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

Front cover illustration: The great hall in Ballencrieff following its restoration in the 1990s.

Back cover illustration: Peter Gillies and Lin Dalgleish examine the plaster fragments of the great hall ceiling, installed in 1617 by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, and discovered lying face-up on the great hall floor in 1992

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

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Figure 1: Haddington Nunnery 1784, from the Hutton Drawings.
(Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)

‘A CONSIDERABLE MONASTERY NOW SO ENTIRELY DEMOLISHED’: REDISCOVERING THE ABBEY OF ST MARY, HADDINGTON

by ERIC H GLENDINNING, JEAN McKINNON AND JUDITH BALDRY

INTRODUCTION

In 1851 two residents of Haddington, Thomas Hardie and William Aitken, pointed out to the surveyor of the first Ordnance Survey (OS) map of East Lothian where traces of the convent of St Mary had stood within their memory. A & J Aikman’s *New Gazetteer of Scotland* (1817) statement - that ‘a very small fragment of one of the walls is all that remains of this fabric’ - is perhaps the remnant the two men recalled (fig 1). Thirty years previously the Rev. Barclay had mentioned ‘a considerable monastery now so entirely demolished that not a vestige of it remains, unless a few vaults or cellars’ (1784, 40). The site duly appeared on the 1854 OS map, marked with a cross and the legend *St Mary’s Convent 1178* (fig 2). What the surveyor describes as ‘a portion of the burial ground belonging to the abbey’ was also indicated as *Old Grave Yard*. Apart from these descriptions, the only images of the abbey ruins are two drawings of 1784, in the Hutton Collection, of *Haddington’s Nunnery* (NLS: Adv.Ms.30.5.23.33). One shows a substantial piece of masonry, clearly a vault (see fig 1).

Figure 2: Extract from the OS 6” map of Haddingtonshire, Sheet 10, 1855.
(Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)

‘A CONSIDERABLE MONASTERY NOW SO ENTIRELY DEMOLISHED’: REDISCOVERING THE ABBEY OF ST MARY, HADDINGTON

The history of the abbey was the subject of a paper by James Jamieson, David Easson and Gordon Donaldson in volume V of these *Transactions* (1952, 2-24). This paper does not seek to replicate their work but to show, in Part I, how, following archival research by members of Haddington’s History Society, supported by field archaeology, it has been possible to locate the core of the abbey. In addition, it draws on publications produced subsequent to their paper, and on sources not easily accessible at that time, to add detail to its history. Part II gives an account of the changing ownership of former abbey property in the county following the Protestant Reformation of 1560.

PART I
HISTORY OF THE CONVENT

The terms ‘abbey’, ‘priory’, ‘convent’, ‘nunnery’ and ‘monastery’ have all been used to refer to the subject of this paper. It was founded as a Cistercian convent c.1158 by Countess Ada of Northumbria, daughter-in-law of David 1 and widow of his eldest son, Prince Henry (d.1152). In the hierarchy of monastic houses it was a priory, headed by a prioress. She had less autonomy than an abbess, with some oversight required, in theory at least, from the bishop of St Andrews, in whose diocese Haddingtonshire lay. However, in common usage, the term ‘abbey’ for this religious house dates from at least the sixteenth century. In February 1542-3 Viscount Lisle reports to the Duke of Suffolk that ‘The erle Bothwell lieth now at sojourne at a nonerye ten myles out of Edinburgh called the abbey of Haddenton (Bain 1890, 403, 557 & 541). In a feu charter of 25 September 1558, the prioress refers to the mill of the convent as ‘commonly called Abbeymiln’ (NRAS: 208/15, p 371). The village which developed to the west of the convent was known as Abbey from its earliest reference. Blaeu’s *Atlas* of 1654 indicates *The Abbay*, and all subsequent maps use the same term for this settlement. The farm that developed on the site was Abbey Mains (now in part Abbey Mill) and the old bridge leading to the site from the south is Abbey Bridge. This paper will use *convent* for the religious house, and *Abbey village* for the township. Quotations will observe whichever term was used by their authors.

Countess Ada was following a family tradition in founding a Cistercian house. David 1 founded Melrose Abbey, the first Cistercian house in Scotland, in 1136, and Ailred, his head of household and biographer, subsequently became abbot of Rievaulx (Yorkshire), Melrose’s mother house. However, the Haddington convent was not recognised as Cistercian by the mother house of the order at Cîteaux (France). This was not unusual. Of the more than 30 nunneries in the British Isles prior to the Reformation which described themselves as Cistercian, only two - Marham (Norfolk) and Tarrant Kaines (Dorset) - were incorporated. In practice, it is unlikely this was of any consequence to the nuns of Haddington. Though they were not subject to an annual visitation from Cîteaux, they were regarded as Cistercian by both Church and Crown within Scotland.

There is no doubt that the convent was wealthy. Easson details the substantial endowment by Countess Ada of land in the vicinity of Haddington,

and in Crail (Fife), along with subsequent donations by the Crown and other landed proprietors of land, property and privileges (Jamieson *et al*, 1952, 3-6). Hall (2006,186-7) identifies a possible five granges (farm estates) in East Lothian belonging to the nuns; these included Nunraw. A comparison by Duncan (1978, 424) of monastic incomes in the archdeaconry of Lothian c.1293 shows Haddington as the richest of the six Cistercian convents in the area. In the following table he compares Haddington Priory to neighbouring North Berwick Priory:

Cistercian Nuns	**Rents £**	**Demesne £**	**Demesne Ploughgates**	**Calves Lambs £**	**Wool Lambskins £**	**Appropriated Kirks £**
North Berwick	21	23	6	6	14	31
Haddington	78	29	10	12	71	26

The returns of the prioress in the *Book of Assumptions* for 1561-2, as the life of the convent was fast approaching its end, show an income of more than £300 in money, 90 chalders of grain and 11 chalders of meal along with other payments in kind (Kirk 1995, 161-5). Cowan and Easson (1976, 144) estimate that at the Reformation the convent had a minimum income of £2710 compared to £1880 for North Berwick.

Although wealthy, the convent had comparatively few nuns. An appeal to the Papal Curia of 1461 states that ‘less than twenty-four nuns commonly dwell under the rule of the prioress’ (Kirk & Tanner 1997, 245). There were 18 pensioners in 1561. In the absence of a convent archive, the little that is known of the nuns comes from external sources. This scant evidence gives a skewed picture of the nuns and their dealings. What survives relates to appeals to other authorities for support when the nuns feel ill-used, often about threats to their income, or conversely complaints from those who feel the nuns have misused their authority. It is a little like discovering that the only trace of an ancestor is their appearance in court for garden-breaking. Prioress Eve in 1296 swears fealty to Edward I of England in the hope of retaining the income due from the convent’s properties in Berwick-upon-Tweed, recently captured by the English. A dispute in 1440 regarding the election of the prioress leads to appeals and counter-appeals to the Vatican (Jamieson *et al* 1952, 7). In 1458 the nuns and burghers of Haddington argue about teinds (tithes) from the town’s mills. A priest, John de Haliburton, complains in 1461 that the nuns are not providing a full-time priest to serve the parishioners of Athelstaneford, one of their tied churches. Two appeals to the Curia relate to nuns who wish the criteria of good (i.e. legitimate) birth or minimum age to be set aside so that they might be eligible for the post of prioress. One touching appeal of 1429 concerns Elizabeth of Lauder who asks for, and is granted, a nun’s portion at Haddington, although she is the daughter of an unmarried man and woman, is lame in one leg and cannot sing (Dunlop & Cowan 1970, 65).

There is little to balance this picture of dispute. The contribution of the convent to the body and soul of the local community may be inferred from the existence of an infirmary, which would have provided support for the sick and elderly, and a chantry yard where contributions to fund masses for the dead would be received. Further, but not entirely reliable, evidence comes from the returns of the prioress recorded in the *Book of Assumptions* for 1561-2 (Kirk 1995, 161-5). Her expenditure includes support in terms of food and money to elderly men, widows, the poor, pilgrims and indigent, as well as hospitality for strangers, although no doubt she was anxious to offset as much expenditure as possible against income to reduce her tax burden.

The impact of the nuns on the local economy, and as extensive land owners of agriculture, is unrecorded. Change in farming practice is evident from the rental of 1293, which features lambs and lamb skins, and from the *Book of Assumptions* for 1561-2 where the largest item is grain, but how far their bailies initiated change rather than followed it is not known. Their mills on the Tyne, including a waulk mill, would make some contribution. In the vicinity of the convent, the nuns provided employment, and presumably housing, for a staff which in 1561-2 included two cooks, porters, brewster, gardener, ploughman, stable boys and others. This lay community, together with Abbey Mill, provided the nucleus for what became Abbey village.

More is known of the prioresses, in particular Elizabeth Hepburn, in office from c.1517 to her death in 1563. In principle the nuns could choose their own prioress, but by the end of the fifteenth century the position was in the gift of the Hepburns of Hailes, earls of Bothwell. Hence Jonet (Joan) Hepburn (1495–1517) is succeeded by Elizabeth Hepburn, whose sub-prioress, Isabel Hepburn, presumably a kinswoman, follows as prioress from 1566 to 1603 (Watt & Shead 2001, 91). Other posts were kept within the Hepburn family. Elizabeth Hepburn’s bailie in 1530 is Luke Hepburn, whilst Patrick Hepburn later holds that office. James, 4th Earl of Bothwell, is their bailie by 1561-2, on an annual fee of £100.

Prioress Elizabeth Hepburn may have been well-connected but her other qualifications for office are more suspect. A prioress was expected to be of good birth and aged over 30. However, Elizabeth Hepburn was illegitimate, which should have barred her from the office, but this was set aside by an appeal to the Vatican. She was also illiterate; it was her lawyer, ‘Maister William Waterstoun, notary public of the said lady prioress’, who compiled her return to the *Book of Assumptions* as she herself could not write. Donaldson records the allegations of a relationship with Henry Cockburn in 1541 (Jamieson et al, 1952, 15). Her will of 1563 indicates that a vow of poverty had not featured in her calling, and includes a bequest to Marioun Hepburn of ‘495 crounis … ane belt with heid, ane pendent of gold, ane burd of cramsony velvet’; other bequests include 100 double ducats to Agnes Stewart and smaller sums in gold to eight others (Robb, 91). Some of this wealth had come to her from the late John Hepburn of White Castle (Nunraw).

The convent had its share of notable visitors, welcome and unwelcome. Edward III of England had the buildings and archives destroyed in 1356, during the

invasion known as the 'Burnt Candlemas'. Margaret Stewart, second daughter of James II, was placed with the convent for a period from 1464. The young Margaret Tudor of England spent a night here in 1503 whilst on her way north to marry James IV, having earlier gone through a symbolic marriage in Westminster where James was represented by his coat! Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, occupied the convent briefly in 1543, and the Earl of Hertford burned the convent in 1544 during the War of the Rough Wooing: 'The same day (15 May) we burnt a fair town of the Earl of Bothwell's called Hadyngtoun with a great nunnery and house of the friars' (Gairdner & Brodie 1903, no. 533).

Undoubtedly the most significant event to happen at the convent was the Treaty of Haddington of June 1548, when the Scottish Parliament, meeting therein, ratified the betrothal of the young Queen Mary to the French Dauphin. In return, the French agreed to assist in driving the English out of Scotland. This all took place during the siege of Haddington with an English garrison holding the newly-fortified town and a Franco-Scottish force separately and sporadically attempting to recover it (see Merriman 2000, 309-10).

One of the last insights into the history of the convent is also intimately associated with Queen Mary. It comes in 1567, from papers cited in the divorce proceedings of James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, from his wife, Lady Jean Gordon, so as to enable him to marry Mary. These include an alleged liaison with his wife's maid at the convent (Cecil Papers, 144/91). If true, this provides evidence that the convent had not yet been demolished following the Act of Reformation of 1560, that Bothwell regarded it as family property, and that there was a building on the site called St Paul's Werk where the alleged liaison took place.

LOCATION OF THE CONVENT

On the above evidence, Haddington's convent of St Mary was a monastic house of some significance in medieval Scotland. However, unlike the priory of North Berwick (McWilliam 1978, 363) there is no trace above ground and, unlike that at Coldstream, no archive survives. The Society's first objective, therefore, was to locate as precisely as possible the site of the convent. The Society has some expertise in archive research but little in the techniques of archaeology, apart from surveying skills developed during a 'Scotland's Rural Past' project. It was decided to focus first on desk-based research and call in expert help for any field-work required.

Aerial photographs (APs) in the collection of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) were examined. Two APs (1994/C28066 and 1995/C52639) showed significant crop-marks over a large area to the east and north of the OS's *Old Grave Yard* (fig 3). With the help of East Lothian Council Archaeology Service a systematic field-walking survey of a 140 x 140 metre area to the east of the graveyard was conducted in the autumn of 2011. Finds included over 40 tile fragments, 90 ceramic fragments, some butchered bone, a scattering of oyster shell and a single human tooth. Almost all the finds

Figure 3: Extract from aerial photograph D46198CN, 1999. (Courtesy of RCAHMS)

were midden debris of Victorian date. However, on closer examination the assemblage included some medieval material, including five fragments of heavily-abraded glazed floor tile, four roof tiles, three sherds of white gritty ware and two of redware. However, the quantity of these medieval finds was insufficient, and the location too dispersed, to be significant in locating the convent buildings.

Archive research started with the map evidence. None of the usual county maps was helpful in locating the convent, being unsuitable in scale and date. However, a photostat copy of an estate plan drawn up by Lewis Gordon in 1767 (fig 4), in the collection of the National Archives of Scotland, proved of considerable interest (NAS: RHP8771). Remarkably, the original was later located in the Wemyss archive at Gosford, and an earlier version, dated 1758, is in the hands of the Playfair family, of Abbey Mains. The plan shows property purchased from Lord Blantyre by the 1st Earl of Wemyss, but also Blantyre’s extensive holdings of former convent lands.

Although dating more than 200 years after the Reformation of 1560 it is striking how the names of fields and features reflect the former presence of a pre-Reformation religious house and estate. A *tiend yaird* is marked north of the present farm and a *chantry yaird* on the north side of the older steading. To the east of the site three springs have been channelled to feed a sequence of ponds, marked *Old ponds*, which drain to the mill-lade, at that time uncovered. Presumably monastic fish-ponds, these show as prominent crop-marks on the RCAHMS 1994 AP. One of the springs feeding them is *Lady Well*. Field names suggest a possible link to the presence of a Scottish army during the 1547-8 siege of Haddington - the adjacent field to the east is *Camps*. Other estate maps from the Wemyss archive of former convent property in the vicinity have the field names *Maryflatt* and *Adamflatt*.

Figure 4: Extract from Plan of the Abbey Farm belonging to Lord Blantyre, by Lewis Gordon, 1767. (Courtesy of Lord Wemyss)

Although the 1767 plan shows more than 30 structures, including the mill, none can be associated directly with the convent - with one notable exception. To the east of the mill is an area labelled Vaults. The vault shown by Hutton (see fig 2) is presumably one of this group. Vaults are a common feature of monastic ruins, often underlying the refectory on the south side of the cloister, and used as food stores, brew-houses, etc. The area to the north of the vaults on the 1767 plan, marked Garden, has the square shape associated with a cloister garth, although an L-plan structure intrudes into the NW corner.

An entry in the *Register of the Great Seal*, dated 5 June 1592, confirms the right to the properties at and around ‘Abay-manis’ of John Maitland, lord of Thirlestane and chancellor to James VI (Thomson 1888, 713). It is a tantalising piece of evidence. Around 30 features are identified, including houses, their owners or tenants, and associated fields and yards. Each feature is located in terms of its neighbours’, but almost all the structures referred to have disappeared, and most of the small parcels of land and *yairds* detailed have been incorporated in much larger fields. The convent is notable by its absence. There is no mention of any of the key structures, such as the church, chapter house and refectory, indicating perhaps that they had already been demolished. However, there is no reason to believe that the locations of the mill, the mill-lade and the river have changed over the centuries. Hence, the position of features defined in relation to these three constants can be inferred. In addition, some features can be identified with the help of the 1767 plan. On this basis we can match the *Mylne-hauch* of 1592 with *Haugh Park* of 1767, and the *West-yaird* of 1592 with the *West Yard* of 1767; this small field survives today. ‘The yaird occupyit by Johne Diksoun commounle callit the *Bear-yaird*’ in 1592 is possibly part or all of the *Bear Yard* of John Ainslie mentioned in 1767.

An approximate location for the *Maner plaice* in 1592, and for the site of the former *Fermorie* (infirmary), can be inferred from the following extract: ‘ane lytill yaird ... betwix the said Maner plaice on the north, the mylne-land [lade] on the south, the mylne on the west, the said Fermorie-yaird on the eist’. This would give the *Maner plaice* a similar footprint to the structure in the NW corner of the garden on the 1767 plan. If so, this may be the structure shown in the background of Hutton’s 1784 sketch. Its relationship to the vault shown matches this interpretation of the site. Hutton’s sketch also shows a house with three chimneys. The 1691 Hearth Tax return shows that ‘Patrik Hepburn’ occupied the largest dwelling in Abbey village, although with just four hearths it is hardly a mansion.

In 1592 the manor is occupied by ‘Issobelle Hepburn’ and her husband. In 1566 Isabel Hepburn acquired the title of prioress for her lifetime, even though the convent had by then ceased to function as a religious house. In her role, she had powers to ‘intromet’, that is to deal with the funds and property of the convent, a role similar to that of a commendator (administrator) of an abbey. There is precedent in other monastic houses for part of the monastic complex to be adapted for use by the commendator; for example, at Dryburgh Abbey the commendator’s residence was formed in the east cloister range, where the monks’

dormitory had been. This may account for the position of the manor place. One other indication that the Maner plaice is located close to the convent site is given by a reference to the Convent *yaird*, ‘ane yaird betwix the said waird and the said Maner plaice, calit of auld the Convent-yaird’.

The extract referring to the *Fermorie-yaird* would place the infirmary in an area close to the Vaults on the 1767 plan. This becomes significant when we consider the resistivity survey below. There is also a *Dowcat-yaird* and hence a doocot to the east of the site, bordered by the *Ducat-burne*. This may be the stream draining the former fish-ponds shown on the 1767 plan. It is now covered over but still serves as a farm drain for Abbey Mains.

The 1592 document and the 1767 estate map, together with the Hutton sketch, combine to indicate that the most likely location of the main conventual range lies south of the graveyard with the garden occupying the cloister garth. If, as the 1854 OS map suggests, this was the ‘burial place of the abbey’ (that is, the nuns’ graveyard), then it poses a problem, for monastic burial grounds were normally sited to the east of the cloister. However, if the graveyard is the church, everything falls into place. It is not the nuns’ graveyard, but a cemetery that came into use after the Reformation when the church was pulled down. It was common practice for monastic churches to become graveyards after the church had fallen out of use. Even though John Knox’s *First Book of Discipline* had forbidden the interment of bodies within a functioning kirk - the practice was deemed to defile God’s house ‘with carrion’ - people still wished to be buried in sanctified ground, and as near to the east end of the former church as possible, for that was where the high altar was located.

Croal, in his *East Lothian Sketches* (1873, 12), drawing on his newspaper articles of 1866, states that the burial ground was at one time ’about double its present size’ but much had been ploughed over. Lord Blantyre had enclosed the surviving area to protect what remained. Only three grave-stones are visible within the enclosed area. The best preserved appears to be of seventeenth-century origin.

With this archival evidence, and with clear crop-marks visible south of the burial ground in an AP of 1999 (D46198CN) (fig 5), it was obvious where a ground resistivity survey should be carried out. The expertise of the Edinburgh Archaeological Field Society was now called in. The results from the area they were able to complete, measuring 60 x 40m, are striking (fig 6). The south range of a substantial building, c.38m long, is clearly visible, with an east wing extending uphill towards the east end of the graveyard. This would give the principal buildings a similar scale to those of Dryburgh. Also like Dryburgh, the east range extends beyond (ie, south) of the south range. This may be the surviving vault shown in the Hutton sketch. Just possibly, this is the ‘laich hous volted [vaulted]’ described by ‘Thomas Craigvallis, younger’, one of the witnesses in the Bothwell *versus* Gordon divorce case. (The *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* defines a *laich house* as ‘an outbuilding or smaller building attached to a larger’.) Another witness, Patrick Wilson, gives a fuller description: ‘ane hous calthe saint paules

Figure 5: The Abbey site 1999 (left) and 1767 (right).

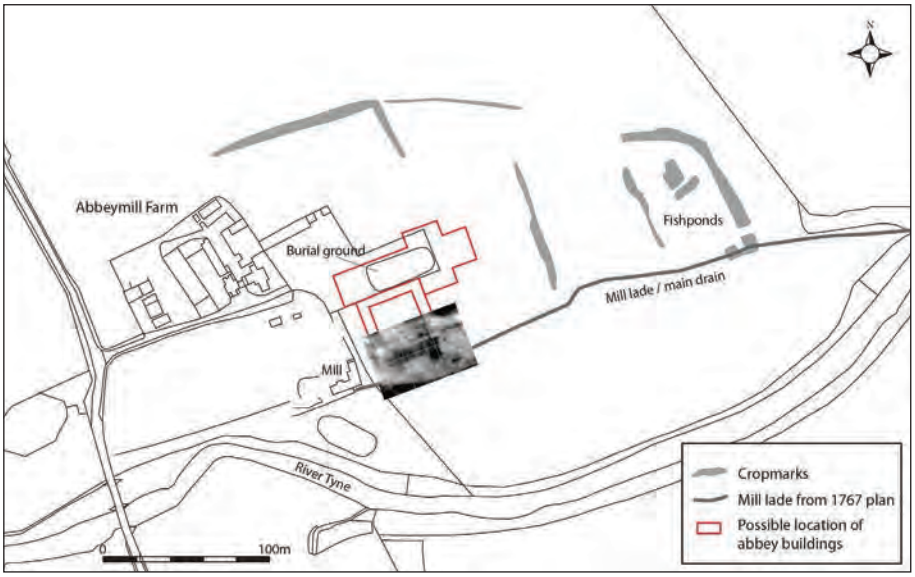

Figure 6: Possible location of the principal Abbey buildings with the resistivity survey results for the south cloister range.

werk which is on the east end of the klos without the closyter and that the saym is two hous heith as he believes and the place where he saw them togidder is ane laich hous which enters of the end and that the door thereof standes to the west the windo to the south and the chymany to the eist and that thair is two stand beddis therein’ (Cecil Papers, C144/91).

A little further downhill to the SE the resistivity survey located a rectangular structure, c. 6 x 2m. It is possible that this is the infirmary as its location matches that of the *Fermorie Yaird* referred to in 1592.

In addition to the resistivity results, the Society’s research has identified the building at the north end of the old steading of Abbey Mill farm as possibly a barn forming part of the chantry yard of the convent, where offerings in the form of grain were received as payment for sung masses for the dead. A building on the same location is shown in the 1767 plan facing the *chantry yard*. The Royal Commission dates it to the sixteenth century (RCAHMS, 1924).

The Society has undertaken no archaeological excavation at the site but a number of surface finds have been made. In all, 14 pieces of glazed floor tile were recovered. Those found just to the south of the burial ground showed less signs of wear than those found to the east. Of the total, two had a dark green, almost black, glaze indicative of copper. The remainder had traces of yellow/brown glaze. The tiles are all 2.7cms thick. Their overall size cannot be determined as no specimen with more than two straight edges was recovered. However, they were at least 10cms square. The tiles have been dated to the fourteenth century (*pers. comm.* Derek Hall), and analysis has shown that they are of Dutch origin, and closest in chemistry to those produced in Amsterdam (*pers. comm.* M J Hughes).

PART II
DISPERSAL OF CONVENT LANDS AND PROPERTIES

As the movement for reform of the Church gathered strength in the 1550s, heads of religious houses took steps to disperse their holdings. A charter of 1559 by Prioress Elizabeth seeks to justify this action: ‘considerying the great and apperand trowbill and rwyne approcheyng upon the religiouse men and wemen and thair places and landis within the realme of Scotland for destruction and doune castyng pytting to rwyne their abais yardis and policy’ (NRAS 832/80). Charters by her for this period detail grants both to Hepburns and other local families. She had already (1541) feued to John Hepburn of Beanston, ‘cousin’ to the prioress, a life-interest in the mill and teinds of Garvald. ‘Cousin’ implies kinsperson rather than blood relation but the prioress and John Hepburn were certainly close. In her will there is reference to goods and jewels placed with her on his death. Sled and Little Newton, also in Garvald parish, went to John Hepburn’s son, Patrick Hepburn of White Castle (Nunraw), in 1556. In 1560 Garvald Grange was entrusted to Patrick Home, and Begbie to John Cockburn of Skirling.

In the case of the convent’s mills, those who obtained charters were already operating the mills as servitors or lease-holders. Gimmers Mills, in Nungate, were

given in perpetual feu to John Forrest, a previous lease-holder, in 1557. The waulk mill at what became New Mills went to John Bald ‘servitor’, also in 1557 (possibly the same John Bald who was left £21 in Prioress Elizabeth’s will; Bald already had a 19-year tack of the waulk mill of which four years remained). In 1558 Abbey Mill, with four acres of land, was given in life-rent to Katherine Robertson, wife of George Johnstone, alias Millar, and their son John Johnstone. A Catherine Miller and Laurence Paterson, husband and wife, are described as lease-holders of Abbey Mill in the waulk mill charter of 1557 (NAS: GD237/13/1).

The Crown’s initial response was not, as the prioress may have feared, to seize all church property but rather to tax the church to the extent of one third of all its income. To pay these taxes, more property was feued out. *The Book of Assumptions* for February 1561/62 lists the following convent properties rented out for money or victuals:

Abbey Mains and lands of the said abbey. (In effect, the home farm of the convent and its largest holding, extending to the west and east of the convent, both north and south of the Tyne. The present-day Abbey Mains is an eighteenth-century creation.)

Abbey Mill
Quarrypits and Waulk mill
Nungate
Gimmers Mill
Rents of the burgh of Haddington and Nungate
The *Mounkland* (possibly *Abbey Muir*)
The lands of Nunraw, with 7 husbandlands of Garvald and its mill
Garvald Grange and 1 husbandland in Garvald
4 husbandlands in Garvald with the haugh at the kirk of Garvald
Kirklands of Bara
Lands of Sled (Sled is now part of Garvald Mains)
Carfrae, Newlands, Snawdon, Little Newton (Little Newton is now part of Carfrae)
Ryndislaw (A charter of 1567 has *Wyndislaw*, possibly *Windylaw*, now part of Carfrae)
West and East Hopes
Husbandland of Beanston
The oxgait of land of Begbie

(The return does not include Stevenson, former convent property, by then already in Hepburn hands. The single husbandland of Beanston declared contrasts with the considerable holdings the Hepburns had at Beanston by this time. Properties beyond Haddingtonshire, as well as teinds, have been omitted.)

Donaldson traced the changing ownership, sometimes abrupt, of the larger convent properties from 1563 to the end of the sixteenth century (Jamieson *et al*, 22-4). His account reflects the rivalry between the Hepburns and the Maitlands and the turbulent events of the reigns of Queen Mary and the minority of her son James VI. The Hepburns had expectations. Prioress Elizabeth Hepburn was ‘neir

kynniswoman’ of James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, and had already feued out convent property to Hepburns, as we have seen. Her bailies were Hepburns; John Hepburn of Beanston and George Hepburn were appointed bailies to the convent in 1536 (Harvey & Macleod 1930, no. 520). Hepburns were already in possession of Nunraw. However, in 1563, whilst Bothwell was a fugitive in the Borders, Prioress Elizabeth, presumably under pressure, granted a charter of much of the convent’s holdings to the queen’s secretary, William Maitland of Lethington. This charter lists Abbey Mains, Muirtown (part of present-day Abbey Mains farm), the Hopes, Woodend, *Rindslaw*, Snawdon, Carfrae and Little Newton.

In March 1566, with Bothwell back in favour, the grant to Maitland was revoked by Mary. As a result of Bothwell’s ‘ernist sute maid to hir majestie baith in France and within this realme’, the property was transferred to Isobel Hepburn, who was created prioress for life (Privy Seal Register, 1/34 folio 55). But the Bothwell/Hepburn ascendancy was short-lived. Following Bothwell’s flight into exile after Mary’s surrender at Carberry Hill in 1567, William Maitland was reinstated in the convent lands. This too, though, proved fleeting. William Maitland was one of the ‘Queen’s Men’ who occupied Edinburgh Castle in 1572. With the help of English artillery, the ‘King’s Men’ took the castle in 1573. Maitland was taken prisoner and died the same year. An Act of Parliament of 1584 of James VI put into effect revocations made in the Parliaments of 1579 and 1581 of all land grants to the late William Maitland for ‘certane crymis of treasoun and lesemajestie’ (RPS, 1584/5/53). Patrick, Lord Lyndsay of the Byres (1521-89), one of the party who murdered David Rizzio at Holyrood Palace in 1566, was confirmed as heritable tenant of all the property that had been assigned to Maitland. The same act stripped Robert Hepburn of the lands of Stevenson and reassigned Begbie to the Douglas family of Hawick. Lyndsay ownership is not well-documented. Robert Lyndsay of the Byres is listed as feudal superior of Gimmers Mills in 1612 but we have found no later mention of Lyndsays in records relating to convent property.

