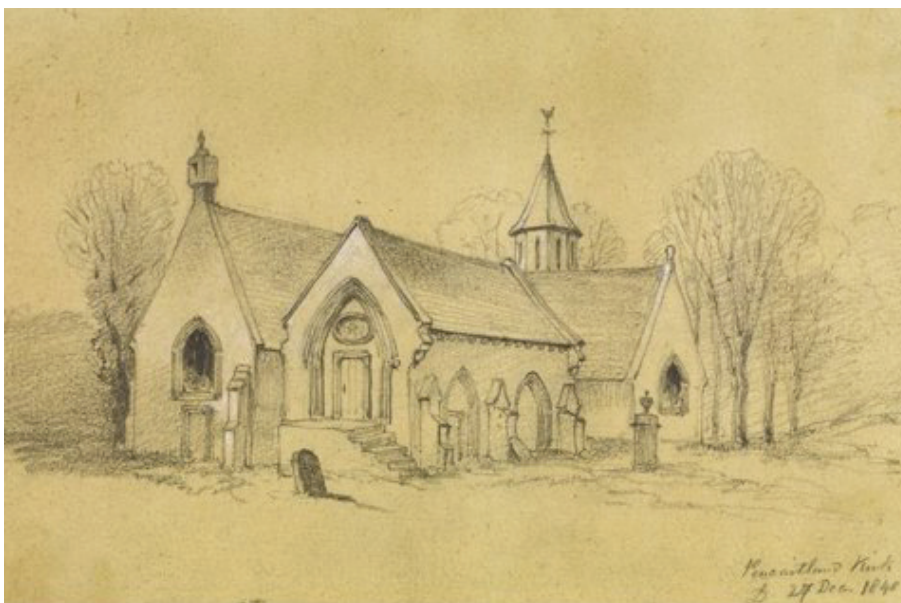


TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LOTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY



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

Front cover illustration: Pencaitland Kirk from the north-east, drawn by Alexander Archer, December 1848. The building is a fine example of a medieval kirk remodelled for Reformed worship following the passing of the Act of Reformation in 1560. (Courtesy of RCAHMS.)

Back cover illustration: Bust of Robert Brown of Markle (1756 - 1831), the noted authority on agricultural subjects, and famed for serving as conductor (editor) of The Farmer's Magazine from its inception in January 1800 to December 1812. The bust is in the collection of David Ritchie, Robert Brown's great-great-grandson. (Photo: David Henrie.)

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

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Figure 1: 'The Ruined Castle of Goblin Ha', artist unknown. Dutch School, around 1685. (Courtesy of Scottish National Portrait Gallery. In the collection of Mr & Mrs Wood)

This remarkable oil painting was one of four produced around 1685 depicting Yester House with its gardens and maze, Gifford village and the old castle. It shows the castle in a far better condition than today. The considerable remains of the 15th-century tower house rise up in the background, evidently much altered for the pitched roof sits at a lower level, beneath joist-sockets supporting the original top floor. In front is the massive 14th-century north curtain wall with its entrance postern, standing much as it does today. The little round-headed entrance below it, in the foreground, is probably the present-day access doorway into the Goblin Ha', if we accept a certain amount of artistic license. On the hills in the distance stands the farm of Sheriffside.

AN ICONIC MONUMENT REVISITED: THE GOBLIN HA' IN YESTER CASTLE

by *KATHY FAIRWEATHER, BILL NIMMO
& PETER RAMAGE*

INTRODUCTION

The term 'iconic' is often over-used, but the Goblin Ha' in Yester Castle (figs 1 & 2) is so 'iconic' it even has a public house in Gifford named after it! This society has previously published two articles on the site, by John Russell (1928-9) and W. Douglas Simpson (1952). There are also detailed descriptions in David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross's magisterial *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887, I, 116-21) and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland's *Inventory of Monuments of East Lothian* (1924, 145-8). The Ministry of Public Building & Works (now Historic Environment Scotland) carried out repairs in the 1960s and early 1970s, but the ruins were never taken into state care. Since then nothing has been done at the site. So is there anything to be added by revisiting it and writing another article?

In late 2012 a small team from the East Lothian U3A History/ Archaeology group visited the castle and was dismayed by its condition. Since then, and with support from East Lothian Council's Archaeology Service, the team has recorded the state of the ruins through a comprehensive programme of survey and photography, as well as undertaking historical research. Talks have also been given to various local groups to try to raise awareness of the importance of the site and its parlous state of repair. Both of the previous articles in the *Transactions* looked forward to a time when there would be a full excavation of the site, but this has never taken place and seems unlikely to happen any time soon.



Figure 2: The interior of the Goblin Ha' viewed from the lower entrance door at the south end (December 2014).

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With such a fascinating but complicated site, where there has been so much demolition, re-building, adaptation and neglect over such a long period of time, it was hard to know where to concentrate attention, but we chose as our principal focus the iconic Goblin Ha' itself. This article reports on, and illustrates, the current state of the castle ruins, and then re-assesses the Goblin Ha' in some detail. It concludes with a short description of the current parlous state of the ruins, in particular the Goblin Ha', and a plea for measures to be taken to arrest its decay.

SITE DESCRIPTION

The castle ruins are located close to the southern boundary of the Yester estate, bordering Castle Mains farm and Castle Park golf course, about 2.5 km directly SE of Gifford (NGR: NT 556 667). The basic landform of the site comprises a flattened, roughly triangular, promontory overlooking the valley of the Gifford Water (fig 3). It lies within the 160m contour, which here terminates the gentle slope of the land to the south, and curves around the course of the Hopes Water on the east, returning above the course of a tributary on the west to form an apex pointing east of north. On the east side, the Hopes Water runs in a steep-sided ravine 15-20m below the level of the promontory, turning west around the apex. Here it is joined by a tributary, which occupies a similar deeply-cut ravine on the west side. The ravines, combined with steep slopes of 45–50° to the east and west, and the less steep, but still formidable, slope to the north, provide the basis for a prominent and readily-defensible position. The site would have been most easily accessible from the south.

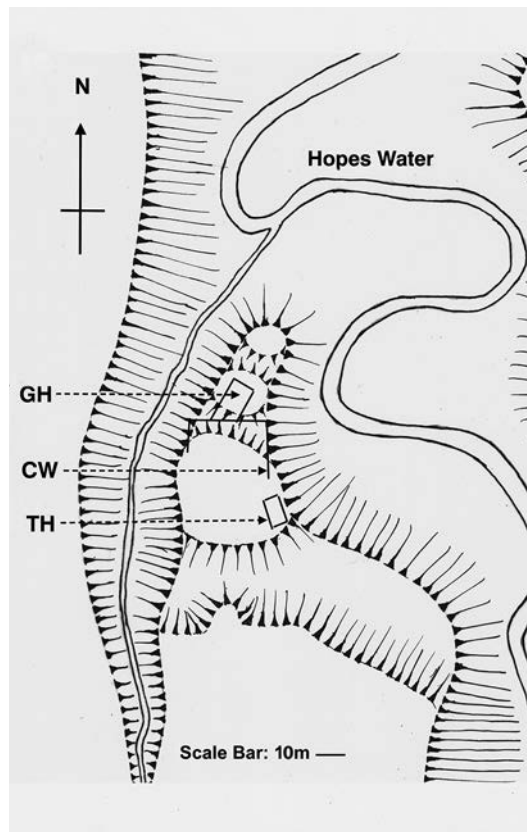


Figure 3: Plan of Yester Castle.
GH = Goblin Ha'; CW = curtain wall; TH = tower house

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The promontory dimensions are: base (south) 75m, narrowing to c.5m at the apex (north); length (south to north) 110m. The area occupied by the castle ruins is c.40m east to west at the base, and c.90m south to north. The local geology offers a soft, calciferous sandstone with a derived fine, red soil, both easily excavated. This sandstone is unsuitable for building; hence stone for the several phases of the castle would have been sourced from more suitable material. There are many small quarries in the general vicinity from which building stone has been taken in centuries past, some of which would doubtless have provided material for Yester Castle.

There have clearly been a number of building phases on what is undoubtedly a very complicated site. These are identified as follows:

PHASE 1: motte and bailey, built around the mid-twelfth century;

PHASE 2: stone donjon, or tower-keep, built at the motte around the mid-thirteenth century;

PHASE 3: stone curtain-walled castle, built over the motte and bailey in the fourteenth century;

PHASE 4: stone tower house, built in the SE corner of the bailey in the later fifteenth century.

The first two phases were certainly built by the Giffard (Gifford) family. The third phase possibly, and the fourth phase certainly, were added by the Hays of Locherworth (Borthwick), who inherited the estate in the later fourteenth century.

PHASE 1: THE MOTTE AND BAILEY

Motte-and-bailey castles were typical of Norman castles of the time. First appearing in England around the time of the Norman Conquest of 1066, they were introduced into Scotland in the early twelfth century by Anglo-Norman and Flemish immigrants (Higham & Barker 1992; Tabraham 2005, 18-25). Earthworks now offer the only remaining visible evidence, and so it is with Yester. The three approximately east/west ditches (fig 4) create the form of a motte with bailey; the motte would have been the place of residence of the lord, and the bailey the service area, or outer court, wherein would have lain an outer hall, chapel and such like. There is a large, well-defined ditch on the

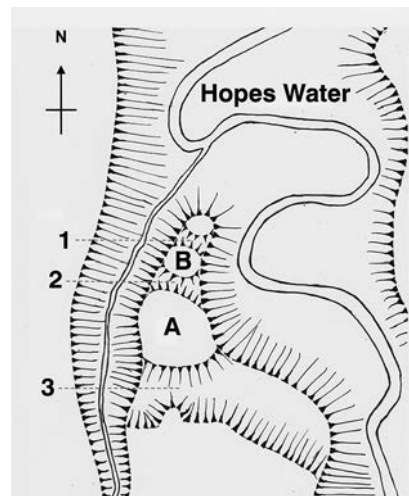


Figure 4: Schematic plan of motte and bailey.
1, 2, 3 = transverse ditches
A = bailey B = motte

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south side (fig 5), and a smaller, shallower one close to the apex at the northern end; the latter may have been designed to enhance the slope up to the motte platform, presumably for defensive purposes. The third ditch is less obvious because it lies close to, and partly under, the later curtain wall and has been substantially backfilled. Together with the northernmost ditch, it would have defined an earthen mound, now somewhat truncated but still indicative of a small motte, measuring 16m from north to south by 11m from east to west (fig 6). The far larger area between the middle ditch and the southern one, measuring 48m from north to south and 32m from east to west, and now covered by the later castle courtyard, is suggestive of the accompanying bailey. The entrance to the castle was from the south, probably via a timber bridge spanning Ditch 3.



Figure 5: The south ditch (3) from the west, with the tower-house ruins in the background (April 2014).



Figure 6: The motte (B) from the west, with the present entrance into the Goblin Ha' (GH) indicated. The phase-3 curtain wall (CW) looms in the background (March 2014).

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This first castle was most probably built by the Giffard (Gifford) family. Historical sources for the early medieval period in Scotland are scarce. Most of the court records were removed to England, along with the Coronation Stone and Regalia, by Edward I in 1296 and subsequently lost, but charters kept in the great houses and monasteries give some information about land ownership at this time. One such charter, granted by King William I 'the Lion' in 1166, confirmed the grant by his recently-deceased elder brother, King Malcolm IV, in 1165 of the lands of Yester, along with part of Lethington (now Lennoxlove) and the muir of Haddington (probably Gladsmuir) to Hugh Giffard, or Gyffert (*Yester Writs*, no.1).

The Giffards were a well-connected Anglo-Norman family who had come to England with William the Conqueror in 1066, and been given large land-holdings, mainly in Buckinghamshire. The three Giffard brothers who came to Scotland, Hugh, William and Walter, were probably from a junior branch of the family. They arrived as part of the entourage of Ada de Warenne, countess of Northumberland and Huntingdon, who married Prince Henry, son and heir to David I, in 1139; the town of Longueville-la-Gifart, in *Haute-Normandie*, from which the Giffards took their name, lies just a few miles from Bellencombe, the caput, or chief seat, of the mighty Earl William of Warenne, Ada's father and a kinsman of the Conqueror (Barrow 1980, 43). Countess Ada was granted the shire of Haddington as part of her marriage settlement, and there she built her residence as well as founding a Cistercian nunnery (Barrow 1973, 329; Cowan & Easson 1976, 147). Although she never became queen of Scots as her husband predeceased his father, she was the mother of both Malcolm IV and William I. It was she who introduced Norman knights to Haddingtonshire, including our Hugh Giffard and his brother William, who acted as her clerk (Gledhill 2013, 96-100). Hugh's estate of Yester became the basis of the Gifford family's wealth, though he did hold lands elsewhere, including Fintry, on Tayside, and Potton, in Bedfordshire (Stringer 1985, 83). Hugh was a witness to more than 40 acts and charters between 1155 and 1195 and in 1173 became one of the hostages held with King William in France by the English. His son, William, was one of the Scots envoys sent to the court of King John of England in 1200, and his grandson, John, was witnessing charters for Alexander II in 1222.

PHASE 2: THE DONJON, OR TOWER-KEEP

The stone-vaulted subterranean structure, known as the Goblin Ha' (see fig 2), is all that remains of what Douglas Simpson postulated was a donjon, or tower-keep, containing two probable upper storeys. A full description of it is given below (page 11–16). The architectural evidence points to a date of construction around the second quarter of the thirteenth century, in which case it would have been built by Sir Hugh Giffard (died 1267), grandson of the castle's founder.

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It is with this second Hugh that we have the first documented mention of a castle at Yester (*Yestrith*), in a charter dated between 1250 and 1267 in which Adam de Morham granted a tract of woodland to his neighbour for use as parkland (*Yester Writs*, no.16). Abbot Walter Bower of Inchcolm, in his epic history of the Scottish nation, *Scotichronicon*, written in the 1440s, actually describes the structure:

[1267] The death occurred of Hugh Giffard, lord of Yester. Old tales tell that his castle, or at least his cellar and keep, were wrought by witchcraft; for there is a marvellous underground cavern wonderfully constructed, and extending under a large area of ground. It is popularly called Bo'hall'. (Taylor et al 1990, 358-9)

Walter Scott, in his epic poem *Marmion* (Canto Third, XIX) embellished the legend of 'Sir Hugh the Wizard', and described the Goblin Ha' thus:

*Of lofty roof, and ample size,
Beneath the castle deep it lies;
To hew the living rock profound,
The floor to pave, the arch to round,
There never toiled a mortal arm,
It all was wrought by word and charm.
And I have heard my grandsire say,
That the wild clamour and affray
Of those dread artisans of hell,
Who labour'd under Hugo's spell
Sounded as loud as ocean's war,
Among the caverns of Dunbar*

Sir Hugh's son, John, was caught up in the events of the Wars of Independence that erupted in 1296 with Edward I of England's invasion and victory at the battle of Dunbar. Like many of his peers, Sir John was compelled to swear allegiance to his new English overlord and his castle was entrusted to Peter of Dunwich, King Edward's escheator (crown official) south of the Forth (Barrow 1988, 75). The castle seems not to have been in Peter's possession for long, for it may well have been one of the three castles in East Lothian Edward ordered his commander, Bishop Bek of Durham, to take during his invasion of 1298 that resulted in victory over Sir William Wallace at the battle of Falkirk; Dirleton Castle alone is named in the records, but Yester and Hailes, being the only other known stone castles then existing, may well have been the other two. Yester was again in English hands in 1306 and was still in their hands in 1313, but seems to have been retaken shortly thereafter, in the build-up to the battle of Bannockburn in June 1314. In line with King Robert the Bruce's policy for almost all recaptured castles, its standing masonry would have been 'razed' to the ground, to prevent it from being of future strategic use to the English. The destruction of the upper part of the tower-keep, and the infilling of the middle ditch (Ditch 2) delineating the motte from the bailey, are most probably the result of this act. Today only the Goblin Ha' remains of the Giffards' thirteenth-century stone castle.

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PHASE 3: THE CURTAIN-WALLED CASTLE

This phase comprised a high stone wall enclosing (whence the term 'curtain wall') all of the bailey but only a part of the motte. All that remains above ground today is the largely complete north wall, which is solidly built of squared rubble, 2m thick, and rises to an impressive height of 12m (fig 7 and see fig 1). It has truncated returns at the east and west ends. Another remnant of the east curtain wall is evident in the outer wall of the phase-4 tower house (see below). The rest of the curtain wall will survive now only as stone footings buried below the ground surface. During the visit of this society in May 1928, John Russell, the leader, suggested that the main entrance, from the south, seemed to have been defended by two towers, and indicated to members the remains of the 'great central pier' of the entrance bridge (anon. 1929, 136).

The upstanding north wall has a round-headed postern (back gate) through it. Traces of roof-raggles along the inside face of the north wall, to either side of the postern, indicate the former existence of substantial lean-to buildings against the east and west walls (fig 8). A stone piscina (water basin) in the surviving stump of the west curtain wall indicates that a high-status, two-storey timber building stood here - probably a feasting hall on the upper floor above a basement; the row of joist-sockets here are certainly substantial enough to have supported such a grand structure.

The construction of this impressive curtain-walled castle could have taken place at any time in the fourteenth century. The third Sir John Gifford had become lord of Yester by the time of the famous Declaration of Arbroath in 1320.



Figure 7: The north curtain wall from the outer (north) side, with the postern (back gate) at its centre (Dec 2013).



Figure 8: The inner face of the north curtain wall (east end) showing the roof-raggle of a demolished building (Dec 2013).

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He restored the fortunes of the family by marrying an heiress, Euphemia Morham. It was he who settled a long-running dispute with the Cistercian nuns of Haddington over access roads to the nunnery. Following his death around 1328/9, his son, another Hugh, inherited, though he was only a minor. He came of age around 1340 and married Joanna Douglas in 1345. Around this time, Lethington was sold to Sir Robert Maitland and Yester became the main seat of the Giffords (*Yester Writs*, no.25). This third Sir Hugh died around 1366 leaving no son, but four daughters. The eldest, Joanna, was married to Sir Thomas Hay of Locherworth (Borthwick) and it was this branch of the family that inherited Yester.

Which of these three gentlemen rebuilt the castle is not known. The first, Sir John, can perhaps be ruled out because his dates seem premature. Scotland was then still very much in the throes of war, and only the Crown was building such mammoth undertakings, chiefly for strategic reasons; for example, King Robert the Bruce built Tarbert Castle, in Argyll, in the 1320s to help underpin Crown authority in his newly-established sherifffdom (Barrow 1988, 295). That leaves his son, Hugh, or his eldest grand-daughter's husband, Sir Thomas Hay. Either is possible. Most castles damaged or destroyed during the Wars of Independence were not rebuilt until after peace was finally restored in 1356; Dirleton Castle, for example, was rebuilt in the 1360s by the Haliburtons who, in common with the Hays at Yester, acquired the castle and barony around 1340 through marriage to a female heir (Simpson 1938, 97-8). Perhaps this is what happened at Yester, with the new lord, Sir Thomas Hay, celebrating his good fortune by building a brand-new residence; the architectural detail of the piscina in the west curtain wall strongly suggests a date towards the end of that century (Simpson 1952, 56).

PHASE 4: THE TOWER HOUSE

At some stage towards the close of the fifteenth century, judging by the surviving architectural details, a new residential building was erected at the SE corner of the complex (fig 9 and see fig 1). Simpson (1952, 56) interpreted it as a hall house – that is, a two-storey structure, with the hall and lord's apartment on the upper floor above ground-floor storage - subsequently converted into a four-storey tower house. However, the existing remains clearly point to it having been a four-storey tower house from the outset, with stone vaults over the ground and top storeys. Such structures were fast becoming the residence of choice of the landed nobility at that date (Tabraham 2005, 68-73). The residence was undoubtedly of high quality, most evident in the grand window on the third floor (the lord's private apartment), with its pilastered nook shaft and ogee-headed aumbry (wall cupboard), above which is a stone shield that would have been painted with the owner's coat-of-arms (fig 10).

