made to Johnstounburn, near Humbie, where members enjoyed the magnificent garden and were given an extensive tour of the house.

On 9 July a party visited Eyemouth and went to sea in a glass-bottomed boat to enjoy the fascinating underwater life.

On Saturday 6 August an expedition was made by coach to Abbotsford, near Melrose, where members were conducted round Sir Walter Scott's home by the president. Abbotsford is special because the main rooms are virtually unchanged from Scott's time. Unfortunately, incessant rain made it impossible to enjoy the grounds.

Andrew Meikle and John Rennie were closely linked in life and it seemed fitting that during the year we commemorated Meikle also; he died at Houston Mill, East Linton, on 27 November 1811. Led by Joy Dodd, an excursion was made from Humbie by Saltoun Barley Mill and Knowes Mill to Preston Kirk. On Friday 11 November Joy gave a lecture entitled 'Andrew Meikle: Man of Invention'. During the year we established that the Meikle Mill at Beltondod, about which Norman Cartwright wrote an article in volume 11 of the *Transactions*, and which he arranged to have dismantled and handed over to the Museum of Antiquities in 1977, had not in fact been displayed and that the turning-gin is in fact still at Beltondod.

On Saturday 8 October a visit was made to the Roman fort at Cramond, in Edinburgh. The foundations in the kirk grounds gave some indication of the scale of the settlement and much more evidence of the Roman occupation was seen in the Maltings.

Three lectures were given during the year. On Friday 11 November Joy Dodd presented her talk on Andrew Meikle (see above). On Thursday 23 February, David Berry gave an illustrated lecture entitled 'Mining in East Lothian', providing a wealth of information and social comment. On Thursday 22 March Will Collin gave an illustrated lecture entitled 'A Scotchman Comes Home', a fascinating account of John Muir's only return visit to Scotland.

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington, on Friday 27 April, at which David Connolly gave an illustrated talk entitled 'Cousland - a series of fortunate events'.

OTHER MATTERS

East Lothian Council, awarded the Alan Ball Local History Award for 2010 by the Library Services Trust for their monumental *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, were presented with their prize at a ceremony in Haddington on 30 September. The idea of compiling the account was proposed by this society and the president received a certificate on our behalf.

The president remains a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian in a personal capacity. The president represents the society on the John Muir Park Advisory Group which he chairs. The president represents the society on the Laws Advisory Group. Mr J Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape.

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