In spite of William Maitland’s treason, his younger brother, John, was appointed chancellor by James VI in 1586. In 1590 he became Lord Maitland of Thirlstane and in 1592 was granted ‘all and haill the tenement of land and Maner plaice of the Abay-manis of Hadingtoun.’ (Thomson 1888, 713).

The fate of some of the smaller properties of the convent can be traced through the Wemyss archive at Gosford. The archive holds eighteenth-century transcripts of documents charting the changing ownership of land acquired by Col Francis Charteris (1672-1732) and Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss (1723-1808). Most of the transcripts are brief extracts that focus mainly on properties forming the Amisfield estate. By 1883 it comprised more than 130 named parcels of land, ranging from 80 acres of Abbey farm to a single rigg in the Nungate - ‘the rigg called Minnie’s Rigg in the field called Broadcroft’. With the exception of Bearford and some smaller parcels of land, almost all of the estate was former convent property. The earliest documents date to the dispersal of the convent properties around the time of the Reformation.

Through these documents we can follow the ownership trail of Abbey Mill, New Mills, which became the nucleus of Amisfield estate, and the barony of Beanston. There are also scattered references to Nungate properties. The sequence of ownership has been abbreviated here for the sake of clarity. (The ownership of Gimmers Mills can be traced through other accounts (Montgomerie 1952, 39-49).)

Abbey Mill is immediately to the west of the convent site. A mill, disused since before World War II, survives on the site today. As we have seen, Katherine Robertson was given life-rent of the mill in 1558. In 1616 the mill was back in Hepburn hands, passed from John Johnstone to Isobel Hepburn, daughter of George Hepburn ‘portioner in Athelstonfoord’. In 1623 it became the property of Patrick Hepburn, ‘third lawful son’ of Patrick Hepburn of New Mills. This younger Patrick Hepburn is now referred to as Patrick Hepburn of Abbey Mill. In 1643, now known as Patrick Hepburn of Monkrigg, he transferred his combined holdings to his second son, Andrew Hepburn. In 1716 Andrew’s son, Patrick Hepburn of Abbey Mill, was confirmed as his heir. This Patrick’s daughter, Agnes Hepburn, in 1748 sold Abbey Mill with its four acres, together with a small parcel of land near Amisfield, to Francis Charteris, 7th Earl of Wemyss.

New Mills, originally the site of the convent’s waulk mill, was on the south bank of the Tyne in an area now occupied by Haddington golf course, formerly the policies of Amisfield House. As we have seen, in 1557 Prioress Elizabeth granted John Bald a charter to the waulk mill of Nungate and its haughs. The charter was approved by the Archbishop of St Andrews. In 1599 the king ratified a charter by Bald’s son, Archibald, by which the property was acquired by Patrick Hepburn ‘in Stevinstoun’ (Thomson 1890, 903). By that date Patrick had already demolished the fulling mill and built two grain mills, referred to as New Mills, in its place. He had also obtained small areas of land at Quarrypitts and Sprottisflatt, former convent properties on the opposite bank to the convent. In 1600 Patrick leased ‘the two corn mills called the Bailies mills’, presumably the two he had just built on the site of the waulk mill, to an Edinburgh merchant, James Dalgleish. By exchange and purchase, the Hepburn holding at New Mills was expanded. George Hepburn (d.1624) acquired the property in 1612 and added to it with purchases from John Bald ‘burgess of Haddington’ in 1617. Adam Hepburn was in possession by 1634. By 1642 he was referred to as Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie and in that year purchased from the Earl of Lauderdale and his son, Lord Maitland of Clerkington, described as ‘titulars of the teinds of the Abbey of Haddington’, the parsonage teinds of his acres of Adamflatt (a field on the north bank of the Tyne opposite Amisfield) and all the land belonging to him in the territory of Nungate and New Mills.

In 1649 William Thomson, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, acquired New Mills, presumably to set up a woollen mill. This may be the same William Thomson, then town clerk of Edinburgh, who represented the merchants of Haddington concerning the creation of a Dean of Guild Court in 1659. In 1652 Thomson obtained from the Earl of Lauderdale part of the convent lands lying

‘besouth the Abbey Bridge called Bridge fletts ... and the north half of the land called the long acres’. Thomson used this acquisition as security for a loan of 4500 merks from John Drummond of Lenoch. In 1654, possibly due to financial difficulties, Thomson disposed of New Mills ‘with the work looms of the manufactory and goods upon the ground’ to Drummond. The property reverted to the Hepburns when Drummond sold New Mills to Dame Agnes Foulis, wife to Sir Adam Hepburn, and to their son David, that same year. In 1672 New Mills was sold by them to James Stanfield, burgess of Edinburgh.

The story of the great wool manufactory at New Mills under Stanfield is well-known (see Green 1907, 347-353). At one time it had a work force of 700 but faced financial difficulties, allegedly due to the excesses of James Stanfield’s son, Philip. In 1686 Philip Stanfield was executed for the murder of his father on the evidence that the exhumed corpse of his father bled when touched by him. The managers of the Wool Manufactory, a new company, purchased the concern in 1695. This company had better fortune for a while but could not compete with cheaper English cloth after the Union of 1707. The land and estates were put up for sale in 1712 and purchased by Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, bringing to an end woollen manufacturing on the site. The property was bought by Col Francis Charteris in 1726, forming the Barony of Amisfield.

Beanston lies about three miles east of Haddington. The convent’s property there included Mainshill, two husbandlands and the Redway croft. John Hepburn, one of the convent’s bailies in 1536, is described as ‘of Beanston’. We have previously noted his close relationship to Prioress Elizabeth. By 1604 Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton had Mainshill. The Earl of Buccleuch ‘as come in place of the Earl of Bothwell’ was feudal superior in 1607 but some Beanston properties were still in Hepburn hands in 1634. Beanston became Wemyss property in the eighteenth century, forming the estate of Francis, Lord Elcho.

Nungate, on the east bank of the Tyne, is now part of Haddington, linked to the town by Nungate Bridge. Originally it was the Nuns’ Gate (the nuns’ road) leading from the town to the convent. The land adjacent to the road is referred to as the territory of Nungate of Haddington in charters of the sixteenth century. Of all the convent’s holdings, those in Nungate seem the most fragmented. From the evidence of the Wemyss archive most of the convent’s estate there, apart from Gimmers Mills, the mill haughs, a field called Nunside, and land associated with the waulk mill, seem to have been made up of small parcels of land, a rigg here and a butt of land there. This may reflect donations to the convent of plots adjacent to the road. Drawing from Haddington’s *Protocol Books*, Donaldson gives further examples of small areas of convent land in Nungate. Twelfth-century St Martin’s Church, for instance, today a mere shell, was also convent property.

Prioress Elizabeth granted a charter of lands in Nungate to John Hepburn in 1557. The extent is not given in the brief Wemyss extract. William Hepburn, his son, inherited the property in 1578. He sold seven acres in Adamflatt and five in *Nunsett* (Nunside?) to Patrick Hepburn of New Mills in 1586, with further sales in

the late 1580s and 90s - for example, 15½ acres of land in Nungate in 1595. These lands, with the addition of burgess plots in Nungate, were purchased by Lord Wemyss in the eighteenth century.

Gimmers Mills are still in business today in Nungate, trading as *Pure Malt*. Our knowledge of the mills' changing ownership comes from documents deposited in the Scottish Record Office by Mongomerie and Company and by Haddington Town Council (Montgomerie 1952, 39-49). In 1557 the prioress granted Gimmers Mills and four butts of land in Millcroft in permanent feu to John Forrest. The propriety of this was queried by the Bishop of St Andrews but approved by the papal legate the same year. According to Montgomerie, 'John had paid great sums for the feu charter as well as other sums in their great and urgent need for the rebuilding of the monastery and cloister and houses of the same, destroyed and burned by our old enemies, the English, in the last war.' The prioress had sold to a staunchly Protestant family; John's son, David, a 'Pioneer of Protestantism', was a friend and supporter of John Knox (Forbes Gray & Jamieson 1944, 32). The same source has him as 'General of the Cunzie House', that is Master of the Mint, in 1562. In 1604 the Court of Session confirmed the right of David Forrest, possibly his son, to Dobbies Haugh, mill land, and ordered the arrest of Patrick Hepburn of New Mills for taking possession of the land by force. In 1608 David Forrest took out a summons against Patrick Hepburn and his sons, George and William, for refusing to pay compensation for damage to Dobbies Haugh. The Forrests held the property for more than 200 years and were a family of some note; three Forrests served as provosts of Haddington in the 1700s. Frances Charteris acquired Gimmersmill Haugh and the mill lands in Crossflatt in 1786 from Dr George Forrest, Professor of Philosophy at St Andrews. The mill itself passed out of Forrest hands in 1795 when Dr Forrest died and a relative, Dr Maitland, inherited.

For the most part, this account of property transactions has involved wealthy families. We can obtain some evidence of tenant farmers and the occasional owner-occupier of convent lands from the *Book of Assumptions* of 1573 and from the wills of several individuals living at Abbey village, the fermtoun which grew out of the lay settlement to the west of the convent site.

Laurence Patersoun, for example, was in Abbey Mill in 1573. His wife, Katherine Robesoun, died in 1585. She may be the same Katherine granted the mill in 1558. A wealthy woman, she had eight oxen (enough for a plough team), three horses and eight sheep, with three bolls and two firlots of wheat sown. In the barn and barnyard there were 15 threaves of oats, 30 of beir and 20 of peas. Her debts included rent due to the laird of Lethington for abbey lands and to Lord Lyndsay for the mill. She also owed money to Janet Johnstoune 'in Abbey' and fees to five servants, presumably mill and farm workers (ECC: CC8/8/17).

Robert Dicksoun 'in the Abbay', who died in 1581, had an ox, a house cow and calf. His main wealth was in his crops. These included nine firlots of wheat sown in Muirtoun Hall, as well as oats and rye sown 'in the Abbey'. He had

grain in the barn and barnyard of the Abbey, beir and oats, with 11 bolls of oats in the barn and barnyard of Muirtoun Hall and in the mill and at home 10 firlots of oats; the barnyard grain would be stacked but not yet threshed. He may be the same Robert Dicksoun who witnessed many of Prioress Elizabeth’s charters, is mentioned as a tenant farmer in the waulk mill charter, and was left £20 in gold in her will (ECC: CC8/8/9).

Retours of the seventeenth century include a number of owners of small parcels of land at Abbey. John Reid in Hailes inherited from his father a tenement of land with a garden in Abbey in 1632. In 1656 John Dicksoune, a portioner ‘in the Abbey’, left the yards and a piece of land called Byreloch along with teind sheaves and pasturage in the Mains, a piece of land called the Beiryard with teind sheaves, and lands at Garvald and Nungate. William Sives inherited a tenement in Abbey with pasture in Abbey Mains in 1678. The Bear yard and Sives Feu, the latter a tiny portion of land at 0.21 Scotch acres, are shown on the 1767 estate plan (see fig 3).

The Hearth Tax for Haddington parish, excluding the poor and ‘the deficient’, has 38 named households ‘in Abbey’. The Wemyss Rental for Crop of 1760 shows Thomas Purves as tenant in Abbey Mill, Mill lands and Banglie. The other tenants with a house and yard each were Alexander Learmont, William White, William Learmont and Alexander Ritchie. In 1773 James Tait was tenant of Abbey Mill and lands, while Henry Foggo was tenant of four small yards at Abbey village. Valuation Rolls from 1855 list three proprietors there of small properties, rated under £4, in the village: Robert Foggo, a teacher in Pencaitland and descendant of Henry Foggo and Marion Sives, John Webster, an Edinburgh watchmaker, and William Millar, clerk to the Board of Manufacturers in Edinburgh. Millar’s property had a feu duty of ‘one farthing and a white rose if called for’ payable to Lord Blantyre. The occupants of these properties are seldom listed.

The OS Name Book of 1851 records a school at Abbey village: ‘The apartment of a dwelling house occupied as a school room the rent of which is payed by a few gentlemen of the locality. The average number of scholars about 40 ... In it taught English, Writing, Arithmetic etc.’ Near the edge of the village, a Sunday school was held in the central property facing west, distinguished by a double fore-stair of stone. It survives today in a ruinous condition.

In 1841 Abbey village had a population of 96. By 1911 it had fallen to 15. The 1911 census records five houses there. A few were still occupied in the late 1940s. They had no electricity or running water. The census returns show that most residents were involved in agriculture as labourers and farm servants. These people moved a great deal, their moves recorded in the birthplace of their children. Those with skilled occupations, such as a family of masons called Ormiston, and the tenant millers, were more settled. The miller in 1841 was John Lumsden, father of Alexander Lumsden of *Samuel Mucklebackit* fame. George Allan was mill master in 1851. In 1871 he was described as mill master and farmer of 97 acres. Robert Golightly was miller and farmer until Robert Steedman took over the tenancy in 1913. Abbey Mill ceased operation in the 1920s. The farm of Abbey

Mill was bought by Robert Steedman from Lord Wemyss in 1944. In 1949 he acquired the houses of Abbey Village and adjacent land from Abbey Mains.

Who benefited most from the dispersal of convent property? A succession of three Hepburn prioresses from the late fifteenth century, the Hepburns’ role as bailies for the convent, the political power exercised by the earls of Bothwell in the county, and for a period on the national stage, meant they were well-placed in the scramble for convent resources. They had a head start with properties consigned to them in the 1550s by Prioress Elizabeth and even earlier occupation of Nunraw and Beanston. What is remarkable is that, in spite of Bothwell’s forfeiture in 1567 and that of his nephew Francis in 1593, members of the Hepburn family retained convent property in Newmills until 1672, Nunraw until 1747, and Abbey Mill, after a short period in Johnston hands, to 1748. Beanston, Stevenson and parts of Nungate were in Hepburn hands well into the seventeenth century. How long afterwards remains to be researched. The Hepburns also acquired former property of the Cistercian abbey of Newbattle (Midlothian), for example Monkrigg near Haddington.

As we have seen, the Maitlands of Lauderdale obtained the great bulk of the convent lands, including Abbey Mains, in the late sixteenth century. In 1703 Walter, Master of Blantyre, acquired these properties, with the addition of Lennoxlove. In 1902 William Baird of Newbyth, grandson of the last Lord Blantyre, inherited the barony of Lennoxlove. His large estate is detailed in a sasine of that year. Much of it is former convent property, although in some cases he retains the right to teinds, patronage of the churches and other privileges rather than the land itself. His estate included the site of the convent ‘the place and land whereupon the said Monastery and Abbey of Haddington was sometimes situated and the Precinct thereof’ (HS 1902 no. 271). While the site of the convent has now been established, the extent of the precinct is not known. An estate map showing this would be invaluable. The present farms of Abbey Mains and Abbey Mill account for around 600 acres of the original Mains of the convent. (Abbey Mains is today owned and farmed by the Playfair family, who purchased it from the Kirks in 1948.)

The Wemyss family came late to the scene. Their estate of Amisfield was forged by purchase, not politics. How the Tweeddales acquired former convent property is yet to be researched. The rental rolls of the Hays of Yester for 1651 show Carfrae, Newlands and Snawdon in their possession. Part of the lands of Baro are in Hay hands from at least 1570. By 1731, and probably much earlier, the Hays have East and West Hopes. These properties remained in Hay hands until the mid-twentieth century.

Who lost out in the scramble for church resources? The dispersal of the property of the convent of St Mary to the most politically adept, and those with the greatest influence, follows a similar pattern to the break-up of other church estates in Scotland. With much of church property already in private hands, Melville’s vision in the *Second Book of Discipline* - of a reformed church, school system and parish relief for the poor funded from the resources of the old church - had little chance of success.

‘A CONSIDERABLE MONASTERY NOW SO ENTIRELY DEMOLISHED’: REDISCOVERING THE ABBEY OF ST MARY, HADDINGTON

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National Library of Scotland: Extract from the OS Haddingtonshire 6-inch map 1855 and view of Haddington Nunnery 1784; Lord Wemyss: Extract from a plan of Abbey Farm, 1767; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: AP: D46198 CN; Edinburgh Archaeological Field Society (EAFS): Ground resistance survey of the Abbey Mill site;

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‘A HARD HARNEST MAN’: THE ARMOUR OF GEORGE DUNBAR, 9TH EARL OF MARCH

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INTRODUCTION

‘Hard harnest’: thus did an anonymous fifteenth-century romancer describe men in armour fighting (Anon, c. 1470, 78). More familiar are the words put into the mouth of Macbeth by Shakespeare: ‘Blow, wind! Come, wrack! At least we’ll die with harness on our back’ (*Macbeth*, V, v). In this paper, some insight will be provided into the armour available to one prominent Scottish magnate of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century.

In the 1880s the editors of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, in what was then the Public Record Office (now the National Archives (NA)), identified a fiat, or authoritative pronouncement, dated 1400-1 (fig 1). It translates thus:

> *Dec. 14, 1400-1 [?]. To the Chancellor. Fiat for a writ to the Mayor of London to deliver all the ‘hernoises’ [harnesses] arrested by him made by [sic] John of Wardelawe of Scotland for* ***the earl of March of Scotland****, viz., five ‘bacynettes,’ four pair of ‘platez,’ with five ‘brestplatez,’ six pair of ‘braciers entiers,’ six ‘garnicementz pour launces, eit paire de gauntez de ferre, deux escuez, sys selles bastardes.’ ‘Par Henry Sire de Percy.* [1]
> (Bain et al 1881-8, no 592)

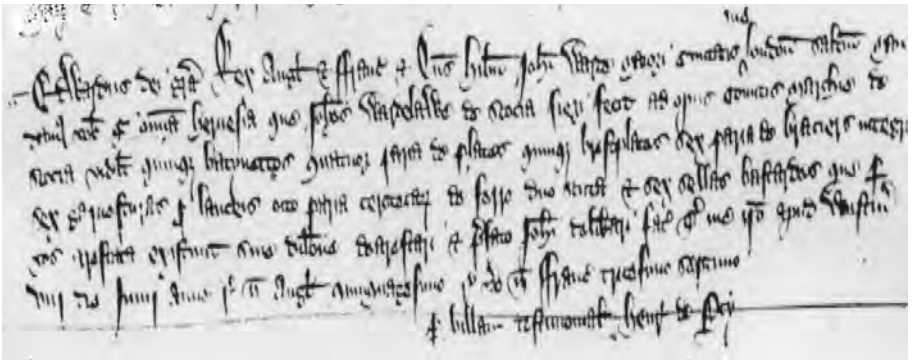

Figure 1: Copy of the fiat, dated 1400-1 (LMA, London Letter-Book H, fol. 39r)

Figure 2: Crown plate of a helm, first half of the fourteenth century.
(Glasgow Museums LA.1961.19.a)

Regrettably, the present author has been unable to locate the original fiat, and in the annotated copy of the calendar in the National Archives at Kew it is marked as ‘not found’. There is, however, in the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA, London Letter-Book H, fol. 39r.), a document in Latin that must be a copy of the lost document in French. This runs:

> *Edwardus dei gra’ Rex angl’ & Franc’ & D[omin]us hib[er]n’ Joh[ann] i Warte maiori Ciuitatis n[ostr]is london’ sal[u]t[e]m mandam[us] vob’ q[uo]d om[n]ia hernesia que Joh[ann]es Wardelawe de Scocia fieri fecit ad opus* ***comitis marchie de Scocia*** *vid[e]l[ice]t quinq[ue] bacynettos quatuor paria de plates quinq[ue] brestplates sex paria de braciers integra sex garnesturas p[ro] lanceis octo paria cerotecar[um] de ferro duo scuta & sex sellas bastardes que p[er] nos arestata existunt sine dil[ati]one dearestari & p[re]fato Joh[ann]i delib[er]ari fac’ T[er]m[in]o ip[s]o apud Westm’ viij die Junij anno r’ n’ angl’ quinquagesimo r’ n’ Franc’ tricesimo septimo per billam testimonial’ henr’ de P[er]cy*
>
> [Edward by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland sends greetings to John Warde mayor of our city of London. We command that all the harness which John Wardelawe of Scotland has had made for the use of **the earl of March of Scotland** viz.: five bascinets, four pairs of plates, five breastplates, six pairs of complete bracers, six fittings for lances, eight pairs of iron gauntlets, two shields, and six bastard saddles which have been confiscated by us should be de-confiscated and delivered without delay to the said John. Done this term at Westminster on the 8th day of June in the fiftieth year of our reign of England and the thirty-seventh of our French reign [1377]. by the bill witnessed by Henry Percy]

The importance of such documents to our understanding of the employment of armour in medieval Scotland is paramount due to the simple fact that there are so few objects surviving from this period. The only substantial piece of medieval plate armour from Scotland is the crown plate of a helm (fig 2), now in the collections of Glasgow Museums (see Scott 1962, 73-93). As Dr David Caldwell, one of the foremost scholars of Scottish arms and armour, has pointed out: ‘the evidence for the armour worn in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries comes entirely from funeral monuments and documentary sources.’ (Caldwell 1979, 11; see also Caldwell 1981, 73-93, and Caldwell 1988, 53-62).

GEORGE DUNBAR, 9th EARL OF MARCH

George Dunbar (c.1336-1416x23), 9th Earl of March [2], was one of the most powerful nobles in Scotland. Some relevant background information on him is here related from two excellent articles by Dr Alastair J Macdonald:

> *The hallmark of his career as earl is military activity in the marches. He was the most successful Scottish leader of the 1370s and 1380s in terms of gaining possession of disputed border lands and in terms of battlefield success against English forces. In 1389 when a truce was agreed with England, the Scots had enjoyed two decades of success in war in which Earl George had been one of the most prominent figures.* (Macdonald 2003, 150-1)

Figure 3: Bascinet, possibly German, c. 1350.
(Glasgow Museums E.1939.65.aj R. L. Scott bequest)

‘A HARD HARNEST MAN’:
THE ARMOUR OF GEORGE DUNBAR, 9TH EARL OF MARCH

> *The earl’s father had died on crusade, and spent much of his life in arms. Naming his son George, after the warrior saint, is just one indication of his militaristic inclinations. In this sense his son would not let him down. Remarkable success in war must have contributed to Earl George’s image of himself and his family.* (Macdonald 2003, 157)

> *He was responsible for burning English-controlled Roxburgh in 1377 and took part in subsequent heavy raiding which led to his capture of Sir Thomas Musgrave, the keeper of Berwick, in the same year. [...] Dunbar Castle [was] the earl’s chief seat […]. Military success continued to accompany March. He defeated a major Scottish raiding force at Nisbet on 22 June 1402 and was with the English host on 14 September following when a full-scale Scottish army met disaster at the battle of Homildon Hill. Although overall command lay with the earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy [...], the tactics that brought victory were March’s. […] his advice helped bring about the defeat at Shrewsbury of the greatest challenge of Henry IV’s rule. For a second time March defeated both Hotspur (who was killed) and [Archibald earl of] Douglas (who was captured again). His military career was outstanding, as his contemporaries noticed. In the words of Walter Bower, ‘He was accounted most fortunate in every fighting encounter, for his side always prevailed’ (Bower, [Scotichronicon, ed. by D E R Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1993)], 8.117). […] by a more symbolic reward he was permitted to style his herald Shrewsbury. […] The ninth earl of March was in a British context the foremost warrior of his time.* (Macdonald 2004)

What follows is an attempt to explain what each object mentioned in the fiat is currently understood to be. This is fraught with interpretative difficulties and I share in Earl George’s sentiment when he wrote to his cousin Henry IV of England: ‘mervaile yhe nocht [marvel ye not] that I write my lettres in englis fore that ys mare clere to myne vnderstandyng than latyne ore Fraunche.’ (Gibson-Craig 1867-72, vol ii, 44)

BASCINET (fig 3)

This ubiquitous helmet derived its name from the French diminutive of ‘basin’ *(OED)*. Dr Claude Blair (1958, 51) provides the following definition:

> *(1) A small globular helmet that curves down on each side to cover the ears. It is often shown fitted with a movable visor […]*
>
> *(2) A deep conical helmet, arched over the face and extending down almost to the shoulders at the sides and back. It is occasionally equipped with a nasal and frequently with a pivoted visor.*

Sir James Mann (1936, 413) wrote of them: ‘Although the survivors are few, they must originally have existed in great numbers, for they are par excellence the headpieces of the time of Froissart and the Hundred Years’ War. They are portrayed in countless illuminated manuscripts, paintings, and carvings of all the Western

European countries of this time, and are frequently mentioned in inventories, wills and account-rolls.’ Froissart’s evocative description of the noise of battle at Roosebek in 1382 bears this out:

> *Si tous les haulmiers de Paris et de Bruxelles fussent ensemble, leur metier faisant, ils n’eussent pas mené ni fait greigneur noise comme les combattans et les férans sur ces bassinets faisoient.*
> [If all the armourers of Paris and Brussels were working together, practising their craft, they would not make as great a noise as the fighters and the blows on the bascinets made.]
> (Lettenhove, 1867-77, vol ii, 251)

That the shape of the bascinet was rapidly changing is evident from documentary sources. In 1384 an Italian arms dealer who had set up in Avignon sent one of his agents to buy twelve bascinets like those made in Lyon, and even went as far as to attach a drawing to his letter to save himself describing their shape (*XII bacinetti fatti chosti ho al Leone in sul Rodano, e sieno della ghuisa e alla forma che vi mando la mostra disegnata in questa*) (Brun 1951, 228). In France, in 1384 an order was placed for bascinets with visors and mail neck-defences of the latest fashion (*des bassinets à visière et camail de nouvelle façon* (Contamine 1972, 656). The armourer who compiled the 1397 inventory of the forfeited armour of Richard, Earl of Arundel, listed ‘five bascinets of Flanders with high tops’ (*v bacynetz de flaundres de haut tour*) and sixteen ‘old round bascinets’ (vailles rounde bacynetz) (NA: E163/6/13).

There is no mention in the documents of the mail neck protection, known as the aventail, or of visors. An anonymous contributor to Andrew of Wyntoun’s chronicle describes combats arranged between Scots and English knights and noblemen in the 1330s thus: ‘ilk man / Ryne wiþ a baire visage […] thre cousis of were’ (*each man ran their three [jousting] courses of war with bared faces*) (Amours 1903-14, vol vi, 106-10). Also, in a letter of challenge sent from English knights and squires to their French counterparts of c.1399-1400, it was stated that they would fight in ‘*bascinets without visors*’ ‘*bachinet sans visiere*’ (BL, Additional Manuscript 21357, fol.4r).

PAIR OF PLATES

Claude Blair (1958, 40) has highlighted the ubiquity of this torso defence, stating that ‘a cloth or leather garment lined with metal plates was the most widely used type of body-defence throughout the 14th century’. Although no complete examples survive, it can be shown that they were the forerunner of the brigandine. In an early fifteenth-century document, describing the cargo of a ship from Alicante wrecked off the south coast of England, there is mention of ‘30 pairs of plates called brigandines’ (*xxx paria de platys voc’ briganteirs*) (NA: C145/296/10. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous […] preserved in the Public Record Office* (no ed.) (London 1916-62, vol VII, 313). Documentary evidence can also give some insight into the manner of their construction. In 1327

the Count of Savoy paid for the ‘repair of a pair of plates covered with camlet’ (according to the OED ‘some beautiful and costly eastern fabric’) ‘… in which pair of plates were seven pieces of steel’ (*pro reparacione unius paris plactarum copertarum zamelloto … in quo pari plactarum refecte fuerunt pecie septem de aczaro*) (Buttin, 1910, 35).

Inventories and records of payment also reveal that this kind of armour could be richly covered. Sir Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March (1287-1330), had a pair of plates covered in cloth of gold (*vne peire des plates cou[er]tz dun drap dor*) (NA: E101/333/4), whilst Edward III of England liked his to be covered in white leather and even had some with gilt escallops (*vne peire de plates cou[er] t de blanc quir oue scalopes dorez […] pur le recou[er]ir de vne peire de plat[es] couertz de blanc quir oue scalopes dorez)* (NA: E101/338/11). They could also be left uncovered. A knight from Valenciennes had, in 1337, ‘a burnished pair without covers nailed on English leather’ (*unes plates burneys sans couvretures, clauées sur cuir d’Engleterr*) (Dehaisnes 1886, I, 326). The two velvet coats for covering plates (*deux cotes de velvet pur plates coverir*) mentioned amongst the effects of Sir Piers Gaveston, Edward II’s favourite, in 1313 (Rymer 1726-35, vol ii, pt 2, 205) also suggest that coverings could be removed. As with the bascinets of this period, it is clear that fashions were changing; in 1358, amongst the possessions of the late Count of Hainault were *vij paires de plattes de le [sic] viese maniere* (Mons, Archives de l’État, Chartrier des archives de la ville, no. 146). They were also a way of recycling old armour as, in 1359, craftsmen were paid 35s. for ‘working on mending and repairing old [pairs of] plates received from the old galley that came from Bayonne and were sent across the sea in a new galley’ (*op[er]ant’ sup[er] emendac’ & rep[ar]ac’ plat’ antiquor[um] recept’ de antiquo Galey venient’ de Bayon’ & miss’ sup[r]a mar’ in nouo Galey*) (NA: E101/397/10). The recycling of old armour is dealt with by Eaves (1989).