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Figure 9: The tower house from the SW (Nov 2013).

*WI = east window in the private apartment; BV = barrel vault over ground floor; UV = upper vault
(Inset): The barrel-vaulted ground floor of the tower house from the south (Dec 2012).*

BV = barrel vault; FP = fireplace

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Figure 10: The inner (west) face of the tower house (Nov 2012).

*FP = first-floor fireplace; WI = third-floor window; C = cupboard (aumbry); JS = joist socket (floor);
P = pilaster nook-shaft; S = stone armorial shield; BV = barrel vault over ground floor*

The tower house was most probably erected by Sir John Hay. In 1488 he was created Lord Hay of Yester by King James III. Following his death in 1508 he was succeeded by his second eldest son, John, who fell at the battle of Flodden five years later. His son John, 3rd Lord Hay of Yester, passed peacefully away in his grandfather's tower at Yester in July 1543. Peace was the last thing his son and heir, also John, got. In 1547, with the Wars of the Rough Wooing at their height, the 4th Lord Hay of Yester beat off an English attack on his castle but was then captured at the battle of Pinkie, spending the next three years a prisoner in the Tower of London. The English managed to take the castle by storm from an occupying French garrison in February 1548 but had to relinquish it soon after (Merriman 2000, 306, 314). The castle seems to have been abandoned as a lordly residence soon afterwards, probably because of the war-damage inflicted. When William, 5th Lord Hay, succeeded in 1557, he built a new tower house elsewhere on the estate, probably in the vicinity of the later Yester House, begun c.1700

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(McWilliam 1978, 211). Even after Queen Mary's abdication in 1567, he continued to support her, and was with her at the battle of Langside in 1568. While the castle continued in use as accommodation for estate workers for a time, little attempt seems to have been made to repair it. It was reported as abandoned in the early 1600s, and a painting of it in c. 1685 depicts its ruined state wonderfully (see fig 1). Since then, deterioration has continued and much stone seems to have been removed from the site for other purposes.

THE BRIDGE

The tributary of the Hopes Water, which runs to the west of the castle, is crossed by a stone bridge. This leads into the main protective ditch (Ditch 3) on the south side of the castle. The stonework of the bridge looks old but its alignment suggests that it cannot have been in use when the castle was occupied and defended. It is likely that the gateway into the castle was near the fifteenth-century tower house and was accessed via a drawbridge. A bank protruding from the landward side of the ditch is the most likely site of the historic access.

The 1685 painting of the ruined castle (see fig 1) shows the track from the bridge snaking up into the castle through the south curtain wall, with a branch continuing into the ditch, thus confirming that the bridge was in existence by that date. A stone on the bridge parapet is dated 1717, suggesting a repair of the bridge in that year. One possible scenario is that the bridge was built after the castle was abandoned in the later 1500s, perhaps to facilitate the removal of stone for the construction of the new tower house down near the present Yester House. The bridge may thereafter have been repaired to enable residents and guests from the newly-built Yester House to explore the ancient ruin at a period of growing interest in the Romantic.

THE GOBLIN HA' REVISITED

In the thirteenth century, Sir Hugh 'the Wizard' erected a tower-keep at the motte, to replace his forebear's timber residence. Today, nothing of that structure remains above ground; only its vaulted basement survives – the Goblin Ha' (see figs 2 & 3). The structure was clearly constructed by skilled stone-masons working to the direction of a master-mason in consultation with the lord of the castle, following methods typical of their craft at the time. They have left their marks, literally, on the masonry. The quality of their workmanship is quite remarkable.

The Goblin Ha' was in use as part of the castle for 300 years or so, and may have been repurposed at times during this period. It may also have had other practical uses for some time after the castle was abandoned. Changes of use can require structural modification, and there is ample evidence for such modifications as outlined below.

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THE ENTRANCES

Present-day access is through a low door and passage located about half-way down the western slope of the motte (see fig 6). The historic access was through two pointed-arch doorways at the southern end (figs 11 and 12). Stone steps lead steeply down to the lower doorway from the castle courtyard, but it is not clear whether these represent a stair within what might have been a covered passageway built within the later curtain-walled castle, or whether they are of more recent construction; the castle was almost certainly used as a picnic-place by the residents of Yester House in the eighteenth century (see page 11). The steps show significant wear consistent with usage over an extended period. The stone blocks part-way down the steps on either side may be from a doorway, further indicating that the stair was an integral part of the castle when in use.

The two doorways themselves are intriguingly off-set, and the finish to the internal masonry is different too (squared edges on the lower arch, and rounded edges on the upper one), which suggest that they are not contemporary. The lower one was probably the original entrance, for the upper one is associated with alterations to the interior of the Goblin Ha' (see below). Both doors were secured by sliding drawbars, the square slots of which remain. (Note: the present iron grilles were fitted in the twentieth century.) Just inside the lower entrance doorway there is a deep-set, small aumbry (cupboard) built into the east wall.



Figure 11: The two south doorways that gave historic access into the Goblin Ha'. The upper door may have been a later addition, serving the inserted upper floor inside (Dec 2013).



Figure 12: The two entrance doorways seen from within the Goblin Ha'. The small aumbry (cupboard) is to the left of the lower doorway (April 2014).

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THE INTERIOR

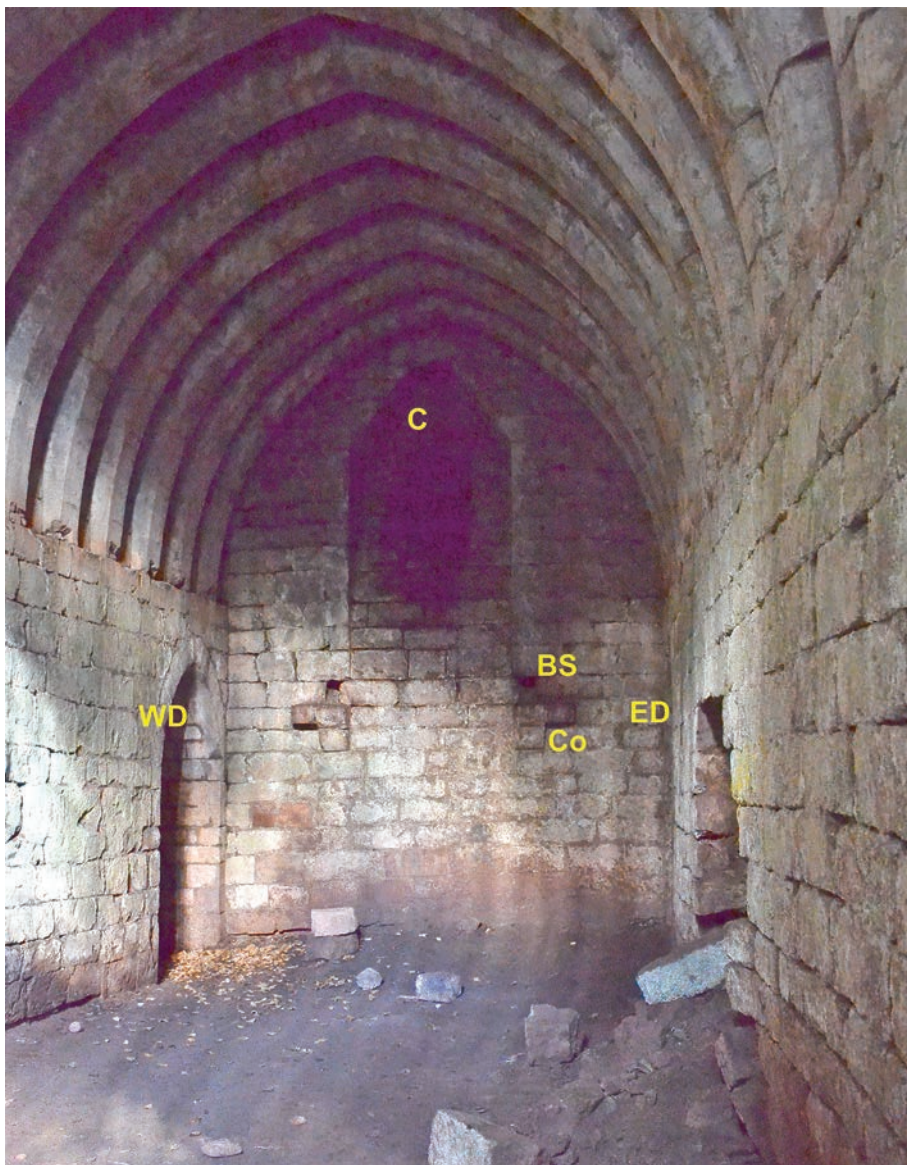


Figure 13: : The interior of the Goblin Ha' viewed from the lower entrance door at the south end.
The fireplace is at the far (north) end (Feb 2013).

C = chimney flue; BS = joist socket; Co = corbel; WD = west door; ED = east door

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The interior of the Goblin Ha' is a rectangular vaulted space measuring c.11m long, 4m wide and 6m high overall; the height from the ground to the scarcement, from which the fifteen vault ribs spring, is 3m (fig 13). The long axis runs approximately SW to NE. (For simplicity, the walls and features are identified as north, south, east and west.) All four side walls are constructed from good quality ashlar, whilst the vault ribs are beautifully-constructed from dressed stone (fig 14). Many of them bear masons' marks (see below page 19). At the base of the ribs, just above the projecting scarcement, joist sockets have been crudely cut into the side walls to carry an upper floor. These are clearly not original – indeed, at least one socket has cut through a mason's mark. This inserted floor is further proof that the upper of the two entrance doorways at the south end is a secondary feature.



Figure 14: (left) The finely-constructed vault ribs along the west side (Dec 2013), and (top right) some of the joist sockets (JS) crudely cut into the side walls to carry an inserted upper floor (March 2014). (Bottom right) A joist socket (JS) cut through an original mason's mark (April 2016).

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The north wall contains the remnant of a fireplace (see fig 13). The flue rises up through the vault but is blocked about 2m above the opening by stone slabs, not visible from the outside. The joist sockets positioned immediately below the fireplace opening probably supported a canopy, made of wood or plaster, which funnelled smoke into the flue; a not dissimilar fireplace, also of thirteenth-century date but with a stone canopy, survives in Dirleton Castle (MacGibbon & Ross 1887, 115-6). The two projecting stone corbels immediately below the joist sockets were probably lamp stands. The fact that the corbels and joist sockets are placed midway between the floor and the scarcement shows that the fireplace was intended to serve the ground floor only, another indication that the upper floor is an insertion.

Either side of the fireplace, in the adjacent east and west walls, are two further doorways. The west doorway (fig 15) gives access to an 8m-long passage that leads down a slight gradient to the small entrance door noted earlier. This may have been a sallyport. It has been securely protected. Both doors are fitted with sliding draw-bars, and the inner door has what seems to be a slot for a portcullis in front (that is, west) of it (fig 16). As if that wasn't enough to deter an enemy, there is evidence for a third door half-way along the passage.



Figure 15: The west doorway and passage beyond which leads to the sallyport (now the entrance into the Goblin Ha' (April 2014).



Figure 16: (left) The two draw-bar slots at the west doorway, and (right) the portcullis (?) slot behind that door (April 2016).

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The east doorway, similarly protected by draw-bar slots, gives access to a short passage (fig 17) from which a stone stairway (fig 18) leads steeply down to a small, low-roofed chamber now full of broken blocks of stone. MacGibbon & Ross (1887, 119) interpreted this space as a well-chamber; it certainly contained a substantial pool of water in December 2012 and April 2016. However, the draw-bar slots at the access door above suggest it would have been barred from the Goblin Ha' itself, for no obvious reason with today's structural arrangements. It is possible that it served as a prison. However, another scenario is that the apparent absence of an exit here may be due to structural changes made either during construction of the donjon, or when the later curtain-walled castle was built. The inferior quality of the masonry of both passages' roofs and walls, and the obstruction of the lower part of the right side of the east door jamb by masonry blocks may also point to these passages being additions. Only an archaeological dig can shed light on this particular conundrum.



Figure 17: The passage behind the east doorway with the steep stair beyond (April 2016).



Figure 18: The east passage steps rising up from the 'well-chamber' below (Dec 2012).

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THE GOBLIN HA' IN CONTEXT

The Goblin Ha' is a rarity in Scotland. Few stone castles, or masonry elements therein, survive from the first half of the thirteenth century, and only a handful from the twelfth century. We can confidently assume that the tower-keep at Yester was built in the first half of the thirteenth century, for the architectural evidence in the Goblin Ha' accords with Abbot Bower's assertion that Hugh Giffard 'the Wizard' built it (see above, page 6). That it was not built as a primary structure within the motte and bailey is evident from the way in which the Goblin Ha' sits awkwardly into and against the earthen motte (see fig 3). Although a few structures have been discovered through excavation immured within mottes, these were found mostly to have been integral with the mound. At Farnham, in Surrey, for example, a massive stone structure, which included a well, was found buried in the centre of the motte; this in turn supported a broader stone platform on the motte summit, which most likely carried a square stone tower of some sort (Thomson 1960, 81-94). At South Mimms, north of London, the remnant of a timber tower on flint footings was found within the motte, access to which was by means of a tunnel (see Higham & Barker 1992, 279-80).

The majority of the few early tower-keeps that survive in Scotland are located far from East Lothian, in regions that were then under the sway of the Norwegian kings. The best known, and the most accurately dated, is Cubbie Roo's Castle, on the island of Wyre, in Orkney, built around 1150 by Kolbein Hrúga according to the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Anderson 1873, 126). The small tower, of which only the lower part of the basement remains, measures 4.5m square internally, compared to the Goblin Ha's 11 by 4m (Ritchie & Ritchie 1978, 64-6), and was reached from above, not directly from outside. Other similar stone towers in the region may be of a similar age, including those at Old Wick, in Caithness, and Dunrobin, in Sutherland (Tabraham 2005, 110-17).

The only tower-keeps surviving from Lowland Scotland are those at the castles in Edinburgh, Aberdour, in Fife, and Hailes Castle, in East Lothian. That at Edinburgh is the building known as St Margaret's Chapel, which Eric Fernie (1986, 400-3) convincingly interpreted as having originally formed part of a tower-keep built by King David I in the 1130s (the rest of the tower-keep was demolished during the Wars of Independence). However, parallels for the tower-keep at Edinburgh survive at Carlisle Castle, in Cumberland, and Bamburgh Castle, in Northumberland. Carlisle's tower-keep, probably also built by David I in the 1130s, measures internally 13m by 9.5m (McCarthy *et al* 1990, 69-96), whilst that at Bamburgh, probably built by his son, Earl Henry, in the 1140s, is even bigger at c.17.5 by 15m (Young and Gething 2003, 35-8). These were clearly major royal residences, whereas the tower-keeps surviving at Aberdour and Hailes were built by lords of a similar status to the Giffards. Aberdour's tower-keep, built by the de

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Mortimers, has architectural details indicating a later twelfth-century date (Gifford 1988. 62-3) and measures internally c.12 by 7m. The de Gourlays' tower-keep at Hailes (fig 19), on the other hand, seems on the architectural evidence to be contemporary with the Goblin Ha', and at c.11 by 4m internally is almost identical in size (Simpson 1948, 1-3).

Hailes' close similarity in size and date to the Goblin Ha' is reflected also in the high-quality architectural details. The masonry is all of square-faced, close-jointed ashlar, with diagonal tooling and polished dressed work, whilst the pointed vault in the basement prison also has broadly-chamfered stone ribs (see fig 19). Where Hailes and the Goblin Ha' seem to part company is in their planning, for Hailes' tower-keep seems to have been built as part of an ensemble of interconnected buildings on a T- or H-shaped layout. The tower-keep served as the solar, or chamber tower, alongside an attached first-floor hall, with a kitchen block at the far end; the stone stair leading steeply down from the kitchen to the well-chamber is also covered by a fine pointed ribbed vault.



Figure 19: (Left) the tower-keep at Hailes Castle, built contemporaneously with the Goblin Ha', and (right) the fine pointed vault in its basement prison. (Photos: Chris Tabraham)

AN ICONIC MONUMENT REVISITED: THE GOBLIN HA' IN YESTER CASTLE

These architectural details are also evident at the only other thirteenth-century stone castle in East Lothian – Dirleton, built by the de Vaux family around the middle of the century (Cruden 1981, 80-3). There the square, close-jointed ashlar used in the cluster of towers at the SW corner is easily distinguished from the rubble walling of the Haliburtons (later fourteenth and fifteenth century) and Ruthvens (sixteenth century), whilst the de Vaux round tower makes much use of the pointed vault with deeply chamfered ribs (MacGibbon and Ross 1887, 114-6). It is quite possible that the stone-masons who built Yester's tower-keep, including its Goblin Ha', were also engaged at Hailes and Dirleton. The medieval building-trade involved largely itinerant craftsmen working under a master-mason, who were able to build both ecclesiastical and secular buildings (Harvey 1975, 134). It must also be borne in mind that East Lothian, in common with most of southern Scotland and northern England, was largely peaceful in the thirteenth century, for the horrors of the Wars of Independence had yet to descend on the Anglo-Scottish Border. Lords such as the Giffards, Gourlays and Vauxes would frequently travel to England, to administer their estates there or stay with relatives. The concept of nationality, of being Scottish or English, did not then apply; far more important was one's status as an Anglo-French lord. Tower-keeps such as that at Yester could therefore as easily have been built by masons travelling up from northern England, where such residences were then fast coming into vogue (Dixon and Tabraham *forthcoming*).

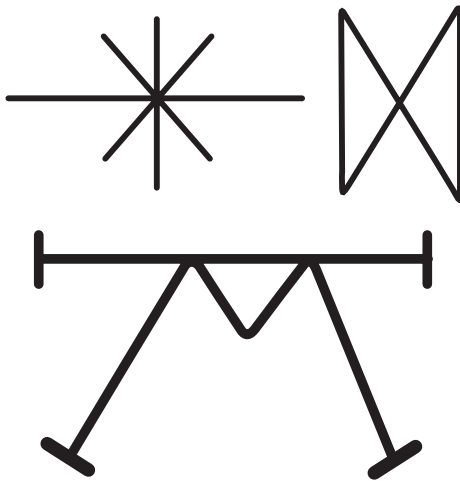


Figure 20: The three forms of masons' marks recorded in the Goblin Ha'. The rare "M" (bottom) has also been recorded at St. Giles's Church, in Skelton (Yorks), built c. 1250.

During the U3A study, the team recorded 56 masons' marks on the stonework of the Goblin Ha', all of them on the vault-ribs. They comprised three different forms (fig 20). Given the modest number, and the fact that the forms are relatively common across much of Britain, it is almost impossible to derive any useful information from them (see Zeune 1992, 58-67). However, one mark in particular – the "M" – is relatively uncommon. It has also been recorded in Yorkshire, at St. Giles's Church, in Skelton, built c.1250 and therefore contemporary with the Goblin Ha' (Wilson *et al* 1978). Could it be that the same mason worked on both buildings?

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POSTSCRIPT

During the course of the U3A study, the team noticed a marked deterioration in the physical state of the Goblin Ha'. Previously, part of the east wall had collapsed (fig 21), and it became obvious that other intact sections of the same wall were showing signs of slight inward bulges, suggestive of pressure from behind the wall, perhaps caused by tree roots. Furthermore, should more blocks fall, or become dislodged, from the top of the damaged area it could so weaken support for the stone vault above that the entire structure might be in danger of collapse. The team's view is that, in order to prevent such a catastrophe happening to such an iconic building, work should be carried out quickly to restore the wall's integrity.