BREASTPLATE

Dr Thom Richardson, Keeper of Armour at the Royal Armouries, who is currently researching the earliest military inventories of the Tower of London, has pointed out to the author that 1377 is ‘very early indeed’ with reference to breastplates in London (*pers comm* 20 March 2008; see also Richardson 2011). One ‘worn out breastplate worth 10s.’ (*j bristplate vsez pris x s*)(NA: E101/509/26) appears in the inventory of the goods of a London merchant in 1376, and in the following year the London Assize of Nuisance heard the case of some neighbours of an armourer who complained of the noise and shaking caused by the blows of sledge-hammers whilst he was working great pieces of iron into diverse armour such as breastplates (*cu[m] grossis malleis diu[er]sas magnas pecias ferri vocat’ Osmond’ op[er]and’ & faciend’ inde diu[er]sas armat[ur]as vid[e]l[ice]t Brestplates quyssers Jambers & alias armat[ur]as*) (LMA, London Assize of Nuisance, 1377). The inclusion of the breastplate along with the pairs of plates in the documents suggests the possibility that they could be donned together for extra protection.

ENTIRE BRACER (fig 4)

This refers to complete plate armour for the arms. As Sir James Mann has pointed out (1961, 422-3), the individual terms for each piece of the arm- or leg-defence, such as ‘couter’ and ‘poleyn’, are comparatively rare in medieval texts, because their presence was understood as being included in the larger compound’.

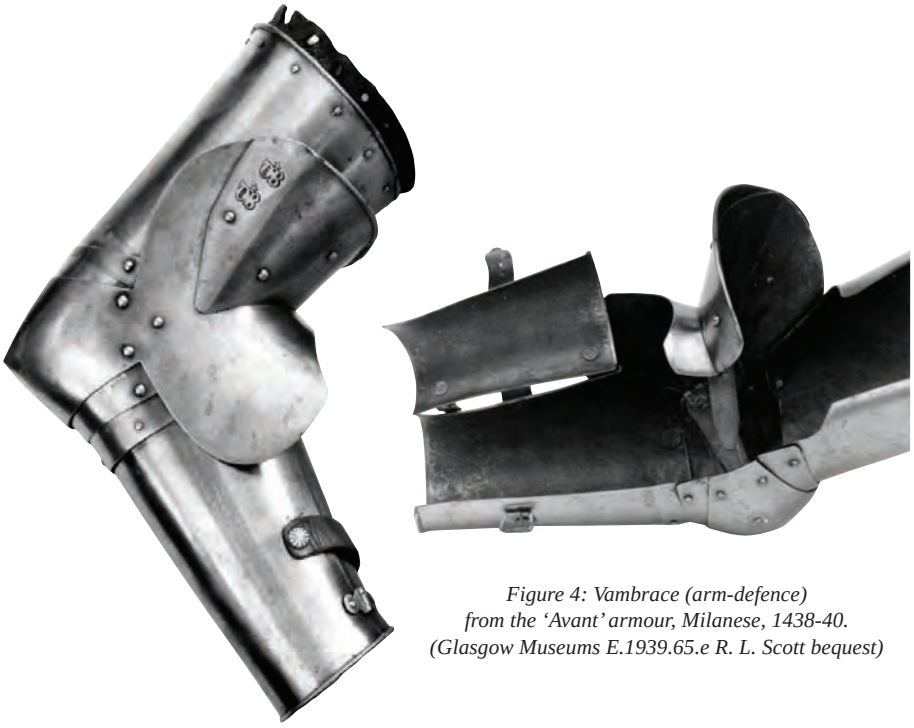

Figure 4: Vambrace (arm-defence) from the ‘Avant’ armour, Milanese, 1438-40. (Glasgow Museums E.1939.65.e R. L. Scott bequest)

FITTINGS FOR THE LANCE

The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* entry for ‘garnesture’ reads: ‘provisioning, supplying, furnishing’ and ‘weaponry, armaments’. This term could be interpreted as the fittings such as vamplates and lanceheads, as Blair (1962, 27) explains: ‘...until the first half of the fifteenth century the war lance normally comprised a shaft of some tough wood, like ash, about 14ft. long with a small steel leaf- or lozenge-shaped head. From as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century a steel hand-defence (*vamplate*), normally circular, was sometimes fitted over the shaft, but this was more usual on the jousting lance until the second half of the fifteenth century.

GAUNTLET

Three fourteenth-century examples of this - two in Ripon Cathedral (Mann 1942), and one excavated at Brick Hill Lane, London, and now in the Royal Armouries (accession no: III. 773) - may be of English origin. There is also a child’s gauntlet, possibly made for the future Charles VI (1368-1422) and donated to Chartres Cathedral (Cripps-Day 1942). Finger-scales of a gauntlet from a fifteenth-century context have been excavated in Scotland (MacAskill 1985, 422). In the bilingual Scottish Arming Act of 1318, the Latin ‘chirothecas de guerra’ is rendered in Scots as ‘gluffis of playt’ (Innes & Thomson 1814-75, i, 113) and ‘cirotecis de plate’ appear in a Scottish will of 1392 (*FNM*, III, no. iv). As with other armour parts, a gauntlet’s decoration could be lavish. Edward ‘the Black Prince’ gifted no less than 21 pairs of ‘gauntz de plate’, including one gilded pair (*j peir gaunz de plate orrez*), between 1358 and 1359 (NA: E36/278). Edward III made payment in 1374 for a pair with gilded knuckles (*vno par’ C[ir]othec’ de plat’ cu’ knokels deaurat*) (NA: E101/397/10 m.2), whilst in 1369 the exiled king of Navarre was treated to two pairs with gilt joints (*II paire de gantellés pour Monseigneur, dont les jointures estoient dorées*) (Izam 1885, 183-4) The gauntlet could be used for attack as well as defence. An English chronicler (see Thompson 1889, 113) describes a duel fought between Giovanni Visconti and Thomas de la Marche before Edward III in 1350 thus:

> *Thomas quibusdam stimulis curtis et acutis quos manum dextram comprimendo digitorum nodi radicales e cirotecis laminatis expresserunt, et eos moderni vocant ‘gadelinges,’ nudam Iohannis faciem wlneravit.*
> [Thomas injured Giovanni’s bare face with certain short sharp spikes which emanated from the plates of the gauntlets on the knuckles of the right hand, and they are presently called ‘gadelinges.]

Froissart too describes an incident when an English squire and his troop: ‘had gone raiding one day to a village […] and began plundering it just as the priest was chanting high mass. This squire entered the church and went up to the altar and, seizing the chalice in which the priest was about to consecrate the blood of Our Lord, he spilt the wine on to the altar. When the priest protested, he gave him such a back-hand blow with his gauntlet, so hard that the blood spurted on to the altar.’ (Brereton 1968, 162).

SHIELD

Very few shields survive from this period. The international invitation to the Smithfield Jousts of 1390 stated that ‘the knights’ shields shall not be covered in any manner of iron or steel’ (*les escutz desditz cheualiers ne seront couuers en nulle maniere de fer ne dacier*) (Royal Armouries Library: MS 0035(I.35), fol. 13r). Also, in the aforementioned letter of challenge of c.1399-1400 (see page 00), it is stated that the combatants should run the courses on horseback ‘*en targes sans fer et achier*’ (BL: Additional Manuscript 21357, fol. 4r). An intriguing constructional insight is provided by a contemporary narrative of Earl Richard of

Warwick’s joust at Calais in 1414: ‘And than my lorde sent the twoo Sheldis to his felowe to choose […] which Sheeldes were of lethir not als thick as the thyknes of VI papir leves’ (BL: MS Lansdowne 285, fol. 17r).

BASTARD SADDLE

In his accounts of 1393/4, Henry, Earl of Derby (the future Henry IV), paid three shillings to Richard Sadeler for repairing a bastard saddle covered in red leather (*Ric[ard]o Sadeler […] p[ro] eme[nd]ac[i]o[n]e vn’ sell’ Bastard coo[per]t’ in’ cor’ rub’ cu[m] stuffur’ eiusd[e]m – iij s*) (NA: DL 28/1). The inventory of the forfeited goods of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, of 1397 mentions ‘one bastard saddle fitted for jousts of war’ with his arms gilded on it (*It[e]m j bastard sadell’ app[ar]aillez p[u]r joustes de guerr’ ove les armes du Duc’ de Clouc’ [sic] enorrez p[r]is xiij s iiij d*) (NA: E136/77/4). A similar inventory of the goods of Richard, Earl of Arundel, from the same year describes ‘j selle pur j bastard’ (NA: E163/6/13).

In the aforementioned challenges of c.1399-1400 it is stated that the ‘feats of arms on horseback comprise ten lance-strikes sat on coursers’ saddles that are low in front and behind’ (*acomplir c[er]tain[es] armes a pie a cheual Cest assauoir dix caulz de lanche assiz sur sell[es] de coursierz basses deuant & derriere*) (BL: Add. MS 21357, fol. 4r). In an inventory of the goods of Henry V, compiled in 1423, there is mention of ‘a bastard saddle covered in red velvet garnished with silver gilt’ (*I bastard Ceell, covert de rouge Velvet, garniz d’argent dorrez*) (Blyke
1767-7, iv, 225). Two bastard saddles covered in red velvet are bequeathed in the will of Henry Scrope in 1415 along with saddles and all equipment for jousting (*Duas Sellas meas bastardas coopertas in Rubeo Velwet, cum Sellis & omni Apparatu pro Hastiludendo*) (Rymer 1726-35, ii, pt 2, 205) and there is a reference in 1419 to eight gilded bastard saddles (*viij sellas bastardas deauratas*) (NA: E364/52 A). As late as 1455 ‘xiij olde bastard Sadyll[es]’ were inventoried in the Tower (Lysons 1812, 125).

Eleven different types of saddle-tree (‘arson’) are mentioned in a case brought before the mayor and aldermen of the city of London in 1350. The saddle-tree makers (‘fusters’ [3]) were accused of selling their saddle-trees to the saddlers of London at too high a price. Among the types of saddle-tree mentioned are ones for coursers, tournaments, destriers, and jousts (*arson p[u]r Coursoer […] arson p[u]r tournament […] arson p[u]r destrers […] arson p[u]r Justes*), but not, unfortunately, saddle-trees for our bastard saddle (Thomas & Jones 1926-61, ii, 240).

The *OED* definition of bastard is: ‘*fils de bast*, “pack-saddle child,” < *bast* + the pejorative suffix -ARD’’; thus the etymological explanation is a confused one. One possible interpretation is that it means something that is neither one thing nor the other, such as the case of the ‘bastard sword’, the first instance of which appears in 1418.

ARMOUR BELONGING TO EARL GEORGE’S PEERS

It is possible to give some indication of the armour in the possession of other Scots at this time. Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith (d.1420), sometime brother-in-law of Earl George, in his will (see Gibson-Craig 1867-72, iii, 4) bequeathed to his eldest son and other kinsmen the following items:

- *Item […] vnum par de platys pro hastiludio de guerra cum basineto et lorica cirotecis ocreis ferreis et aliis armaturis pro hastiludio de guerra compentibus et melius Jak quod habeo et cuschewis.*
  [a pair of plates for the joust of war, and a hauberk, gauntlets, iron greaves, and other corresponding armours for the joust of war, and the best jack which I have and cuisses (thigh-defences).]
- *Jacobo de Douglas filio meo naturali […] vnum par de platys pro duello et Residuum vnis armature pro hastiludio de guerra.*
  [To James Douglas my natural son […] a pair of plates for the duel and the rest of an armour for the joust of war …]
- *Wilhelmo fratri meo aliam armaturam secundum.*
  [To my brother William another second-best armour.]
- *Nicholao de Douglas fratri meo vnam armaturam residuum omnium armorum in castro de Dalketh pro ipsius tutela et defensione perpetuo remansurum.*
  [To Nicholas Douglas my brother an armour the residue of all arms in the castle of Dalkeith for the protection and defence thereof to remain forever.]
- *Item volo quod auentale cum cirotecis de plate que fuerunt Johannis Ker sibi vel heredibus suis restitantur.*
  [I wish that the aventail [mail neck-defence] with gloves of plate which belonged to John Ker be restored to him or to his heirs]

Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood (d.1420), in his will (Glasgow, Mitchell Library: T-PM99/1; reproduced in Fraser 1863, i, 152-3), bequeathed to his eldest son: ‘my complete armour made at Poitiers’; to Andrew Lindsay an armour which I had given to him; and to John de Maxwell, my cousin, a hauberk of Milan which I had with me’ (*totam integram armaturam meam factam apud Poictiers […] Item do Andree Lindesay vna[m] armaturam, quam sibi tradidi […] Item do et lego Johanni de Maxuel consanguineo meo vnam lauricam de Milam [sic] quam portabat mecum*). In 1377 Charles V of France spent the regal sum of 500 gold francs for three harnesses, one each for William, first Earl of Douglas, William’s son, James, and Sir Robert Erskine (*Charles V ordonne de faire payer […] la somme de cinc cens frans d’or pour paier troiz harnas que nous avons fais acheter, lequelz nous envoions en Escoce, au conte de Douglaz, à Jaque de Douglaz, sons filz, et Robert d’Erskine, chevaliers*) (DeLisle 1874, no 1564).

Lower down the social scale there was also investment in arms and armour. Macdonald (2000, 175) has drawn attention to the St Albans’ chronicler Walsingham’s assertion that the ‘vulgas’ (common people) of Scotland were so angered by the Anglo-Scottish truce of 1389 that ‘they had impoverished themselves

buying weaponry for the next campaign against England. Since the evidence comes from an English source possibly ill-informed about Scottish attitudes, it must be treated with caution, but there is probably a kernel of truth to it’.

There is also a telling passage in the chronicler Jehan de Wavrin’s description of the Irish in the English host at the siege of Rouen in 1418 (Hardy 1864-91, ii, 249):

> *…la pluspart alloient de pie, lun chaussie et lautre non; povrement estoient habillies, aiant chascun une targette et petits gaurelos avec grans coustaulz destrange fachon; et ceulz quy alloient de cheval navoient nulles selles, combien quilz chevaulchoient tres habillemens sur bons petis chevaulz de montaigne, […] toutesfois ilz estoient gens de petite deffense au regard de ceulz qui sont natifz du pays dAngleterre; et avec ce ne portoient pas habillemens dont ilz peussent gueres grever les Francois quant diceulz estoient rencontrez…*
>
> [...most of them went on foot, some with shoes and some without; they were poorly arrayed each having a targe and little javelins with great knives of a strange fashion. And those who went on horseback had no saddles, many of them rode very nimbly on good little mountain horses […] however they were men of little defence compared to those who were native to the lands of England; and they carried array with them with which they could hardly injure the French when they came against them…]

It is of note that nowhere in any of the chronicles of the Hundred Years’ War are the Scots described as poorly equipped.

Armour was also being smuggled into Scotland. An inquisition at Grimsby on 22 September 1402 heard how the men of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and of his son (‘Henry de Percy le fitz’, known as ‘Hotspur’), as well as those of Kingston-upon-Hull and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had seized £41 worth of armour from a ship bound for Scotland. This was listed (NA: C145/280/25) as ten bascinets, seven haubergeons (mail shirts), twelve pairs of plates, seven mail skirts, six mail collars, two mail hoods, ten pairs of arm-defences, six riding hats, five small helmets, and four pairs of plate gauntlets (*decem bacynettes septem hab[er] ions duodecem p[ar]ia de plates septem paunces sex pisanes duo hundscolles decem p[ar]ia de vambraces sex prkynghattes quinq[ue] palettes quatuor[um] p[ar]ia cerotecar[um] de plate p[re]cij quadraginta & vnius librar[um]*).

LONDON ARMOURERS

A further question I wish to address is whether the armour bought for Earl George’s use was actually made in the English capital. The compilers of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* interpreted the source as stating that this armour had been made by John de Wardelawe of Scotland. The interpretation can be discounted for two reasons. Firstly, there is the mention of saddles. The men who produced these formed a separate craft from those who produced armour. The division of craft skills is evident for, as we have seen, even those who made the

saddle-trees – the fusters – were a separate craft from those who actually assembled the saddles – the saddlers.

Secondly, I have identified Wardelawe’s profession and status from the Scottish Rolls in the Tower of London (Moffat 2004, 24), where, thanks to the nine safe conducts granted to him between 1359 and 1366, we find a John of Wardlaw (variously Johannes de Wardlawe/de Wardlawe/de Warlawe/Wardelawe/Wardlau), referred to as ‘burgensem (burgess) de Edynburgh’ and ‘mercator (merchant) de Scotia’. Merchants of his social standing would not have been involved in manual production of any kind. This is evidenced by the ‘Laws of the Four Burghs’, believed to have been established by David I and still in currency in Wardlaw’s day, that stated that ‘dyers, fleshers, shoemakers and fishers should not be in the merchant guild unless they abjured the practise of their trade with their own hands, and conducted it exclusively by servants’ (Marwick 1909, 25-6).

There is documentary evidence for armour production in London at this time. In 1383 John Hood, armourer, was mainprised [4] to appear before the mayor and aldermen when summoned, and further sworn not to sell any bascinet of Flanders as of London manufacture, nor to place the mark of any London man upon any such bascinet or any other armour of the same country (*nullu’ bassynet de Flandr’ vendes’ p[ro] bassinet london fact’ nec apone’ c[ui]li[bet] bassinet’ de Flandr’ n[e]c alt[er]i armatur’ pr[ou]d p[re]d[i]c[t]o aliquod Signu’ ho[min] is london*) (Thomas & Jones 1926-61, iii, 36). The regulations of the London ‘heaumers’ (plate-armourers) of 1347 had explicitly stated that each man must have his own sign and mark (*chescun des ou[er]ours auauntditz eyt son p[ro]pre signe & m[ar]che)* (LMA: Letter-book F,.fol. 142v.) The regulations, copied into English in 1450, specifically limited the craft to ‘hewmerie and other armure that is forged wyth the hamur’ (*heaumerie & autr[e]s arm[ur]s q’ sount forgez de martel*). This might serve to explain the ‘bacynet de Loundres’ and five ‘bacynets de flaundres’ and the ‘xij brestplates de loundres’, ‘xvj brestplates de flaundres’, twenty-eight ‘pair’ gauntz del ou[er]aigne de loundres’, twenty-five ‘pair’ gauntz de flaundres’ that appear in an inventory of the armour of the Earl of Arundel in 1397 (NA: E163/6/13) and the six bascinets of London make (*vj Bacenett[es] de factur’ de London*) referred to in a London armourer’s will of 1396. (Sharpe 1889-90, ii, 341). Gauntlets *‘à la façon d’Angleterre’* (‘in the English fashion’) are referred to in the duke of Burgundy’s accounts of 1438-39 (Gaier 1973, 366). In an inventory of the equipment at Blois in 1431-32 is *‘ung autre gantellet et avant-braz [arm defence] à la facon de Paris’* (cited in Gay 1967). The aforementioned Italian arms dealer procured most of his bascinets from Milan but was able to offer for sale bascinets ‘inghilesi’ and in ‘la ghuisa di Parigi’ from the 1360s until the first decade of the fifteenth century (Frangioni 1996, 75-6).

Earl George was by no means the only Scotsman purchasing armour from London at this time. In preparation for a judicial duel in 1368, the servants of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith and Sir Thomas Erskine were given royal permission to export the equipment required. This is given in a detailed list, and included not

only body armour but also armour for horses and edged weapons (Moffat 2004, 53, citing Rot Scot, i, 196-97). The duel was halted before it could commence but it has been pointed out by a legal scholar that trial by battle is still competent in Scotland (Sellar 1984)! On 25 May 1390 the servants of Sir David Lindsay, first earl of Crawford (d.1407) were forbidden to take back anything to Scotland ‘save only a complete war harness for the said David’ (*tant soulement vne hernois entiere [d]e guerre pur le d[it] dauid* (NA: E101/509/26.). On 1 September 1401 the servants of Robert, 1st Duke of Albany (d.1420), were allowed ‘to buy for the use of the said duke for his body two pairs of complete armours’ (*pur achater aloeps du dit duc pur son corps deux pairs darmures entiers*) (NA:E101/509/26).

CONCLUSION

The fiat referred to at the beginning of this paper states clearly that John Wardelawe had had the armour made for the use of Earl George (*que Joh[ann]es Wardelawe de Scocia fieri fecit ad opus comitis marchie*). This suggests that the armour was of the highest quality and had been made bespoke for the earl’s body. That clothes were used for fitting is evidenced by the doublets sent to Lombardy and Germany as a pattern for pairs of plates for the teenage Charles, son to the Duke of Orleans, in 1387 (*un petit doublet […] pour envoyer en Lombardie pour faire unes plates pareilles audit doublet pour ledit Seigneur […] pour fair un patron à un petit pourpoint, pour mons. […] pour envoier en Allemaigne, pour faire et forger unes plates d’acier pour son corps*) (Douet D’Arcq 1874, 290, 152). Evidence from the wills of Scottish magnates, quoted in full above, demonstrates that men of Earl George’s rank and station might have many armours in their possession and even more, along with various defences, to give to retainers and family members. This should serve to question some of the assumptions that have been made about the use of armour by the Scots in the medieval period. Many of them, like Earl George, would indeed have been ‘hard harnest men’.

NOTES

1. This is Henry Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland (13??-1408), father of Henry ‘Hotspur’, who led the ‘Percy Rebellion’ (1403-8), which attempted to dethrone Henry IV of England.
2. I am grateful to Stephen Bunyan for reminding me that there are conflicting numberings attributed to the Earls of March. For the purposes of this paper I follow that used by A J Macdonald in his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
3. The craft of the fuster (Fr. *fuister*) appears to have been confined to the making of arzouns, or saddle-trees], and the fusters are nearly always mentioned in connection with the saddlers, and seldom, if ever, in connection with the joiners (*junctores*)’. See Sharpe, R (ed), 1899-1912 *Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, 11 vols. (London, 1899-1912), Letter-Book C, p 168, no 1. See also Latham, R. E (ed.), 1975 - *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 10 vols. (London, 1975-), under ‘fustarius’: ‘AN, ME fuster: joiner, carpenter, esp. maker of saddle-trees’.
4. Mainprising was the action of procuring the release of a prisoner on someone’s undertaking to stand surety (‘mainpernor’) for his or her appearance in court at a specified time.’ (OED)

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Figure 1: The Apple House, St. Mary's Pleasance, Haddington, with garden visitors. The Apple House is opened specially as part of guided tours of the garden. The brick north wall of the garden is visible to the left and the earlier stone wall to the right. (Photo: Helen Robertson, 2010)

FROM 'DOVECOT' TO 'APPLE HOUSE' THE DOVECOT METAMORPHOSIS AT ST MARY'S PLEASANCE, HADDINGTON

by Dr ROGER KIRBY

INTRODUCTION

A legal disposition dated 1 December 1973 bears the title 'Of the Old Apple House in Haddington House Garden'. The building referred to is certainly old because the foundations of the building on this site date from before 1675. However, the name 'Apple House' used in this disposition is a recent re-labelling of a building that was never designed as an apple house and, curiously, was originally not even located within the Haddington House garden. In this article the author relates a mild mystery involving garden architecture (fig 1).

PART I – THE EARLY HISTORY

Alexander Maitland, the first known owner of Haddington House, with an influential background as chamberlain to the Duke of Lauderdale, married Katharine Cunninghame on 6 August 1657. Of their sixteen children born between 1658 and 1678, including triplets and twins, all those from 1664 onwards were born in Haddington, probably in Haddington House. The present house dates from about 1648. The date 1680, together with the initials AM and KC over the canopied doorway, mark when improvements were made to the house; these included moving the main entrance from the garden side onto Sidegate (Gray & Jamieson 1944).

When the hearth tax was collected in Haddington in April 1691, Alexander Maitland as a heritor (i.e. landholder) was listed with fifteen hearths, although not all necessarily related to Haddington House (Dodd 2006). Alexander Maitland had expanded his estate by dispositions in 1676 and 1678 of '*arable land and waste tenements*' in Sidegate, such as '*in frier croft or kings yaird*'. One of the earlier dispositions, dated 29 May 1675, relates to his immediate neighbour in Sidegate, William McCall (or McCaull), Provost of Haddington in 1689 and in 1701, who owned a seventeenth-century mansion with, according to the 1691 tax inventory, seven hearths. The 1675 disposition reads:

> *Disposition by William McCaull, burgess of Hadingtoun, to Alexander Maitland, factor and chamberland to the Duke of Lauderdaill, and Katherene Cunynghame, his spouse, of doucat standing on the south side of the yard adjacent and belonging to the said William McCaull's tenement of land lying on the east side of the Sydgait, in burgh of Hadingtoun.*
> (NRS: GD1/199/65)

By this disposition Alexander Maitland added a dovecot (doocot in Scots) to his properties but one which was located in the wrong place, just on his neighbour’s side of the long stone boundary wall between the Maitland and McCall yards. To make the dovecot an integral part of the Maitland property involved relocating the boundary to include the building and breaching the existing boundary wall. In practise, to re-orientate the building to face south across his own yard towards St. Mary’s Parish Church involved substantially rebuilding the dovecot on the same site.

Figure 2: Minor excavation of the west wall of McCall’s dovecot revealing a low access doorway. The wall was re-pointed in 2008. (Photo: author, 2014)

The exact positions of McCall’s mansion on Sidegate and the dovecot in his yard are shown on the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey (OS) town plans of Haddington. The mansion was demolished sometime between 1893 and 1906, according to map evidence, and of the original dovecot all that remain today are parts of the north, east and west walls. On the west wall, facing McCall’s mansion, minor excavation in May 2014 revealed a low blocked-up doorway that would have provided access to the pigeon house (fig 2). The doorway, with roughly-dressed stone jambs and lintel, 125cm high and 75cm wide, is of the style typically incorporated in lectern dovecots common in Scotland from the late sixteenth century.

It is assumed that Alexander Maitland rebuilt the dovecot when he was making alternations to Haddington House in 1680, and certainly during his lifetime (he died in about 1708). It is also possible that his eldest surviving son Charles (1663-1728) was involved but, whoever was responsible, the result was a complete rebuilding of the McCall dovecot, to the original square design, with sides 5.20m long, on the same site. The dovecot is shown and named on the OS town plan of 1853 (fig 3). After the rebuilding operation, the Maitland family would have seen that the newly-opened entrance to the dovecot from the south was partly obscured by their own vinery, a significant structure already in existence against the south side of the boundary wall. The vinery is also shown on the OS town plan as a rectangular outline south of the garden boundary wall and almost in contact with the dovecot. Vineries for growing grapes and various other fruits were common at this time in the so-called ‘garden county of Haddingtonshire’; the Burgh of Haddington’s crest features a goat eating grapes from a vine, the goat being the insignia of the skinners’ trade guild (Kirby 2014). The vinery was still in place as recently as 1947. The aerial photograph of 12 August 1947 (fig 4) shows the vinery, 10m long

Figure 3: Part of the OS town plan of Haddington, 1853. The dovecot (named) is located east of Sidegate Lane gardens, which was formerly McCall’s yard. (Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 4: Part of an oblique aerial photograph taken 12 August 1947. The south-facing vinery is situated in front of, and partly obscures, the dovecot. (Courtesy of RCAHMS: NCAP SAW 010274)

and 4m deep, with a sloping glass front. It is seen to extend partly in front of the dovecot which is visible to the rear.

By the eighteenth century, the style of Scottish dovecots had moved from beehive and lectern designs to more ornamental styles, often incorporated within other buildings (Gillon 1998). The Maitland dovecot was constructed in the form of a small cottage, as an ornamental feature to blend architecturally with Haddington House. Like many other later dovecots, the rebuild was on two storeys with the pigeon loft on the upper floor and the ground floor given over to other uses. The 1947 aerial photograph, taken when the dovecot was already about 250 years old, shows a first-floor external gallery giving access to the loft, supported by poles and reached by a sturdy ladder.

The only known photographs of the Maitland dovecot from ground level were taken in 1973, when the dovecot was in total ruin and shortly before it was rebuilt for the second time. By this date the external gallery and ladder had gone (fig 5). The pitched slate roof shows the entrance hole for the pigeons on the upper floor. The dressed stonework around the doors and windows indicates something of the original architectural quality. The south frontage is partly concealed by the back wall of the vinery which remained after the vinery itself had been demolished. The site of the vinery is today occupied by a shrubbery with espaliered fruit trees.

Figure 5: The two-storey dovecot with roof access for pigeons, in ruins 1973. The stone back wall of the former vinery is to the right. (Courtesy of RCAHMS: SC 1424755)

Sometime after the dovecot was first rebuilt a second north boundary wall was constructed on the south side of the existing old wall and along the length of the garden from Haddington House, eastwards for 87m to the garden’s east end. The new boundary wall was built in two sections separated by a gap of 15m to accommodate the dovecot (set back) and the vinery (set forward). The wall was built entirely of handmade bricks, measuring on average 22 x 10 x 6cm - thinner than later bricks and typical of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bricks (Jenkins 2014). The height of the brick wall varies from 3.50m to 4.25m. It is tied to the earlier stone wall by brick buttresses on the north side, and tied to the west front of the Maitland dovecot by a return, in brick, evidence demonstrating that the wall is more recent than the dovecot.

An effort to date the building of the brick wall and hence the date of the dovecot was made by reference to the supposed building activities by French prisoners of war. Legend has it that the wall was built by French prisoners from the Napoleonic Wars (1803-14), but this view is disputed by one authority who points out that French or other foreign POWs were not required to work and that none was ever held in East Lothian, let alone in Haddington; the nearest POW camps to Haddington were at Penicuik and Edinburgh (MacDougall 2008 and *pers comm*).

Little is known of the uses to which the dovecot was put throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, other than for pigeon rearing, but it remained part of the Haddington House garden. According to Wood’s plan of 1819 the owner of the estate by then was William Wilkie jnr. (1733-1825) and, following his death, the house was occupied by his unmarried daughters until at least 1851. In 1862 the new owner, Mr Runciman, advertised the house and garden to be let, the garden being ‘*well stocked, and contains a vinery and pigeon-house’ (East Lothian Courier* 12 Sept 1862). The tenant of both the house and the garden was James R Cossar jnr., a gardener who apparently maintained a garden ‘*of excellent quality*, and in a high state of cultivation’. In 1886 Haddington House and the garden extending to nearly two acres were sold again, to the Dean of Guilds Andrew Beatson, for the upset price of £650 (*East Lothian Courier* 19 Sept 1886). Both Cossar and Beatson died in 1892, and in 1894 the house and a section of the garden, including the vinery and dovecot, were sold by private bargain for £760 to Mark Ormiston (1848-1924), a builder and sometime Provost of Haddington, resident at the adjacent property, Friar’s Croft (*East Lothian Courier* 7 Sept 1894).

Inside the dovecot, the NE corner of the ground floor contained an open hearth, which still exists, and therefore the ground floor may have been used for temporary accommodation. Alternatively, it may have served as a summer house or belvedere for the residents of Haddington House or visitors to the garden, although the view outwards would have been restricted due to the vinery. However, in the mid-twentieth century the dovecot was definitely being used to store garden produce. From Census and Valuation Roll documents, it is known that Harry Faunt (1881-1966), described variously as a seedsman or warehouse seedsman, was the tenant occupying Haddington House from 1920 until his death, and was responsible for the ‘*garden land and greenhouse*’. Faunt was a capable gardener.

Figure 6: Tree planting by H.M. The Queen, 12 July 1973, accompanied by Sir George Taylor and Lord Wemyss, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian. (Photo: East Lothian Courier 7405)

Ten times between 1923 and 1936 he received the Gilchrist Medals, awarded by the Haddington-based Fraternity of Free Gardeners (Martine, 1975) as the leading prize winner. By 1947 the whole garden was in extensive production with orchard trees and cultivated beds in parallel strips, as the aerial photo (see fig 3) shows. Harry Faunt is known to have stored apples in the garden building and, in the absence of other garden buildings, used it as a garden shed. But by the time of Faunt’s death, aged 85, both the garden building and the garden itself were much neglected.

Whatever the multiple usage of this small building up until 1973, any evidence of pigeon nesting-boxes or of leisure or storage facilities was swept away by events immediately thereafter. On 12 July 1973 Her Majesty The Queen paid a private visit to the garden, as the guest of Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton. She planted a tree on the occasion (fig 6). The photograph shows the Queen accompanied by Sir George Taylor (with spade), Chairman of Haddington Garden Trust, with Lord Wemyss (in uniform), Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian,

in attendance. Visible in the background is the ruinous Maitland dovecot which would soon be rebuilt for the second time, not as a dovecot but as a belvedere associated with the Hamilton family and the redevelopment of the garden by Haddington Garden Trust.

PART II – THE RECENT TRANSFORMATION

The accepted name of the old building midway along the north boundary wall of St. Mary’s Pleasance changed from ‘Dovecot’ to ‘Apple House’ in the 1970s. The first recorded use of the new name occurs in minutes of the second meeting of Haddington Garden Trust in December 1972 when the Trustees, chaired by Douglas, 14th Duke of Hamilton, considered an architect’s proposal for the restoration of the ‘old Apple House’ (sic). Evidently the name had already been used informally before then.

After 1972, references to the so-called ‘Apple House’ occur in relation to ownership changes of Haddington House, whereby the small building was first legally considered as part of a quarter section of the garden and subsequently considered as part of the whole garden. A complicated series of linked land transactions began in 1949 when Haddington House, the ‘Apple House’ and the whole garden were conveyed through a combined operation by the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists’ Society (ELAFNS), who owned the property but had no surplus funds, and the Earl of Wemyss, in favour of a holding company. In 1968 ELAFNS sold Haddington House and about one quarter of the adjacent garden, including the Apple House, to Hamilton and Kinneil Estates Ltd. which in turn gifted the properties in 1970 to the Lamp of Lothian Collegiate Trust (LLT), at which point the house became their administrative headquarters.

Other details of these complicated transactions are given by Martine (2009). Transactions including the Apple House continued into 1972 when ELAFNS sold the remaining three-quarters of the garden, via Haddington House Cottage Association, to the Duke of Hamilton, which cleared the way later in 1972 for the Duke to dispone the three-quarter part of the garden to Haddington Garden Trust as Trustees. The remaining quarter of the garden, including the Apple House, belonged to LLT until it made a further disposition in December 1973 in favour of Haddington Garden Trust. Thus the whole garden was unified under the control of the garden trust while LLT retained Haddington House plus a small parcel of land adjacent to the house. The trustees of Haddington Garden Trust decided in September 1973 that the garden should be called St. Mary’s Pleasance.

The circumstances of the lengthy land-ownership affairs had changed in March 1973 with the untimely death of the Duke of Hamilton and his replacement as an (unofficial) trustee by his widow, Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton. The Apple House was already on the Haddington Garden Trust’s agenda for possible restoration and Duchess Elizabeth decided that the restored building should commemorate the late Duke of Hamilton and family. Later in the year, the LLT gifted the Apple House and the remaining quarter of the garden to Haddington Garden Trust in view of the Duke’s close ties with the Trust.

Duchess Elizabeth reported that she personally was going to finance the restoration of the Apple House up to a total of £5,000. Archival records of Haddington Garden Trust (Dickie 2007) reveal that donations and grants for this work totalling £6,930 came from four sources: Duchess Elizabeth, Hamilton & Kinneil Estates, the Dalrymple Trust, and LLT. This total was about 16 per cent of the initial fund secured from local, national and international sources to help establish the whole garden.

The architect appointed to design the reconstructed Apple House was W. Schomberg Scott (1910-98), who had worked on many historic buildings in Scotland, including Lennoxlove and Haddington House, and was consultant to the National Trust for Scotland. He also advised on the restoration layout of the

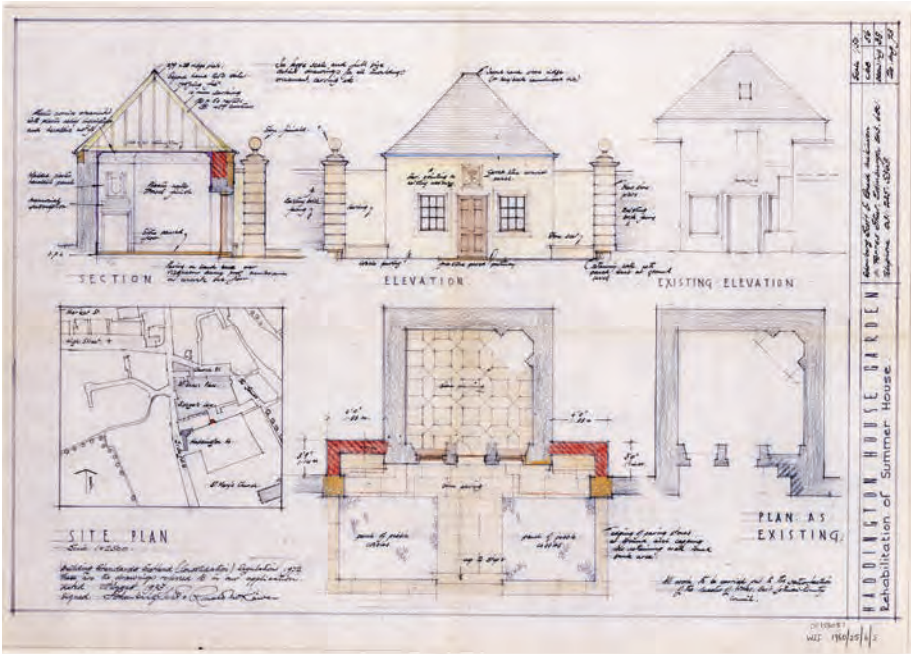

Figure 7: Schomberg Scott’s architectural designs for rehabilitation of the garden summer house 1973. (Courtesy of RCAHMS: DP 188087)

garden. Haddington Garden Trust required, among other details, that the height of the garden building be reduced to its apparent original height, which coincided with the height of the brick boundary wall, and that a small forecourt should be incorporated, finished in split cobbles or split stone. Schomberg Scott’s inventive designs in 1973 (fig 7) for what he described as a summer house were considered too elaborate and the eventual design was much simpler. Although close in style to the earlier Maitland dovecot, there was no longer any attempt to preserve its

dovecot function. The need for dovecots had gradually died out by the start of the nineteenth century as their function as a source of fresh food in winter became obsolete.

The 1975 photograph of the building midway through reconstruction (fig 8) shows the brick wall to the left and the older stone wall, which was the back wall of the vinery, to the right. The original ground-floor door and window jambs from

Figure 8: Restoration of the Apple House in progress, summer 1975.
(Courtesy of RCAHMS: 1423652)

the Maitland dovecot were retained, but the new lintels shown in the photograph were not satisfactory and were quickly replaced. Remedial work also included replacing the forecourt cobbling with ‘blue Archerfield cobbles’, gathered from the coast by members of the local youth club. Pitched slate roofing was retained.

The sympathetic interior restoration of the Apple House features a heraldic coat-of-arms over the fireplace, divided between the Hamilton and Percy ducal families with dates commemorating the 14th Duke (fig 9). The quotation beneath is

Figure 9: Interior of the Apple House with dual Hamilton and Percy heraldic coat-of-arms, ceiling plaques and quotations. (Photo: author, 2014)

from Psalms 96, v.12. The five ceiling plaques are for the five sons of the Duke and Duchess. The second quotation in the interior is set as a single line along the frieze:

‘LOVE IS NOT CHANGED BY DEATH
AND NOTHING IS LOST AND ALL IN THE END IS HARVEST’

This is an oft-quoted line by the poet Dame Edith Sitwell (1887-1964).

Today, this small building remains a Hamilton family room, maintained by the present Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and open by arrangement between the family and Haddington Garden Trust (see fig 1). It is tempting to refer to it as the ‘memorial’ room, but Duchess Elizabeth preferred that the word ‘memorial’ should be avoided in connection with both the building and the garden as the family felt this was out of keeping with the Duke’s intention and the spirit in which his original gift to the community had been made.

The external back and side walls, which are part of the garden boundary wall, were completely repointed in 2008 and the interior refreshed. The ‘Apple House’ label has now been in use for two generations, and the modern interest in heritage orchards and Apple Days means that the building, while remaining an attractive feature of the garden, may at some point be used again in apple-related activities.

FROM ‘DOVECOT’ TO ‘APPLE HOUSE’
THE DOVECOT METAMORPHOSIS AT ST MARY’S PLEASANCE, HADDINGTON

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The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), for assistance in procuring various images; Brian Cox W S, for searches at Register House, Edinburgh; Anna Dickie, for archival material; Dr Ian MacDougall for discussion on ancient walls; Helen Robertson, for diligent historical research; and Brian Young, for field assistance. Alexander and Sophie, the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, have continued to take a direct interest in the Apple House, including kindly commenting on a draft of this article.

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- Schomberg Scott collection, SC 1424755: photograph 1973
- Schomberg Scott collection, DP 188087: designs 1973
- Schomberg Scott collection, SC 1423652: photograph 1975

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Figure 1: Old Gladsmuir Kirk (foreground) from the NE, in which Rev. John Ramsay ministered for almost four decades, and where he was laid to rest in January 1871. His marble slab bearing its simple inscription is still in place in his burial aisle, visible between the two gables. (Photos: Chris Tabraham)

‘BRITHER CURLER’: THE REV JOHN RAMSAY AND THE EARLY YEARS OF GLADSMUIR CURLING CLUB

by DAVID K AFFLECK

INTRODUCTION

John Ramsay is a significant figure in the development of the sport of curling, not just in Scotland but wherever the game is played using the rules of the modern game. Yet few know of him in East Lothian, his home for 65 years. The Rev John Kerr, minister of Dirleton, wrote (1884, 27): ‘If any “brither curler” has a day to spare, when the summer sun dispels all thoughts of John Frost and the channel-stane, he will find it refreshing to visit the beautiful spot where our historian is laid, and to read the simple inscription on the marble slab above his grave’. This recommendation was followed in January 2009 when four curlers - two representing East Lothian and two of the Canadian curling team then touring Scotland, laid a wreath at Ramsay’s grave in Gladsmuir Kirkyard (fig 1). The Canadians were travelling between East Fortune Museum of Flight and Glenkinchie Distillery, where they were to receive hospitality from East Lothian Council to mark their Centenary Tour. When the proposed visit to Ramsay’s grave was arranged it was clear that his connection with the history of curling was not well known.

The entry in *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Scott 1915, 367) records that he was born on 9 May 1777 in Carstairs, Lanarkshire, and that he graduated from Edinburgh University in 1809. Prior to then he had been an assistant librarian at the University. It also discloses that he was a tutor to Henry Clay, an American statesman, and the family of Charles Hope of Granton, Lord President of the Court of Session, and that he edited volumes 64 and 65 of *The Scots Magazine*. After a period as assistant minister at St Cuthbert’s and St Andrew’s churches in Edinburgh, he was ordained and inducted in 1812 as an assistant minister at Ormiston, then linked to the patronage of the Earl of Hopetoun. His wife, Mary Johnston, was the eldest daughter of the minister of Saltoun. They married in 1815 but she died in 1825 after having given birth to six children; their two sons, born in 1824 and 1825, died in infancy. In December 1832 John Ramsay was presented by the Earl of Hopetoun to the vacancy at Gladsmuir Kirk, and on 14 February 1833 Ramsey was translated and admitted to the office of minister of that parish.

John Ramsay was a keen curler. In December 1808 he joined Duddingston Curling Society (Smith, 2008, 91), by which date the society had compiled a set of rules for the sport. A book entitled *An Account of the Game of Curling*, published anonymously in 1811 and including the Duddingston Society rules, has since been

credited to John Ramsay. The rules were later adopted by the Grand Caledonian Curling Club when it was formed in 1838. Two years after becoming minister of Gladsmuir, John Ramsay is credited with setting up the Gladsmuir club (Kerr 1884, 27).

RAMSAY’S EARLY MINISTRY AT GLADSMUIR

Upon becoming minister of Gladsmuir in February 1833, Rev John Ramsay found he had taken over a kirk that had just five elders and no minute books for the period 1815 to 1833. Four of his elders were farmers - James Christie of Trabroun, Archibald and Andrew Cuthbertson of Greendykes, and John Deans of Penston; the occupation and residence of the fifth elder, James Adams, is now unknown. Any hope John Ramsay had of a good working relationship with his new kirk session was soon shattered when a letter, dated 23 July 1833, was received by Haddington Presbytery signed by four of the five elders. It referred to a report that had been circulating for some time, namely that Ramsay’s sister-in-law, Miss Johnston, had ‘left the house in February last and returned ten days or a fortnight after giving birth to a child’. It continued: ‘The imprudence of retaining a person in such circumstances can only be removed by ascertaining whether Miss Johnston was delivered of a child and if she was, who was the father of it.’ This information, the elders opined, could only be obtained by the most minute and careful information on the part of Presbytery. It added that ‘though unwilling to place ourselves in the very painful situation of prosecuters of this enquiry, we shall not shrink from the duty.’

Did they know that John Ramsay had already written to the moderator of Presbytery, on 2 July 1833? In that letter Ramsay referred to reports that were injurious to the character of Miss Johnston, his sister-in-law, who had resided in the manse at Ormiston and who now resided in Edinburgh. He had investigated the grounds of the reports and was certain they were not true. Because his character had lately been affected by them ‘and a vile *fama* had gone abroad against him’, he appealed to the moderator for protection and insisted that ‘you proceed without delay to vindicate my character as a minister of the Gospel and a member of Presbytery from the foul calumny that has been thrown upon it’.

Presbytery ‘after mature deliberation’ appointed a committee to confer with Mr Ramsay and the elders of Gladsmuir and to report back. It was not until 15 October that a report, minutes and documents were submitted to Presbytery which resolved that, as the committee had closed without a conclusion, a further investigation should be conducted by the elders of Gladsmuir. The subsequent events read like a game of ‘pass-the-parcel’, with a lawyer from Haddington acting for the elders and Mr Ramsay’s counsel offering solutions to overcome the delay. Objections and appeals over the process continued. On 21 December further debate took place on the content of a letter from Mr Ramsay. One motion suggested that ‘while the letter from Mr Ramsay set forth that Miss Johnston has had a child, it was not accompanied with sufficient evidence of that fact’ and therefore

consideration of the letter should be delayed until the formal protest and appeal (to the Synod in Edinburgh) had been disposed of.

On 1 July 1834 Presbytery considered a report of the Synod’s meeting of 10 May, at which it had been agreed to take up the dissents and appeals, but had then dismissed them with an instruction to Presbytery that if some private party did not without delay bring forward a libel against Mr Ramsay ‘Presbytery should then enter on the investigation themselves.’ By 5 August, in the absence of Mr Ramsay being served with a libel, Presbytery complied with the remit to investigate, and report their findings in December. Meanwhile, John Ramsay, at Presbytery’s request, produced a letter, and a declaration by Miss Johnston before a J P, in which she acknowledged she had given birth to a child but that Mr Ramsay was not the father. Presbytery therefore concluded that ‘they have not before them sufficient grounds for serving Mr Ramsay with a libel’ and resolved to proceed no further in this matter.

During this period of investigation, the elders had refused on three occasions to allow Mr Ramsay to fix a date for the Sacrament of Communion, and reported his request to do so to Presbytery in October 1833. The kirk session minutes in December record that a petition, signed by a great number of communicants, had requested that the Sacrament be dispensed without delay. The elders acknowledged they could not oppose the request but said that they could not give it their support. Nevertheless, all five elders wrote a letter to Presbytery on 8 December enclosing an extract of the minute detailing Mr Ramsay’s proposal to celebrate the Sacrament on 2 February 1834. In a long letter to Presbytery which was considered on 4 March, John Ramsay explained that the petition had been submitted by four to five hundred parishioners, and that the last communion service had been in 1832. John Deans of Penston had not been present at the session meetings until 22 September 1833 and had not signed the letter of 23 July, but he was involved in the decision not to support arrangements for the Sacrament of Communion. (James Turnbull, appointed session clerk following his appointment as schoolmaster in July 1833, was not then a member of the kirk session.)

The resistance continued, and re-emerged in November 1839 over the suggestion by Mr Ramsay to add to the numbers of elders, especially as James Adam was aged and infirm and seldom able to attend church. The request was continued for at least three meetings, and surfaced again in April 1840 when the elders said that, with the exception of Mr Turnbull, they wished the making of more elders to be delayed for the present. Mr Ramsay’s response was that he ‘hoped upon further consideration the Elders would agree to his proposals and not throw obstacles in the way of a measure well calculated to promote the good of the parish’. His request was not resolved until 31 May when two new elders were admitted; one was James Turnbull, the session clerk, who had already been ordained elder elsewhere. The minute records that Mr Ramsay ‘would not insist upon any further additions to the Session at present’.

Most of these events took place before the formation of Gladsmuir Curling Club in November 1835. Their relevance arises because four of the five members of session were early members of the curling club. One in particular, John Deans, requires more detailed analysis.

MANAGING THE PARISH AND JOHN DEANS OF PENSTON

The parish of Gladsmuir (fig 2) was described in considerable detail in the report written by John Ramsay as parish minister for the *New Statistical Account* dated September 1836 (Ramsay 1845, 173-202). In his comments about the village of Penston, chiefly inhabited by colliers, he did not hesitate to criticise the condition of the houses there ‘which are in bad repair’. He added that ‘the place is altogether dirty and, although situated in the heart of one of the finest agricultural districts of Scotland, has a very uncomfortable and unhealthy appearance.’ He continued: ‘Were a proper drain to be formed on each side of the road with a declivity from the houses, it would contribute much to the cleanliness and health of the place.’ The criticism continued in relation to the school at Penston: ‘The schoolhouse through neglect is in a wretched condition … lately the teacher was at the point of giving up for lack of support. He is an old man and his income last year did not amount to more than £10.’

Penston estate was then owned by Sir Thomas Cochrane, Admiral of the Fleet, who had been appointed the first Governor of Newfoundland in 1825. He appears to have been an absentee landlord from the parish but in 1834 was recalled home after encountering problems with the Newfoundlanders. His son, Alexander Baillie-Cochrane, had inherited the estate of Lamington in Lanarkshire in 1833 at the age of 17. Both Sir Thomas and his son had representatives attending the regular meetings of heritors of Gladsmuir parish. It is difficult to be sure who Ramsay’s criticisms were aimed at, but the events recorded in the heritors’ meeting of October 1837 are interesting as the main business was to decide on the erection of a new church (built in 1838). This meeting was attended personally by Sir Thomas Cochrane, for he owned the necessary land beside the old church and set out the conditions he and his son required for enclosure of the new church site. Other heritors present included the Earl of Haddington, the Rt Hon Lord Ruthven and a representative for the Earl of Wemyss.

The only heritor to object was Robert Ainslie, then living at Redcole but about to acquire the substantial estate of Elvingston. Although a member of the Episcopal congregation in Haddington, Ainslie recorded his dissent ‘from the opinion of the heritors in erecting a new church or altering the site of the present one’. (In 1842 Ainslie submitted a letter saying he would withhold payment of assessment based on valued rents rather than on real rents unless the proprietors of the coal mines agreed to relieve the parish of the poor connected with them, indicating animosity towards the Penston proprietors.) It was also at that meeting that a report on a proposed new well for the inhabitants of Gladsmuir village was laid before the meeting and referred to the next adjourned date. The location of the new well and the changes to the lay-out were to have later implications for Rev Ramsay and his immediate neighbours to the south of the new church.

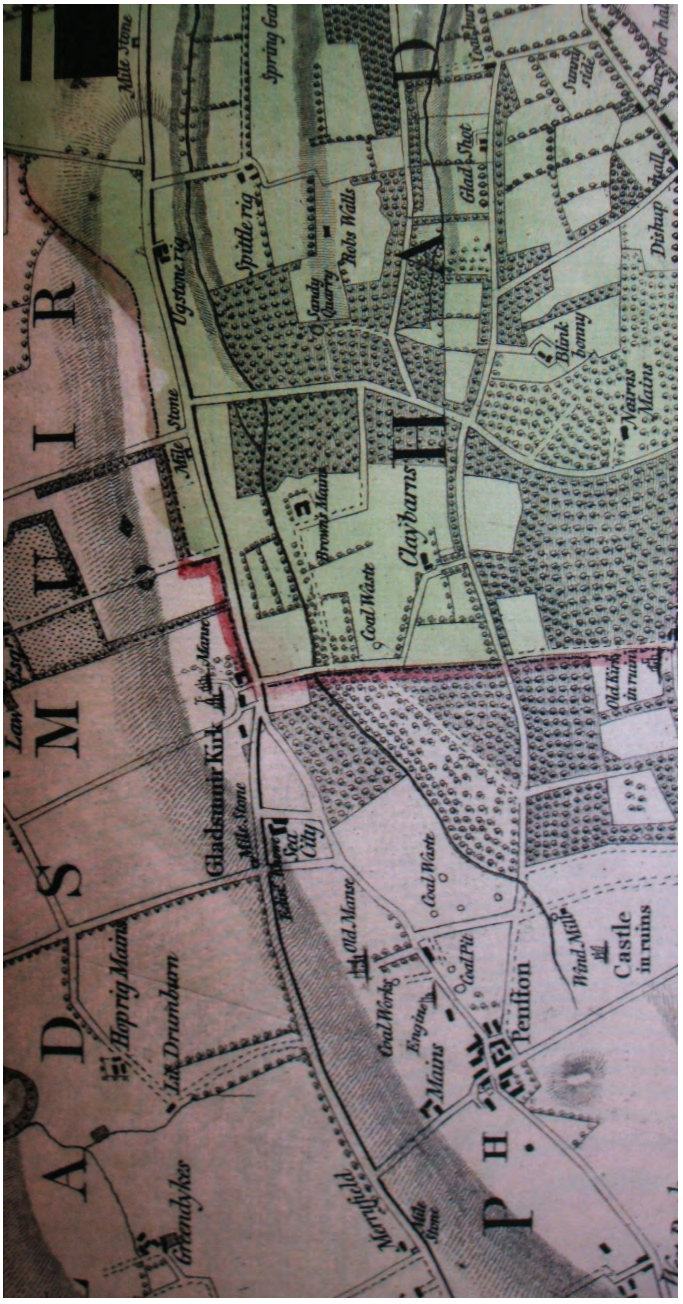

Figure 2: The village of Penston (left), SW of Gladsmuir Kirk, and Sandy Quarry (site of the new curling pond of 1841) to the east (right), from William Forrest’s map of Haddingtonshire, 1799. (Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)

In his book about East Lothian, John Martine (1894, 194) records that it was 60 years since John Deans had farmed Penston, having previously been at Samuelston, also within Gladsmuir parish, and that after two leases he had then moved to Hedderwick Hill, in Dunbar parish. There is no record to indicate when he was admitted as an elder but he was certainly present in that capacity at the time of John Ramsay’s induction. He appears to have been the main employer at Penston, and his farm buildings had been improved, and facilities extended, which John Ramsay details in his account of the parish. Ramsay, however, goes on to say that ‘it is to be hoped that … the attention of all proprieties will [soon] be directed to the cot houses, most of which are in great need of improvement.’ The author of James Deans’ obituary in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* of 3 December1869 refers to him improving Penston at his own expense and becoming an extensive coal lessee, working the coals and the adjoining estates. That helps to explain why John Deans is listed as attending the meeting of the heritors on 4 April 1837 on behalf of ‘Alex D’ (Alexander Dundas Wishart Baillie-Cochrane.

THE FORMATION OF GLADSMUIR CURLING CLUB (Table 1)

One of the club’s immediate priorities was to consider options for a curling pond, for it was believed that an artificial rink would increase ‘beyond comprehension the number of days on which curling was possible’ (Smith 1981, 67). John Kerr (1884, 30) quotes an old curler as saying that he saw John Ramsay supervising the creation of an artificial pond before daylight. The club minutes show that he had also proposed in January 1837 that the club procure a silver medal ‘to be worn for the season by the winner’. (The early minutes do not contain any other reference to curling competitions. The first reference to a match is in 1850; it was played for the District medal of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club (RCCC) against the Whitehill club at Dalkeith pond and won by the two rinks from Gladsmuir with a majority of 26 shots.)

On 4 December 1838 it was agreed that John Ramsay and two other members should attend the first public meeting of the Caledonian Curling Club ‘for the purpose of having this club associated with the said National Society.’ In December 1839 John Ramsay reported that he had attended the meeting as directed and ‘from the information he there received of the expense in joining and continuing in connection with the National Society, he did not consider it advisable in the present state of the funds of this club to become associated with it.’ This opinion was unanimously concurred. (The minute entry helps to explain why Gladsmuir did not affiliate until 1846, and corrects the comment by Kerr that Ramsay did not at first believe in the Grand Club and had ‘advised the Gladsmuir curlers to have nothing to do with it’.)

Also from that meeting is a report that an account for 3s 6d had been submitted for repairing the paling in the quarry at Gladsmuir Wood but that payment was refused as ‘none of the members were aware of any paling broken by them.’ Nothing more is said about this incident in the minutes, but in a note to a decision in Haddington Sheriff Court of 17 November 1842 the sheriff

20/11/1835	30/11/1835	26/2/1836	10/1/1837	11/12/1837	4/3/1838	17/12/1839	11/1/1841	6/12/1841	5/12/1842
John Deans. Penston	**Rev John Ramsay**	William Mylne Bolton	**Alexander Baillie Cochrane of Penston. Note 1**	James Christie Trabroun	Robert Ainslie Redcote	Archibald Scott Southfield	Walter Howden Haddington	David Sherriff Aberlady Mains	Robert Bennie Seton Mains
Robert Ainslie Begbie	Alexander Henderson Longniddry	Alexander Matthew Haddington	George Dunlop of Haddington	James Turnbull Gladsmuir	Robert Ainslie W.S. Edinburgh	Charles Christie Westbank	John Howden Haddington		George Tod Saltcoats
Charles Dodds Westbank **Note 2**	John Emlay West Adniston	James Tweedie Coates	David Scott Harperdean			Alan Menzies W.S. Edinburgh	Archibald Scott Edinburgh		John Brydone Snr Tranent
George Harvey Stevenson Mains	John Richardson Pencaitland	Robert Howden Boggs	Andrew G Cuthbertson Pencaitland			Robert B Maconachie W.S Edinburgh	George Ferme Barney Mains		William Gunn Haddington
James Johnston Westfield	Andrew Johnston Westfield						Andrew Brodie Amisfield Mains		Alexander Brodie East Fortune
William Goodlet Grantsbraes	**Archibald Cuthbertson Greendykes**						John Kilgour Hoperidge		James Brodie Linplum
James Ainslie Samuelston	Mathew Tod Hoperidge Mains								Andrew Christie Westbank
	James Deans Haddington								David Wright Southfield
									Alexander Begbie Redcole

Resigned 1841 Resigned 1842 Note 1 Honorary Member Note 2. Emigrated to Australia

Table 1: Membership details of Gladsmuir Curling Club prior to 1841, extracted from club records.

commented that ‘at times the minister and villagers used the water in a neighbouring quarry in Penston Wood’. This pond is shown on maps before 1830 but not on later maps. Examination of the later court papers shows that it had been drained. (According to John Ramsay, in his submission to the New Statistical Account, ‘the old quarry on the road from Gladstone to Penston’ had provided stone for the new kirk and school-house, both built in 1838/9, and that it was still open ‘but filled with water to a considerable extent’.)