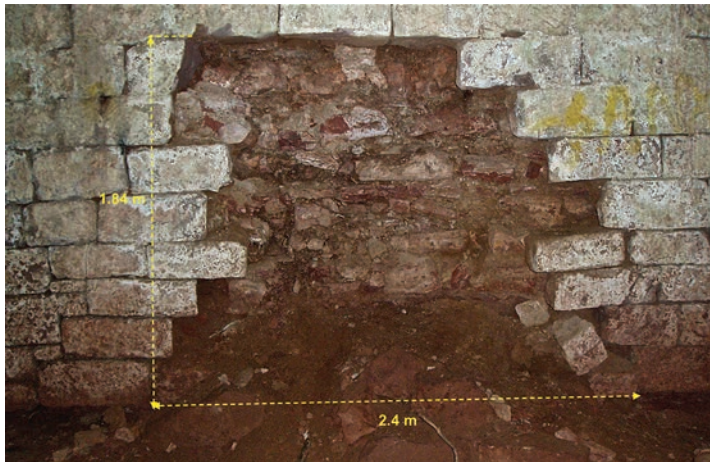


Figure 21: The area of collapsed ashlar masonry along the east wall in the Goblin Ha' (April 2014).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors wish to thank members of East Lothian U3A Archaeology, History and Genealogy Group, for their assistance with this project. In particular, Bill Rarity was responsible for a number of the photographs used in the paper, and Sally Metcalf helped with fieldwork and documentary research in the development stages. We were assisted in some of the early fieldwork by Graeme Bettison and Percy Craigie. We are also very grateful to Stephanie Leith, of the East Lothian Council Archaeology Service, for her guidance on how best to progress the survey, and for her support and encouragement in the preparation of our original report on Yester Castle from which this paper stems. Copies of that report are now held by East Lothian Council and Historic Environment Scotland.

Finally, to Chris Tabraham we owe a great debt of thanks for his professional input, particularly regarding the architectural context of the Goblin Ha', but also in the many constructive comments he made when he joined us on site at Yester Castle and elsewhere.

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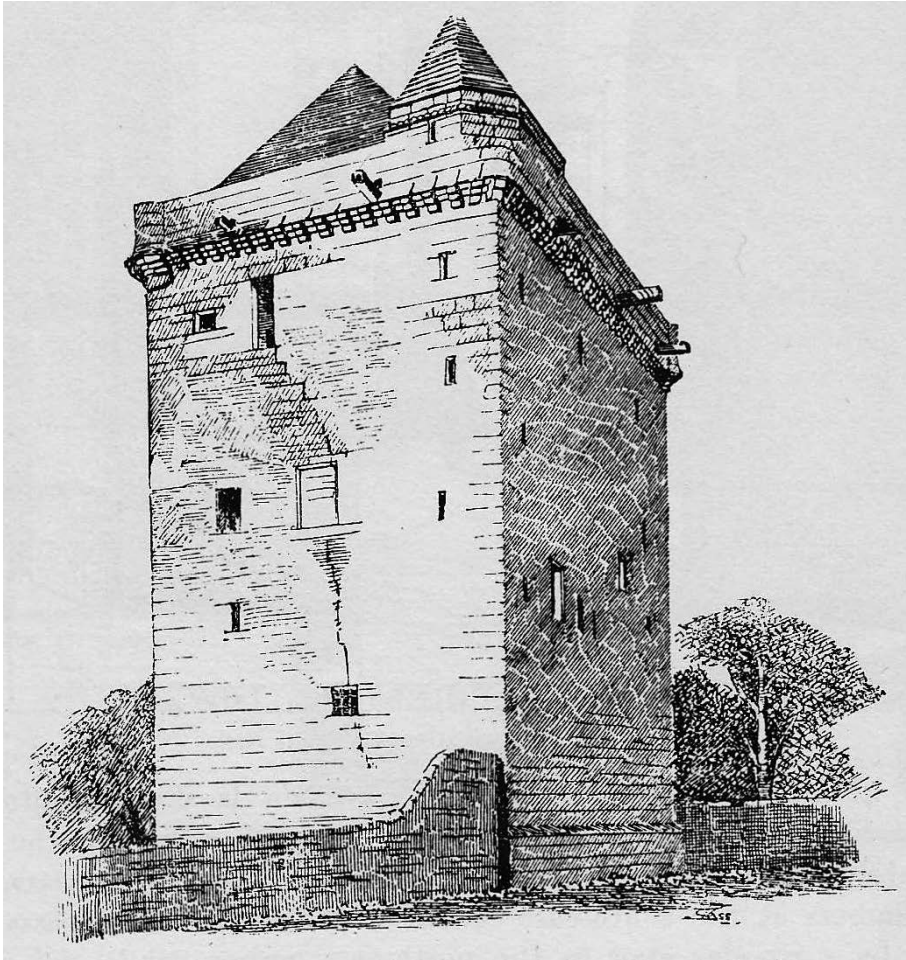


Figure 1: Elphinstone Tower from the south-west, drawn by Thomas Ross and reproduced in volume one of his and David MacGibbon's magisterial The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century, published in 1887.

THE TOWER HOUSE AS HOME: ELPHINSTONE TOWER: A CASE STUDY

by Dr ALLAN G. RUTHERFORD

INTRODUCTION

In 1955 Elphinstone Tower was demolished down to its ground storey, a victim of subsidence caused by coal-mining (fig 1). It was a great loss, for it was 'one of the most remarkable and best preserved of the Scottish keeps of the fifteenth century' (MacGibbon & Ross 1887, 233-7). The tower's plain exterior and simple oblong plan belied its complex internal planning, exploited to the full, with a honeycomb of mural chambers providing extra accommodation (fig 2). Fortunately, the building was extensively described, planned and photographed prior to demolition, and these resources have formed the basis for this study.

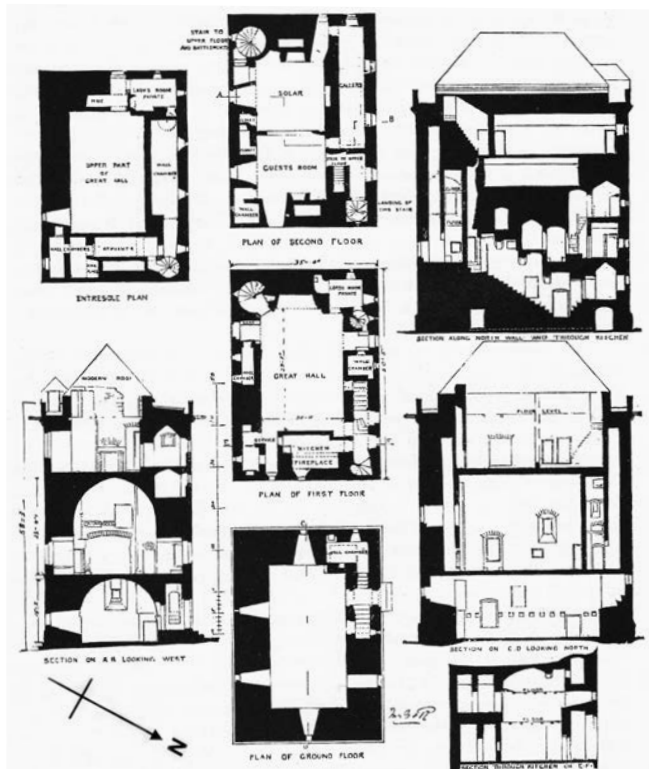


Figure 2: The floor plans and sections of Elphinstone Tower, from David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross's The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland (1887, 234).

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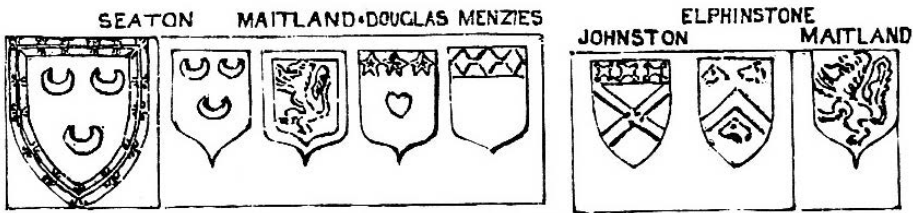


Figure 3: The carved armorial shields above the fireplace in the hall, from David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross's The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland (1887, 237).

BACKGROUND HISTORY

Elphinstone Tower is dated to the mid-1400s, on heraldic evidence and by analogy with other later medieval tower houses. Heraldic shields above the hall fireplace (fig 3) suggest that Sir Gilbert Johnstone of Annandale, the first Johnstone laird of Elphinstone c.1460, built it. Its sophisticated planning and extensive use of mural chambers invite comparison with Borthwick Castle (Midlothian), which is securely dated to c. 1430 by a 'licence to crenellate' (Cruden 1981, 131-6). Maxwell-Irving (1996, 871) has questioned this dating, suggesting a construction date in the early 1500s; however, a change by 50 years or so does not materially affect what follows.

Elphinstone Tower was built long after the barony of Elphinstone was established. Its construction seems to relate to Gilbert Johnstone's acquisition of the lordship through marriage to Agnes, daughter of Sir Alexander Elphinstone of that Ilk, in c. 1460; Sir Alexander was killed at the battle of Piperdean in 1435 (Bulloch 1948, 34-5). The acquisition does not appear to have gone smoothly, as there was a legal challenge from Alexander's brother, Henry, which resulted in the estate being divided between the parties in 1476. This compromise granted Elphinstone itself to Agnes and Gilbert (Fraser 1897, I, x, 14). The tower was probably built by Gilbert, less likely his son Adam, who had succeeded by 1497. Its construction may be seen as a material proclamation of the Johnstones' success in taking possession of the main estate centre, at Elphinstone itself, helping to establish Gilbert Johnstone in the locality.

The Johnstones remained in possession of the barony and tower until 1666, when Sir James Johnstone, third baronet of Elphinstone, was forced to sell through bankruptcy (Bulloch 1948, 49-50). During that period, two extensions were built onto the tower, the first in 1637 and the second in 1697; these were demolished in 1865. The additions may well have become the main residence, leaving the tower as an antique symbol of lordship.

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GEOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC SETTINGS

The barony of Elphinstone lay within the parish of Tranent. It was a wealthy lordship, the fertile soil ideal for cereal production which, along with livestock production, would have been the Johnstones' main source of income. This was augmented by the profits from coal-mining, first recorded in 1546 (Bulloch 1948, 37); ironically, it was this that led to the tower's demolition.

Elphinstone Tower was a prominent landmark, especially from the settlement of Elphinstone, which lay half a mile to the NE. From its wall-head the whole of the barony would have been seen. Thus, the dominance of the laird over the barony was demonstrated and reinforced by the size and position of the tower. Surrounding the tower were other elements that completed the laird's residence. A description of the grounds of Elphinstone by Sir Dick Lauder, written c.1830, suggests that the tower had extensive gardens:

We ourselves recollect not a great many years ago that [Elphinstone Tower] was associated with a grove of magnificent old trees, but these were most mercilessly subject to the axe. Before our time, however, the grounds to the eastward of the building were laid out in a quaint and interesting old pleasance, where beside the umbrageous trees that sheltered it, all manner of shrubs grew in luxuriance, the ground being laid out in the straight terraced walks, squares, triangles, and circles: and in short, all manner of mathematical figures, with little bosquets, labyrinths, and open pieces of shaven turf. (Quoted in M'Neill 1884, 187).

This word-picture of Elphinstone fits with the image created by Pont in his later sixteenth-century maps of Scotland, which show castles and towers surrounded by gardens and stands of trees (Stone 2006, 49-55). Thus, the tower and its occupants were set apart from the others in the barony by the boundary created by the trees and garden.

The other components of the estate centre comprised the mains (home farm), which name survives in 'Tower Castle Farm'. Towards the settlement of Elphinstone lay a 'chapel yard', which continued as a burial-ground into the 1800s. The chapel itself, which no longer exists, did not have parochial status, for the parish church was in Tranent. M'Neill (1884, 188) suggests that the officiating clergyman may have been the Johnstones' household chaplain, and that the chapel and burial-ground primarily served their needs.

THE USE OF SPACE AT ELPHINSTONE TOWER

The tower-house form dominated polite architecture in later medieval Scotland. The form grew in popularity after the Wars of Independence (1296-1356),

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and even the royal residence in Edinburgh Castle, David's Tower, completed in the 1370s, took this form. It is widely believed that the prevalence of the form was in part a consequence of the increasing militarisation of the upper echelons of Scottish society as a result of the wars. The tower house became a recognised symbol of lordship because it projected a more powerful, military image than the more modest hall-house or moated manor-house which preceded it, yet was adaptable as a form and provided for the domestic requirements of lairds and their households.

A tower house was essentially the self-contained residence of the laird, with ground-floor cellarge (almost always vaulted), a large hall on the first floor (also often vaulted), and one or more floors above for residential accommodation. In addition, the tower may have housed a kitchen and a prison. Excavations elsewhere (eg, Threave Castle) have demonstrated that, although the tower house would have stood out as the principal element of the castle complex, it could also be surrounded by important buildings, including an outer hall (Tabraham 1988, 271-5). There were exceptions, notably Borthwick Castle, whose impressive bulk contains so much public, residential, storage and service space within it that high-status spaces outside were probably superfluous, other than the family chapel (Cruden 1981, 131-6). Elphinstone Tower, with its myriad interior spaces, may well be another example where outer buildings of status, other than the chapel, were unnecessary.

PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

What follows uses two forms of analysis: access analysis, based on the work of Hillier and Hanson (1984), and planning diagrams, first developed by Faulkner (1958) to provide a formal method for investigating planning arrangements at castles. The conceptual differences between the two stems from the different academic fields they were developed in: environmental/behavioural studies and architectural history.

Access analysis produces graphs made up of vertices and edges; the vertices represent space by dots with connecting edges, or lines, to represent access or permeability between these spaces (eg, doorways and hatches). Figure 4 shows the plan of a simple building, and how that plan translates into an access diagram. The spaces are divided into 'normal' spaces (solid circles) and 'transition' spaces (empty circles). A 'transition' space is primarily used for moving between spaces, whereas a 'normal' space has a function apart from one of communication. Access analysis differs from a purely relational diagram by the fact that it is 'weighted' – that is, it starts from a particular point relative to all others. This is described as the 'carrier space' (represented by a circle within a circle). By weighting the graph it is possible to measure two properties of the structure – 'depth' and 'choice'. Depth depends on the number of spaces (vertices) one has to travel through to reach a particular point, whilst choice depends on the availability of different routes to get to a particular space.

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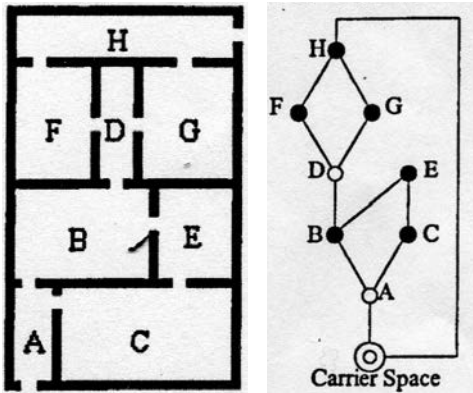


Figure 4: Conjectural plan of a simple building (left), and an access diagram of that building (right).

The degree of choice is represented in two ways – ‘distributed’ (‘ringy’) and ‘non-distributed’ (‘tree-like’) (fig 5); the more ‘ringy’ the graph, the greater the number of routes to a specific space. Access analysis should enable the reader to gain an understanding of the physical progression through a building, the depth of each space relative to the exterior, and the choices a person moving through the building can make, thus helping to shed light on the relationships among the residents, and between residents and outsiders.

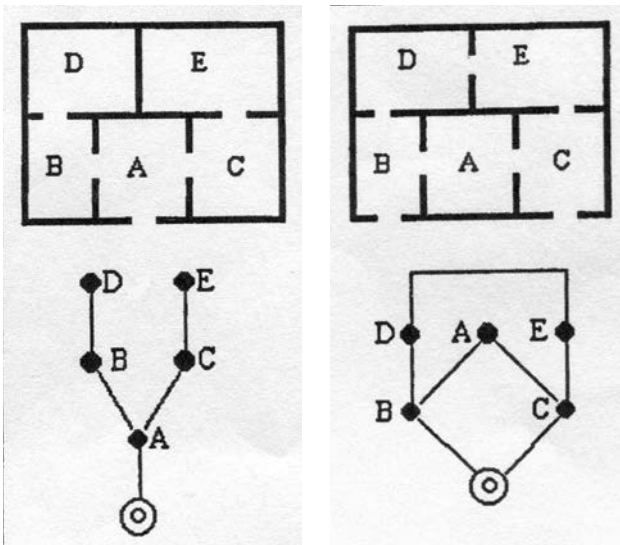


Figure 5: A ‘non-distributed’ ground plan with access graph (left), and a ‘distributed’ plan with access graph (right).

THE TOWER HOUSE AS HOME: ELPHINSTONE TOWER: A CASE STUDY

Planning diagrams are a simpler concept to understand. There are no complex sociological, anthropological or theoretical underpinnings to the technique. They are primarily a means to understanding the planning of buildings in a more objective way by simplifying them to a schematic plan that highlights the connections between spaces. This helps to uncover underlying similarities and differences between buildings. Faulkner (1958, 150) asserts that a planning diagram exhibits 'the mode of living of those for whom the building was designed'.

THE SPATIAL DIAGRAMS OF ELPHINSTONE TOWER

Elphinstone Tower was essentially a single-phase structure which remained relatively unchanged until its demolition. The exterior was remarkably plain: bare ashlar walls pierced by numerous irregularly-placed windows, with only a decorative parapet walk enlivening its austerity (see fig 1).

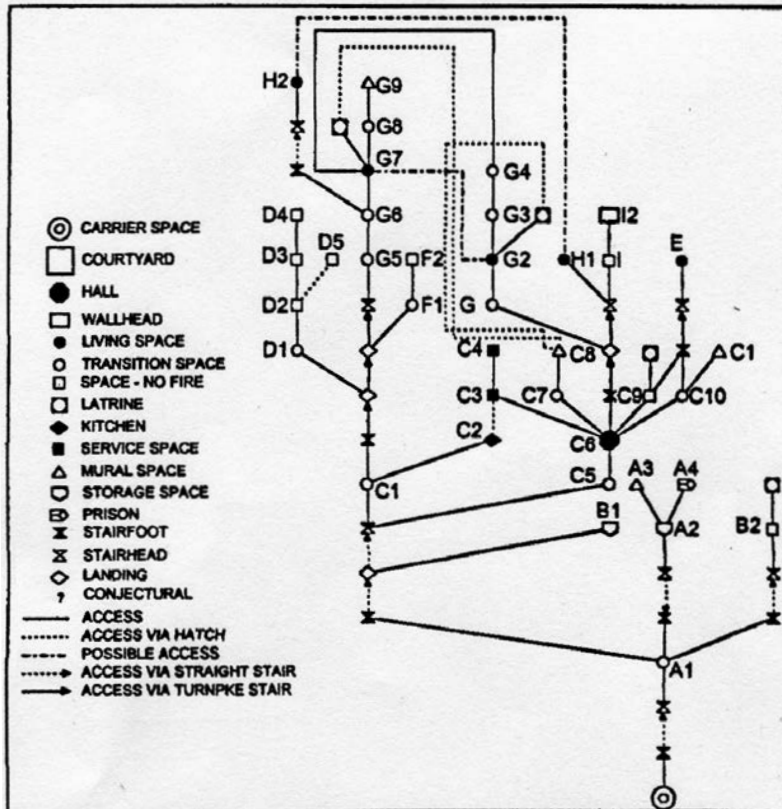


Figure 6: Access diagram of Elphinstone Tower.