The move to a new site for a curling pond appears to have more significance than the minutes identify. Firstly, in December 1841 John Ramsay resigned both as the club’s president and as a member. Three others resigned with him. One was Andrew Cuthbertson, a member of the kirk session since 1833 and one of the writers of the letter to Presbytery. (Interestingly, Andrew’s brother, Archibald, who married John Ramsay’s daughter in 1840, did not resign.) John Deans was not proposed as his replacement. Instead the post was accepted by Robert Ainslie, now owner of Elvingston estate. He had agreed to provide a new pond within half a mile of Gladsmuir ‘subject to the satisfaction of Mr Deans’. The new site was as far away from the village of Penston as it could be (fig 3). It was not an artificial pond. Two years later Robert Ainslie and a cousin also resigned (both men had become members of Duddingston Curling Society). John Deans was elected as the new president in December 1843, continuing until his death in 1869. There is no reference to his death in the minutes, in contrast to the death of his son John in 1867. Is it merely a coincidence that it was not until 1871 that two younger members of the Ainslie family joined the club?

Figure 3: The location of the 1841 curling pond in Quarry Park: a detail from the 1894 OS map of Haddingtonshire, Sheet 009.08. The curling pond was actually in Sandy Quarry, which is shown on Forrest’s map of 1799 – see figure 2.

John Ramsay continued to serve as minister of Gladsmuir until his death in January 1871. His involvement with curling appears to have ended with his resignation in 1841. On 24 December 1843, the year of the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, John Deans resigned as an elder. The session minute records that he had been absent for more than three months and ordered that his name be dropped from the roll. In a letter of November 1848 to his friend John Lee, Principal of Edinburgh University, on another matter, John Ramsay raised the question of the law and practice of the Church relating to resignation of the office of eldership. He records that John Deans had been acting as an elder at Dirleton (where he had a farm) and Pencaitland, and discloses that he had complained to the minister of Pencaitland ‘of the disorder he (Deans) had been guilty of’.

So far as the membership of the curling club was concerned, right from its inception its membership was drawn from an area wider than the parish. In addition, it is significant that in 1837 the members agreed that the president or secretary or any three members ‘were empowered to call a meeting of the club either to curl or dine as the weather may permit or the *Members incline* [my italics].’ There is nothing in the minutes before 1841 to show what this meant in practice, but John Kerr, in his *History of Curling* (1890, 205), was critical of this power suggesting it reflected a lack of commitment.

LOCAL HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In 1978, Lord Briggs, the eminent historian, published an essay on the topic of historiography which he describes as ‘the debate between different historians about the same topic and why we can never get one definite version of the past’ (1985, 312). A curling history ‘blog’ created in 2009 had a comment that the writer knew why John Ramsay had resigned from the club in 1841. Contact revealed that the ‘blogger’ had included a reference in the 2012 edition of her book *From Witches to Dragons* that John Ramsay had sued the villagers because they were taking water from his well. In 2014 the records for Haddington Sheriff Court for 1840-49 were indexed to allow easier access for researchers. These now bring together the process papers for Rev Ramsay’s petition, lodged in May 1841, against George Walker, inn-keeper, and Andrew Hendry, wright. Both men occupied property on either side of the entrance to the new church, the grounds of which were enclosed on the conditions set by their landlord, Sir Thomas Cochrane, at the heritors’ meeting of 1837. The statements of 25 witnesses give a description of the social conditions that existed over a 30-year period and the problems in accessing a reliable supply of water by the inhabitants around the area of the church.

The evidence from the court action now discloses the additional long-standing social conditions existing within Gladsmuir parish because of a shortage of suitable water sources, and this will be the subject of a separate study. The dilemma for John Ramsay is that as holder of the office of minister of the parish he had a duty to hand over to the future incumbents the rights of possession he had received. The objectors regarded the use of the well as their right until a court ruled otherwise. The sheriff accepted that, as a result of this challenge, John Ramsay himself had to apply for an interdict against their actions; the heritors could not be a party in this dispute.

It is now possible, with the benefit of improved access to the archives, to highlight two more relevant factors at this time. The first factor was the issue of the selling of alcoholic liquor on Sundays. Observance of the Sabbath was a matter of concern to Presbytery, and was one of the first items John Ramsay consulted his kirk session on in March 1833. In his *New Statistical Account* entry Ramsay comments ‘that the Act permitting publicans to keep their houses open in Sundays ought immediately to be abolished as one of the most ill advised that was ever sanctioned by a British Parliament.’ In April 1839 he gave notice of a motion

asking the members of Presbytery ‘by all prudent means’ to check the prevailing practice of drinking parties being entertained in public houses on the Lord’s day. The motion was agreed, with the addition that there should be ‘no sale of spirituous liquors on the Lord’s day except in the case of real necessity.’ It so happened that Gladsmuir Inn was right on the boundary of the church grounds and open for the sale of liquor on Sundays.

The second factor was an incident recorded in the session minutes. In November 1842 the inn-keeper and three other men had entered the manse grounds during the hours of Sunday worship; at least one had entered the manse without permission from the house-keeper. Explanations given to the kirk session for their presence were ‘to search for a hen, to retrieve a cow, to draw water from the well’. The date of the incident coincided with the sheriff’s finding and note of 17 November 1842, which was then appealed against by the respondents.

Could there have been more positive action by the landlord and his agents in the matter of providing a water supply to the inhabitants? And if so, what was the position of John Deans, particularly regarding the draining of Penston pond, one of the alternative sources of water for cattle and inhabitants? There are at least four occasions when John Deans is identified as being a party to actions that did not support John Ramsay and his efforts as parish minister, and the five resignations from the curling club between 1841 and 1843 raise the question of group dynamics and cohesion. (Another example was the withdrawal of the minister’s free coal allowance from Penston Colliery in 1835.) John Ramsay’s recorded hope of 19 April 1840 that his elders ‘would not throw obstacles in the way’, and the later reference to John Deans causing disorder in the kirk session, stand out against a background of Rev Ramsay having much to contend with in his early ministry at Gladsmuir. Could he have continued as “a brither curler”?

In stark contrast is the manner in which Rev John Ramsay is regarded by Presbytery. In 1840, seven years after his tortuous approach for help in the rift within his kirk session, Ramsay was elected as moderator of Presbytery. Later, in 1862, a committee appointed to celebrate his Jubilee as minister described him as father of the Presbytery and Synod of Lothian. The celebration took place in November 1862. In his response, John Ramsay referred to the duty of proprietors attending to the well-being of their estates and the importance of selecting tenants of character and reputation as well as the great benefit of having a resident proprietor.

John Ramsay died on 7 January 1871. His obituary refers to his regular attendance at Presbytery but makes no reference to curling. His funeral service was conducted by Rev Dr John Cook of Haddington, who also happened to have been president of Haddington Curling Club from 1850 to 1870. Could he, perhaps, have been the source of the following comment in Kerr’s article for The Channel-Stane?

> *and of nothing was he prouder in later life than of the share he had taken in introducing and popularising the game of curling in the county of Haddington, and of the fact that he had lived to see the game firmly established in the district.*

‘BRITHER CURLER’: THE REV JOHN RAMSAY AND THE EARLY YEARS OF GLADSMUIR CURLING CLUB

Perhaps a more fitting epitaph to John Ramsay comes from his own pen, at the close of a lecture he gave in 1821 entitled: ‘The Infidelity of the Present Time’:

> *Never was the call on Christians of all ranks and degrees more urgent to hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering and to maintain a life and conversation becoming the gospel, that by well doing they may put to silence those who revile and trouble them.’*

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Figure 1: The inside of the painted and transfer-printed moulded bone china bowl found in the Brunton Hall, Musselburgh. The legend painted on its base – 'Wm. Reid 14th May 1822' – identifies it as a product of William Reid's Newbigging Pottery, Musselburgh. (Courtesy East Lothian Museum Service)

‘POTS AT THE PANS III’
WILLIAM REID’S NEWBIGGING POTTERY, MUSSELBURGH

by GEORGE R HAGGARTY

INTRODUCTION

A few years ago, while a cupboard was being cleared out in the Brunton Hall, Musselburgh, several important ceramic items came to light. They included two large, moulded, bone-china bowls bearing the arms and motto of Musselburgh, highlighted in polychrome enamels, within a basket weave design. Internally they are decorated with clobbered transfer prints of flowers, birds and butterflies (fig 1), while painted on their bases is the legend: ‘Wm Reid 14th May 1822’. The bowls were almost certainly produced for a dinner given in Musselburgh to honour the visit to Scotland of George IV in August 1822, as was a large matching jug now in the collections of the National Museums Scotland (figs 2 & 3).

Figure 2: Large moulded bone-china mug, adorned with the arms and motto of Musselburgh. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

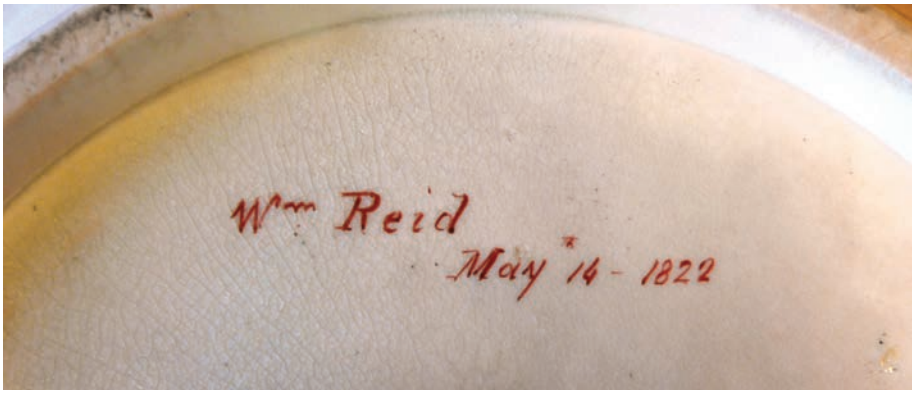

Figure 3: The ‘Wm. Reid’ mark painted on the base of figure 2.
(Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 4: Moulded bone-china mug bearing the arms of Musselburgh.
(Ex Steel collection; courtesy National Trust For Scotland)

Also from the same cupboard came a pair of matching lidded white earthenware bowls, with large painted moulded lion knops and lion head with ring handles. The exteriors of both bowls and covers are decorated with blue and white transfer prints and vignettes with the arms of Musselburgh, hand-painted in red. A number of different prints have been used to decorate the bowls and covers, including a variation of the willow pattern, a broad floral and scroll border and a scene of three figures, probably gleaning in a field. It is perfectly possible that these were also produced for the 1822 dinner. In the collections of the National trust for Scotland, and possibly produced at the same time, is a moulde3d bone china mug also decorated with the arms of Musselburgh (fig 4).

In December 1987 and January 1988 a small excavation and watching brief, sponsored by Historic Scotland, was carried out on the site of William Reid’s Newbigging Pottery in Musselburgh. Subsequent research carried out on the important ceramic sherd material recovered identified hitherto unrecorded vessel forms, and, along with documentary research and a study of extant examples from both Scottish public and private collections, has led to a re-appraisal of Newbigging Pottery. Although published in specialist works elsewhere, it deserves wider recognition. Hence this paper - the third in a series by the author entitled ‘Pots at the Pans’ re-assessing East Lothian’s extremely important contribution to Scotland’s ceramic industry.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Previous accounts of the history of the Newbigging Pottery differ substantially from each other. A short, but misleading, review by Arnold Fleming (1923, 182-3) was superseded by Gerard Quail (1979, 11-16) and Patrick McVeigh, (1979, 94-103). Writing independently, each gave histories of the factory, agreeing that the pottery was established and initially run by William Reid, but disagreeing on changes of ownership thereafter. Quail subsequently published a further paper refuting many of McVeigh’s suggestions (1981, 28-31). He subsequently produced a more detailed, but still in many ways a misleading, account (1986, 73-5). Following the archaeological excavations, an attempt was made to harmonise the early history of the pottery with a programme of documentary research (Haggarty & McIntyre 1996, 943-62). This was later updated, with an expanded history of the pottery, until its closure in 1932 (Forbes & Haggarty 2002, 15-27).

The pottery was established in 1800-1 on ground lying to the south of Musselburgh High Street, along the road leading to Inveresk village (NGR: NT 345 724). The main access to the pottery buildings was from the south, on what is now Inveresk Road but was then known as West Vennel. It appears on Hay’s 1824 map (fig 5). On the OS 1st edition (1856) the pottery is represented by three clearly-marked large circles denoting kilns, two at the north end and one at the south end. A 1839 bill-head (NRS: SC14/27/2) has what looks like a stylised but accurate view of the works from the SE showing a fourth, smaller kiln in its SW corner (fig 6). The pottery had a number of owners and leaseholders during its active life but finally closed in 1932.

Figure 5: Detail from Hay’s Parliamentary Boundary Map of 1824 showing William Reid’s Newbigging Pottery (circled).

Figure 6: Detail from a Wm. Reid & Co., bill-head, dated April 1839, showing four pottery kilns.

WILLIAM REID & SON 1800-1866

William Reid, who founded the Newbigging Pottery, was born in East Lothian on 10 May 1765, the eldest of three brothers; his father was William Reid, gardener, and his mother Mary Leithen (OPR 719). All three brothers would become potters, with William destined to be the most successful. In June 1780, aged 15, he paid his dues to the Prestonpans Potters’ Box Society, effectively a ‘Friendly’ Society set up in 1766 to protect the interests of its enrolled members, mainly potters, though for a higher fee other trades were accepted. The rules stipulated that ‘none should be admitted above 30 years of age’, indicating an awareness of the health hazards associated with the industry, and suggesting that the ‘Box,’ whilst guaranteeing succour for its sick members and dependent widows and children, was reluctant to invest in liabilities. Although the monthly meetings were always held in Prestonpans, the membership embraced a wider area, as indicated in a Society ‘article’ regulating the loan of ‘mortality cloths’: ‘each member living without the bounds of the said ten miles shall have 5s and for a child 3s in place of the said cloath’. In 1797 William was elected to the Box Committee. James, the second brother, born in 1767, had been elected to the committee six years earlier. Robert, the youngest, born in 1780, was admitted to the Society when he was 14, but the minutes of June 1799 record him as having ‘enlisted into His Majesty’s Service’; as he had served his time, he could later seek work as a potter.

William Reid married Clementina Bagnall, daughter of Robert Bagnall ‘potter at Westpans’ in the Edinburgh parish of St. Giles on 5 May 1784 (OPR 685). Clementina was 26 years old and William a few days short of his 19th birthday. He had followed common practice by marrying into the close-knit community of potters, and had coincidentally made an advantageous alliance. Their marriage produced 11 children, nine of whom were christened in Inveresk Church (OPR 689). The eldest son, Robert, was baptised on 15 February 1787 in Bo’ness, Stirlingshire (OPR 663). As William, son of Robert Bagnall Jnr., was also baptised there on 4 June the following year, it is likely that the two brothers-in-law, both master potters, were working together at the important Bo’ness pottery (Haggarty 2007, 228-30). The baptisms of William’s three other sons, Peter (1792), James (1797) and George (1800), took place at Inveresk (OPR 689), but the baptismal record of their last son, William, has not been found.

The date William Reid arrived in West Pans is conjectural, but it was certainly before March 1796 when, alluded to as ‘of that parish’ (OPR 689), he was witness to a baptism in Inveresk Church. A sasine dated July 1797 refers to him as ‘potter at West Pans’ (NRS: RS26/423/216), where he was involved with his father-in-law, Robert Bagnall, and another brother-in-law, Peter Bagnall. At some point, probably following Robert Bagnall’s sequestration in 1794 (NRS: CS230/B1/11), William Reid became lease holder and legally responsible for the insolvent pottery (Forbes & Haggarty 2006, 12). Accordingly, he took steps to institute an independent venture and in July 1797 purchased property in Newbigging from Thomas MacMillan of Shorthope with the intention of setting up a manufactory

there, paying £260 for 'the malt barn, steepstone and corn barn, with garden ground behind the kiln' (almost certainly a corn-drying kiln) (NRS: RS27/423/216). The site in the 'West Vennel of Newbigging' (now Inveresk Road) was a short distance from the Musselburgh flint mills, and handy for importing clay and flint and exporting finished ware through the harbours at Morrison Haven, Fisherrow and Leith. Plentiful supplies of coal could also be had at a reasonable price from nearby collieries.

Having secured the site, William then had to finance the construction of the pottery, but how this was achieved remains a mystery, as £200 arrears of rent were still owing to Joseph Read, his former landlord at the West Pans pottery (Forbes & Haggarty 2005, 10-12). Having agreed to pay off the debt by instalments William Reid put his West Pans tenancy up for sale:

> BROWN AND WHITE WARE MANUFACTURY
> *To be let for such number of years as can be agreed upon, from and after the terms of Whitsunday 1801, that well known and thriving Pottery for Brown and White Ware, situated in West Pans, within six miles of Edinburgh and one mile of Musselburgh, presently possessed by Mr. William Reid, and whose lease expires at the above date.*
> [Edinburgh Evening Courant, 22 May 1800]

In 1801 William Reid borrowed £150 from Alexander Vernor, farmer at Mackhill, again using the Newbigging property as collateral (NRS: RS27/589/102). The terms of this short-term loan were harsh; the total had to be repaid within six months, with a further imposition of '£30 in case of failure, and an extra £1.10s due for each term of failure'. This bond refers to Reid as 'potter in Musselburgh', suggesting that his Newbigging enterprise was then up and running.

William and Clementina expanded their holdings in Newbigging in June 1807 with the purchase of a 'mansion house, offices, court, garden, and park, and small dwelling house' from Alexander Wilkinson, an Edinburgh gunsmith (NRS: RS27/589/102). The transaction was witnessed by Robert Bagnall 'potter at Newbigging'. A month later, the Reids mortgaged the newly-acquired property to William Moffat of Cowpits for £200 (NRS: RS27/595/3). In August 1807, in lieu of payment of the bond, Reid made over two parcels of land to Moffat (NRS: RS27/595/102), an arrangement which presumably suited both parties, disposing of ground '42ft 9ins in the front of the Street of Newbigging, and extending in length backwards 92ft 9ins up to a hedge on his property as also 33ft in breadth to the West from said hedge and 86ft in length.'

For the first ten years money, or rather lack of it, appears to have caused major problems as Reid was pursued by numerous creditors, mainly for small amounts, although the £28.6s owed to Bowers and Mackie, stoneware merchants in West Pans, was substantial. Thomas MacMillan, who had sold him the Newbigging property, proceeded against him for £7.7s.11d 'received in straw' plus 'damages, interest, and expenses' (NRS: B52/12/3/145).

There is no doubt that Reid managed to surmount the initial financial difficulties, and we may speculate that his problems were in part compensated by the availability of a family work-force. Although there is no evidence of the presence of Robert Bagnall Jnr. at Newbigging, his father, Robert Snr., was there until his death in 1814 (OPR 689). Another member of the Bagnall family, John, worked in the pottery until he died in 1804 (OPR 689). William and Clementina’s eldest son, Robert, had entered the Potters’ Box Society as an apprentice potter in June 1799 aged 12, and in the same year his cousin James Reid followed in his father’s footsteps by signing the register ‘James Reid, potter’s ‘prentice’, paying a reduced fee of 5s, which was the amount due by ‘a son of a potter following the same profession’. It is more than likely that James Reid and his son worked at Newbigging, but there is no proof of this. However, young Robert, and perhaps his cousin James, as indentured apprentices, were likely to have contributed to the family business. Two more sons, William Reid Jnr. and George Reid, became master potters, and George Reid’s son, Robert, followed suit. This new generation could expect to replace older family members in the event of retirement or death. William Reid had created what can now be seen as a dynasty within the Scottish pottery industry.

William Reid himself was ‘entered a burgess’ of Musselburgh in 1796 (NRS: B52/11/2), and in September 1802, obviously regarded as a respected member of the community, he was elected a councillor, an office he held for the next 22 years (NRS: B52/3/4), regularly attending meetings. The town of Musselburgh owned and controlled more than one flint mill, and William Reid had for a time held the feus of both the Easter Flint Mill and the Waulk Mill (NRS: B52/1/15), employing his father at the latter until his death in 1810. Previously he had leased a flint mill from the council whilst potting at West Pans (NRS: B52/11/31), and the council records hint at the constant wrangling that prevailed, with potters such as Reid and Thomas Rathbone, of the Portobello pottery, united in dispute against the council over rent, repairs and improvements to the Musselburgh mills. On one occasion Rathbone, on behalf of himself and other potters, complained to the council that, as ‘tacksmen of the town’s flint mill they had suffered heavy losses occasioned by the waterwheel stopt from grinding for four months’ (NRS: B52.13/250).

The Newbigging enterprise eventually thrived, probably due to Reid’s astuteness, his expertise as a master potter, and, not least, the loyalty he could expect from his extended family, some of whom he had been associated with long before their mutual involvement at West Pans. By 1838 the size of the venture can be gauged from an advertisement placed in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* on 27 January offering the pottery for let, declaring: ‘The works gives employment to 70 or 80 men, most of whom are experienced’.

Robert Bagnall ‘manufacturer of pottery in Newbigging’ died in 1814, and was interred in William Reid’s family lair in Inveresk churchyard. Two years later Clementina, aged 58, joined him (OPR 689). Three years later William married Marion Spence (OPR 689), a lady unconnected with the pottery industry and,

at 21, considerably younger than his 54 years. They had three daughters and a son, John, born on 30 June 1823 and baptised in Inveresk Church. George Reid, now aged 23, was one of the witnesses (OPR 689). John was destined to follow tradition and work in the family business with his step-brothers Robert, William, and George. The names of all except George and Peter, a surgeon-apothecary, were entered on the Musselburgh Burgess Roll (B52/11/2).

There is every reason to believe that the pottery was commercially successful right up to the time of William Reid's death on 13 October 1835 aged 70, and a few surviving examples of wares he produced indicate a fair level of sophistication, including that 1822 decorated bone china (see figs 1-4). An entry in the Royal Bank of Scotland minute book, recording a loan on 13 July 1826 to his son-in-law, Thomas Peacock (married to Charlotte, George Reid's twin sister), and referring to Reid as 'China Manufacturer', implies that the works produced more than just earthenware, and bone-china wasters found during excavation have confirmed this.

In November 1828 William Reid drew up a document seeking to secure the future of the works after his death (NRS: RD5/545/82). Headed 'Settlement, William Reid in favour of his wife and children' it begins: 'Considering it to be every person's duty to make a settlement of their affairs during life so as to prevent disputes after their death, and for the love and affection I bear to Marion Spence or Reid, my spouse, and the children of our marriage afternamed Betsy, John, and Marion Reid', it declares his intention that Marion Spence and her children should inherit the Newbigging Pottery and premises, along with his dwelling house and household effects. To enable Marion to bring up and educate her children, she could expect a yearly annuity of £150, to be taken from the profits of the business. Further, she was to receive a two-third share of the business 'presently carried on by me and my son, Robert Reid, Potter'. Robert, the eldest son, was appointed, with three others, as guardians to his children, and they, along with Marion, were instructed to 'substitute in my place in the said pottery business my son, John Reid, upon his attaining 21 years of age, or if he shall not be qualified by then, to delay his entry until he attain the age of 25 years, he always being entitled to a reasonable weekly wage, according to his abilities.' John, born in July 1823, was then in his sixth year!

Reid was magnanimous in considering his second family but was less generous towards his first wife's children. Robert could expect a one-third share of the profits, and 'a free weekly allowance of £1.15s for his attention to and management of the business'. George 'in the event of his continuing to assist Robert Reid in carrying on the pottery business "either in or out of the work" ' (which suggests that George was involved in selling - hence his later application for work as 'manager, traveller, or salesman') was to have an allowance of £1.5s, besides being found a house 'not exceeding in value £10 of yearly rent, and coals, with a suit of mournings at my death'. However, if Robert 'failed to take an active management of the business, in that event George Reid shall have £1.15s a week'. William was to have 10s.6d a week when he became unable to work or infirm, a free house and coals 'and a suit of mournings at my death'. Robert was given

a heavy burden of responsibility towards his siblings when his father stipulated further that he 'shall provide William Reid, and Hannah Reid, my daughter, each with houses suitable to them so long as they live, from the subjects conveyed to him, and a suit of mournings to Hannah'.

Legacies from his personal estate were made to his daughter Charlotte, who was left £50, and his sons Peter, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, and James, also a surgeon, both residing in Melrose, who were to have £10 each 'to purchase mournings at my death'; these bequests were to come from funds in the business 'or money in the banks'. Two years later some changes were made to the settlement, reducing Marion's annuity and Robert's weekly wage but increasing George's allowance in the event of Robert's death. A loan of £80, borrowed from his second wife Marion in order to build a house already conveyed to George and his family, was to be repaid. (The Valuation Roll for Musselburgh shows that in 1880 Robert Reid's heirs, by then living in Liverpool, still owned the house (NRS: VR60/1-37).)

Despite his efforts to protect the business, William Reid's death heralded a downward spiral for the Newbigging Pottery, with the loss of key family members. It commenced with the death of William Reid Jnr. in December 1835, aged 45, just two months after that of his father. Three years later Robert, aged 50, and Peter Bagnall, aged 72, died within eight days of each other. (Inveresk parish records show the burial of another Robert Reid, potter, in Newbigging, in July 1831, but unfortunately, no age is given; he was possibly William Reid's soldier brother who had picked up the tools of his old trade.) There were sad losses among the children too, with the death of little Marion Reid in 1832, and six of William's grandchildren between 1828 and 1831. Marion now controlled the business. Although her son George survived, he proved to be of little support to his stepmother at a time when his expertise was desperately needed, and, when Robert, his step-brother, died in 1838 George sought to leave Newbigging, in defiance of his father's plans for him.

On 27 January 1838, immediately after Robert's death, the pottery was advertised in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* to let as a going concern. George, the last of the brothers to be involved, placed a notice in the same newspaper in October that year emphasising his 23 years' experience in the firm of 'Wm. Reid & Son', and seeking employment as a 'manager, traveller or salesman', hinting that he had no inclination to return to the potter's bench. Whether he ever left Newbigging is in doubt as in 1855 he is recorded as owner and tenant of a house and shop in the West Vennel, next to the pottery (NRS: VR60/1-37). Later he went to live with his unmarried daughter Clementina in Halcross House, Musselburgh, the property she had inherited in 1847 from her maternal grandmother, and which she operated as a 'private lunatic asylum.' According to the 1861 census George was then 'superintendent at Halcross Lunatic Asylum'.

Marion is recorded in the 1841 Census as 'earthenware manufacturer', showing that she had kept the pottery in production despite William's death and the loss of the principal family members. Until 1846 she had the support of her son

John, and his involvement was recognised on a contemporary bill-head 'M. Reid & Son' (Haggarty & McIntyre 1996, 944). But the cruellest blow was still to come. In 1846 John, her only son and mainstay, died aged just 22; he was interred in his father's grave on 25 February (OPR 689). William's grandson, Robert, survived and worked in the pottery until his death in July 1853, aged just 24. The ceramics industry was clearly a hazardous one.

Unable to dispose of the pottery, Marion had little choice but to keep it operating, although in 1848, according to advertisements in *The Scotsman*, *North British Advertiser*, and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, she relinquished the feu of 'The Easter Flint Mill with kiln, and use of adjacent ground'. On 9 March 1850 a second advertisement, worded as before, appeared in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, but this too met with no more success. The 1851 Census shows Marion still operating the business, with 71-year-old Jonathan Forster as manager, and a workforce of 32 men (including Forster's son James), 11 boys, and a woman. This was a sizeable, albeit reduced, workforce, suggesting a reasonable output.

Macdonald (1995, 24) states that Jonathan Forster purchased the pottery from Marion Reid, but the Register of Sasines, which clearly documents all changes of ownership from 1797 through to 1932, has no record of the Forster family ever having owned the property. In February and June of 1853 further advertisements appeared in the Staffordshire Advertiser, with a final one on 23 February 1856, offering the pottery 'as lately occupied by Marion Reid and Son' for sale or to let. As a final measure, the property was put up for sale by public roup in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* of 14 December 1861, seemingly to no effect as there is no evidence of a change of ownership at this time, with the property remaining in Marion Reid's hands until 1866. (Recent research has shown that a second pottery was in operation in Newbigging and that Forester was involved with it (Forbes & Haggarty 2007).)

The Musselburgh Valuation Roll presents the true sequence of the occupancy of the Newbigging Pottery from 1855 onwards. The period for 1855-6 records the entire Reid property and shows that whilst Mrs. Reid was still proprietor of the pottery and grounds, they were tenanted by a Mr. Howden. He vacated the premises after a year and was followed by William Logan, in 1856-7. It was noted that Logan paid a yearly rent of £100, and kept the property under repair. Although Quail (1986, 74) maintained that in 1857 the premises were leased to A & J Winkles, of Salamander Street in Leith, he did not substantiate this. However, the Valuation Roll shows that in the years between 1857 and 1860 Andrew Winkle and Joseph Winkle were indeed tenants of Newbigging Pottery, but that it was still owned by Marion Reid. In 1860 William Miller 'starch and pithina [cornflour] manufacturer of Fisherrow' moved his operation to Newbigging, renting the pottery premises and converting them to suit his purpose. The following year his factory was listed as 'starch works' and continued as such until 1866 when Marion, with her daughter Elizabeth, and Elizabeth's husband, John Gray, finally managed to dispose of the works, together with the adjoining property, to James Turner, engineer and spirit dealer in Leith.

Marion Reid died on 19 June 1868 at 7 Mansion House Road, Edinburgh. The inventory of her personal estate (NRS: SC70/1/140) shows that the proceeds from the sale of her effects amounted to £1,800, while her ready money stood at £918.10s. Her will, in favour of her daughter and son-in-law, included a bequest of £25 pounds to her stepdaughter Charlotte. There were also a few small legacies to her own family members (NRS: SC70/4/16/228).

JAMES TURNER (1866-1869)

When James Turner took over the Newbigging Pottery in 1866 he was aged 23 and had no experience as a potter; he was doomed to fail from the start. In a single year he had recruited and lost two partners, and in January 1868, deeply in debt and with no assets, he was declared bankrupt (NRS: CS318/24/573). James Thom, trustee on his sequestered estate, clearly felt pity for the young man and in January 1869 wrote the following to George Esson, accountant in bankruptcy:

> *The bankrupt seems to have been very unfortunate in this case. He commenced business as a stoneware manufacturer in Musselburgh several years ago and took premises, which he furnished almost entirely with money borrowed from his relatives. He was entirely unacquainted with, and incapable of conducting, such a business, and never got his goods into the market, and he was obliged, after sustaining heavy losses, to give up himself in the end of 1867. He seems to have used all he had in satisfying as many of his creditors as possible, but being pressed by one or two of them he was obliged to take out sequestration. I can’t find any estate, heritable or moveable belonging to him, and am therefore unable to make out an inventory and Valuation.*

James Turner’s public examination was fixed for 15 March 1869, by which time he had left the country, leaving his mother to explain to the court that ‘her son had been suddenly summoned away to Rotterdam to act as an engineer on board a ship called the *Normandy*, trading between Rotterdam and Africa, and that had he not gone, he would have been out of employment, with no means of subsistence.’ From enquiries made of the vessel’s owners it appeared that the Normandy was then in SW England or Wales taking in coals, and it was not known when, or indeed if ever, she would be in Leith, or any other Scottish port; they confirmed that Turner was indeed on board.

By November 1869 Turner had returned to face his creditors and appeared in the Sheriff Court House, Edinburgh, to accept public examination. There he stated that, having purchased the Newbigging Pottery in September 1866, he ‘carried on business by myself till December 1866; during that time I was occupied putting the place in order, and in December 1866, I entered into partnership with Mr. George Munro.’ The partnership was short-lived, and Munro left in March 1867 with a refund of his capital, as per agreement. James then entered into partnership with his brother William which lasted for

six months. When William too gave up, it was the last straw for James. His statement continues:

> *The business was not a prosperous one. I made losses by goods spoiled in the burning, and I did not get goods into the market, not understanding the business sufficiently to carry it on myself. I could not get the articles made disposed of. I sold my stock to Mr Grey [sic] for £224.'*

Most of this money went to pay his creditors, who agreed to settle for Turner's offer of paying 6d in the pound on his debts, to be paid on his discharge; he successfully applied for this in May 1878. The list of creditors included 'Messrs Watts, Blake, Beame & Co., Kingsteighnton Clay Mines, Newton Abbot, Devon', who were owed £50.

W A GRAY & SONS (1869-1926)

Although William Affleck Gray MD, MRCSF, did not as yet own the property, the Valuation Roll shows that by 1868/9 he was established in Newbigging Pottery, commencing production as 'Midlothian Stone Ware Potteries, West Vennel, Newbigging'. Around the same time, in two separate acquisitions, one in 1870 (NRS: RS108/93/162) and the other in 1875 (NRS: RS108/572/31), he purchased the 'White Potterie, Clay, and Flint Mills' at Portobello from heirs of the Rathbone family, following which he developed the joint Newbigging and Portobello Potteries into a major producer of stoneware. His sons, William and Alexander, eventually took charge of both potteries, with William managing Newbigging. On 9 May 1889 Dr Gray purchased the entire Newbigging premises from the Third Provident Investment Company 'with consent of and by James Turner'. The property consisted of:

> *the maltbarn, kiln, steepstone, cornbarn, steam engine, pump, iron tank and all other machinery and articles connected with the work … with the yard or ground whereon said buildings are erected, and garden behind the kiln … formerly a pottery ware manufactury, and afterwards a starch and pithina food manufactory now reconverted into a pottery, and the mansion house with offices, court, garden and park belonging thereto; also the small dwelling house adjoining to said mansion house with exclusive use of the pump well in said court.*
> (NRS: RS27/2148/195).

Dr Gray controlled the company in his lifetime. It was only after his death, in December 1899, that his trustees were empowered to sell or lease both potteries to his two sons, Alexander and William, or to the survivor of them, if they so wished (NRS: RS108/3709/135). In 1901 the firm of W A Gray & Sons was noted in the *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* as 'manufacturers of stoneware jars, jam pots, etc. Portobello and Musselburgh' and for the next 18 years little seems to have changed for in 1920 they were categorised 'bottle and jar manufacturers', with a telephone number - 159 Portobello.

THE RICHARDSONS (1923-1932)

In 1923 the Gray brothers, after 40 years in the business, decided to begin to realise their assets and sold Newbigging Lodge, complete with offices, garden and field to William Richardson for £920 (NRS: RS108/6743/119); Richardson was already employed in the business, as the 1922-3 issue of the *Directory* shows. The trustees, however, retained ownership of the pottery itself, renting it to Richardson; the 1925-6 Valuation Roll records Richardson as tenant of the 'garden, pottery and engine power store and pottery, operating as W A Gray & Sons, Earthenware Manufacture (William Richardson, sole partner)', implying that he now controlled, or owned, the company. A month after his purchase, Richardson sold Newbigging Lodge to Musselburgh Burgh Council for £1,000, at the same time negotiating favourable terms for his tenancy of the house (NRS: RS108/6747/56). (Apparently the Grays had approached the Council that October offering them the opportunity to buy Newbigging Lodge on behalf of the town; inevitably they appointed a committee to deal with the matter, but prevaricating too long, missed out on the sale (NRS: B52/20).)

William Robertson did not enjoy his new enterprise for long. On 12 February 1926 Marjory Robertson, the wife of William Richardson 'deceased', purchased Newbigging Pottery, paying the Grays £800, having arranged a mortgage for £600 from the Edinburgh Investment Trust, with her husband standing surety (NRS: RS108/7018/114); her other guarantor was Wastle Cliff Bell, pottery manager, residing at 5 Rosslyn Avenue, Rutherglen, Glasgow. William had died in the period between the two transactions.

With the contacts she probably had within the pottery industry, it seems likely that Marjory Richardson attempted to continue her late husband's business. However, by 1930, and still proprietor, she had moved to Rutherglen, and the pottery premises were recorded as 'empty'. In October 1932 she disposed of the entire site for £420, a considerable loss, to James Aitken and David Milne, builders, trustees for their firm of R. Banks and Son, Inveresk Road, Musselburgh (NRS RS108/7714/22). After a period of 132 years, pottery production at Newbigging was at an end.

EXCAVATION AND PRODUCTS

Before the archaeological investigation began in 1987 the contractors had already removed c. 0.4m of topsoil by machine, revealing various features associated with the pottery, including the base of a 7m-diameter large kiln with ten stoke-holes (fig 7). Below it came evidence for three earlier kilns. After the Christmas/New Year break, much of the archaeological investigation was curtailed by the sudden, unscheduled, removal by machine of almost every trace of the exposed kilns. This work, however, uncovered a nearby brick-lined trough with a stone-flagged base, c. 1.25 x 0.5m and surviving to a height of 0.1m. It was filled with a compacted ash containing broken pot-sherds, both biscuit and glazed fragments (Haggarty & Haggarty 1988, 11-12).

Figure 7: One of the pottery kilns under excavation. (Author)

Against the east boundary wall of the site a large spread of compact grey clay was found, containing a fragment of a biscuit-fired, moulded plaque, decorated with a crowned lion rampant motif over part of a shield (a complete example, has subsequently been identified and is now in a Scottish private collection) (fig 8). Also recovered were sherds of London-shaped cups in various moulded designs; and an almost complete, unglazed bone-china saucer with a moulded basket weave pattern (fig 9). A fragment from a small crude, unglazed figurine was also found (fig 10), which has been identified as part of a soldier following the discovery of a crude but more complete hand-painted and glazed version in Edinburgh Castle (Driscoll & Yeoman 1997, illus 121). Biscuit sherds with applied sprigged decoration were also recovered, some of which are similar to examples from Staffordshire, and it is likely that William Reid bought in moulds from there. Transfer-printed biscuit sherds recovered from this clay layer were decorated with variations of common patterns including ‘Standard Willow’, Spode’s ‘Geranium’ and ‘The Milkmaid’ (fig 11). An intriguing white biscuit sprig of a male head in profile has been tentatively identified as that of David Hume, the philosopher, who died in 1776 (fig 12). Fragments were recovered from a number of previously unrecorded white earthenware plates with moulded borders, one of which has a transfer-printed central design of a train passing over a viaduct (fig 13). Published bisque sherds from small, moulded plates (Haggarty 1996, 20 fig 19), has led to a number of complete examples being recorded. One of these is now in the collections of the National Museums Scotland (NMS: K1997/136) and the rest are held privately. A bisque border sherd with a butterfly and flowers has also resulted in the identification of a large number of extant Newbigging plates, decorated either with hand painting (fig 14) or transfer printing (fig 15).

Figure 8: A moulded pearlware plaque decorated with Pratt colours, identical to a biscuit-fired fragment found during excavation. (Courtesy Scottish Private Collection)

Figure 9: An almost complete bisque bone-china saucer decorated with a moulded basket weave pattern, found during excavation. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 10: An unglazed figurine fragment found during excavation, and subsequently identified as being of a soldier. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 11: Two bisque transfer-printed conjoined sherds found during excavation and decorated with Spode’s popular ‘The Milkmaid’ design. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 12: An intriguing white bisque sprig of a male head, tentatively identified as David Hume, the Edinburgh-born philosopher (1711-76). (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 13: Moulded white earthenware conjoined plate sherds found during excavation, decorated with a transfer-printed design centred on a railway viaduct. This was based on a page in a popular children’s counting book of c. 1850, entitled JACKO’S MERRY METHOD OF LEARNING THE PENCE TABLE. The full verse reads:
‘Friends now oft greet each other’s smiles,
By railroad’s speedy aid;
And fifty pence clear fifty miles,
Or four and two-pence aid.’
(Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

Figure 14: A moulded plate decorated with hand painting now identified as being a product of Newbigging Pottery because of bisque sherds found during excavation. (Courtesy Scottish Private Collection)

Figure 15: A moulded plate decorated with transfer-printing in a private collection, now identified as being a product of Newbigging Pottery because of bisque sherds found during excavation. (Courtesy Scottish Private Collection)

Excavation by a JCB towards the west of the site revealed a cellar, probably a clay or flint store, that had been partly backfilled with products from an unsuccessful late kiln firing. Many of the stoneware jars and bottles retrieved had fused together or were stuck to the saggars, reminding us of Turner’s statement ‘of goods spolt in the burning’.

Numerous sherds dating from the early period of Reid’s ownership of the pottery were later found at the south end of the site by the building contractors. Scores of these industrial slip-wares, both in the biscuit and glazed, had been dipped and colour-banded. The patterns include combing, offset dots, a trailed variation on the ‘cat’s eye’ motif (where the tri-coloured dot is dragged in a

Figure 16: Bisque sherds found during excavation, lathe-banded and rouletted and painted in slips of unexpected colours. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

short S curve), along with variegated and engine machine?-turned designs. Forms included bowls, mugs, jugs, flower-pots and porringers. Several sherds had unusual, if not unique, characteristics. For example, some of the rouletting patterns had not been encountered before, whilst some biscuit sherds were lathe-banded in slips of unexpected colours such as bright pink, royal blue and green (fig 16).

Towards the west side of the site, but outwith the north wall of the pottery buildings, removal of topsoil revealed a concentrated dump of stoneware jars and bottles produced during Gray’s ownership of the pottery. The underglaze transfer-

Figure 17: A rare transfer-printed backstamp found during excavation bearing the pottery mark ‘W Reid’ over a thistle decoration. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

printed labels on the ginger beer and stout bottles indicated that they had been produced for companies as far afield as Aberdeen and Burnley. The life-spans of these companies suggest a tight period around 1905 (J Yule *pers comm*). The vast majority of the bottles were stamped with Gray’s Portobello mark, which might explain why no stoneware from this period has been recorded with an impressed Newbigging mark.

Finally, a word about the pottery’s marks. Only a few are presently known to have been used by Newbigging pottery and all are rare. They include a transfer-printed backstamp, comprising a shield with three mussels and three fouled anchors, and a transfer-printed backstamp with ‘W. REID’ and a thistle (fig 17). Perhaps the most interesting mark, simply stamped ‘REID’, is impressed on the base of a high-fired, black basalt sherd, discovered by a local man, David Harvey, while out walking his dog near Newbigging, for it proves conclusively what the documents tell us that good quality Black Basalt was being produced at the pottery (figs 18 & 19). Mr Harvey kindly donated the sherd to the National Museums Scotland, which has all the retained sherd material in its safe-keeping (http://repository.nms.ac.uk/302/).

Figure 18: A black basalt sherd (top), found near Newbigging. Given the name REID stamped on the base (bottom), it proves conclusively that good quality black basalt ware was also being produced at William Reid’s Newbigging Pottery. (Courtesy National Museums Scotland)

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Figure 1: Ballencrieff from the SE c. 1920 (Courtesy of RCAHMS) and, inset, the author (right) with Nigel Tranter in front of the nearly-restored castle in 1997.

PHOENIX FROM THE FLAMES II
BALLENCRIEFF: CASTLE OF DREAMS

by PETER LAING GILLIES

INTRODUCTION

In Volume XXVII of these *Transactions* (2008, 72-85), Chris Tabraham and I presented a paper recording the discovery in 1992 of a rare Jacobean ceiling at Ballencrieff Castle during its restoration. This present paper records my personal recollections of the whole process of restoring Ballencrieff to something approaching its former glory – a task that took eight years.

DREAMING THE DREAM:

Thursday 20 September, 1989. That evening the telephone rang. "Is that you, Peter?" I recognized Nigel's voice immediately. Hardly giving me time to reply, he went on to ask if I had ever been to Ballencrieff Castle. I said I had, but that it wasn't of interest to me as it was a ruined Georgian mansion. "But there's an earlier castle within the later walls!" he exclaimed. I knew better than to argue with Nigel Tranter - author, historian and, less well known, instrumental in the restoration of more than 60 Scottish castles (fig 1).

I had first met Nigel some thirty years earlier, when I confronted him on what I later discovered was his daily writing walk. Like many people, I knew him through his books, of which I was an avid reader. Seeing him that summer morning, striding out from his house to cross the Aberlady footbridge, I stopped and introduced myself. I found him polite and friendly and, like many on meeting him for the first time, he made me feel as if we had already met. If he thought me callow and impudent, he never let it show. Having exchanged pleasantries, my parting words were that if he heard of any ruined castle in East Lothian requiring restoration, would he please let me know.

Over the years, whilst other priorities took over my life and dreams of restoring castles were pushed to the background, he never forgot that conversation. He would send me cards telling me about 'such and such' a place, or would call to tell me that a building was to be demolished. Somehow, I never found the time or the inclination to follow up his information.

"They're going to knock Ballencrieff down," he continued. "Peter MacLaren, the owner, has had a demolition order served on him by the Council. They consider it a danger and he has to knock it down by next Wednesday. Could you not go and at least see it?"

So before I knew what was happening, I heard myself agreeing to meet him at the ruin the following Sunday. Said Sunday found the four of us – me, my partner Lin Dalgleish, Nigel and his partner Joan Earle– clambering through the undergrowth and scrambling up what remained of the walls.

Figure 2: Ballencrieff from the NW in March 1992. Note the crosslet gun-holes (bottom right) newly discovered in the ground floor of the sixteenth-century tower house.

It was a depressing sight (fig 2). There seemed to be lots of high walls with no obvious order to them and all in a very bad state. Several loose stones at the wall-heads looked as though they might tumble down at any minute, and the floor where we were standing, above ground level, was dangerously laden with fallen rubble which, in places, was over 7ft foot high; not to mention the trees happily growing amongst the jumble of stones!

When we got over the initial shock of the general chaos, Nigel was keen to show us the merits of the ruin. Not at first obvious to Lin and I, and whilst Joan kept a diplomatic silence, Nigel started to point out what he thought was the earlier castle. It wasn't until we slid down a hole in the floor that we discovered the vaults beneath. Burning old newspapers – we didn't have a torch – we managed to make out an ancient gunloop and at last I was convinced that within this sad ruin there was evidence for an older castle Nigel had insisted was there all the time! Lin remained quietly sceptical.

When we returned home to our compact, comfortable home in Gullane, I was convinced that Ballencrieff had potential and, as long as it wasn't too expensive to acquire, could be saved and restored. Lin didn't agree.

The next day I called Nigel, who came directly to the point. "What did you think of the castle?" My hesitant reply, saying that it was an interesting

building, was cut off in mid-sentence. “I’ve phoned Historic Scotland and they’re coming down this afternoon.” “Why are they coming down?” I heard myself ask. “Because Ballencrieff isn’t listed, but if it is, then we can slow down the demolition order.” I noticed the use of the word ‘we’. “Have you spoken with Mr. MacLaren, the farmer, yet?” I had to admit I hadn’t. “But I’ll speak to him after Historic Scotland’s visit”, I promised. “I’ll talk with you later”, he said, and the phone went dead.

Historic Scotland’s inspector for East Lothian duly arrived that afternoon and was content to ‘spot list’ the building Category B, that is, a building ‘of regional architectural and historic interest’. It also meant that a formal listed-building consent application would have to be made before demolition could proceed. This might take months and could be contested.

Two days later I spoke with Peter MacLaren, and we negotiated a purchase price. That night, when I got home to Gullane, and as casually as I could, I admitted to Lin that I had agreed a price for the ruin. Her silence made it difficult for me to gauge what she was thinking. “How do you think you’re going to get the money to pay for it?” was her first question. “I’ve at least three months to raise the money,” and, rather lamely, I added “I’m sure I can get enough money together.”

It is amazing how quickly three months passes! My earlier optimism had disappeared and, at the end of the agreed time, I found myself explaining to Lin that I didn’t have the full amount to purchase the ruin. However, in the weeks leading up to this moment, Lin and I had been over at the castle most weekends, cleaning away rubbish and rubble. Lin’s enthusiasm for the building had been growing steadily during this period. I had also calculated a work schedule and started playing with what I thought the restored castle would look like; we were both full of ideas. We now knew where the laird’s great hall and withdrawing room were. We also made our first real discoveries. Whilst digging out the small passageway between the two rooms we found a large Georgian brass door-lock complete with key and a lot of moulded plaster. “Well, I’ve some savings”, Lin said. I didn’t know what to say. All along I’d been apprehensive that Lin didn’t share my enthusiasm and that she was just going along with the restoration notion to please me. But here she was, offering to lend me her savings so that we could buy the ruin. It was a magical moment. At the end of the three months, ruined Ballencrieff was ours.

I was born in the Berwickshire village of Coldingham, where my father owned a small builders’ business. My grandfather and great-grandfather had both been stonemasons, but it was never my plan to enter the construction industry; I think I wanted to be an artist. However, by the time I was 18, I found myself working for a civil engineering company named A.M Carmichael, which was building a dam across the Whiteadder Water to make a reservoir to supply East Lothian. I was employed as a chain boy, This position no longer exists as modern technology has taken over, but until the 1960s chain-boys were used by land surveyors to pull the surveying chain. Eventually I was taken into Carmichael’s

drawing office, and eventually qualified as an engineer. After working all over the UK for various companies, I found myself in East Lothian, where I started my own civil engineering construction business.

I had known Lin for almost 30 years, and we had become good friends. We were both fascinated with local history and archaeological digs, and liked visiting ruined churches and castles. We never could have imagined that, in time, we would find ourselves sharing our lives together and owning our own ruined castle. But that is what happened. Lin worked locally as a school teacher and we were living in Gullane, and because Aberlady was just along the road, we saw a lot of Nigel and Joan. Indeed, our friendship with them had developed to a stage where, as a foursome, we would regularly visit various places of interest.

It was a standing arrangement that, around Easter, we would take a picnic and go away for the day. This was always a great pleasure; to visit anywhere in Scotland accompanied by Nigel meant that it was like having your very own tour guide. His knowledge of Scotland, and East Lothian in particular, was compendious. Pouring out in a constant flow, he punctuated our travels with historical stories about places of interest and the people associated with them. For Lin and me they were wonderful, magical moments.

LIVING THE DREAM – PART ONE: DISCOVERIES AND DIFFICULTIES

Now that Ballencrieff was ours, we had to decide what to do next. Through Nigel and our many travels, we already knew various people involved in castle restoration. We already had a rough idea what to do. We knew that Historic Scotland would have to be contacted, and a letter was duly sent requesting an application form for grant assistance and a meeting to discuss our intentions. In due course a rather impressive application form for grant assistance arrived which we quickly filled in and returned. This was followed by a site visit from one of Historic Scotland's inspectors; the meeting did not go well.

Lin and I had spent weeks clambering over the ruin and already knew that we had an eighteenth-century mansion built around an earlier castle. Through research in libraries, we had also established that the house had largely been abandoned as the main family residence following the death of George Murray, 6th Lord Elibank, in 1785, though they did retain a housekeeper to maintain and air the house; she had lived in the house's west wing, which still stands and is now a private residence.

In April 1868 the housekeeper accidentally set fire to a chimney flue and the sparks somehow managed to ignite the upper part of the main building; the mansion burned down overnight. The fire was so fierce that it reportedly burned down a huge ancient beech tree that stood some distance away. In the ensuing years the burned-out shell had been used variously as pig sty, log shed and potting shed. A large fall of masonry in the 1960s had led to the ruin being abandoned altogether. The result was that we had a number of high, precarious gables from the Georgian

building, with the earlier castle walls entombed within. Our proposal was simple. We would remove the Georgian walls, and recycle the stonework to rebuild the original castle.

I had earlier found a nicely carved corbel-stone from the old castle lying among the rubble and, using this to reinforce my argument for restoring the castle, had pointed it out to the inspector. I was informed that this stone certainly did not belong to the ruin and most likely had been dumped there at some other time. The fact that it was over 1 metre long and weighed two cwt didn't make any difference! A further reference to creating a 'Walt Disney-styled castle' and the meeting came to a swift conclusion. This did not bode well.

Happily, our next meeting with Historic Scotland proved altogether more positive. We were advised to have the building surveyed, and a scheme put forward to Historic Scotland for their consideration. This sounded much better.

Lin and I now had to decide who to employ as our architect. An acquaintance of ours was already in the throes of restoring another castle in East Lothian and had engaged a well-known restoration architect. As we didn't know any ourselves, we decided, on the spur of the moment, to employ the same firm. A date was agreed for the work to start.

Within a few weeks, two young men arrived with ladders and tapes and started clambering all over the building. Over three days they measured the wall heights, inside and outer dimensions, and plotted the information into their note-books. In no time at all a bulky envelope arrived through our door and, with great excitement, we poured over the sketches we found inside. They were, more or less, as we surmised - a couple of turrets, a great hall, and staircases. It was looking promising.

A few days later a smaller envelope arrived with the architect's familiar writing on it. This time the news was not good. It was the bill - £3,000! To say we were dismayed would be an understatement. It didn't take long to work out that if this was the cost for such a small amount of work, then obviously it was going to cost a lot more than we could afford for the whole of the architectural work. A quick phone call, a brief explanation, a promise to pay the outstanding bill - and we were without our architect.

Coincidentally, a few days later Nigel phoned. "I've someone here who'd like to meet you. He's an architect and is interested in castle restoration." This is how we met John Wetton Brown. John lived in Glasgow and had lately been involved in restoring Blackhall Manor, in Paisley, and Mains Castle, beside East Kilbride. Like many architects, John, whose passion was castle restoration, had to earn his bread and butter carrying out more mundane jobs like house extensions. I liked him right away. He spoke my language, understood the economics of reconstruction and seemed very practical. Almost immediately, having agreed terms of contract, we sat down to plan the restoration. It was agreed that the ruin would have to be surveyed once again, this time with me helping John. Historic Scotland was informed of the change in architect and we re-applied for consent to restore Ballencrieff.

PHOENIX FROM THE FLAMES II
BALLENCRIEFF: CASTLE OF DREAMS

Over the next few months, Lin and I continued to move mountains of rubble. Weekends would find us over at the ruin, picnic baskets filled, flasks of tea and sometimes a beer or two. We tackled the largest areas first, the great hall and withdrawing room on the first floor. In the great hall, the rubble rose to almost 8ft high in the middle, with two fine yew trees about 6ft tall growing from it; ivy sprouted over the south wall. The withdrawing room too was filled with rubble to a depth of 5ft, and this too was topped by a healthy holly tree reaching to 20 ft!

Our idea was to set aside any carved stones and barrow the rest of the rubble over to a ruined window and tip it out onto the ground below. The work allocation was simple. I would be in charge of the technical stuff and shovel into the barrow, whilst Lin, who didn't have any construction experience, would wheel the barrow across to the window and tip it out!

In due course we heard from Historic Scotland. For them to proceed, they needed a fully-costed scheme. Together with John Brown we set about envisioning in detail how the restored castle would look. We had already decided that we wanted to return the building back to how it was in 1586, when John Murray of Blackbarony had built it. Even though the castle had subsequently been enveloped in the much larger Georgian mansion, the bulk of the early building had changed very little from that time. It all seemed so simple and straightforward. Whilst John worked on preparing the final scheme, Lin and I continued digging.

By now we were in to our second year of ownership and, as usual, weekends and holidays found us at the ruin. The previous winter had been miserable at times, but we still continued to work, despite the cold. The most uncomfortable times were when it was windy. As the building had been constructed in lime mortar the slightest breeze would lift the fine dust and it would get into our hair and eyes. Uncomfortable enough ordinarily, but this being lime it burned. Our eyes suffered greatly and, despite wearing gloves, the skin on our hands would quickly dry out and split.

One particularly cold, windy day in November, while tipping a barrow-load through the window, Lin slipped and disappeared in the same direction. Wondering where she had gone, I looked over the window to find her picking herself up from the pile of excavations underneath.

"That's it!" she said, more than a little tearfully, "I've had enough, I'm going home!" Fortunately, the tippings had supplied a soft landing and she was remarkably unscathed. I have to say I sympathised completely. It had been miserable at times and she had stuck to the task wonderfully well. It had been my hair-brained scheme in the first place and she had gone along with it. But that bad moment passed, as did the others, and here we were in the summer with the sun on our backs.

The great hall was now half cleared but, although the work was hard, one thing helped keep us going; we were starting to find bits and pieces. The first find had been that Georgian brass lock complete with key. Next up was a silver pocket-knife (a gentleman's fruit knife) with a 'mother-of-pearl' handle and a solid silver blade; the hallmark dated it to 1770. Then the odd early seventeenth-century

coin, and a trading token with Glasgow's coat-of-arms on it. Every time we found something we would dig happily for another few days, and it gave us something to look forward to each time we came over to the ruin. Then we began to find pieces of plasterwork near the bottom of the rubble. Other than the sections of cornice, the rest didn't make sense. Nevertheless we carefully stacked it all away for safe keeping.

Months before, when visiting Hailes Castle, I found myself in conversation with the only other visitor there, during which I told him about Ballencrieff. He showed great interest and, as he lived locally, I invited him to visit us at the ruin. That is how I met Chris Tabraham.

I liked Chris at our first meeting. He had a wicked sense of humour and a huge knowledge of Scottish castles. I didn't know it at the time but he was Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments with Historic Scotland, with responsibility for some of Scotland's most famous castles, including Edinburgh. We became good friends. By now Historic Scotland had spoken to us regarding archaeology, and it was Chris who offered to keep a watching brief over Lin and me as we continued to dig. So, every so often, Chris would drop in, note how far we had dug, examine our finds and advise us if we were going in the right direction. It was Chris who played an important part in solving the riddle of the plasterwork.

Good news! We had received yet another, by now familiar, envelope from Historic Scotland. As Lin and I quickly scanned the contents, we could make out the sentence: 'Your application will be considered for grant assistance'. This was what we had been waiting for all these months.