THE TOWER HOUSE AS HOME: ELPHINSTONE TOWER: A CASE STUDY

It is immediately obvious from the access diagram (fig 6) that the tower house was very 'tree-like' in its layout, indicating a building where access was strictly controlled. The diagram is made up of three distinct 'trees', each accessed from the entrance lobby (A1) in the NW corner of the building. The first 'tree' comprises the ground-floor spaces: the entrance lobby, the main room (A2), probably a storage area, that was reached by descending a short flight of steps, and two mural chambers (A3 & A4) accessed from that main room. This 'tree' also includes the entresol (B1) directly above the main ground-floor room, and a smaller space (B2) accessed via a short flight of steps from the entrance lobby. The other two 'trees' branch off from each other at the top of the main straight stair. One 'tree' comprised the kitchen (C2) and a narrow newel-stair in the NE corner that led to spaces in the upper storeys (G7 & H1). This included several chambers above the kitchen (D1-D4) and within the haunch of the vault that covered the hall (F1 & F2). The other 'tree' led to the hall (C6), off which were five mural chambers (C7-C11) and two more newel-stairs, a narrow one giving access to two more chambers (E1 & E2), and a much wider one leading to all the upper floors (G2 & H1) as well as the wall-head (I2). This layout resulted in the upper levels of the tower becoming compartmentalised into two main sections, communication between which was highly restricted.

The planning diagram (fig 7a & b) is instantly recognisable as a representation of a tower, although it also shows that Elphinstone did not conform to the 'norm', namely that each floor of a tower house was occupied by a single space (Cruden 1981, 138). It is clear from the diagram that the spatial arrangements of the building only became complex from the first floor, which was the principal 'public' space in the tower. Not only are the horizontal divisions clearer, and the contrast between the storage and living areas more apparent, but it also confirms the separation of the upper levels into two parts, an eastern and a western half. The positioning of the three newel stairs makes it obvious that they were intended to serve different areas. They emphasise the distinctness of the two sides of the building, especially on the second floor and attic. They also seem to link the various spaces far more than any of the doorways between the spaces on the same floor. Also apparent is the role of the gallery, or corridor (G4), linking the two second-floor chambers. This space would otherwise seem strangely redundant if there had been direct access through the cross-wall separating the two spaces.

As we shall see, this complexity would have had a real role to play within the life and social structure of the household. The visitor to Elphinstone would have been presented with a confusing multiplicity of doors and stairs, each leading to a myriad spaces both in the body of the building and the thickness of the walls. This contrast with the exterior would have been remarkable, and may have been designed by the lord to create just such an impression.

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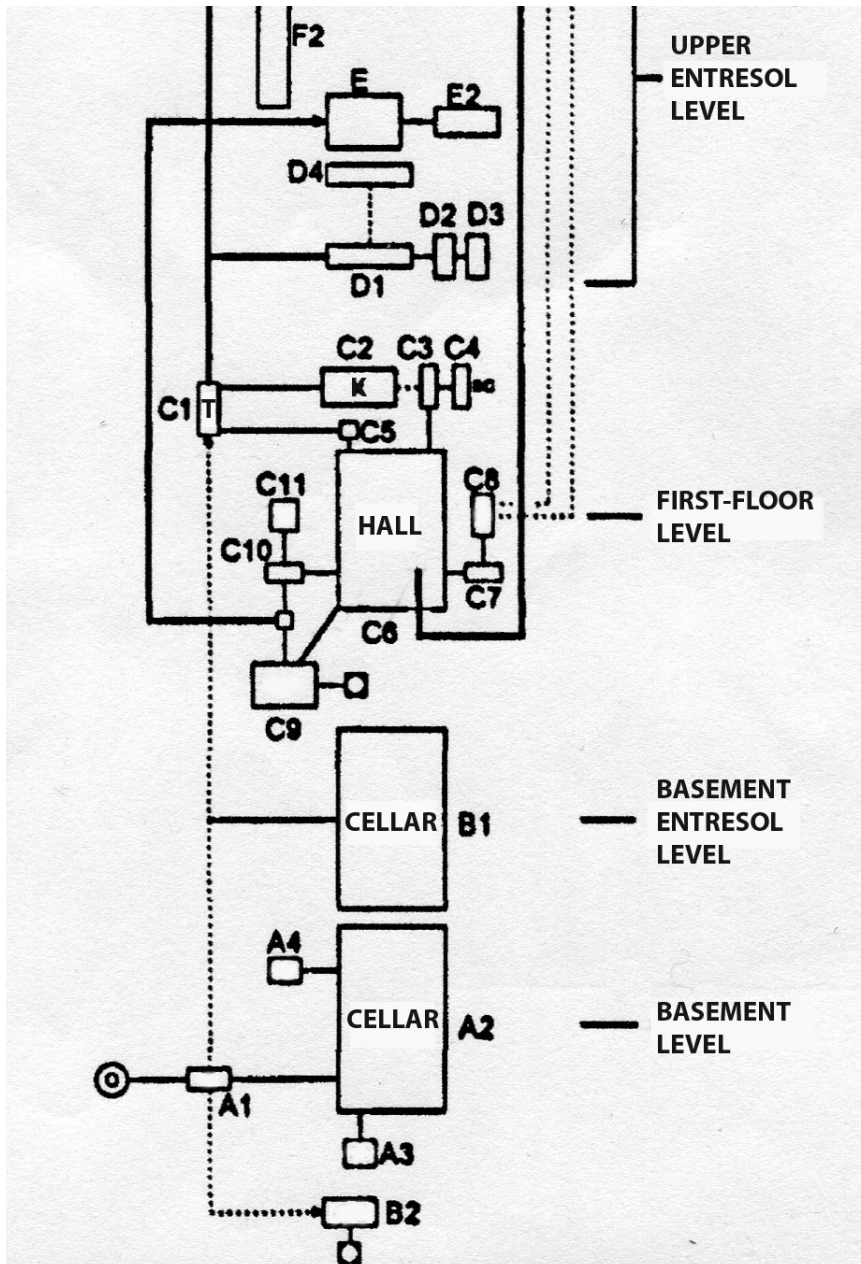


Figure 7a: Planning diagram of Elphinstone Tower (lower levels).

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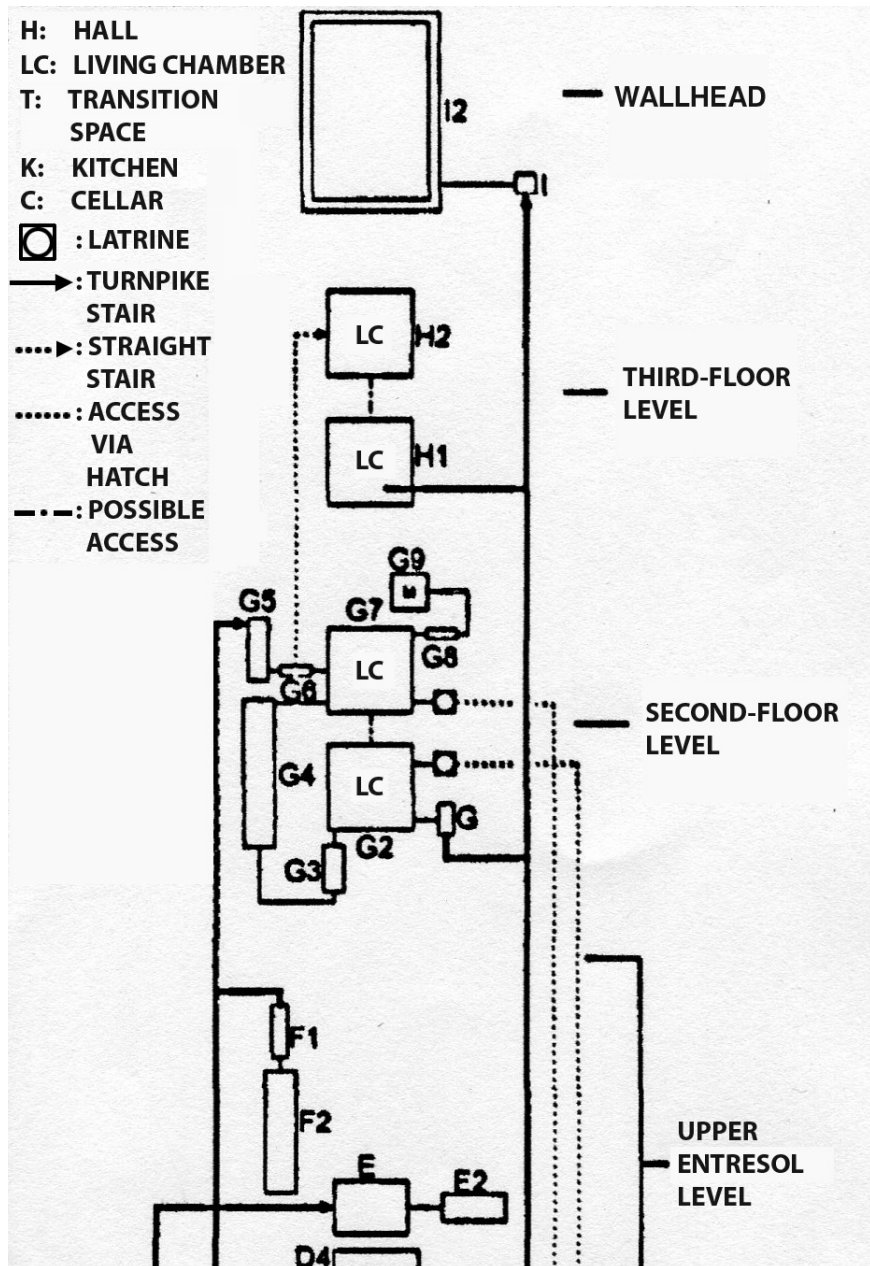


Figure 7b: Planning diagram of Elphinstone Tower (upper levels).

THE TOWER HOUSE AS HOME: ELPHINSTONE TOWER: A CASE STUDY

AN UNASSUMING ENTRANCE

For such a complicated building, Elphinstone Tower had a remarkably understated entrance - a round-arched portal (fig 8) reached by a short flight of steps. It was secured by two doors, probably an outer wooden door and an inner iron yett. Apart from the doors themselves it had no specific defences – no portcullis, flanking gunholes or the like. It would appear that at Elphinstone, as elsewhere in the fifteenth century, the emphasis on defence of the entrance had lessened. However, the entrance was not just about defence; it was the point of transition between the outside world and the exclusive world of the laird and lady within. It had long been a space of almost ritual significance, as important in the secular world as the church porch was in the religious one. Hitherto, the architecture of the main entrance had been used to heighten the sense of theatre on entering a lairdly residence. It therefore comes as a surprise that the entrance to Elphinstone Tower, indeed many of its contemporaries, was so restrained in its manner. It reinforced the impression, on first seeing the tower, of a ‘closed-up, inward-looking’ building, reflecting the reality of post-war Scotland ruled by an elite living more secluded lives than their pre-war forebears.

Having ascended the steps and crossed the threshold into the NW corner of the tower, one entered a small lobby (A1), from where three flights of stairs could be accessed - a short straight flight straight ahead leading down to the basement cellar (A2); to the left, the main straight stair rising to the first floor and hall; and to the right, a short, narrow straight stair leading up to a small mural chamber (B2) with a latrine. This last space probably served as the porter’s lodge, the retainer responsible for securing the premises and screening those seeking to enter. Intriguingly, it had no windows facing the approach to the castle, thus preventing the porter from seeing who was coming, suggesting that the entrance door was normally closed.

THE HALL – THE MEAT IN THE SANDWICH

As with all castles, the hall in Elphinstone Tower was its single most important space, designed to create the most effective setting for the laird as he carried out his responsibilities and duties. It was reached by the main stair rising from the entrance; the three treads at the top were angled so as to lead the visitor up to the right and into the hall. The landing beyond the stair (C1) gave access to the kitchen (C2) and a newel-stair in the NE corner that led to the upper floors. Those visiting the hall would thus have been able to see, and smell, the activity in the kitchen.

The hall was thus easily reached on entering the tower. The only spaces accessed more easily were the cellars and porter’s lodge, all work-spaces used by lowly members of the household. Thus, the hall was the first occupation space to

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be reached as one moved through the tower. This is understandable given the hall's role as the main 'public' space in the tower, where business associated with the baron's court was conducted and larger-scale entertaining held.

The hall would have been impressive - it was 9m long and 6m wide, with a vaulted ceiling rising to a height of 7m – and, on entering, the visitor would have instantly felt a sense of space. The 'top' of the hall was the west end, furthest from the entrance. Here was a large fireplace with a massive lintel, above which were those carved stone shields (see fig 3) representing the arms of Elphinstone, Douglas, Johnstone, Maitland, Menzies and Seton – doubtless advertising ownership and family connections. The fireplace and shields functioned as a visual focus to the upper, or dais, end of the hall, which would have been further emphasised by the two large windows with stone seats on either side bathing the 'hie burde' (high table) in sunshine.

The upper end of the hall had several mural chambers and window embrasures off it that would have allowed varying degrees of privacy. The two large window embrasures (C7 & C10) permitted face-to-face interaction with a modicum of privacy without the need to leave the hall, whilst four more spaces (C8, C9, C11 & E1) provided greater privacy and distance. Of these, the most significant were the two superimposed mural chambers in the NW corner (C9 & E1). Whilst the lower chamber was accessed directly from the hall, the entresol (upper chamber) could be reached either from that lower chamber or from the north dais window embrasure (C10) via a small newel-stair. The importance of these chambers is demonstrated by (a) their size (they are amongst the largest mural chambers in the tower), (b) their access arrangements, and (c) their facilities (the lower chamber had a latrine closet and the entresol a fireplace). A peculiarity of the entresol was the presence of a window embrasure through the west wall (E2), accessed through a doorway to the right of the fireplace, which not only provided the hall with borrowed light, but enabled the occupant of the entresol a good view down onto the hall below. Such spy-holes, or 'lairds' lugs', were not uncommon; perhaps the best known is that in Edinburgh Castle's great hall, high up and to the right of the great fireplace. (The possible role of these two superimposed chambers will be considered later.)

The two other chambers at the upper end of the hall (C8 & C11) seem not to have served as living space but for storage or service purposes. The narrow chamber in the south wall (C8) is perhaps the strangest space in the entire tower. The elaborate doorway to it gives the impression that it was of some importance. Photographs show rebates for shelves along the walls, suggesting it may have stored napery or such like for use in the hall. However, in the ceiling were two openings that served as waste-outlets from latrines in the closets above, and the shelves probably held receptacles for receiving that waste; a similar arrangement

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existed at Borthwick Castle. Such latrines were an advance on open-chuted garderobes, reducing draughts and avoiding human excrement piling up at the base of the walls. The 'down side' was that there would have been buckets of human waste not far from the dais end of the hall, and emptying them would have meant a servant carrying them through the hall and down the main stair.

RESIDENTIAL ACCOMMODATION – BIPARTITE SEGREGATION

Elphinstone Tower had extensive living accommodation space within its walls, contained in the main body of the tower and within countless mural chambers. The different access arrangements, size and amenities of those chambers reflected and reinforced the social structure of the household, from the laird and his lady at the top to the lowliest retainer. It will become apparent that the spatial divisions could be based upon several types of social relation and social difference - gender, status, and contemporary concepts of public and private space. Due to the building's complexity and the difficulty this creates in structuring description and interpretation, the discussion below will be divided into several sections - stairs, entresol chambers and main chambers. However, the various accommodation spaces cannot be interpreted in isolation and constant reference has to be made to the other spaces within the structure.

STAIRS

Each of the three flights of stairs rising from the first floor functioned as vertical corridors serving distinct accommodation groupings, ensuring that the living spaces themselves were not used as through routes, so compromising privacy. Understanding the access arrangements to those stairs is important in interpreting the spaces they served. The superimposed chambers off the hall (C9 & E1) have already been briefly discussed in the section above. However, the small newel-stair linking them was the most restricted of all the stairs, the 'deepest' within the structure and serving just one chamber (E1).

In contrast, the narrow newel-stair in the NE corner rising up almost directly from the main straight stair was easily accessible from the exterior and from the lower area of the hall and kitchen. Significantly, it did not require the user to enter the hall, unlike the other two stairs. This kitchen stair served several spaces on the upper levels (D1-D4, F1 & F2) as well as the east chamber (G7) on the second floor. It also accessed a small straight stair that led to the eastern attic space (H2).

The third stair rose from the SW corner of the hall. Its location, adjacent to the upper end of the hall, and the fact that it was by far the widest and most impressive stair in the tower, indicates that the spaces it served were amongst the most important in the tower. This newel-stair served just two spaces - the west

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chamber on the second floor (G2) and the west attic space (H1). It seems also to have been the only stair giving access to the wall head (I2).

ENTRESOL CHAMBERS

When interpreting the two superimposed chambers accessed from the upper end of the hall (C9 & E1), their linking stair and juxtaposition make it clear that the rooms should be considered together. MacGibbon and Ross label the lower room 'Lords Room Private' and the upper room 'Ladys Room Private', but provide no evidence for such an assertion. Because of their size, facilities and access arrangements, the two chambers must have been private spaces. It is also possible that they were gendered, with the 'lord's chamber' more easily accessible from the hall than the 'lady's chamber'. The lord would have been able to access his wife's chamber directly from his own chamber via the stair. He would also have been aware of who was ascending the stair. The stair arrangement would also have enabled the upper chamber to be accessed from the stair with minimal disturbance to the lower chamber. The upper chamber would have isolated the lady of the house from the hall but would still have allowed her to view the activities of the hall through the upper window in the adjacent closet (E2).

Although this interpretation is plausible, other possibilities exist. The two spaces could well have formed a single apartment or suite – an outer and inner chamber, with the fireplace in the latter. A near-identical arrangement exists in the great tower-house at Craignethan Castle (Lanarkshire), although there each has a fireplace and latrine. Iain MacIvor interpreted this as the private suite of the tower's builder, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (1993, 19), whilst Charles McKean postulated them as Finnart's private chamber (lower) and charter room or closet (upper) (2004, 93). Although illuminating, Craignethan cannot really be used as a straight analogy, for it has no convincing alternatives for the lord's private accommodation. This is not the case at Elphinstone, as we shall see. An alternative suggestion for Elphinstone's superimposed chambers is that they provided flexible accommodation, either for a senior member of the family (the eldest son perhaps), a senior household official such as the steward, or guests. The chambers, after all, could have been used either as a two-roomed suite or as two independent chambers. Either would have enabled the occupant/occupants to access the hall independently of any other accommodation.

The kitchen stair in the NW corner gave access to rooms on two entresols lying between the hall and second floor. The first entresol lay directly above the kitchen and its attendant service chambers (C2-C4), and the chambers took a similar form to those below, with a long narrow chamber (D2) accessing two other chambers (D3 & D4), one entered off the other. Above chamber D2 is another chamber (D5) of similar dimensions, which seems to have had a window

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looking down into the hall; this space could only have been reached by a ladder from the chamber below. The second, higher, entresol is contained within the northern haunch of the vault, and again was accessed from the kitchen stair. The floor consisted of two rather odd spaces - a narrow corridor (F1) leading to a long chamber (F2) lit by two windows through the north wall.

All these rooms are difficult to interpret. Most would have been dark and inconveniently shaped, suggesting they merely exploited the space available within the extremely thick walls and had to take account of structural features like chimney flues. Despite their awkward nature, there is evidence that at least some were living chambers. Room D3 had a fireplace, and as room D4 was accessed from this chamber, one could perhaps suggest that these two rooms formed a suite. The narrow space accessing these chambers from the stair may have served as a corridor, providing access to the two chambers in the SE angle and the space directly above (D5). However, it could also have served as sleeping space for more lowly servants, benefitting from the heat provided by the kitchen chimney. A similar explanation may hold for chamber D5, which could only be reached by a ladder. This space may well have been a sleeping loft, which, although unheated, again would have received heat second-hand from the kitchen flue.

The two rooms in the upper entresol (F1 & F2) remain something of a mystery. The main chamber (F2) was unheated and lit only by two small windows. These factors and the chamber's long, narrow form seem to preclude its use as living space. An alternative use is as storage space, but for items more valuable than food and drink. The chamber was vaulted and well away from any chimney flues, making it relatively fireproof. It was also situated off what might be considered a private stair in a relatively domestic area of the tower, suggesting that it may have stored family charters and records. A similar chamber in Neidpath Castle has been identified as fulfilling just such a function, though there the presence of wall-cupboards adds an additional reason (RCAHMS 1967, 254).