By now, John had finished surveying the ruin, and started drawing up schemes. After much discussion, we decided that the time had come to present our dream to Historic Scotland. A meeting was arranged and we found ourselves in their Edinburgh headquarters where, after much deliberation, it was agreed that our dream was, more or less, acceptable. So far, so good.

Now we could ask John to prepare detailed working drawings and arrange for a chartered quantity surveyor to cost the entire restoration. The drawings were completed and, a few months later, our Bill of Quantities arrived. With it came the estimated cost for the restoration. Lin and I were in shock. The costs were twice the amount I had estimated, using my own experience in the construction industry. Now, not only did we have the architect's fees to pay, we also had a bill from our quantity surveyor. For us to fully commit ourselves to the dream of restoring Ballencrieff, it was essential that we receive some sort of grant-assistance from Historic Scotland. Looking on the bright side at least our labour was free - so we kept digging!

By the end of our second summer, we had more or less cleared the great hall. The carved stones were neatly piled at one end of the room and the dressed rubble in another corner. By now we had accumulated more and more pieces of plasterwork and it was clear that the room had had some sort of heraldic ceiling. We were also finding plaster initials, including SGM and DMP, and plaster stars,

chevrons and stirrup-like shapes that we discovered later were ‘fetterlocks’. As we had little idea of what we were finding, a book of heraldry borrowed from the library soon gave us a basic understanding. The stars, we discovered, were, in heraldic terms, mullets; it was all becoming very exciting.

We could now tell, from the different shapes of plasterwork, that the design of the ceiling was made up of squares, circles and lozenges but in what order we couldn’t imagine. I would sit at night and try and make some sort of sense of the patterns but never managed. It was all a mighty puzzle. However, all was soon to be revealed.

The last section of the hall to be excavated, towards the west end, was the deepest, but, with the end in sight, we set to clearing it with gathering enthusiasm. It took many weekends of hard work before we could get down to floor level. As usual, when we excavated down to within 18 inches of the floor, we would dig very carefully - no picks and shovels, just trowels and brushes. We began to find a layer of roof slates. Apparently, when the mansion burned down that night in 1868, the fire raged so intensely that the roof had collapsed right through the upper floor and onto the great hall floor.

Figure 3: The author uncovering the collapsed Jacobean ceiling on the great hall floor in September 1992.

Below the roof slates we found well-preserved plasterwork; the slates had provided a protective cover. Digging cautiously, we slowly stripped the slates away - and to our utter surprise found ourselves staring down at a complete section of plaster ceiling, lying face-up on the floor (fig 3)! It took us three weekends to uncover it all, but when we had, there was the whole design for all to see.

A quick telephone call to Chris and he was soon with us to examine our discovery. He arranged for a team of Historic Scotland's architectural technicians and a photographer to come and record it. Chris also promised to see what he could find out about other heraldic ceilings in Scotland. True to his word he arranged to meet us a few days later at the castle. The three of us found ourselves back upstairs in the now cleared great hall and, on pulling back the protective tarpaulin, stared down at the ceiling.

I was aware that Chris had a rather large book tucked under his arm. Opening it he started flicking through the pages, and I could see that every page had a picture showing a heraldic ceiling. Three pages into the book and there was our ceiling! Not the Ballencrieff ceiling, of course, but one of the ceilings at Kellie Castle, in Fife. It was identical to the one on our great hall floor!

On asking Historic Scotland how long it would be before we would definitely know if we were to receive grant assistance, we were informed that the 'grants committee' sat every three months to consider applications. We would hear after the next meeting in two months' time. The date came and went, but still no word. We decided that another phone call was called for; after all, we had spent thousands of pounds on architects' and surveyors' fees, and apart from being the proud owners of a bulky set of drawings we had spent nothing whatsoever on the actual restoration.

Our phone call brought devastating news! Not only were we not to receive grant, but we had also been taken off the list of applicants to be considered! All our hard work had been for nothing. After all, we did have their letter telling us that we were to be considered for grant, and we had supplied all the information asked of us. We didn't know what to do.

We told Nigel. Sitting in his house at Aberlady, he listened gravely as we described this latest development. He offered to write to Historic Scotland pleading our case. That evening, feeling very low and not holding out much hope, we returned home to Gullane.

A few weeks passed and we were no further forward. We still went over to Ballencrieff and continued to tidy it up. But somehow our hearts weren't in the work. However, we did have something to look forward to - Nigel's birthday. Joan had been scheming for weeks to have a secret birthday party for him, to which all his friends were to be invited. Lin and I were enjoying taking part in the conspiratorial goings-on. But it was a surprise to hear from Nigel shortly before his birthday. His very precise telephone voice told me that he had a BBC television crew with him at his house – including Kirsty Wark no less! They were recording a half-hour programme for BBC Scotland to celebrate his birthday. He asked if he could bring them over to Ballencrieff to see the ruin and perhaps film. I agreed and we arranged to meet up the following day.

Figure 4: Nigel Tranter (centre) flanked by Lin Dalgleish (left) and Joan Earle (right), filming at Ballencrieff in November 1992.

The next day we met Kirsty Wark's husband, film producer Allan Clements, with a film unit at the ruin (fig 4). I couldn't imagine why they should want to film there and asked Allan. He told me that when they'd decided to make a film celebrating Nigel's birthday, the emphasis, naturally, being on his contributions to Scottish literature. But neither he nor Kirsty had been aware of Nigel's other passion - of having Scottish castles restored; and, as Ballencrieff was on his doorstep, they wished to include our ruin in their film. They spent the whole day filming and, at the end, asked if I would mind saying something to the camera. Reluctantly I found myself talking about the importance of castle restoration, and how Nigel had been instrumental in our acquiring Ballencrieff, and thereafter given us tremendous moral encouragement. The programme was to be aired shortly before Nigel's birthday.

Lin and I sat and watched it. The programme began with Nigel sitting in his favourite chair in the familiar surroundings of his Aberlady residence. We listened to Kirsty Wark asking Nigel about his early writings, his involvement with the removal of the Stone of Destiny from Westminster in 1950, and his great 'blockbusters' – the Bruce trilogy, Wallace and the rest. Eventually she asked him

about his involvement in castle restoration. As he answered her, the background picture changed from his house to Ballencrieff - followed quickly by me coming up on the screen. Lin and I were 'gob-smacked'.

The scene then moved to Historic Scotland's headquarters in Edinburgh, where we saw Kirsty asking their chief executive, Graeme Munro, what the purpose of his organisation was. His reply included a reference to encouraging the restoration of historic buildings! Within two weeks we were invited to Historic Scotland's HQ, and there informed that we would be made a 'one-off' offer of grant. Thanks to Nigel and Kirsty Wark's programme, we were back on track.

LIVING THE DREAM - PART TWO: SETTING TO WORK

Back at Ballencrieff things began to move. The grant was to be split into three areas (masonry consolidation, rebuilding and finishings) and spread over four years. I knew the importance of keeping a strict control of our budget and calculated a programme of works that would guide us over that period.

We tasked John, our architect, to make the relevant applications to start the work, and in due course received demolition consent for taking down the crumbling Georgian walls. Lin and I had decided that, to save money, I would work full-time on the job, operating as site manager and taking down the walls myself. Meanwhile our stonemason, Stuart Amos, and his two men start to make the old building safe. But where to begin? We decided to tackle the west gable first, where the stonework was so thin we could see daylight in places.

The main problem here was the missing lintel above the window lighting the great hall. On first taking ownership of Ballencrieff I had put in temporary 'acro-props' to carry the weight of the masonry above, but we could not simply remove them for fear of bringing the whole gable down. We needed first to reinforce the gable and only when that was completed could we replace the missing lintel with one of reinforced concrete. Within a couple of weeks we had rebuilt the lower part of the gable, secured the arched windows above and replaced the missing lintel with a temporary concrete one. Little did we know at that time that this lintel would present us with a huge problem in the future. However, blithely unaware, we congratulated ourselves on the progress. Now we began to turn our thoughts to the next phase - restoration.

But there remained one outstanding question. Historic Scotland were now of the opinion that our original scheme - that of a simple, oblong building - was not acceptable, on the grounds that the late sixteenth-century castle had most probably been L-shaped, with a stair tower projecting from the 'bottom' (ie, west) end of the great hall. This posed two problems. The first was constructional; our detailed layouts for the interiors would have to be revised. The second was financial; our original costings had been based on the oblong house and the addition of the wing would add to those. After due deliberation it was agreed that an archaeological dig should be carried out to help determine whether there had been a stair tower. More expense, we thought, until Chris again rode to the rescue, volunteering to supervise the operation. And so, one Saturday morning found

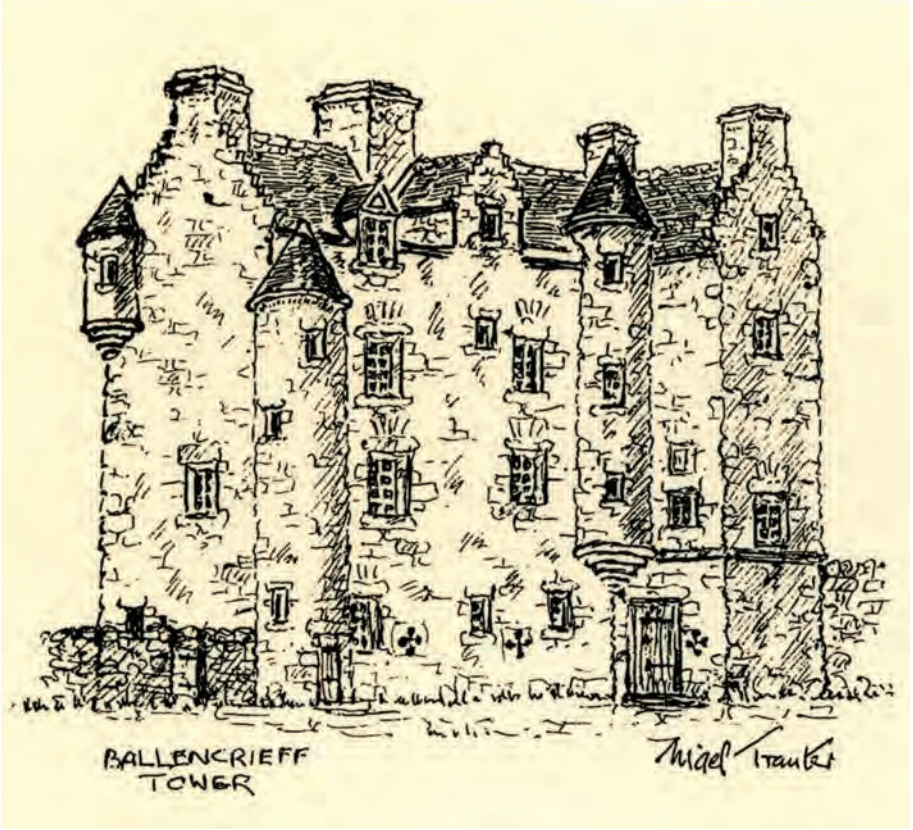


Figure 5: Nigel Tranter's sketch of Ballencrieff as it may have originally looked.

Lin and me, Nigel and Joan, John and Chris fully armed with picks and shovels, trowels and buckets, ready for the fray.

It took us all day to clear away the many feet of rubble at the NW corner of the building until we got down to ground level. And although we never did find any sign of the stair tower's foundations, there was one very large corner stone still in situ. The exercise in fact helped give us a much clearer idea of how the original building had functioned spatially, and we agreed with Historic Scotland that Ballencrieff had indeed originally been L-shaped (fig 5). It meant more cost, of course, and, as if to rub salt in our wounds, Historic Scotland insisted that all of the new stair tower be built of natural stone, not concrete block work. The costs were spiralling! The question now was - would we be able to afford it?

One of the first 'restoration' jobs we had planned to carry out was the reinstatement of the great hall fireplace, as the masonry surround no longer existed. During our excavations there we had found several distinct pieces of carved pink

sandstone. Although not certain at first, I thought they might be bits of the original fireplace. Over two winters, much like working on a large jigsaw puzzle, I glued as much of the stone work as I could together and eventually discovered what the original fireplace looked like. Chris confirmed my thoughts when he produced, from one of those big books of his, a drawing of an almost identical fireplace in the great hall of Newark Castle, in Port Glasgow, built for Sir Patrick Maxwell in the 1590s – coincidentally around the time Sir John Murray was building Ballencrieff! However, to recreate it I needed a really good stonemason.

Not far away from Ballencrieff, at Bankton House, a similar restoration was being carried out. I had been taking a keen interest in its progress and was visiting one day when I happened to mention to the site manager that I was looking for someone to carve our new fireplace, possibly on a part-time basis. "Graeme Brown," was his reply. Graeme was apparently one of his best stonemasons. Newly married and with a young family, Graeme was keen to make some extra money. A quick introduction to the fireplace drawings and Graeme agreed to start work as soon as the stone was delivered.

Within the month the stone - four slabs, two large and two small – arrived; total weight - two tons! For Lin and me it was very exciting watching Graeme transform the plain slabs into a wonderful replica Jacobean fireplace (see fig 10). During this time we got to know him and saw him as a friend. On one of our visits I asked him if he had ever thought of having his own business, and was surprised to hear him quickly say that this was something he hoped to do in the future. I told him that we were putting out to tender phases two and three of the restoration and wondered if he might be interested. He seemed very keen and, armed with a full set of John's drawings, went home that night telling me he would let me know the following weekend.

The following Saturday, true to his word, Graeme had all the relevant information with him when we met. I had by then the two other prices I had sought, and Graeme's was the best. Having already seen his workmanship – the great hall fireplace – I had no doubts about appointing him. I saw him as an enthusiastic young man with ambition to get on in his profession. He didn't prove me wrong. As soon as we had received Historic Scotland's consent to proceed to phase two, Graeme worked out his notice with his employers and started work full-time on restoring Ballencrieff. He and his two men were soon fixing the wall-heads and rebuilding the gables. But the projected costs were still beyond our means, and Lin and I knew that all spending would have to be monitored with even more vigilance.

One of my friends had lent me an old 'cherry picker' (hydraulic hoist) which, although not road-worthy, was ideal for reaching up to the high walls of the Georgian building. I seemed to spend much of my time in those early days removing tons of rubble to send to Graeme, taking extra care with the dressed lintels and sills, which I had to sling and gingerly lower to the ground. I could barely keep pace with the demand. Day in, day out, week after week, the pattern was repeated. Sand, lime and more stone, lintels and sills; it seemed as though it would never end.

Figure 6: Graeme Brown reconstructs the rounded turret atop the SE corner in 1995 (see also figure 8).

But it did. By the end of that first summer of restoration, real progress had been made. The gables were rebuilt, the gaping holes in the walls had become windows and doorways once more, and that splendid fireplace graced the great hall again. The shell of the building was complete (fig 6).

Apart from the daily grind of supplying Graeme with stone, lime and sand, much else was happening. Lin and I continued to clear the two floor levels of debris, not really expecting to find very much of medieval interest. We were to be pleasantly surprised.

The first coin we found wasn't in the great hall but down in the vaults below. We needed a cement store and I decided to clean out one of the three vaults and use that. I don't know how many tons of dried pig manure we had to remove! Once emptied, we scraped and brushed the floor beneath - and found two coins, both of them French, dated 1610 and 1643. Nine more coins from different locations joined the collection, all dating from the first half of the 1600s, when Sir Gideon Murray and his son, Patrick, lived at Ballencrieff. We also found a brass button with the initials 'RLV', which we subsequently discovered stood for the Royal Lothian Volunteers, a voluntary militia mobilised during the Napoleonic Wars; Sir Walter Scott was one of its officers. We also found two pistol balls and the bronze nozzle of a powder pouch, and two silver bangles, both small and probably belonging to children. The building too was giving up its secrets. We found more gun-holes at ground level, each of them carved differently, and timber draw-bars securing the ground-floor windows (fig 7); Chris told us that the latter were the only ones he knew of in Scotland, other than those in the Hanoverian barracks at Ruthven, near Kingussie, built in the early 1700s.

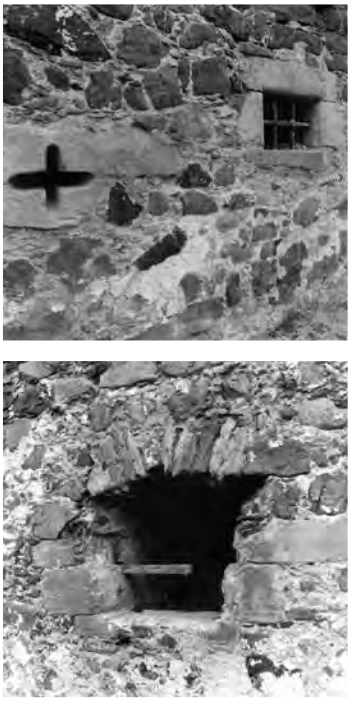


Figure 7: A gun-hole (top) and draw-barred window (bottom) in the south wall.

As we cleared away the walls of the Georgian mansion we found other clues about how the place had developed over the years. It was clear that, during Sir Gideon's time in the early seventeenth-century, the original building had been extended to the east and north. In fact, the tiny slit windows ventilating the family's 'stool closets' in the north range were identical to those on the palace in Edinburgh Castle, rebuilt in 1615-17 under the direction of Sir Gideon, in his capacity as Treasurer-Depute of Scotland. There were also various aumbries (wall-cupboards) in this north range, and, although I had carefully examined them, I found myself returning over and again to one aumbry in particular. So it was for

the umpteenth time that I was climbing up the rubble to look in the remains of what had been a very fine stone cupboard, with no expectation of finding anything, when I discovered to my surprise, lying in the bottom of what had been previously a clean, dry shelf, a few empty hazelnut shells, a strange looking wooden peg with calibrations, and what looked like a gold coin!

Startled, I collected them all, including the nuts, and hurried back to my office. Close examination of the coin showed that it was in near-mint condition. It sparkled in the sunlight. On one side was a fleur de lys and crowns, and on the other a strange device with a Christian cross; around the outer edge I deciphered the name Wolf Laufer. Convinced I had a gold coin, I telephoned the National Museums, in Edinburgh, and arranged a date to bring it in.

Taking the find home to Lin that night our imaginations ran wild as we thought of how we would spend the money raised if the coin turned out to be valuable; our funds were overstretched already. Two days later I found myself showing my coin to Nick Holmes, the specialist. I instantly knew from the look on his face that it wasn't what I thought it was. It wasn't gold, and it wasn't a coin! It was a jetton, minted in the 1610s by Wolf Laufer the First (there were three of them apparently), either in Nuremberg or more likely France. Jettons were used as a type of international monetary exchange. The recovery from disappointment didn't take long as we really hadn't had great expectations but, for a few minutes, it had been a nice dream.

But much else kept us surprised. Early on Historic Scotland had insisted that, to tie the layout design of the building down, we had to determine where the servants' stair from the kitchen up to the great hall had been; it was a nagging problem that had to be addressed. By now the main roof was more or less completed and Graeme was keen to start work on the projecting stair tower. So it was crucial that we find this stair to enable him to continue.

There were no obvious clues as to where it began, or where it came out in the great hall; all the walls looked solid. Then one evening, as I was locking up the building for the night and, as we had no electricity, I was using a torch to find my way out, my eyes momentarily caught the faint shadow of a vertical line on the plaster in the cement store vault.

The following morning, in daylight, I looked closer and, using a hammer, tapped the wall; it sounded hollow. A screwdriver soon removed a chunk of plaster and I could see the edge of a dressed stone. In minutes I was looking at a perfectly intact doorway with steps leading upwards. Although built up with masonry, the stair was in remarkably good condition. I then went up to the great hall, to directly above where I had found the bottom of the stair, and again tapped the wall. Again it sounded hollow. A few minutes later I had found the other doorway. At last we had our servants' stair.

The stair itself was very narrow, no more than 18 inches wide at the top, but when we unblocked the upper doorway we also found a three-shelf stone closet, still in perfect condition, and a tiny window that once threw light into the cramped space. Chris later explained that servants brought food and drink up such stairs, placed them on the shelves and then descended, leaving other, more favoured

servants to take them into the great hall. Scratched into the wall plaster of the closet we found various numbers, and could only guess that a tally of bottles or something similar had been kept.

LIVING THE DREAM – PART THREE: FINE-TUNING

James Black came to see me one day and asked if I had any work. James, a plasterer to trade, had worked for me before, but I had to tell him that we weren't ready and that his work would be several months away. On asking him if he was busy he told me he wasn't, and that if I had anything for a few days he would be pleased to work for me.

It so happened that I had recently taken delivery of some second-hand timber beams. One of my friends in the demolition business, knowing that I was looking for huge timbers, had phoned me to say that he was demolishing a Victorian warehouse in Leith and that there were 29 beams going a-begging, varying from 26 to 34 ft long and over 1ft square, enough to give me all the floor joists I needed - perfect. I quickly agreed a price and they were delivered that afternoon by low-loader. My plan had been to cut the beams myself, but James offered to do it. The timber being old, it was hard work. Poor James - I'm not certain he knew what he was taking on but he stuck to the task. Two years later he was still with us and what an input he had to the restoration. But more of him later.

By that second summer Graeme and his masons were nearing the end of the major masonry works. The roofs were on and the building watertight. In the 1730s the 5th Lord Elibank had re-roofed the house in Scotch slates, replacing the earlier heavy stone slabs. I had found grey-blue Scotch slates on the great hall floor, and had no doubt as to what should go back on the roof. I sourced the slates in Edinburgh. Whisky bonds were being demolished next door to Tynecastle Stadium and I negotiated a price with the demolition company. I particularly wanted these slates as they were unusually large; they were also Ballachulish slates, much sought after and difficult to obtain. As it happened the same company was also knocking down a church not far away, and following a quick visit there I also bought the floor timber. Again, I wanted to use second-hand but good quality flooring, and this was ideal.

There was only one major task left to do - replace the concrete lintel over the great hall's west gable window that I had placed there 'temporarily' three years before. Unfortunately, an on-going problem with our neighbour to the west, whose garden adjoined the gable, made life difficult. They wouldn't allow us to carry out any work on the gable from their garden, with the result that the entire job had to be done from within the great hall. The stone lintel weighed around 350 kilos and had to be lifted from the hall floor out through the window opening and then slotted into place - all this after the concrete lintel had been removed. Our local scaffolding company came to the rescue. Using a cantilever design they built a platform from the inside, giving Graeme and his men an area hanging outside the window from which to work. It was tricky and dangerous, but they did it. Within three days the window was returned to its original state. The castle was complete – at least, from the outside (fig 8).

Figure 8: Ballencrieff almost completed externally, 1995.

Meanwhile, James had been laying the floors, using the church timbers. They looked mighty fine. James had done a good job. But we still had the great-hall floor to lay. On clearing the hall of rubble we had found remains of floor planks, most probably placed there in the 1730s. The original floor, Chris assured us, would have been stone-slabbed, and we actually discovered some of them re-used as coping stones in the walled garden. Lin and I had long decided that we preferred stone to timber, and had been searching long and hard for second-hand slabs. Caithness slate slabs were the best, but the cost was prohibitive. Then someone mentioned that there was a builders' yard in Haddington which might have slabs.

My enquiries led me to East Lothian Council's architectural salvage department, and that is how I found myself the owner of some magnificent slate slabs, that had been salvaged from various pends leading off Dunbar's High Street. Polished by many feet over the centuries, once cleaned they were beautiful. The largest, and by far my favourite, weighed almost a quarter of a ton. More importantly, they were enough to floor the great hall. However, as I also wanted to slab the ground-floor kitchen and vaults I was still short.

Alison Wilkie, whose company, Albavision, had been videoing the castle restoration, mentioned to me one day that she was also making a video of an old man up in Caithness who worked a slate quarry – the last still operating - where he cut slabs by hand. His name was Jack Green. I couldn't phone him as he was stone

deaf, so I drove up to Halkirk to meet him. Alison was right. Jack, although over 80, worked the quarry alone. He was a delightful man and, despite his age, extremely fit and agile. With seemingly little effort, he was able to prize the slabs from the quarry floor, then lift them to show me the fine grain. Most didn't meet the approval of his keen eye and were discarded but he assured me that he would be able to supply me with the required amount. His prices were almost half what commercial companies were asking. The only drawback: I would have to wait until Jack had them ready! About six months later I hired a lorry and drove back up to Halkirk where Jack had all the slabs crated up and ready for collection. They were perfect.

LIVING THE DREAM – PART FOUR: MOVING IN

By September 1996, the check list looked like this:

- Walls complete - √
- Roof on - √
- Floors laid - √
- Water connected - √
- Drains working - √
- Electricity on - √

James had even started plastering the internal walls, starting at the top where we intended to live once we moved in. By now we were beginning to believe that completion might be a reality, and turned our thoughts to selling our house in Gullane and moving in. We had always intended selling it, not least because the capital would help us finish the interior of our dream castle. To our surprise, the house sold almost immediately; too quickly perhaps, as the purchaser wanted us to vacate by the end of November. We had planned on moving in the following spring, for Ballencrieff had no central heating and only a few rooms finished! But on 6 December we moved in. We had a kitchen, a bedroom and a bathroom - that was all.

James and his assistant 'Shuggie' were slowly working their way down through the building, lime-plastering the rooms and corridors. The major work left to finish was the laying of the ground-floor slabs and fitting out the original castle kitchen. But there was also the matter of replicating the heraldic ceilings in the great hall and withdrawing room. I had already received a quote from a specialist company based in London and been absolutely flabbergasted. Casually I mentioned to James that he might be interested in tackling this important piece of restoration. He was quick to tell me he had little experience of such work and, knowing him and how he worked, I dropped the subject. But I didn't let the matter pass, and occasionally would mention the ceiling to him.

A former neighbour in Gullane, Jean Borthwick, happened one day to call in to see how work was progressing and, knowing that her late husband had been a professional plaster worker and a well-known repairer of heraldic ceilings, I remarked how I wished that her David had still been with us. She asked if I would like his old books, and in due course they were delivered. A quick look at the two volumes and I could see they contained a great deal of information. I passed them on to James.

Figure 9: James Black (left) and his assistant Hugh 'Shuggie' Harris put the finishing touches to the reconstructed Jacobean ceiling in the great hall in 1997.

A couple of months later James asked me if I would mind taking a look at something in his car boot. I was dumb-founded, for in it lay several plaster moulds. James confessed he'd been making them over the past weeks, using pieces from the original ceiling. They were perfect. Furthermore, James was willing to carry out the work.

Three months later the great hall had been transformed into a commercial plaster-casting workshop. Large benches had been constructed, and James was using them to make up 9 ft lengths of cornice coving, each length, having been cast, lain aside to dry. The cornice was an exact replica of the original. Separately, he was making the ribs, lozenges and circles that would complete the design. Within a few weeks the ceiling was all but finished (fig 9). All that remained were those finishing touches – the initials and symbols; SGM (for Sir Gideon Murray) and DMP (for his wife, Dame Margaret Pentland), mullets and fetterlocks, referring to Sir Gideon's direct descent from the Murrays of Blackbarony, chevrons with an otter's head on them, probably denoting a direct link with Sir Gideon's mother, who was a Bethune of Creich.

In addition we added the dates 1617 and 1997; the first to replace the date that almost certainly had been on the original ceiling, and the latter to signify the completion of its replacement. As the Halle Boppe comet had also re-appeared that year, I had James add a small comet beside the latter date too! In one corner I had the initials JB and HH (for James Black and Hugh 'Shuggie' Harries) added. Over the great-hall fireplace Lin and I added our own initials – PLG and LMD.

Figure 10: The great hall restored to something approaching its former glory. Note Graeme Brown's splendid 'Jacobean' fireplace at the far (top) end, recreated from stone fragments found on the floor nearby in 1992.

The withdrawing room next door received the same treatment. Again nothing was left to conjecture. Beneath the rubble we had found lengths of cornice, initials and four wonderful lion rampants, which James replicated. The initials SPM (for Sir Patrick Murray, Sir Gideon's son) and DED (for Dame Elizabeth Dundas, Patrick's wife), were placed on this ceiling, with the four lions (probably a reference to his wife's family, Dundas of Arniston), directly above where we had found them on the floor.

The restoration was finished at last. The date was June 1997 (fig 10).

Of course, the work didn't finish then. We had to decorate. All the second-hand timber flooring and stone slabs had to be cleaned and waxed; the great hall's stone floor took up a huge amount of time as I decided to use an old remedy of a mix of paraffin and linseed oil. This proved a Herculean task but well worth it in the end. Then there were the curtains! Then the exterior. The outside of the building had to be harled and painted, not to mention the garden landscaping, and creating the drive! And so it continued.

As the house slowly regained its own personality, so Lin and became accustomed to living in the castle .For example, the 69 steps from the ground floor to the top soon made us fitter! Although we had seven bedrooms to choose from, we never moved out of that first bedroom; at the very top of the house it somehow suited us fine – and what a view!

We never did sleep in the laird's bedroom above the withdrawing room. It had its very own stair, giving the laird and his lady complete privacy. I had built a four-poster bed for the room, which I placed where the original bed would have been. Family, friends and guests who came to stay always chose this room.

Soon after the house had been completed we had American guests come to visit. Arriving late in the afternoon and suffering from jet-lag they decided to go to bed almost immediately. At breakfast the following morning the lady asked: "Who were the children playing on the stairs?" I must have looked at her blankly, as she continued: "The two little girls laughing and talking to each other outside our door on the stairs." I told her that there were no little girls in the house. "Well," she said, "they were playing so nicely. I woke my husband up to listen to them and they played for at least twenty minutes." Over the following years we had numerous guests who told us the same story. We subsequently discovered that the 4th Lady Elibank had given birth to 15 children in that room, and that two of the girls had died at a young age!

The room directly above the laird's bedroom had been one of the children's bedrooms, probably the boys' room. Some of the original plaster was still on the wall. Bearing in mind that no person had been anywhere near it since the great fire of 1868, Lin and I were the first people in 120 years to walk around on the replaced floors. But it was Nigel, God bless him, who first spotted the graffiti scratched into the plaster (fig 11). They included the initials - PM and A – together with a small coat of arms showing three mullets, and others too worn to make out. Below them was the well-worn groove made by a large bed. The PM almost certainly stood for Patrick Murray, but which one? There had been three, but this was probably Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank (1703-1778), who would have scratched his initials on the wall when a boy; and who had a wee brother Alexander. The initials are there yet.

Figure 11: Lin Dalgleish points to the graffiti scratched into the wall plaster in an upper bedchamber.

POSTSCRIPT

In 2006 Lin and I decided to reconsider our future at the castle. There were those 69 steps up to our bedroom, 47 windows to clean, goodness knows how may square metres of floor to hoover, and a huge garden to maintain – not to mention the heating bill. Ballencrieff, we reluctantly agreed, was becoming too expensive to maintain. And so, regrettably, we decided to 'down-size'. The castle was placed on the market, and within months it was sold. With mixed emotions, and after 16 years, we finally left Ballencrieff that September.

We didn't move far – just a few fields away - and we can see the castle of our dreams from our bedroom window. It was the end of probably the most exciting, frightening, expensive - but utterly rewarding - adventure of our lives. We wouldn't have missed it for anything (fig 12).

APPENDIX
BALLENCRIEFF CASTLE TIME-LINE

1586 – Ballencrieff is built (rebuilt) by John Murray of Blackbarony (Peebles)

1617 – Sir Gideon Murray, John's younger brother and Treasurer-Depute of Scotland, acquires Ballencrieff, enlarges it and upgrades the interior, adding the heraldic ceiling in the great hall.

1622 – Gideon's son, Patrick, falls heir to Ballencrieff. He adds another heraldic ceiling. Created 1st Lord Elibank in 1643, at his death in 1649 he is laid to rest in the Elibank Aisle, in Aberlady Kirk.

1743 – Patrick, 5th Lord Elibank, transforms Ballencrieff into a substantial Georgian mansion, with the original castle at its core.

1778 – George Murray becomes 6th Lord Elibank. He is the last Lord Elibank to be born and to die at Ballencrieff. His nephew Alexander, 7th Lord Elibank, who succeeds in 1785, visits only occasionally.

1868 – Ballencrieff burns down.

1989 – Peter and Lin purchase Ballencrieff.

1997 – Peter and Lin complete the restoration of Ballencrieff.

Figure 12: Peter Gillies and Lin Dalgleish outside their 'castle of dreams' in 1997.

Figure 1: View from the battlements of medieval Tantallon Castle NW looking towards Gin Head, with its cluster of concrete and brick buildings that was Admiralty Signals Research Establishent (ASRE) Extension, Tantallon, during World War II and the Cold War. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

A WARTIME LEGACY II: TANTALLON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRARED TECHNOLOGY

by the late DR ERNEST PUTLEY
with an introduction by CHRIS TABRAHAM

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In May 2009 Dr Ernest Putley, the author of this short but fascinating paper, wrote to Historic Scotland drawing attention to the part Tantallon Castle had indirectly played in the early development of infrared spectroscopy and thermal imaging.

During World War II, Dr Putley had been engaged as a scientist in one of the Air Ministry's research establishments, where he became involved in the development of the complex radar systems that enabled Britain to win the aerial and Atlantic conflicts with Germany. Thereafter, he worked on infrared detectors, focussing initially on a range of semiconductor materials used in applications ranging from simple burglar alarms through to complex imaging systems. He was one of the team that developed the thermal imaging camera that allows firemen to see through smoke. He retired in 1982 and died in 2009 (see Putley 2010).

His letter with its enclosures, including this short paper with its accompanying photocopies, ended up on my desk, as Principal Historian. In my previous role as Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, I recalled standing on the castle battlements many a time and gazing across towards Gin Head to the NW, with its cluster of concrete and brick buildings that had been Admiralty Signals Establishment Extension, Tantallon, during and after WWII (fig 1). My interest in East Lothian's prominent involvement with radar experimentation during World War II was further aroused as I edited Tim Holden and Ian Brown's paper on the radar station at Dirleton for these Transactions (Holden & Brown 2008, 117-30). I saw Dr Putley's paper as the perfect catalyst to tell Tantallon's story too, and not just its role in radar technology, which is widely known about (see Tully-Jackson & Brown 1996, 45-6, and www.secretscotland.org.uk), but equally the pivotal, but almost undocumented, part it played in the early development of infrared spectroscopy and thermal imaging, whose many applications we take for granted today. I wrote back to him in the belief that here indeed was a story worth telling.

Sadly, Dr Putley died a short time later, and I was unable to progress the project as we had both envisaged. However, I feel now that by publishing his article 'warts and all' I might rekindle the flame.

A WARTIME LEGACY II: TANTALLON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRARED TECHNOLOGY

TANTALLON

By Dr Ernest Putley

The site at Tantallon Castle proved very suitable for infrared (Bud & Gummett 1999, 198). Work on thermal locator countermeasures began in October1944. It had not been going for long when it was stopped to make way for what the Admiralty saw as a much more important project. This was the investigation of IR (infrared) means of detecting Schnorkel – the breathing pipe enabling submarines to use their diesels whilst submerged. It was generally supposed that by means of centimetric radar, both ship- and air-borne, the Battle of the Atlantic was finally won. But Admiral Doenitz and Hitler only saw this as a reverse. They had plans to recover the situation. The first of these was the Schnorkel breathing tube which made the U-Boats almost invisible to radar. The Admiralty's response was to investigate at the highest priority the use of IR to detect the Schnorkel tube or the exhaust gases emerging from it. Tantallon was ideally suited for this work because our submarines could cruise off the shore for detection tests to take place. And, of course, tests on improved radar systems could also be made at the same time.

By the end of the war the pressure on this work eased, but by this time another IR project had emerged. It had been known for some time that much of the IR spectrum (between the visible and the radio waves) was opaque to radiation but the exact spectrum was not known. The wartime progress in IR meant that many new applications were becoming feasible. Before investing substantial effort into any of them it was highly desirable to know more accurately the atmospheric transmission spectrum. Tantallon was an ideal place to study this, with convenient test paths over the sea for the measurements. The results were a landmark in the worldwide development of infrared technology for which Tantallon is famous.

To return to thermolocation countermeasures. Three topics were considered. First the thermal camouflage of targets. The screening of hot spots – funnels – by canvas screens. Forced cooling by water jets or water jackets. Shielding of ships by special smokes. Deception by the use of special thermal sources to simulate real ships – a thermal 'moonshine'! An Arran, a captured Donaugerät and an American Farrand equipment were used to assess the effectiveness of these various measures. This programme began in October 1944 but was suspended in January 1945 to give way to a more urgent project – the Infrared detection of Schnorkel.

The anti-Schnorkel programme was regarded by the Admiralty as having overriding priority. The Admiralty saw Schnorkel as a major threat which could still lead to our defeat. We put great efforts into improving our radar systems, and as a forlorn hope infrared detection was examined. Between 1 March and 24 September 1945 regular (almost weekly) progress reports on the IR work at Tantallon were written. Both the new PbS (lead sulphide) detectors and the best thermal detectors – the Schwarz thermopiles – were used. Tests were made on the emission from a captured U-Boat. It was then found that more sea-room was required for ship trials. The submarines were despatched to Loch Goil,

(Argyllshire) for further work. But not with much success. With our present knowledge of IR technology, this does not seem surprising. By the end of the war the pressure on this problem could be relaxed and attention concentrated on a more fundamental subject.

This was the detailed study of the atmospheric transmission of IR radiation. It was known that only parts of the spectrum were transmitted and they were dependent on such things as the relative humidity, mist, clouds and fog. Several locations for this work were considered, including Southsea Castle (Portsmouth), and Defford Aerodrome (Worcestershire), but Tantallon appeared the most suitable environment for this detailed study, which was undertaken by a joint ARL – TRE (Admiralty Research Laboratory – Telecommunications Research Establishment) team. Their results formed the basic foundation on which forthcoming studies of IR applications would be based for many years.

Preparations for the work began as early as March 1945 with the construction of two small buildings across the bay from Tantallon Castle [ie, Oxroad Bay to the south]. With the main measuring apparatus in the laboratory at Gin Head, Tantallon Castle (fig 2), transmission paths across the bay and back could thus be used. It was known from preliminary work that paths of about 1 mile length would be needed to give the detailed results required.

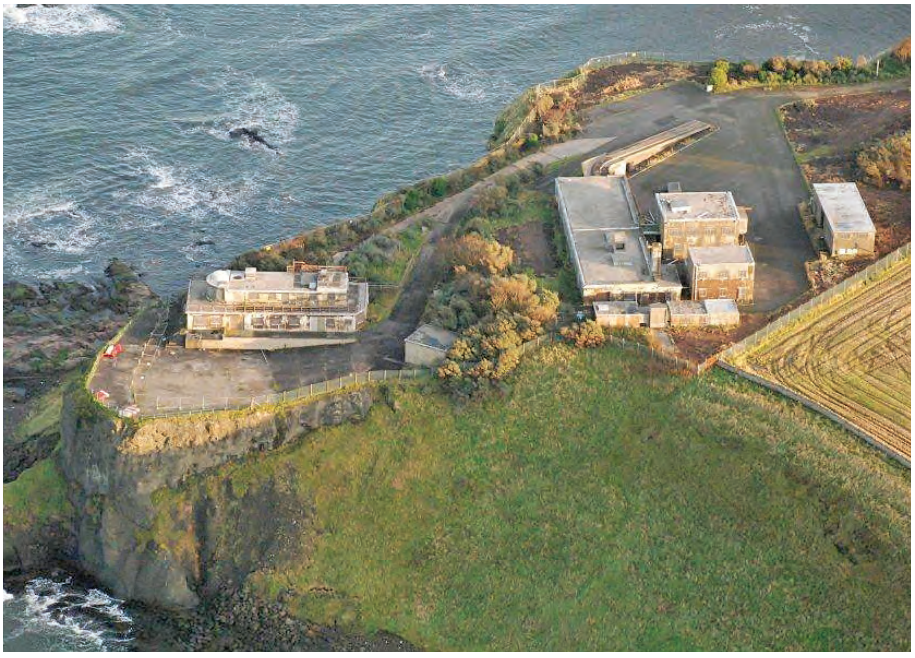


Figure 2: Admiralty Signals Research Establishment Extension, Tantallon, on Gin Head. The laboratory housing the main infrared measuring apparatus was in the building on the left. (Dr. E Putley)

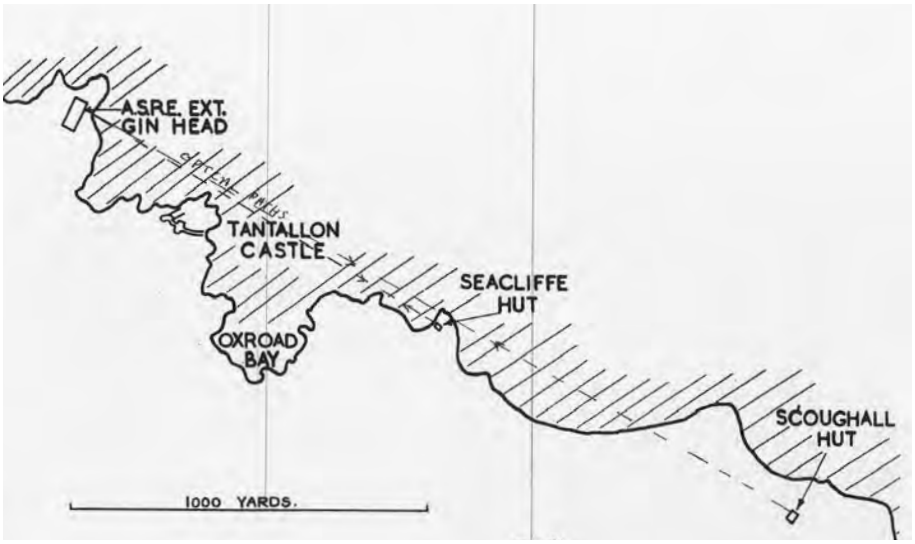
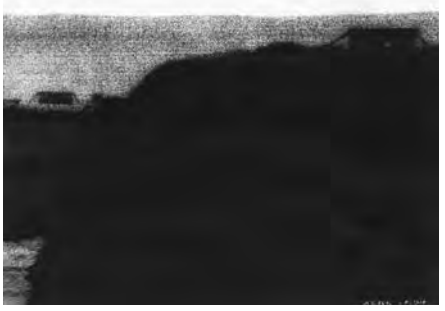


Fig 3 shows the location of the optical paths. The apparatus was placed in the Gin Head building. A beam of radiation was focussed on a plane mirror in either the Seacliffe [sic] or the Scoughall huts. It was reflected back to Gin Head into the spectrometer. Fig 4 shows the view from Gin Head. The huts can be seen in the distance and the plane mirror in Seacliffe is easily seen. Fig 5 shows the interior of the Gin Head laboratory with the apparatus. The radiation source was a Nernst filament (manufactured by BTH [British Thomson Houstoun Company] Rugby)) at the focus of a parabolic mirror. The spectrometer was a Littrow rocksalt instrument designed by Arthur Elliot, of ARL, and constructed by Grubb Parsons. The signal was detected by a thermopile specially made by Ernst Shwarz at Hilgers. The output from this was recorded using a 5Hz amplifier designed by Dennis Brown at TRE and which had finally solved the problem of a sensitive but stable low frequency amplifier for use with thermal detectors.



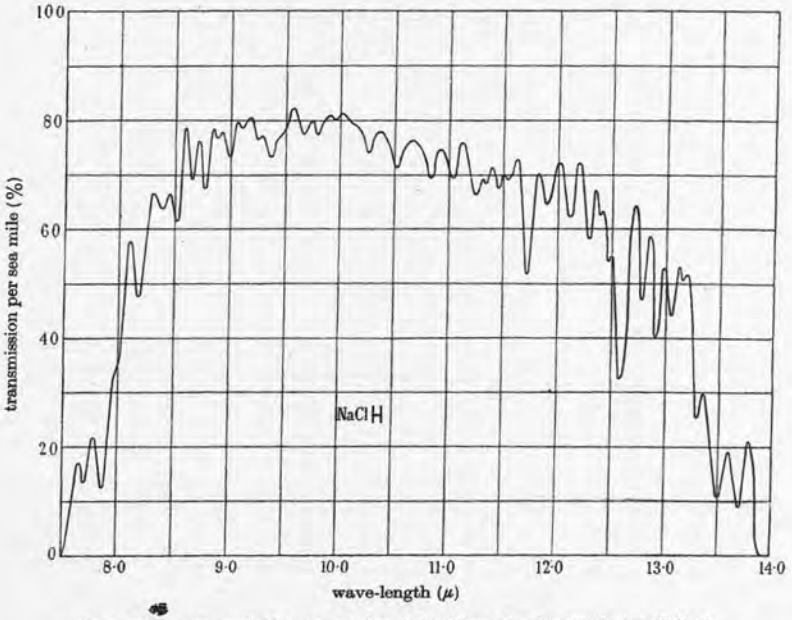


FIGURE 4. Atmospheric transmission, 7·5 to 14 μ; visual transmission (0·61 μ) 60 % per sea mile; water-content 17 mm.

The results obtained were described in full in a paper by H A Gebbie, W R Harding, C Hilsum, A W Pryce and V Roberts published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* in 1951. Some of them are shown in fig 6. They show a clear transmission band around the wavelength of 10μm. This is particularly important because the radiation from bodies around room temperature peaks near 10μm. The wartime development of infrared technology had revealed the considerable potential of infrared applications exploiting this radiation, but that considerable resources would be needed to achieve it. It was therefore important to know that this radiation would not be absorbed by the atmosphere. The conclusion of the Tantallon experiment was that the effort to exploit this radiation would be well rewarded.

Today, the widespread use of thermal imaging and other IR applications confirms how correct were the conclusions drawn from Tantallon. Some later experiments to study the behaviour at low atmospheric pressures were carried out using airborne apparatus or on mountains were needed, but their results were consistent with Tantallon.

E H Putley
MALVERN
May 2009

EDITOR'S TAILPIECE

Dr Putley, as a scientist and prolific scientific author, was concerned that the full story of the scientific research undertaken at Gin Head, Tantallon, both during and after WWII by his colleagues should be told. But he was also a keen amateur archaeologist. I knew from his letter that he was eager to discover what survives of the wartime buildings at Gin Head, Seacliff and Scoughall (fig 7).

Figure 7: View from the battlements of Tantallon Castle looking SE towards the sites of the two huts with their plane mirrors at Seacliff (X) and Scoughall (Y) (see figs 3 & 4). (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

Gin Head is currently under detailed consideration for conversion into private housing, and to that end a detailed desk assessment and building survey were carried out by Headland Archaeology in 2005, in advance of an application for planning permission.

Coincidentally, in that same year an excavation was carried out on the site of Dr Putley's 'Seacliffe Hut' at Auldhame (NGR: NT 602847) by AOC Archaeology, not to look for the remains of the 20th-century research facility but because medieval human remains had been turned up by the plough. It seems that the two small buildings and plane mirror erected in 1945 were demolished shortly after the project was terminated in the mid-1950s. My recent inspection of the site found a few concrete perimeter fence stanchions still in place (fig 8) and a large pile of concrete rubble lying at the eastern edge of the promontory that I took to be the remains of the bulldozed buildings.

The site of Dr Putley's 'Scoughall Hut', lying immediately west of the scanty remains of Seacliff Tower (NT 613841), proved a little more rewarding. A tall, slender concrete stanchion with thick, frayed strands of iron wire at its head (fig 9) may well be one of the supports that held the plane mirror in position (see fig 4). Nothing else of note was seen.

I invite members of the society who either have a direct interest, or know of someone who has, to get in touch with me so that we may progress what Dr Putley envisaged.

Figure 8: View from the site of Dr. Putley's 'Seacliffe Hut' looking NW to Tantallon Castle and Gin Head. The concrete posts that formed part of the site's perimeter fence are all that remain today. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

Figure 9: The sole surviving concrete stanchion supporting the plane mirror at Dr. Putley's 'Scoughall Hut', looking NW back towards Gin Head. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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APPENDIX

ANNUAL REPORT 2013

The eighty-eighth annual meeting of the society was held in Athelstaneford Parish Church on Saturday 26 May 2012. Nineteen members were welcomed by the president. There were several apologies. The president paid tribute to Stuart Maxwell and Robin Forster, both of whom had died in the course of the year. The president then gave a brief resumé of the history of the church and the significance of Athelstaneford in the history of Scotland. He spoke briefly about the career of Sir John Hepburn, the founder of the Royal Scots, and touched on the history of the Saltire flag.

The minutes of the previous year's AGM were approved. The annual report for the previous year, which had been circulated, was accepted. Joy Dodd presented the accounts and the financial report was approved. She reported that the society was facing rising costs and steps were being taken to reduce expenditure. This situation meant that the next volume of the Transactions would not appear until 2013, but work on it was well in hand. The president thanked Mrs Dodd for her work on behalf of the society and also John Sparksman, the external examiner.

The Dowager Countess of Wemyss and March was elected as a vice-president. Stephen Bunyan, president, and Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalyrmple Bt. GCVO, vice-president, were re-elected. The following were also re-elected: Joy Dodd as hon. treasurer, Sheila Millar as hon. librarian, John Hunt as hon. field naturalist advisor, Chris Tabraham as hon. editor of the *Transactions*, and Simon Boak as website advisor. Diana Buchan, a new member of council, agreed to be minute secretary for the coming year, Allison Cosgove having indicated that she wished to resign as secretary. The chairman paid tribute to her contribution to the life of the society over many years and noted with gratitude that she wished to remain a member of council. There was no nomination for either the office of hon secretary or press officer and these posts remained vacant. In addition to those mentioned above, Jacquie Bell and Shena Jamieson were elected as members of council. The other members of council are: David Affleck, Bill Dodd, Ian Hardie, Bridget Elwood, Vicky Fletcher and Judith Priest. John Sparksman was re-appointed as financial advisor.

At the conclusion of the meeting, and after tea, a talk was given by David Williamson, of the Flag Heritage Centre Trust, about the origins and history of the Saltire flag. Members then looked round the church, the Flag heritage centre in the adjacent dovecot and the churchyard.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 30 June the society visited Cousland. David Connolly, of British Archaeological Resources, had given a most interesting talk at the annual dinner in April on Cousland, using

a mixture of archaeological evidence, history and folklore to build up a fascinating picture of this largely lost village. This was a follow-up visit, and members had an opportunity to explore the locations which he had talked about. The group was welcomed by David Connolly and by Sheena Irving on behalf of Cousland Smiddy Trust. Members found the working smiddy fascinating, and enjoyed tea in the village hall.

The society was to have visited Colstoun on 7 July but this had to be postponed because of flooding. The visit was rescheduled for 21 July. The group was welcomed by Ludovic Broun Lyndsay, whose grandmother Edith, Lady Broun Lyndsay, was a former president of the society. The party divided into two groups. One was led round the mansion house by Ludovic, who outlined its history and that of his family and showed the wonderful collection of furniture and family memorabilia. It was interesting to see how the building had been reduced in size to meet modern needs. Cameron Sinclair Parry led the other group through the garden ground and policies to show how the Colstoun Company, led by him and Freddie Macnamara, are carrying out various enterprises to meet the challenges of the present day. The two groups then met up again for tea, during which Ludovic expanded further on the history of the family.

On Sunday 5 August members braved torrential rain to visit Mellerstain. The group was welcomed by the Earl of Haddington, a member of the society, who gave a brief introduction to the history of the house and his family. The house was designed and built by William and Robert Adam, and with its collection of original furniture is one of their finest creations. It is set in wonderful landscape which was further developed by Sir Reginald Blomfield in 1910. The rain having abated, it was possible to enjoy the vista from the terrace garden.

On Saturday 22 September the society were taken on a guided tour of Inveresk by Stephen Edwards This was a most enjoyable tour of this delightful village, with its Roman remains and a wealth of historic, largely eighteenth-century properties. The group was entertained to tea at Rose Court by Mr & Mrs George Burnet.

The final outing of the season was to Luffness on 13 October, by kind invitation of Mr & Mrs George Hope. Luffness, now an impressive mansion house, was an important castle in the Middle Ages, when the port of Aberlady was seen as the key to Haddington. The tower house, built in the sixteenth century by the Hepburns, was enlarged on several occasions for the Hopes after 1739. Over tea, Mr Hope gave an interesting summary of its history and led the party round the principal rooms, where they were able to admire fine furniture and memorabilia. At the conclusion members were able to walk in the grounds.

Three lectures were given in the course of the winter. On 6 November Mona Lewis McLeod gave a fascinating talk entitled ‘Concentrating on winning the war: a Land Girl’s tale’. It was clear from her own experience that this was a difficult, and often lonely, experience. She highlighted in particular the scandal that proper recognition was not given to the Land Girls until the granting of a medal in 2007. The second lecture, on 7 February, was given by Bill Nimmo on ‘The Restoration

of the ruins of Gullane Old Church'. Members were impressed by this account of the background and problems associated with this important project, which has done so much to conserve this precious part of our county's heritage. The third lecture – 'Recent archaeology in East Lothian' - on 5 March was presented by Andrew Robertson, our county archaeologist. Members were impressed by the wide range of projects being undertaken - some short-notice 'rescue' projects, some ongoing work, and others involving young people, including primary-school children.

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington, on Friday 5 April, at which Dr Elizabeth Scott, author of *The Best Soldier: The Life of Sir John Hepburn, Marshall of France, Founder of the Royal Scots, c. 1598-1636,* gave a fascinating talk entitled: 'Local Hero: Scotland's only Marshal of France'. She outlined his career from a difficult childhood in Athelstaneford, his success at St Andrews and his remarkable military career in Europe, in the French Royal Guard, in the Thirty Years' War, where he was knighted by Gustavus Adolphus, prior to returning to Britain where in 1633 he was authorised by Charles I to raise a regiment for France, which ultimately became the Royal Scots. Returning to France, he was promoted Maréchal de Camp and ultimately Maréchal de France. He was killed at the siege of Saverne in 1636.

OTHER MATTERS

Volume 29 of the *Transactions* is complete and will be available at the AGM. We are grateful to contributors, and also to Chris Tabraham, our hon. editor, for his tremendous efforts in bringing it all together.

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 society is represented on the East Lothian Heritage Forum.

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 and Belhaven Hill schools. 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 generally continue to be received.

APPENDIX

ANNUAL REPORT 2014

The eighty-ninth annual meeting of the society was held in Bolton Parish Church on Saturday 18 May 2013. Twenty-two members of the society were welcomed by the president. There were several apologies. The president gave a brief resumé of the history of the church. It was essentially a heritors' kirk and is a very important survival of that style. The president then paid tribute to W B Angell, who had died in the course of the year.

The minutes of the previous year's meeting were approved. The annual report for the previous year, which had been circulated, was accepted. It was noted that some outings had been marred by very wet weather. Mrs Dodd then presented the accounts, and the financial report was approved. She reported that the society was facing rising costs and steps were being taken to reduce expenditure. Chris Tabraham, hon. editor of the *Transactions*, reported that Volume 29 had been published and was now available to members, and that Volume 30 was now in preparation for publication in 2015.

Elections were as follows: The president, Stephen Bunyan, and the vice-presidents, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalyrmple, Bt. GCVO, and the Dowager Countess of Wemyss and March, were duly re-elected. The following were also re-elected: Joy Dodd as hon. treasurer, Sheila Millar as hon. librarian, John Hunt as hon. field naturalist' advisor, Chris Tabraham as hon. editor of the Transactions, and Simon Boak as website advisor. Graeme Bettison was elected as hon. Secretary, and John Sparksman was re-appointed as financial advisor. Judith Priest and Diana Buchan had indicated that they wished to resign. The president thanked them and the other members for their contribution to the work of the society.

At the conclusion of the meeting, a fascinating talk was given by Mr Bob Mitchell on the connections of Robert Burns' family with the parish of Bolton. Members then looked at the famous Bolton mort-safe, and visited the Burns' family graves, before proceeding to the village hall where tea was provided.

APPENDIX

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 8 June an expedition was made to Flodden Field, in Northumberland, to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the battle. Members were given a comprehensive tour led by Clive Hallam Baker. It was difficult on that peaceful day, in a pleasant rural scene, for members to visualise the horror of that dreadful day in September 1513.

On Saturday 6 July Stephanie Leith led members on a visit to Garvald village and church. It was a delightful afternoon and Stephanie brought the village to life with her extensive knowledge of the former residents.

On Saturday 10 August a visit was made to Nunraw House. It was to be a valedictory visit because we found that, because of changing circumstances, the Cistercian brethren who owned it had newly placed it on the market. Members enjoyed a low-key visit with tea, and most of them followed it up with a visit to the abbey itself.

On Saturday 14 September a long-desired visit was finally made to Dalkeith Palace. The group was received by Patty Waters, resident director of operations of the University of Wisconsin River Falls 'Wisconsin in Scotland'.

It was fascinating to see this wonderful building with some original furniture and photographs of it in its glory days, and reassuring to learn that it is still appreciated and cared for.

On Saturday 12 October, a cold, snell afternoon, members were given a comprehensive tour of Craigmillar Castle, led by Chris Tabraham. It was fascinating to hear how this great castle, so close to the heart of Edinburgh, played such an important role in Scottish history and how even today one can still feel that Edinburgh is kept at a distance.

Three lectures were given in the course of the winter. On 19 November Fran Woodrow, archivist with East Lothian Council, gave a talk on East Lothian's archives, but in particular made it possible for the society to view part of the selection of the society's own archive which had recently been brought back from Edinburgh. The second lecture, on 20 February, was a joint lecture with Haddington History Society. This was to have been given by Professor Emeritus Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal in Scotland, on the history of the Forth, but he had to withdraw. The lecture was given by Kevin Munro, from Historic Scotland, on the title 'And Here We Strove: Remembering the First World War in Scotland'. The third lecture, on 18 March, was given by Joy Dodd in the parish church of Prestonkirk, East Linton, on the Rennies of Phantassie. She stressed the importance of this local family to the development of agriculture in East Lothian.

The annual dinner was held in the Maitlandfield House Hotel, Haddington on Friday 11 April, at which Andrew Coulson gave a talk on the work of the Pinkie Cleuch Battlefield Group to an appreciative audience.

OTHER MATTERS

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. The president represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. John Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay Advisory Group. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. The society remains 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, to secondary schools in East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill schools. Information about the society is available on the internet, and in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and about East Lothian generally continue to be received.

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