It is obvious that, although some of the entresol chambers may have served as accommodation (D3-5), they were very much of secondary importance within the hierarchy of accommodation. The manner in which the chambers were heated, the indifferent lighting, the relative isolation from the rest of the tower except the kitchen, all suggest a role as living-quarters for household servants or retainers. There would have been a hierarchy within the household, and this may be reflected in the varying standards of accommodation on offer. For example, the person or persons quartered in the 'suite' of two angle-chambers (D3 & D4) must have been of higher standing than those within the postulated sleeping loft (D5) and corridor (D2).

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THE MAIN CHAMBERS

The entresol chambers, including those entered directly off the hall, account for only a small amount of the total accommodation space within the tower. They were also secondary to the two large second-floor chambers directly above the hall (G2 & G7). Both of these were served by separate stairs, and communicated with each other via a long, vaulted gallery (G4) running east-west along the north wall. Each chamber had a fireplace and latrine closet, whilst the eastern chamber had an additional large mural chamber (G9) in the SE corner. Thus, each chamber could function independently, with separate access arrangements and matching amenities. MacGibbon and Ross label the western room 'Solar' and the eastern one 'Guests Room', classifications originating from their perceived significance. They were more private than the hall, and more comfortable than the attic chambers.

The term 'solar' embraces numerous possibilities but all point to a prestige space normally associated with the laird and his lady. The use of the term 'solar' seems rather anachronistic in this context. While it may be strictly correct to refer to the chamber as a solar - it was an upper room and entered from the upper area of the hall - the term is normally used of castles, manors or towers comprising a hall and a single upper room, rather than one room in a whole complex of rooms over several floors. Classifying the eastern chamber as guest accommodation is also questionable. Although it may indeed have accommodated guests at some point, it seems unlikely that this would have been its intended use for it was located in the private, service area of the tower, quite unsuited for guests.

A more likely use of the two chambers can be gained from considering the two chambers together, especially in terms of their access arrangements and relationship with the other spaces in the tower. From the access diagram (see fig 6) it is clear that the eastern chamber (G7) is several levels 'deeper' than the western one (G2). This 'depth' is partly created by the L-shaped corridor, which is considered as two spaces (G5 & G6). 'Depth' is also created by the number of landings required as a result of the two entresols accessed from the kitchen stair. However, there is a contradiction here, for whilst the eastern chamber may have been 'deep' and within a private area of the household, the stair to it would have been busy with members of the household but not visitors; any guest using the stair would quickly encounter servants. Access to the western chamber was also tightly controlled, for to reach it meant crossing the hall to the dais end, ascending the wide stair to the left of the fireplace and passing through a small lobby (G1). There were no intermediate chambers to detract from the stately progression from hall to chamber.

How then are we to interpret these two second-floor main chambers? Two options suggest themselves. The first is to view the hall and the two chambers as an integrated unit based on the normal arrangement of 'hall', 'outer chamber' and

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'inner chamber'. The outer chamber, also known as the 'presence chamber', was a more formal space, where senior members of the household or trusted guests could meet, and dine with, the laird. The inner chamber was altogether more private, and served as the bedchamber. It was also served directly by the service stair in the NE corner of the tower, in effect, the 'back stair'. The link between the two chambers is the gallery (G4), which was accessed from a deep and narrow window embrasure (G3). The gallery would have provided a suitably impressive method of moving from the outer to the inner chamber. It would have created distance between the two chambers and continued the idea of a stately progression through the various spaces, starting in the hall.

There were features in the two chambers that support this interpretation. The first was a shallow arched recess in the western chamber, situated in the centre of the north wall and facing the entrance door. This may have been for the laird's 'chair of estate', so that those entering the chamber would be immediately reminded of who the most important person in the room was. The position of the recess also meant that the lord had easy access to the gallery behind, and thus to his inner chamber, and relative privacy. The second feature was the mural chamber in the SE corner of the eastern chamber (G9), which may well have served as a sleeping closet off the more formal bedchamber; one is reminded of the tiny closet off the so-called 'Queen Mary's Room' in Edinburgh Castle, wherein the queen gave birth to the future James VI in June 1566.

The second interpretation is that they were gendered spaces. This returns to the assessment that the chambers were largely independent of each other, with the larger, more public western chamber reserved for the laird, and the slightly smaller, more private eastern chamber reserved for his lady. The long corridor, or gallery, can then be seen as facilitating intercommunication between the two rooms. The corridor would also have enabled the lady to use the wide stair to the hall when occasion demanded.

In support of this interpretation is the eastern chamber's position in relation to the other spaces of the tower. If the entresol chambers accessed from the NE stair were used to house servants, does this alter the suggestion that the tower could be gendered? It might perhaps be thought that the female part of the tower, if there was indeed one, would be the most isolated from the potentially noisy and disruptive influence of servants. However, as Labarge has pointed out (1965, 40), the lady of the castle, in England at least, controlled the running of the household, while her husband oversaw the estate. That this may well have been the case in Scotland is confirmed by a description of the building-work carried out at Glamis Castle (Angus) in the 1680s by Patrick, 1st earl of Strathmore. Part of that work created chambers in the roof-space which '...lodged the younger children and such of the woman servants as are of best account who have private access by a

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back stair to these rooms [the countess] makes use of herself...' (Strathmore 1890, 38). Although this description of Glamis dates from a later century, it provides a convincing analogy for the spatial arrangements found at Elphinstone, and also suggests a use for the eastern attic chamber - accommodating female servants and any young children of the laird and his lady.

Thus, the view that the eastern half of the castle was a female domain may be supported by the domestic function of the chambers below. From the bedchamber on the second floor the lady of the house could quickly get to the kitchen to oversee preparation and cooking, and also oversee the servants in their entresol accommodation. However, as each of these areas had its own distinct branch from the stair there would have been some hierarchy, some social distance demanding spatial separation. The arrangement at the top of the main straight stair was clearly planned to allow one stair to serve two very different parts of the tower house; the service area and the ceremonial, judicial and formal area of the hall with as little intrusion as possible. Thus, although the female space may have been 'deeper' than the equivalent male space, this does not imply strict control by the laird of his lady, but rather that the laird and his lady had different responsibilities within the tower and over the household.

SERVICES AND THE PRISON

The self-contained and compartmentalised nature of the accommodation in the tower is reinforced when we examine the mundane, everyday aspects – namely, the provision for services such as storage and food preparation. The tower had extensive cellarage on two levels -the main ground-floor chamber (A2) and the entresol directly above (B1). The inserted floor made full use of the relatively high vaulted space, effectively doubling the usable floor space. As a work space, the ground-floor cellar was less convenient because of its low headroom; it was also poorly lit compared with above. The entresol was altogether a more suitable working area with its generous headroom and larger windows.

Accessed from the main ground-floor chamber were two mural chambers. The smaller (A4) was contained within the north wall. The interior doorway to it was gablet-checked to receive a timber door, suggesting that the space was used as a more secure store for expensive culinary items such as spices. The larger chamber (A3) was identified as a prison by MacGibbon and Ross and will be discussed below.

This cellarage arrangement is not particularly unusual in a tower-house. What is surprising, however, is the awkward method of communication with the upper floors. Any items for use in the hall or kitchen above would have had to be carried up the main stair, for there does not even appear to have been a hatch through the vault, which was often the case elsewhere. Thus, the main stair would have been a congested route.

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The kitchen (C2), although conveniently arranged to be both close to the hall and the cellars, would have been an unpleasant work-space. It was small, cramped and dimly lit, with half its area taken up by the large fireplace, making the space hot and smoky. The kitchen did not communicate directly with the hall; instead, prepared dishes would be passed through a serving-hatch into the first of two adjacent service-rooms to the south (C3) and then into the hall. Drink, bread and napery for the hall may have been stored in the slightly larger service-room beyond (C4).

It remains unclear if the hall had a screens-passage at its 'lower' end, separating the hall from the kitchen and service-rooms. However, the arrangement of the kitchen and service-rooms would have rendered such a screen unnecessary. The kitchen, although adjacent to the hall, was isolated from it, only communicating with the service areas of the hall through a serving-hatch. This service area could be regarded as a screens-passage played out in stone, with the two service-rooms functioning as buttery and pantry.

This arrangement of services is similar to those at most other Scottish tower houses, with the notable exception of the kitchen and prison. The kitchen's location, beside the 'lower' end of the hall, presents an interesting dichotomy of a work-space at one end and a prestige-space at the other. This proximity of kitchen to hall accentuated the inferior status of those at the 'lower' end, further emphasised by the fact that they had to pass the kitchen to reach the hall, whereas the laird and lady would have entered from the stair at the dais end.

The place of the kitchen in the servicing of tower houses is not without its problems. Quite a few towers did not have a kitchen in them at all. Smailholm Tower, for example, has no kitchen in it, but excavation discovered one in the courtyard outside, standing beside an outer hall and chamber (Good & Tabraham 1988, 242-51), indicating that in some castles the tower house was not the 'be all and end all' of the lairdly accommodation. L-planned towers built with integral jambs generally had a kitchen in the jamb adjacent to the hall (for example, Borthwick and Craigmillar). A few rectangular towers had the kitchen on the floor below the hall (for example, Threave), but hardly any had the kitchen immediately beside the hall as at Elphinstone. Indeed, only Comlongon Tower (Dumfriesshire), of all the many fifteenth-century rectangular towers, has such an arrangement, whilst the other five are all of sixteenth-century date and clustered around the west coast (Fairlie, Little Cumbrae, Law, Skelmorlie and Saddell).

The final 'service' within the tower is the postulated prison (A3). This was a small mural chamber accessed from the ground-floor cellar and lying directly beneath the porter's lodge (B2). It is this association with the porter's lodge that is the most convincing argument for its function as a prison. Considerable effort went into its construction, for it meant that the porter's lodge had to be reached by

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a flight of steps. If the builder had simply wanted a mural chamber in the cellar, he could have put it in one of the other angles, leaving the porter's lodge at the same level as the entrance lobby. The prison is totally featureless – no latrine, no ventilation slit, nothing – which is most uncommon; only the pit-prison in Comlongon is identical. At least Comlongon's miserable hole is definitely a pit-prison, for it is accessed from a hatch in the vault above. Elphinstone's 'prison' was unusually entered through a simple doorway from the cellar. If the space was planned as a prison, it could have been easily built as a normal pit-prison, with a hatch down from the porter's lodge, where the porter could have kept a watchful eye upon his charge. The only other function for the chamber would have been as secure storage space.

CONCLUSIONS

This spatial analysis of Elphinstone Tower has brought several themes to light. Most important is the recognition of complex functional divisions within the tower-house form: storage, domestic and public. These divisions in themselves have an underlying social significance which may be related to gender, the need to impress, and the wish to isolate the more domestic aspects of life whilst keeping them within the walls of a single structure. Whilst containing all these aspects of lairdly life under one roof accentuated the closed-in nature of the tower house, the verticality and mass of the tower still enabled the laird to demonstrate an outward appearance of confidence and authority.

It is possible that Elphinstone Tower was designed in such a way as to provide at its core an apartment, or suite of rooms, for the laird, comprising, in ascending order of importance, hall, outer chamber and inner chamber. Such a plan became the norm in the sixteenth century but had its roots in the fifteenth century or earlier. Elphinstone's plan did not have the sophistication of the apartments incorporated into residences of those higher up the social ladder, which had two suites, for the lord and lady, arranged in linear fashion across one level. Instead, and because of physical and financial constraints, the tripartite plan was used in a limited and adapted form, allowing only a single suite of rooms spread over two floors. Such an arrangement became relatively common in the sixteenth century, and Elphinstone was among the earliest towers to adopt it.

Because the tower was not large enough to accommodate a second suite of rooms, the lady of the house was probably accommodated in the inner chamber. This may well explain the existence of the gallery linking the two rooms, a most unusual space in a Scottish tower house. It would have created a sufficient 'buffer' between the semi-public outer chamber and the more intimate inner chamber, a 'deep' space where the laird and his lady could relax, either separately or together, and where they would have slept. The lady would also have been able to access

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the domestic parts of the house – the servants' quarters and kitchen – via the 'back stair' in the north wall with comparative ease, and without intruding on the more formal areas - the outer chamber and hall. Whilst this analysis may appear patronising, it is supported by documentary evidence, for the lady had the important role within the household of overseeing the day-to-day running of the house.

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Figure 8: Elphinstone Tower today, viewed from the south, looking towards the entrance doorway through the north wall. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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*Figure 1: The interior of Kirk Ports Church, North Berwick, opened in 1664 and depicted here in use prior to its replacement by the present St Andrew Blackadder church in 1883. The Dalrymple Loft, added to the kirk in 1718, is shown on the right in this painting by W E Lockhart, RSA.
(Courtesy of St Andrew Blackadder Church, North Berwick; Photo: the late Alistair Stewart)*

ALTARS OUT: PULPITS IN! THE FIRST POST-REFORMATION CHURCHES IN EAST LoTHIAN PART ONE: NEW BROOMS

by *BILL DODD*

INTRODUCTION

Altars out: Pulpits in! would have been a fitting slogan to encapsulate the heart of the change to Scotland's parish kirks brought about by the Reformation Parliament of 1560. The instructions were that congregations should 'tak down the hail images thereof, and bring furth to the kirk-zayrd and burn thaym oppinly. And siclyck cast down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kind of monuments of idolatrye', but adding the proviso to 'tak heyd that neither the dasks [pews], windocks [windows], nor durris [doors] be ony ways hurt or broken, eyther glassin wark or iron wark' (quoted in George Hay's *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560-1843*, 13). Instead of the altar, the first Book of Discipline, issued in 1560, ordered that there be a pulpit, and that those 'monuments of idolatrye' were to be replaced by 'a basin for baptism and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper' (quoted in Donaldson 1970, 126-7). The Holy Bible, as the Word of God, now printed in the vernacular, was to be the guiding light of the new liturgy, not the sacrament of the Mass. Henceforth, Scotland's kirks would be honest, unadorned *Predigtkirchen* - 'boxes to preach in'.

This two-part essay examines the physical impact the Reformation had on the parish kirks of East Lothian in the century and a half after 1560. This first part offers a fresh overview of the historical context, and assesses the effects the first Book of Discipline had on the churches then existing in 1560, focusing especially on Pencaitland Kirk. The second part, to be published in the next *Transactions* (volume XXXII), investigates those parish kirks built *de novo* after 1560 – Stenton (c.1561, and with a claim to being the very first new Reformed kirk built in Scotland), Prestonpans (1595), Dirleton (1612), North Berwick (1664) and Gladsmuir (1695).

THE KIRK REFORMIT

The Reformation Parliament, sitting in the summer of 1560, provided an entirely new *Confession of Faith*, and in three Acts abolished the Mass and the jurisdiction of the Pope. Earlier that year a 'Book of Reformation' had been

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commissioned by the provisional government, and a committee of ministers, including John Knox, produced the Book of Discipline, setting out a programme for the Reformed Church of Scotland. With regard to church buildings, this laid down the following:

Lest that the word of God, and ministration of the Sacraments, by unseemliness of the place come in contempt, of necessity it is that the churches and places where the people ought publicly to convene be with expedition repaired in doors, windows, thatch, and with such preparations within, as appertaineth as well to the majesty of the word of God as unto the ease and commodity of the people [...] Every Church must have doors, close windows of glass, thatch or slate able to withhold rain, a bell to convene the people together, a pulpit, a basin for baptism, and tables for the ministration of the Lord's Supper. (reprinted in Donaldson 1970, 126-7).

One may reasonably expect that this 'performance specification' was written with a pre-conceived generic model of a new type of parish kirk in mind. However, no such 'spec' survives. Four centuries later, George Hay (1957) published the first in-depth study which attempted to define this model, and the forms into which its architecture developed up to the Disruption of 1843. For the early post-Reformation period up to 1714, Hay (*ibid*, 42-3) proposed that:

The plan-forms employed are of three distinct types, namely rectangular, T-plan, and cruciform: [...] By far the most numerous were the [gabled] rectangular kirks. The plan proportions are usually indistinguishable from those of pre-Reformation date...the [lengthwise east-west] orientation follows earlier practice, with a belfry usually on the west gable, a blank north wall, and the doors, normally two, either in the gables or towards the ends of the south wall. There is often a loft [inside] at each end, reached either by an external forestair or by a simple internal one, while the pulpit, almost invariably centred on the south wall, was flanked by large windows and was often reached directly by an external door. This expedient was probably a sound one in days when fixed seating was by no means general and when the greatest part of the congregation seated itself around the pulpit as best it could on chairs or 'creepies'.

Hay illustrated his surveys of individual kirks by a happy invention of presenting, drawn to a common scale, the south elevation together with its ground plan. A similar practice is adopted in this study, to facilitate comparison. Measurements are given in feet and inches to allow comparison with written sources.

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Following Hay, significant contributions to this subject have been made by others. Colin McWilliam, in his pioneering volume of the *Buildings of Scotland* series, followed Hay's typology, and in both the introduction and individual entries, claimed Prestonpans church tower (1595) as a relic of the earliest post-Reformation church in Lothian (1976, 43, 398-9), and followed Hay in acclaiming Gifford church (1710), with its 'T-plan', as 'a standard type of new church appearing at last in the early 18th century' (*ibid*, 43, 208). Deborah Howard, in her volume of *The Architectural History of Scotland*, set the subject in its context of the cultural life of the period, and rightly asserted that 'the revival of parochial worship was the fundamental achievement of the Reformation in Scotland' (1995, 168).

The Reformation in Scotland was not a 'revolution' but a consciously-reasoned attempt to regain the original integrity of Christianity, as the Reformers conceived it, and establish a democratic polity embodying its principles. The Bible, as 'The Word of God', printed in the vernacular, was taken as the touchstone of all proposals. Martin Luther had reduced the seven sacraments of the Roman Church to the only two sacraments authorised by the New Testament - baptism and communion. The Scots Reformers adopted this position, and made appropriate but characteristically novel provisions in liturgy and church furnishing. Baptism was made a corporate act of the congregation in the reception of the child into the Christian community, to be held during the Sabbath morning service, after the sermon, by the minister performing the rite, using a pewter or silver basin bracketed from the pulpit, at the centre of the assembly. To communicate and share the Lord's Supper, the people together with their minister seated themselves around a very long table, or tables, to partake of the bread and share the common cup of wine. Gordon Donaldson (1965, 142) summed it up thus: 'The sacrament ceased to be something done by a priest at an altar, and became a corporate action in which the participation of the congregation was essential.'

Frequent participation had been expected, but people chose to take communion infrequently, many only once, others up to four times each year, so that demountable tables became the rule. However, providing an axial space sufficient for the periodic erection of the tables was a major determinant of the planning of each kirk. At other times, the axial space would be used by the women on their stools. The large numbers of communicants, separated by gender, attending the infrequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper led to separate 'sittings' being instituted, with outdoor assembly and alternative exits, which 'throughput' may have been one factor leading to the provision of separate doors near the opposite ends of the kirk. The external effects of having the pulpit backed against the middle of the south wall of a rectangular church building, flanked by large windows, and beyond by similar-sized doors, all for sound practical reasons, suggests that the near-symmetrical appearance of the south elevation of the first

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new kirks may have been as much fortuitous as deliberate architectural design. The provision of lofts at each end of the kirk, to increase the seating within hearing of the pulpit, resulted in the appearance of a distinctive, square-ish small window (or a small rectangular window with a horizontal proportion), formed in the south wall close to each corner, to light the entrance space below each loft, further confirming the near symmetrical appearance of the building. In the more sophisticated architecture of kirks in subsequent centuries, the symmetry of the south elevation remained a recurrent feature until the traditional centralised arrangement of the interior began to be abandoned late in the nineteenth century. This symmetrical pattern can be a useful indication when attempting to predict the character and location of missing original elements in now incomplete, ruined or altered early kirks, such as Stenton.

Under the Book of Discipline, in an essentially democratic system, the congregation in each parish appointed a group of elders from among its members who, as the 'kirk session', formed an ecclesiastical court, with the minister as moderator, responsible for exercise of discipline over members and for the general organization of the congregation's affairs. The minister (qualified both to preach and administer the sacraments) was appointed by the elders, and if he or an elder was sent to the annual general assembly, the highest court of the Church, he went as a delegate of his congregation. When ministers were absent, readers, or exhorters, were authorised to read the scriptures and the approved forms of Common Prayer, from a desk, or 'letteroun', below and in front of the pulpit. In addition, a clerk or beadle acted as church officer and gravedigger, and alms were gathered and dispersed to the parish poor by an elected elder or deacon. The parish schoolmaster often acted as reader, as well as leading the unaccompanied singing, and recording the meetings of the kirk session; a usual condition of his appointment was that he should 'reid and sing in the kirk' (Waddell, 1893, 35).

The Reformers never achieved their hope of receiving all the revenues of the former Roman Church in Scotland. By an arrangement in 1562, all existing holders of benefices were to continue to draw their revenues for life, less one third, which was collected by the Crown, partly for itself, and partly to pay the stipends of the reformed clergy. This system lasted until the early seventeenth century, when the owners of heritable property in each parish, termed heritors, were allowed the tithes of the parish in return for being made legally responsible for providing and maintaining the minister's stipend, as well as the church, manse and glebe, together with a schoolmaster's stipend and schoolhouse. In recognition, the heritors also took precedence, by each choosing the area in the church they wished apportioned to their family, household and tenants, and their right, in perpetuity, to erect in the corresponding position outside, and against the kirk, a private family burial aisle, often with a family pew above, looking directly into the church (fig 1). Burial

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within churches was banned at the Reformation, and was generally discontinued, whereas burial aisles were deemed private extra-mural structures maintained at their owners' expense and entered only from the kirkyard; their elevated family pew allowed no-one to pass directly into the body of the worship space, the 'Kirk Proper'.

NEW BROOMS SWEEP CLEAN

The liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church required that a parish church provide a worthy setting for an altar at which the priest could enact, in Latin, the rite of Transubstantiation, whereby the bread and wine became the actual body and blood of Christ, and an adjacent area sufficient to hold the parish congregation gathered for worship. Two spaces were an essential minimum to fulfil this requirement – the chancel and nave – aligned west/east in the direction of Jerusalem. The interior would always have been divided into two distinct functional areas, with the altar's at the east. Such an inherited rectangular church would have presented few problems to the Reformers after 1560, once cleansed of its 'monuments of idolatry'. Since both the old and the new liturgies required a bell to call the faithful to worship, the building may already have had a bell-cot, or even a bell-tower, at the west end. The apparent local peculiarity of favouring the south wall of the nave with windows compared with the north side (eg, in the surviving twelfth-century churches at Haddington (St Martin's) and Gullane, the latter with windows to the nave only on the south) is a reminder of the traditionally poor reputation of the north side of any church, which may have influenced the supposed rational emphasis on the south wall in the favoured model for early post-Reformation kirks.

The physical condition of East Lothian's parish churches in 1560 is not known in any detail but may be inferred to have been generally dilapidated. Donaldson (1965, 135) writes that by 1560 'the bulk of the revenues of nearly 90% of the parish churches of Scotland were being diverted to religious houses, cathedral chapters, collegiate churches and universities, leaving a slender residue for local use. Very few of the vicars serving the parishes had a living wage and the buildings where they served were often bleakly utilitarian, sometimes devoid not only of ornament and of the necessary apparatus of worship, but even of windows and roofs'. To this one must factor in the damage wrought across East Lothian during the 'wars of the Rough Wooing' with England in the first half of the sixteenth century. The English invasions of 1547-9 were particularly destructive, and as a Protestant Army they had no reverence for 'idolatrous' Scottish churches, still officially Roman Catholic. St Mary's, Haddington, was left a roofless wreck with collapsed vaults (Merriman 2000, 361), whilst the congregation at Prestonpans was left without a church altogether and had to join neighbouring churches until

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1595, when a new kirk was built on a new site (NSA 1841, 304; MacGibbon and Ross 1892, vol V, 171-4; Prestongrange Kirk Session 1995, 6-7). Following the truce and subsequent peace treaty of 1550, the damage to the parish churches of Lothian, Roman Catholic as they still were, will have been found to have been widespread (McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 127-8). Unaware that the Reformation was just a decade away, it is to be presumed that congregations considered it urgent, for continuity of religious observance, that the repair or reconstruction of their robbed and damaged kirks was undertaken. That the present nave and chancel of Pencaitland church may have originated from this time may be indicated by the recent discovery of bullet damage on a surviving older chapel (see below page 54-56).

The Reformers' aim was to provide for each parish congregation a single, unitary space in which a preacher could be clearly heard and seen by all his flock when expounding the Word of God, or administering the sacrament of baptism, where the gospels could be read out, and where the tables could be set for the periodic communal sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and regular services of worship could habitually be held. Existing churches were to be cleansed of idolatry, and then adapted to fulfil the new requirements, often by closing off unwanted parts, to define a single worship space, which alone became the 'parish church proper'.

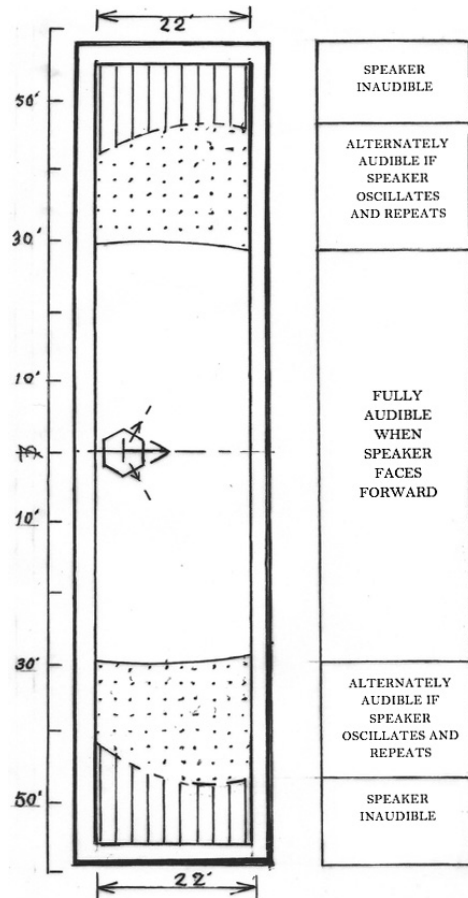
Paramount in all this was VISIBILITY and AUDIBILITY. Of the two, that of visibility was the more easily satisfied, simply by having large, south-facing windows bringing both heat and light to the congregation, their internal splays throwing light onto the pulpit set between them. The practice was for holding services terminating or starting around noon (from October to March the darker afternoon of the Sabbath could be put to alternative spiritual exercises (Waddell, 1893, 38)). The minister's pulpit and the reader's desk could be illuminated by candles when natural light was not sufficient. Neither stoves nor chandeliers seem to have been in general use at that time.

More difficult to achieve was the requirement for audibility in all parts of the space, as there are definite technical limits to the distance and direction to which even the voice of a practiced speaker can be distinctly heard. To optimise projection at the source, especially where facing the irregular shapes of peripheral projecting galleries and lofts, the speaker should ideally be standing in a high central pulpit, its floor at least at about head height when standing on the floor of the kirk, and have sound-reflective wooden surfaces behind him, and a reflective sounding board or canopy above his head, so that his voice is not partially lost or distorted in the roof timbers above, but mostly reflected down to the majority of the congregation. Christopher Wren, who designed over 50 elegant Protestant preaching churches to replace those destroyed in 1666 by the Great Fire of London, wrote regarding the position of the pulpit: 'A moderate Voice may be heard 50 Feet

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distant from the Preacher, 30 Feet on each side, and 20 behind the Pulpit, and not this, unless the Pronunciation be distinct and equal, without losing the Voice at the last word of the Sentence' (quoted in Briggs 1946, 30).

This circumscribed zone within which the preacher could be heard adequately (fig 2) was theoretically almost potato-shaped in plan, and it was commonly exploited more completely whenever builders extended the sitting area into the upper levels above, forming east and west lofts for the congregation, and



the privileged lofts and galleries of trades and institutions, with occasional supplementary gains by pews provided above the external burial aisles of heritors. The panelled wooden fronts of these various lofts reflected, and broadcast, the words of the preacher into the middle, double-height part of the kirk, while panelled ceilings provided over many lofts, deflected down, and reinforced, the words to those seated within the loft. Plastered and lime-washed walls further reflected both ambient sound and light for the interior. The human bodies of the congregation thereby constituted the principal absorbent of unwanted sound. Singing was unaccompanied, organs being a disturbing innovation of the nineteenth century.

Figure 2: Plan of the limits of audibility around a raised hexagonal pulpit, based on Sir Christopher Wren's formula. Wren designed over 50 elegant Protestant preaching churches to replace those destroyed in 1666 by the Great Fire of London.
(W A Dodd)

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THE REFORMATION IN EAST LoTHIAN

At the Reformation, East Lothian comprised 27 parishes (fig 3). Several of these parishes subsequently disappeared from the record, such as The Bass, while others changed their names. Some prebends of the former collegiate church of Dunbar – Belton/Hedderwick, Pitcox/Stenton, Prestonkirk and Spott – became normal parishes (Cowan, 1960, 61). Others were subsequently merged; Keith was united with Humbie soon after the Reformation, Auldhamie with Tynninghame in 1619, Baro with Garvald in 1702, and Tynninghame with Whitekirk in 1760. The new parish of Gladsmuir was formed in 1695, centred on the moorland west of Haddington and traversed by the main highway from Edinburgh to Berwick-upon-Tweed. (Ormiston remained part of the adjoining presbytery of Dalkeith throughout the period.) Following the issue of the Second Book of Discipline in 1578, these parishes had been clustered into two presbyteries, both within the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. (A presbytery was a committee of ministers and elders from a group of contiguous parishes, for which it provided corporate oversight in place of a bishop. East Lothian was among the first to adopt this new court in 1581, which soon met weekly. The synod was instituted as a regional court, meeting

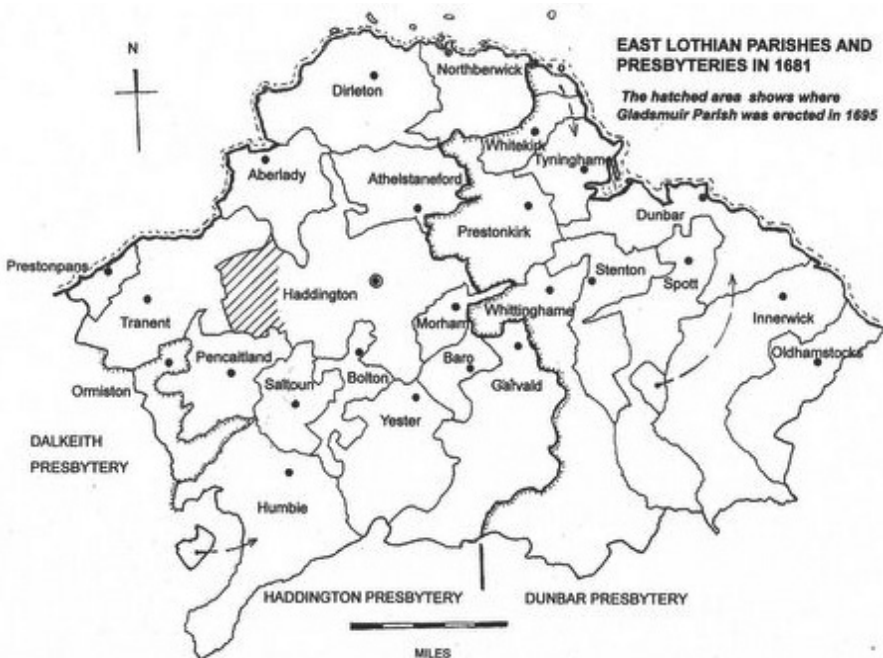


Figure 3: The parishes and presbyteries of East Lothian in 1681, prior to the erection of Gladsmuir parish, west of Haddington, in 1695, centred on the hatched area. (W A Dodd)

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twice yearly, and intermediate between the presbyteries and the annual General Assembly. For a summary of the ecclesiastical organisation in the early post-Reformation era, see Kirk 1996, 382–91.) The presbytery of Haddington had fifteen parishes: Aberlady, Athelstaneford, Bara, Bolton, Dirleton, Garvald, Haddington, Humble, Morham, North Berwick, Pencaitland, Prestonpans, Saltoun, Tranent and Yester; Dunbar had ten: Auldham, Dunbar, Innerwick, Oldhamstocks, Prestonkirk, Spott, Stenton, Whitekirk, Tynninghame and Whittingehame (Scott 1915).

The majority of the county's parish churches inherited by the Reformers in 1560 took the form of a simple rectangle. Those with more elaborate ground plans included Dunbar, Gullane, Haddington (St Mary's), Keith, North Berwick, Pencaitland, Tynninghame and Whitekirk, to which Bothans (Yester) may be added. At St Mary's, Haddington, the nave alone of the medieval kirk was retained; the chancel and transepts were abandoned, whilst the sacristy was adapted by the earls of Lauderdale as their burial aisle and vault (RCAHMS 1924, 38-43, no 68). The illustration on page 70 shows the nave's arched south aisle windows partially blocked to allow lofts to be formed round the interior, and the small 'preacher's door' giving entrance to the pulpit. Likewise, the nave of the Romanesque church at Gullane became the new parish kirk, by walling off the chancel and north chapel; this continued in use until 1612, when the continual blowing sand eventually forced the congregation to relocate to a more central church at Dirleton (Sproat 2013, 9). At the cruciform pilgrim church at Whitekirk, where the south transept already lay in ruins, the wooden-ceiled nave was walled off at the west side of the central tower, to form the parish school, with a new entrance in the west gable. The stone-vaulted eastern parts became the new parish kirk, with a loft in the north transept, accessed by an external stair, the ruined south transept walled off (though presumably providing both daylight and access), with the pulpit placed under the vaulted tower, the upper parts serving both as bell-house and doocot. A separate school was built in 1698, but the church-dividing wall remained for two centuries (Waddell 1893, 159-66; Ritchie 1881, 37). In the striking Romanesque church of Tynninghame, with its tall tower functioning as a bell-house and a doocot, the chancel and apse were separated as a private burial vault of the earls of Haddington, whilst the former nave became the parish kirk, suitably cleansed and re-ordered; kirk session records chronicle the life of the parish from 1615 to 1760, when the building was closed following the union with Whitekirk, leaving the skeleton of carved ribs that we see today (Waddell 1893, *passim*; McWilliam 1978, 454). Of the former collegiate church of Bothans, near Yester House, only its vaulted choir and transepts remain, reordered as a burial aisle with a pew above for the Hay family; a new church was subsequently built outside the park gates in 1710, in the planned township of Gifford (Hay 1957, 59-60; McWilliam 1978, 208). This new building was acclaimed by Hay as the epitome of the new type of a reformed kirk.

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PENCAITLAND: AN EXEMPLARY REMODELLED KIRK

The parish kirk at Pencaitland (fig 4) is of considerable interest, by the survival here of the centralised layout to which it was originally converted, and of many of the normal features and fittings of an early post-Reformation kirk interior preserved here, but which have been lost from many other kirks surviving from that time (MacGibbon and Ross 1892, 168-171; RCAHMS 1924, 82–84; Lindsay 1960, ch. 4; McWilliam 1978, 376-8).

At the Reformation the building will have consisted of a sixteenth-century nave and narrower chancel, with a two-bay thirteenth-century north chapel, possibly built as a Lady Chapel, parallel to the chancel and with an arcade between (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 304-6; Fawcett 2011, 192-3) (fig 5a). The north wall of the nave follows a continuous external low plinth surviving from an earlier church, while the south walls of both nave and chancel follow a single line, with five buttresses, the terminal buttresses set back from the corners, as do all end buttresses of the church and chapel. The nave had north and south broad round-arched doorways near the west end, and in the chancel a narrower, round-arched ‘priest’s door’ in the south wall. The central buttress on the south marks the position of the earlier rood screen inside, which separated the chancel from the nave, and there are two tall narrow windows to each side of it. The east window now has Y-tracery and the west window of the north chapel has simple tracery. The dressed and coursed stonework is extensively damaged by gunfire from cannon as well as muskets in positions not accessible after the building of the Saltoun Aisle onto the



Figure 4: Pencaitland Parish Church from the north-east. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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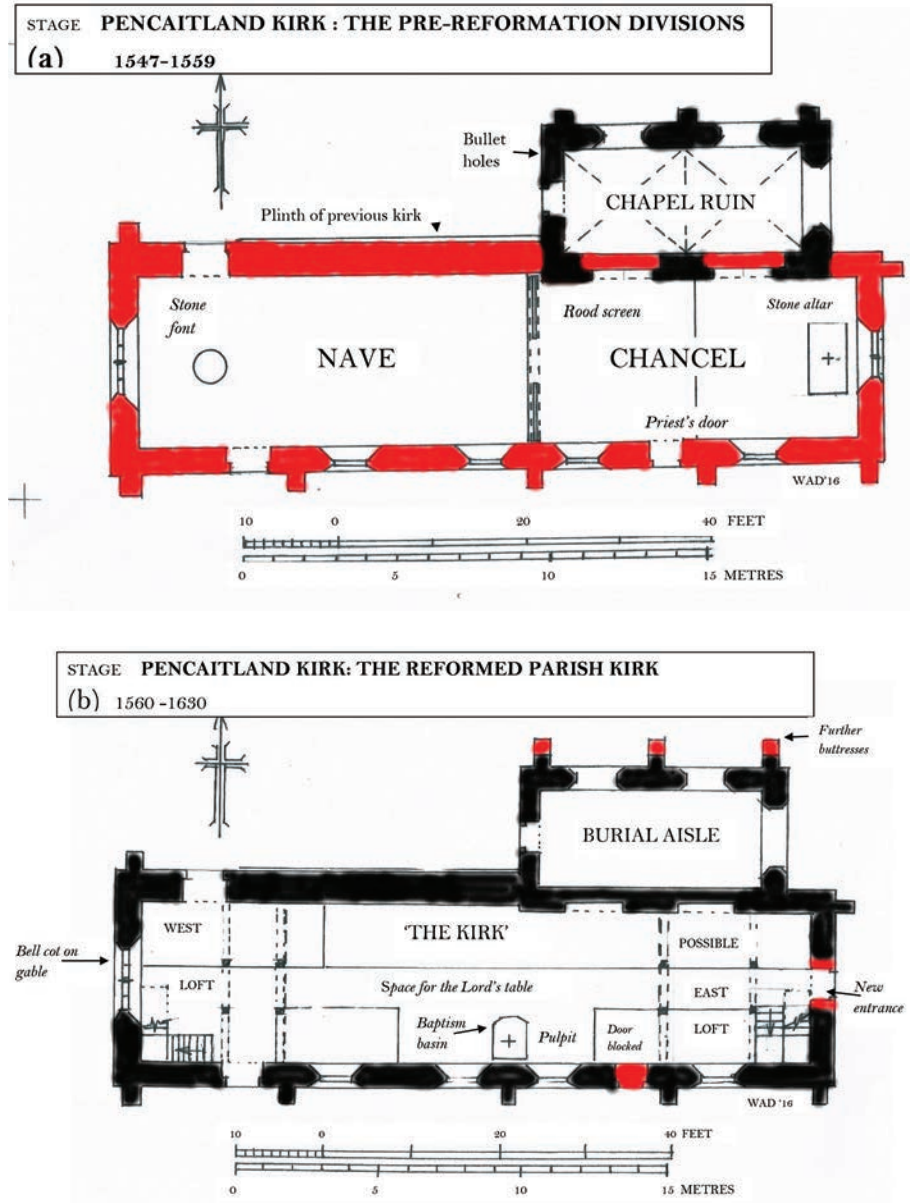
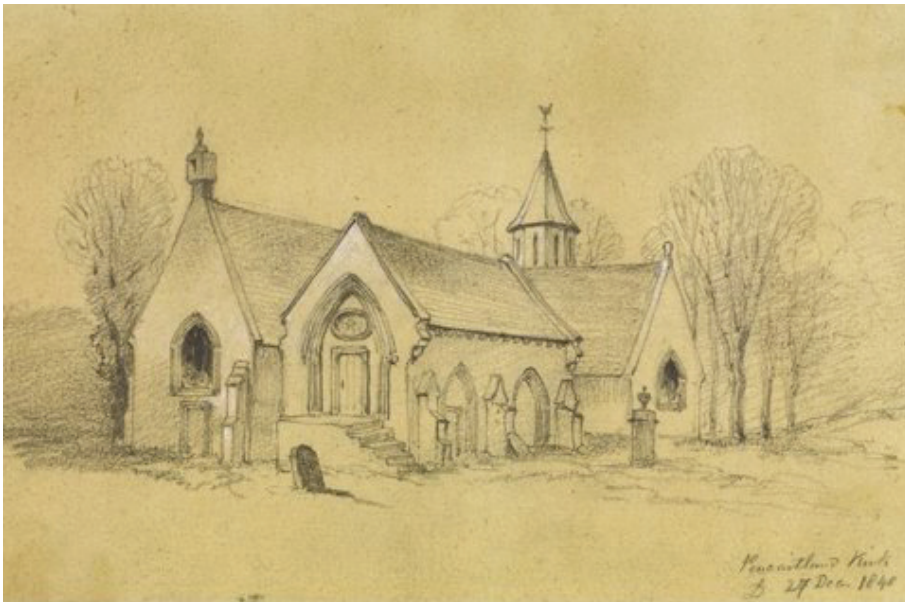


Figure 5: Conjectural Stage A and B in the development of Pencaltland parish kirk. (W A Dodd)

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north wall in the mid-seventeenth century (this damage, previously unnoted, was pointed out to the author by Miss Kathy Fearweather in 2015). The structure of the chapel, with its outward-leaning north wall and reinforced buttresses, shows signs of a cataclysmic collapse of an earlier stone vault and stone-slab roof, possibly caused by the English during the ‘Rough Wooing’ campaigns of 1547–9. The chapel’s east gable has a pattern of fractured masonry, now stabilised.

The Reformation would have seen the church cleansed of idolatry, its altar and rood screen destroyed, and the whole building reordered, with a single unified space centred on the pulpit, set midway along the south wall, between two windows (fig 5b). Structural changes will have involved blocking the redundant ‘priest’s door’, creating a new wide eastern entrance ‘squeezed-in’ below the east window, erecting a bell-cot on the west gable (if it lacked this essential device), and erecting a loft over the west end of the nave, lighted by a new west window, if none previously existed; an internal stair may have served the west loft initially. The north chapel would become the ‘Winton Aisle’, with a raised pew, and entered through the east window by an external forestair (fig 6).



*Figure 6: Pencaitland kirk from the north-east, by Alexander Archer, December 1848.
(Courtesy of RCAHMS).*

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Figure 7: The pulpit with the iron cradle for the baptismal basin (left), and (right) the front of the west loft, with classical mouldings of impost of the arch to the Saltoun Aisle. (Photo: author)

The arcaded hardwood front to the west loft and the raised pulpit are both still valuable original examples of the joiners' craft, and an iron cradle for the baptismal basin is still hinged to the side of the pulpit (fig 7). The commandment boards, of a later date, are spaced to each side of the pulpit, and the fixed pews of more recent centuries define the pattern adopted by the congregation. In earlier times, areas of the floor were apportioned to the folk connected with each heritor, but benches and stools allowed more flexible grouping, and permanent enclosures with doors only became popular to reduce the draughts.

An hour glass was used by the preacher to measure his discourse while in his pulpit, but a sundial was also essential to regulate the business of the Sabbath, and Pencaitland had an elaborate square stone pillar sundial mounted on the east gable (see fig 6) that presumably replaced an 'idolatrous' stone cross. However, as the bell-cot bell was rung by a long cord or 'tail' dangling outside the west gable, there would also have been a more accessible dial cut in the stonework at the SW corner of the nave. With its guidance, the beadle could ring the bell at 7 o'clock to alert parishioners living up to three miles from the church, thus enabling them to set out in good time to be in church for the beginning of the morning service at 8 o'clock, which was immediately preceded by the second ringing of the bell. The service was begun by prayers, the gospel and psalms led by the reader. A third bell (possibly a hand-bell) was sounded when the minister entered the pulpit, perhaps an hour later. He preached for about an hour, and after a meal-break at noon, the afternoon service continued, with more preaching, until 4 o'clock. Services were held also on two weekdays, when the minister might preach. Pencaitland Kirk, even after centuries of change, can still be experienced as the authentic setting for this Reformed Liturgy.

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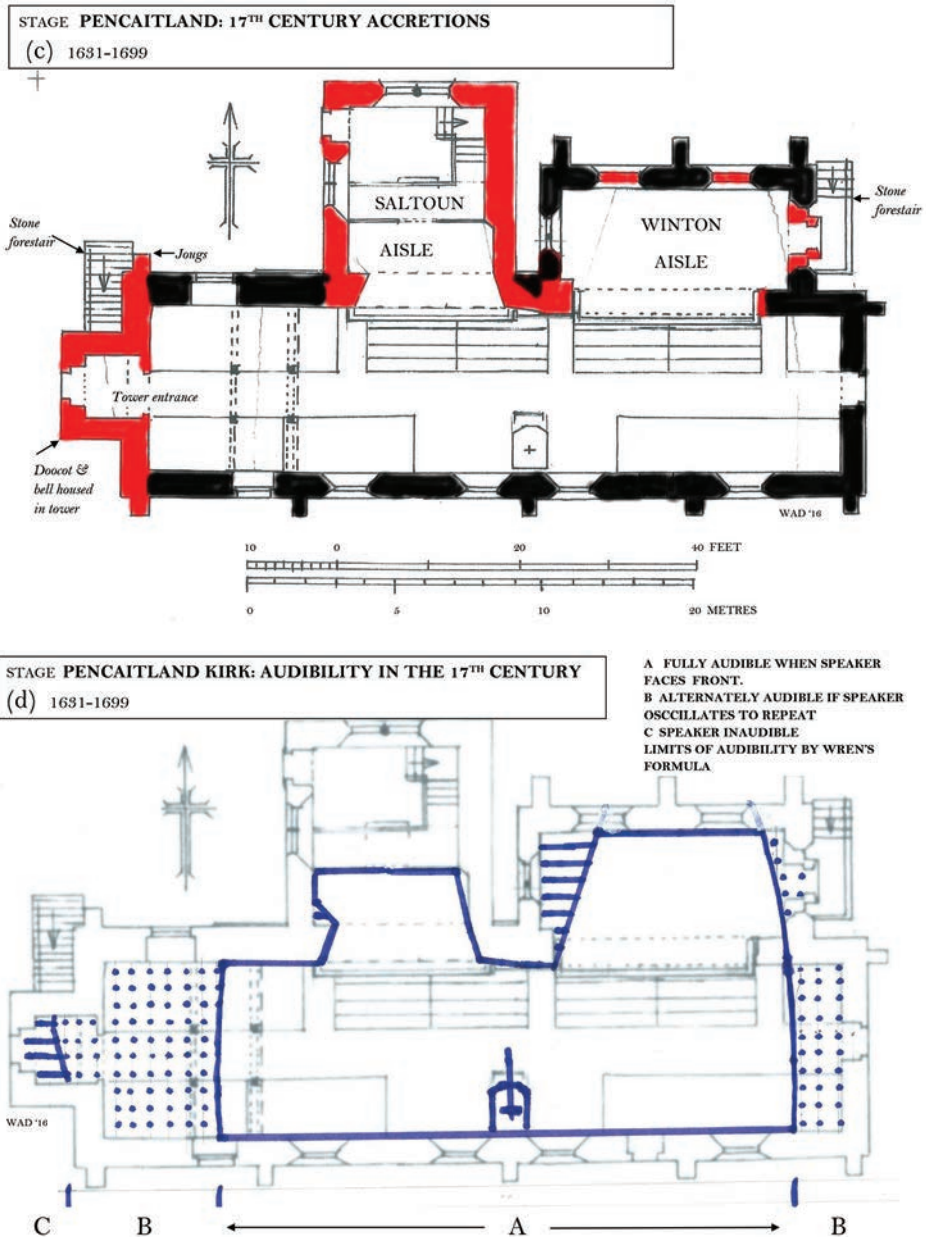


Figure 8: Conjectural Stage C in the development of Pencaitland parish kirk (top), and (bottom) the limits of audibility by Christopher Wren's formula (W A Dodd).

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The facilities of the church were subsequently improved (fig 8). The imposing tall west rectangular tower was added in 1631; this date and the initials I O (for John Oswald, minister from 1629-1641) are above the west doorway (fig 9). It is surmounted by an octagonal stage, with a steep, slated spire and vane, to serve as a combined bell-house and doocot; and high on the south face a new sundial was provided, but a much more elaborate, 3-sided dial was formed on the buttress next to the SW corner, possibly replacing the one lost in the rebuilding of the gable when the tower was built. The doocot, entered through a trapdoor in the ceiling of the west loft, had 104 nest boxes of wood, with an entry for pigeons via three arched openings in a stone in the south wall, or by the windows of the octagon; it was still in use when surveyed in 1952 (Robertson 1952, 63-4). The tower includes an axial west entrance and lobby, superseding the two lateral doors at the west end, which became windows, and replacing the bell-cot. The construction of the tower will have required the rebuilding of the original west gable wall, and the lighting of the west loft will have benefitted from a new high, pointed window in the south wall, the large round-headed tower west window and twin small round-headed windows in the two separate parts of the rebuilt gable wall flanking the tower (fig 10). A new stone external forestairs on the north side of the tower gave access to the loft. Jougs were fixed into a buttress at the foot of that stair; the chain still remains. A new bell was then cast for the kirk, bearing the message: 'Pencaitland feare ye the Lord 1638' (RCAHMS 1924, 84).

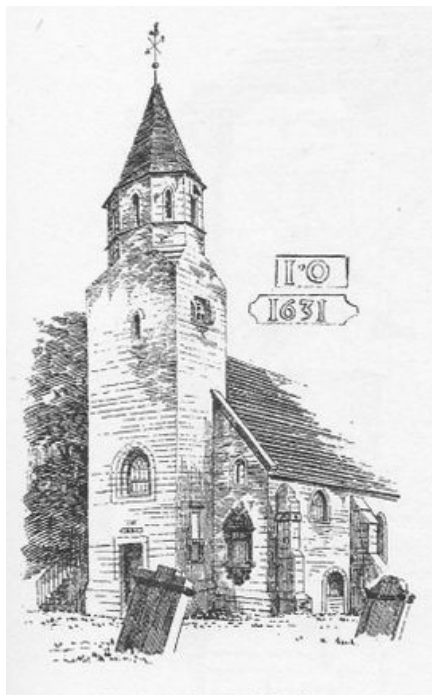


Figure 9: The west tower, with detail of the inscription, from MacGibbon and Ross's The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland (1892), 169.

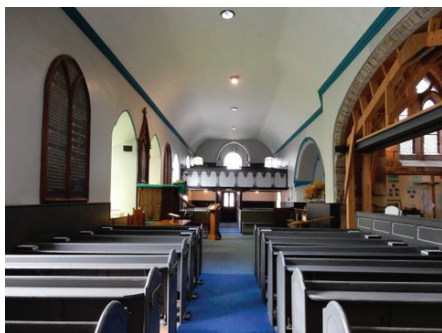


Figure 10: The interior looking west. (Photo: author)

ALTARS OUT: PULPITS IN! THE FIRST POST-REFORMATION CHURCHES IN EAST LoTHIAN – PART ONE: NEW BROOMS



*Figure 11: The Saltoun Aisle from the north-west; the chain for the jousts is fixed to the buttress beside the stair. Note the plinth of an earlier kirk to the left of the wide doorway now altered to a window.
(Photo: Chris Tabraham)*

In the mid-seventeenth century, a heritor (Sir John Sinclair of Stevenston) appended the Saltoun Aisle to the north side of the former nave (fig 11 and see fig 8) leaving a narrow external space between it and the west wall of the Winton Aisle, and breaching the nave wall for an elevated pew looking into the church; it had its own fine entrance door, with a classical surround and cartouche above bearing the initials S.I.S., and a matching window in its west side. The interior space of this aisle has recently become part of the ‘kirk proper’ and is fully seated, with floor-level access from the body of the kirk. The Netherlandish carved oak pew-front of c. 1600 appears to have come from elsewhere but is entirely in keeping.

POSTSCRIPT: KIRKS AND DOOCOTS

Why is it that some kirk towers in East Lothian had doocots incorporated into them? The answer may lie in the status of the parish minister.

The Reformed Church of Scotland, from its earliest days, required highly educated parish ministers, but many congregations initially only had readers who were not licensed to officiate in the sacraments. However, as Donaldson states (1965, 150): ‘Within a generation the educational standards of the ministry had been so raised that a non-graduate minister was all but unknown ... [and] ... about 1620 there was hardly a parish without a minister.’

The ministry, as well as having its moral and educational standards raised, also attained a higher social status, and by the 1600s ministers were being recruited

ALTARS OUT: PULPITS IN! THE FIRST POST-REFORMATION CHURCHES IN EAST LoTHIAN – PART ONE: NEW BROOMS

largely from the families of the landed gentry. Donaldson describes the ministry as being largely ‘upper-middle class’ (*ibid*, 152). This may be one reason why doocots were incorporated into bell-towers, as at Pencaitland (see fig 9) and in two of the new-built kirks, Stenton and Dirleton. On the other hand, the doocot in the fifteenth-century bell-tower at Aberlady kirk (Robertson 1952, 59) may indicate a continuing pre-Reformation, East Lothian tradition.

In a survey of the county’s doocots, published in these *Transactions* (1938, 1-22), Joseph Whitaker explained that the Scottish doocot was an indication of social status and essential to a Lowland landed estate. In 1503 an Act of Parliament instructed lairds to erect ‘dowcots’, and this was interpreted so liberally that in 1617 another Act was passed restricting the building of doocots to persons ‘possessed of lands or tiends of the yearly value of ten chalders of victual, lying within at least two miles of the dovecot’, though this statute did not extend to doocots already built (Whitaker 1938, 4-5). As pigeons were a valued source of fresh meat throughout the winter months, they would have been a useful part of the minister’s resources in feeding his family, complementing the produce of his four acres of glebe. At Tynninghame in the seventeenth century it was a duty of the beadle to shoot any pigeon flying about in the kirk, passing on the birds to the poor (Waddell 1893, 51). In 1741 the minister of Prestonkirk was challenged, in a lawsuit, over the existence of a doocot at his kirk, and successfully defended it, claiming that the doocot was as old as the fabric of the church itself, and older than the [1617] Act of Parliament; and anyway, his stipend was greater than the minimum sum named in the Act (Martine 1970, 25-6). Doocots incorporated into the towers of kirks may therefore be taken to reflect the considerable social status of the ministry of the Reformed Church in those formative years following the Reformation Act of 1560.

END OF PART ONE

ALTARS OUT: PULPITS IN! THE FIRST POST-REFORMATION CHURCHES IN EAST LOTHIAN – PART ONE: NEW BROOMS

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*Figure 1: Alexander McCall's house in Sidegate, situated just beyond Haddington House and stables (foreground). According to an account of expenses between Saturday 12 and Friday 18 October, Alexander McCall and his honoured guests consumed 761 bottles of claret, 61 bottles of white wine, 1082 bottles of ale, three gallons of brandy and ten bowls of punch. The bill, amounting to £105.8s.9d., was finally settled by the 4th marquis of Tweeddale ten years later - bar the nine pence!
(Courtesy of the John Gray Centre, Haddington)*

CLARET, COUNCILLORS AND CORRUPTION: THE HADDINGTON ELECTION OF 1723

by *ERIC GLENDINNING*

INTRODUCTION

The papers of the 4th marquis of Tweeddale in the National Library of Scotland (NLS) include a set of personal accounts for the period 1711 to 1763 (Ms.14661). An early item is a stabling bill for 10 shillings, incurred on a coach journey to London, which includes ‘buttering the horses’ hooves’; two pounds of butter were required. The final account is six guineas for robes for the coronation of George III in 1761.

Amongst these accounts there is a curious document. Curious because it is not immediately clear why it should be included in the papers of the marquis and curious too because of the staggering amounts of alcohol consumed at the event. It is an account for expenses incurred by Alexander McCall at his house during an election in 1723 (Ms.14661, f51). The question as to which election - town council or parliamentary - is answered by reference to Miller’s list of the provosts of Haddington (1844, 502), for Alexander McCall was elected provost in 1723. The bill is for expenses arising from the council election of that year.

The McCalls were merchants, the ruling class of Haddington at this time. Their family home, where these charges were incurred, was in Sidegate, Haddington, immediately to the north of Haddington House. It survived into the age of photography (fig 1) but was demolished around 1910. It was L-shaped with a turnpike stair to the fore and a long garden to the rear, stretching to the Sands. The only surviving element is part of the dovecot, refashioned as the ‘apple house’ in the Pleasance (see Kirby 2015, 39-50). William McCall, possibly Alexander’s father, served as provost in 1689 and 1701. Alexander McCall was a merchant councillor on Haddington Town Council in 1715. He was not a member of the 1722 council. According to Martine (1883, 52), he also served as postmaster.

John Hay, 4th marquis of Tweeddale (1695-1762), succeeded to the title in 1715 (fig 2). He studied law at the University of Edinburgh and was appointed an ‘extraordinary lord’ of the Court of Session in 1721. At the time of this event in 1723 he was a member of the House of Lords, sitting as one of the 16 representative peers of Scotland. He was also deputy sheriff of Haddingtonshire.

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THE BILL

The account covers expenses from Saturday 12 to Friday 18 October 1723. The days are correct but the dates, being out by one, are corrected here. The error may suggest it was drawn up some time after the event. Although it includes 'Eating for Noblemen Gentlemen Tradesmen and others' and 'Hay and Corn to the Gentlemens horses during the wholl time of the Poall', by far the costliest item is the alcohol consumed:

<i>Claret</i>	<i>761 bottles</i>
<i>White wine</i>	<i>61 bottles</i>
<i>Small ale</i>	<i>942 bottles</i>
<i>Strong ale</i>	<i>140 bottles</i>
<i>Brandy</i>	<i>3 gallons</i>
<i>Punch</i>	<i>10 bowls</i>

The brandy is given in mutchkins (a container holding a pint of spirits) but equates to roughly three gallons. The total cost amounts to £105 8s. 9d. sterling. For comparison, Walden farmhouse, on the marquis's Yester Estate, was rebuilt in 1717 with a new byre and barn at a total cost of £41 2s. 10d. (Ms.14666). An unskilled labourer on the Yester estate at this time could earn 5d per day ('to George Coalston for weeding the corns within the parks 25 days at 5 pence per day 18s. 5d.' (Ms.14667)), whilst a skilled labourer, such as a thatcher, could earn 10d per day.

In addition to electoral practices, the account tells us something of Scottish drinking habits at this period. Claret is to the fore; whisky does not appear. In fact, whisky does not feature in the Yester accounts until the 1770s, and then only as a drink



Figure 2: John Hay, 4th marquis of Tweeddale (1695-1762), by William Aikman. (Courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery)

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for masons employed on construction work. The punch recipe is: one bottle of brandy, one bottle of wine, 48 of sugar (the unit is not given), no doubt served hot. Lemons may also have featured, for one and a half dozen are listed at five shillings the dozen.

THE ELECTION

To understand this election, we have to refer to the 1658 sett, or constitution, of the town (Miller 1884, 486-7). In short, the council consisted of 25 members. The merchants had a built-in majority with 16 merchant councillors to the nine trades councillors, one for each of the trades of Haddington: baxters, hammermen, masons, wrights, fleshers, cordiners, skimmers, tailors and weavers. Magistrates and office bearers were elected every year, with four merchant and two trades

councillors retiring on that occasion. In practice, the provost served for two years. In theory, full council elections were held in October every two years.

Council elections, like parliamentary elections, were in no sense an exercise in democracy. The merchants were dominant. Tradesmen were represented by their deacons. The magistrates and treasurer were chosen by the councillors from their own ranks. Merchants and trades councillors chose their own replacements for members retiring. Councils became self-perpetuating. Only burgesses were enfranchised, for they had a much higher status than other occupants of the town. They alone had the right to trade, they paid lower dues on goods brought into the town and only half the duty in markets, and they alone had the right to elect magistrates and, if chosen, to serve as councillors and office



*Figure 3: Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes
(1692-1751), by Allan Ramsay.
(Courtesy of the National Trust for Scotland)*

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bearers. Both merchants and craftsmen could be burgesses through membership of their respective guilds and payment of the appropriate dues.

The 1723 election was unusual. McCall's entry in Miller's list of provosts is qualified by the words 'at the poall', the only such entry in the listing. What this meant is described in a further document from the Yester Papers: *Extracts of the Minutes of the Poll for the Election of Councillors and Magistrates of the Burgh of Haddingtoun* (Ms.14522, ff51-66), which provides the first link between McCall's expenses claim and the marquis of Tweeddale. The marquis, his uncle Lord William Hay, Sir James Dalrymple and his cousin, Colonel William Dalrymple, were members of a group of seven commissioners appointed by order of the 'Lords Justices in Council' meeting at the council chamber in Whitehall, London, to oversee the election.

Like the marquis, Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes (1692-1751) (fig 3) was a parliamentarian but sitting in the House of Commons, rather than the Lords, since January 1722 as a member for the Haddington Burghs (comprising Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder and Jedburgh). He had inherited the seat on his father's death and successfully held it in the election of April 1722.

Why such a distinguished gathering should descend on a small Scottish town to oversee a local election is explained in part by a postscript to the minutes: *Copie of the Warrant for the poall Election of Haddingtoun 1723 At the Council Chambers Whitehall the 19th day of September 1723* (Ms.14522, ff79-80). The commissioners were appointed to 'cause and direct' the election following a report by the Lord Advocate into a petition to Parliament from Haddington burgesses for a fresh election. This petition claimed there was 'a total obstruction of justice and an entire want of government in the toun' as the previous election had been declared null and void by the Court of Session in Edinburgh following a law suit between contending sets of magistrates. The Lord Advocate found no evidence for the petitioners' claim of two sets of magistrates but it was agreed a new and supervised election was required.

The commissioners met first on Tuesday 8 October. The marquis was chosen as 'presses' (chairman). A deputy clerk of the Court of Session was appointed as minutes' secretary and charged with producing an electoral roll. The town clerk was required to assist him by providing lists of burgesses. It was agreed that the election would commence on Tuesday 15 October. The election would be proclaimed:

this day and Friday next by tuck of drum through the toun of Haddingtoun and at the door of the Church thereof on Sabbath day next immediately after ending of Divine Service in the forenoon and an advertisement of the same to be affixed upon the Mercat Cross of the said Burgh and insert in the Edinburgh Courant (Ms.14522, f53).

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The commissioners met again, on Monday 14 October, to decide who would be entitled to vote and to draw up an electoral roll based on their decisions. Commissioners were charged to direct the election ‘according to the rules to be observed in such cases’ with reference to ‘the laws of Scotland and the Constitution of the burgh of Haddingtoun’. These ‘rules’ appear to have been open to argument. There was much legal sparring, especially on the issue of who would have the status of burgess, thus included as of right, with the exception of honorary burgesses who were usually excluded from Scottish burghal elections. The Dalrymples took different views from the other commissioners on issues such as the eligibility of all heritable burgesses (those who were the sons or sometimes sons-in-law of a burgess), whether all tradesmen should be regarded as burgesses and the right of bankrupts to vote. On all these issues, the Dalrymples were outvoted. The outcome, by majority vote in disputed cases, was:

Included:

1. All heritable burgesses, whether resident or not;
2. Honorary burgesses who were resident, had liberty to trade and paid stent (burgh tax);
3. All inhabitants who had liberty of trade and paid stent;
4. All incorporate tradesmen with the right to vote for their deacons.

Excluded:

1. ‘Simple honorary burgesses’ who were non-resident and did not pay stent;
2. Town servants, pensioners of the town and beedmen (beggars);
3. All bankrupts.

Perhaps anticipating trouble in the light of previous elections, the commissioners agreed unanimously that they would ensure that any voters ‘under any manner of restraint’ would be able to cast their vote.

The minutes show that this was to be a contested election as provision was made for each side to have four representatives at the poll who could challenge the eligibility of any voter. When voting begins, it becomes clear that the election is between supporters of James Dods, the provost elected in 1722, and supporters of George Cockburn, of Sandiebed (a property sometimes known as Bothwell’s Castle), in Hardgate, a wealthy Haddington merchant who had invested £200 in the Company of Scotland trading in Africa and the Indies (the ill-fated Darien Scheme) (Barbour 1907, 253). The commissioners decided that the 25 councillors would be elected first. The new councillors would then choose the office bearers. The election would commence the following day, Tuesday 15 October. Voters would be called to cast their votes in alphabetical order according to the electoral roll drawn up by the clerk. This would be intimated by tuck of drum through the town between seven and eight on the first day of the poll (fig 4).

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James Dods had previously served as a merchant councillor and baillie in 1715. Alexander McCall had served alongside him in the same roles. Dods was chosen as provost in 1716 and represented Haddington at the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1721.

Day 1: Tuesday 15 October

Voting commenced in the morning at the tollbooth, near the foot of Newton Port. It was well-positioned to receive market dues and tolls from any entering the different ports of the town; a glimpse of its imposing steeple can be seen in John Slezer's 'Prospect of Haddington' (1693, plate 21) (fig 5). There were booths, rented by a baker and cooper, and prison cells on the ground floor. The court room was above, with entry by an external flight of stairs. For a period it held John Gray's legacy of books; the cost of timber for shelves for the collection is noted in the council minutes for 22 June 1717 (HAD/2/1/2/12). The tolbooth had survived the siege of Haddington in 1548-9 but was in a poor state of repair. The council minutes for 21 April 1722 record the unusual event of a prison break-in: 'Prison was brock and great damage done to the Tolbooth and thereby the authority of the Magistrates is trampled on' (HAD/2/1/2/13). In 1732 the council had to move their meetings to the library, such was the tolbooth's ruinous state (Miller 1844, 516).



Figure 4: 'by tuck of drum';
town drummer and piper.

(Courtesy of John Gray Centre, Haddington)

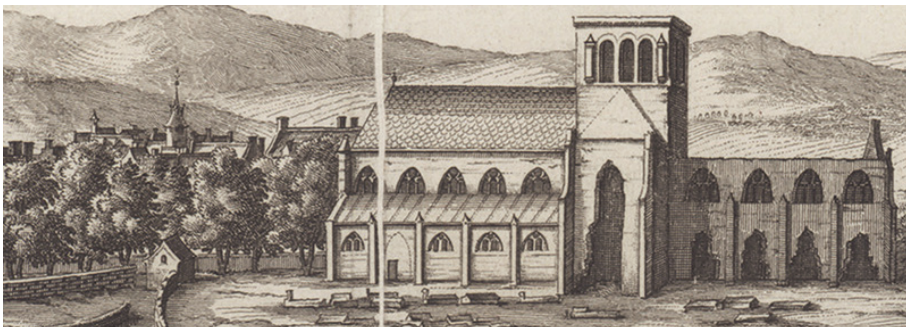


Figure 5: The imposing steeple of Haddington's tollbooth is visible in the middle distance in this extract from John Slezer's *Prospect of the Town of Haddington*, published in 1693.

(Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland)

CLARET, COUNCILLORS AND CORRUPTION: THE HADDINGTON ELECTION OF 1723

On the morning of the poll, Sir James Dalrymple presented his objections in writing to the decisions on which he and his uncle had disagreed with the other commissioners. These were duly entered in the minutes. His lordship reserved the right to make further objections in the same manner. Voting then commenced. The minutes allow us to form some impression of the scene. Voting would take place in the court room. The commissioners may have occupied the magistrates' benches with Dods' faction on one side and Cockburn's representatives at the other. The minutes' clerk and town clerk sat at the clerks' table. The dean of guild could be called to check on burgess status; the treasurer to verify stent payments had been made. Voting was a public event with electors called in alphabetical order. They would have to pass through rival supporters to mount the stairs to the court room. They were required to take an oath, presumably of good faith. If accepted, their votes were entered in the poll book. Those on the burgess roll would show their burgess tickets. (A Haddington burgess ticket of c. 1708 can be seen in a trompe l'oeil painting of a letter rack and its contents by Thomas Warrender in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.) Votes were cast for lists of prospective councillors, not individuals. James Dods headed one set of lists, and George Cockburn the other.

It is difficult to determine the size of the electorate. Neither the poll minutes nor the minutes of the council meeting immediately after the election indicate the number of votes cast. The 'poll book' referred to in the minutes has not been traced. The minutes do, however, record 16 disputed votes on the first day of polling. That so many were challenged suggests a very small electorate where every vote was of importance. The disagreement amongst the commissioners, on issues such as the right of bankrupts to vote, hints that they had particular individuals in mind. Some examples from the first day of voting give a flavour of the proceedings.

Thomas Anderson was among the first to appear. He was rejected on the grounds that he was 'not ane habile (valid) voter because he was admitted in the Trade when in nonage (underage) before he was capable of the religion of the oath [...]. and not admitted by the proper Dean but in a clandestine manner.' Ex-provost Dods objected to his rejection and the commissioners ordered the matter 'to lye in their clerk's hands', in effect to postpone the matter for later discussion. It emerged that Anderson was aged 16 and had been entered in his craft's books as a tradesman at 14. The proper route to tradesman status required a five-year apprenticeship followed by a two-year period as journeyman.

David Bell, merchant, and James Bell, wigmaker, were challenged as being 'gratis burgesses' and not on the stent roll. They answered that they had paid stent for many years but had been removed from the roll by the previous administration to prevent them from voting.

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In contrast, John and James Barrie were rejected on the grounds that they had been 'unduly putt in the stent roll by the late magistrates' but had never paid stent, 'did never reside within this burgh' and 'their father was no heritable burgess'.

Alexander Borthwick was challenged on the grounds that, as jailer, he was a town servant and therefore ineligible. Borthwick responded that he had resigned but it was shown that he had 'only dimitted office a day or two before the election in order to be intitled to vote when there were no magistrates in being to receive his dimission.' The commissioners rejected his vote but with Sir James Dalrymple dissenting. Haddington jailers were town servants but unpaid; their income came from the charges they levied on the prisoners in their keeping.

John Dickson, younger, like the jailer, knew the tolbooth well, for he had been a prisoner there before being banished from the town for theft. Indeed, he had signed his own act of banishment. Challenged, he responded that he 'had signed in prison under restraint and no proofs mentioned other than presumptive proofs' (i.e. circumstantial evidence).

The challenges to the 16 voters on the first day of the election led to much discussion of each case, often at length, with evidence sought from the stent roll, dean of guild and trades records. In most cases where voters were rejected by the other commissioners Sir James Dalrymple dissented. Far from being impartial, it is clear from the objections raised that the Dalrymples were supporters of the Dods' faction whilst the Hays sided with Cockburn. The Dalrymples were constantly outvoted. Such heavy weather was made of proceedings that by the end of the day the poll had not proceeded beyond 'D' in the electoral list.

Day 2: Wednesday 16 October

The day began with ex-provost Dods reading out a protest to the commissioners on behalf of himself and former councillors. His protest is given as an appendix to the minutes. Without 'taxing the Commissioners [...] with partiality', possibly ironical, he moved the election be declared null and void. In summary, he complained:

- of insufficient notice of the poll;
- that they learned only at eight on the day of the poll of the qualifications for voting and that no voters had been specified;
- that some who had no right to vote had been given early notice of the qualifications required;
- that some unqualified had been allowed to vote;
- that the rules drawn up by the commissioners were not warranted by their commission;
- that ever since the first intimation of the poll:

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a ryotous mob has been kept almost continually assembled who have broken open houses and carried away by force out of houses persons intituled to vote who have not been seen since by their friends and relations and that some weak minds by strong liquors or promises may be prevailed upon or by threats or ill usage frighted into the measures of those who kept them in prison.

With possible reference to Cockburn's or McCall's residence, Dods hinted that the whereabouts of one abductee was common knowledge: 'few people in Haddington have not heard whispers concerning his being detained in the house of a certain person of distinction.' (Ms.14522, f69)

The commissioners resolved that his protest contained many 'groundless, calumnious and false assertions' and challenged him on each of his points. Sir James Dalrymple supported Dods for the most part, but abstained on other issues. Dods' claim of mobs on the streets on the Saturday and Sabbath preceding the election was dismissed: 'the peace of the toun had been kept and that no complaint has hitherto been made of any persons having been restrained from voting who had a mind to give their votes.'

Dods and his supporters withdrew declaring 'it was their intention to return no more'. He rather spoiled the effect by returning shortly afterwards to explain he had given the wrong name for one of the voters in his protest. In spite of rejecting Dods' claims of captive voters, the commissioners resolved 'if possible to set free such persons as may be under any manner of influence or restraint and to bring them to give their votes.'

It is hard not to feel some sympathy for ex-provost Dods. In the run of things there would not have been an election until the following year. He had had little time to muster his supporters and prepare his case. His objections to voters were almost all rejected. This despite his protest being well argued, particularly his defence of the privilege of the burgess.

Day 3: Thursday 17 October

Neither the Dalrymples nor Dods' team attended. The remaining commissioners abandoned the alphabetical system of voting and invited any who had not previously voted to cast their votes. Only six answered the call. In a piece of theatre, George Cockburn produced two of the alleged abductees, Patrick Carraill and John Kyll. Cockburn requested that they testify at the bar, declaring they had never been confined or restrained. Their vote was taken. A proclamation was made inviting any who had not yet voted or who felt entitled to vote but were not on the roll, or had any information on voters held under restraint, to come to the tolbooth. No one appeared, which was taken as further evidence of 'the falseness and calumny' of Dods' assertions.

The votes were then counted and a majority found for George Cockburn and the others on his lists. None of the previous council was elected. Those named

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were ordered, by proclamation at the market cross and by tuck of drum, to appear at the tolbooth. Anyone wishing to ‘demand a scrutiny’ was invited to appear. No one appeared to challenge the result. The 25 on the lists were named as the new councillors and ordered to return the next day to elect the magistrates and office bearers from amongst themselves. The usual proclamation was made to this effect and a copy of the results pinned on the mercat cross ‘so that none may pretend ignorance’.

Day 4: Friday 18 October

Not all of the new councillors turned up for the election of the magistrates and office bearers, but those who did so were unanimous in their choice. Alexander McCall became provost and others from the list became merchant baillies, trade baillie, dean of guild and treasurer. Surprisingly, George Cockburn did not become a magistrate though he did serve as a merchant councillor. The appointees took the usual oath of *de fidei administratione* and their names were entered in the council book.

The final item in McCall’s expenses for that day now makes sense - ‘flamboes 6s’. These would be for a torch-lit procession by the new councillors through the streets of Haddington. That this was in breach of a ban on public demonstrations by the previous council would only add piquancy to the occasion. [On 11 September 1722 the town council had banned:

Any person whatsoever to go threw the streets of the burgh playing on fiddle hautboy or other instrument of musik or go along with such musick or to assemble together on the streets drinking healths or crying huzza upon any pretext whatsoever (except with the Magistrates upon the King Prince or other Birthday or day of rejoicing kept by authority) (HAD/2/1/2/13).]

‘MANAGEMENT’

The story of this election does not end there. There are still questions to be answered. Why was there so much fuss over a local election in a small market town? Why did the commissioners show such partiality? Why did the marquis have Provost McCall’s election expenses in his accounts? Why did McCall become provost, rather than Cockburn, who headed the list of prospective councillors? The council records for the period immediately before and after the 1723 election offer no guidance. They record the change of councillors but not the events leading to the election nor any mention of a petition.

The outgoing correspondence of the 4th marquis of Tweeddale for this time does not survive but some of that incoming does. A letter from Lord William Hay, the marquis’s uncle and fellow commissioner, of 19 January 1723 is of particular interest. The writer is cock-a-hoop: ‘Our friends in Haddington will be blythe tonight...’ (Ms.14421, f38). Why blythe? The writer explains that the Court

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of Session had upheld an appeal brought by ‘certain merchants and tradesmen of Haddington’ that the council election of 1715 was invalid and therefore all subsequent elections were invalid, including that of 1722. The reason elections held after 1715 were invalid was that those falsely elected in 1715 had gone on to elect and serve as magistrates in the elections of later years.

Lord William reports the Court of Session’s grounds for judging the 1715 election invalid. One is that the council was not quorate but the most interesting is that ‘a military force was in or around the council chamber at the time of the election’. What military force? The answer is Jacobites. Gray and Jamieson (1944, 53) tell us that Mackintosh of Borlum, with a force of over 1000 Highlanders, crossed the Forth on the nights of 11 and 12 October 1715, landing at Aberlady, Gullane and North Berwick. Mackintosh spent a short time in Haddington where, at the mercat cross, he proclaimed James Edward Stuart, the ‘Old Pretender’, as James VIII. Gray and Jamieson have him staying for only a few hours in Haddington but his stay may have been longer. The council minutes for 14 October 1715 record an episode of Jacobite extortion:

it was represented by the provost [David Forrest] to the Council that the Highland clans being quartered here it was usuall for all the burghs in the north to advance six months cess (tax) for the payment of the armie and brigadier McKintosh (sic) who commands that pairte of the armie would grant receipt thereof...under the paine of poynding (seizing their property) the councill unanimously condescends to borrow from Robert Forrest trade baillie ane thousand pounds ... payment of the sd money: (HAD/2/1/2/12)

Mackintosh’s forces also made a brief foray to Yester. The grievance’s accounts for 1715 include these entries:

- *To a man for following the healand men that took away our horses 2s*
- *Payed to the coachman and his man when they fled with the horses 5s*

The five shillings reward was well deserved. Coach horses were worth twice as much as riding horses. It was the equivalent of saving a Ferrari (Ms.14656, f236).

While there is no doubt a military force was around and possibly even in the council chamber in October 1715, it is quite untrue that the magistrates had been wrongly elected. The council minutes show that they had been elected in the usual manner ten days earlier - without interference. In any case, it is hard to see why the council would have held an election at a time a military force was threatening to poynd their goods. Nor is it the case that the council was inquorate, for there was a good attendance on the day of the election. The decision of the Court of Session seems flawed on both counts.

Whatever the truth, this explains in part why there was a Poll election in 1723; but there is more to it. Lord William’s letter continues: ‘I am no loss in hope of its (i.e. the Court’s ruling) being a strengthing of my right [to?] Election’.

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R. Sedgwick (1970, 400), in his contribution to the history of the House of Commons, explains which election Lord William had in mind, and consequently the reason for the Hays' interest in the council election: 'From the Union [in 1707] to 1734 the representation of the Haddington Burghs was monopolized by the Dalrymples of Hailes.' Sir James Dalrymple had been elected MP for the five burghs in April 1722, and the Haddington delegate representing the council had voted for him. That delegate was James Dods. The election, however, was contested, and the unsuccessful candidate was Lord William Hay.

It becomes clear from Lord William's letter that the real purpose behind the Court of Session case, and the petition to Parliament for a fresh election, was to unseat Sir James Dalrymple and replace him with Lord William. The attack was two-pronged. The first aimed through the Court of Session to declare the 1715 election invalid and hence all subsequent elections; in which case it could be argued that James Dods had no legal right to cast the burgh's votes for Sir James: 'If the Lords continue in their opinion Sir James Dalrymple when his election comes to be discussed within parliament will lose that town in his election' (Ms.14421, f39). The second, through the petition to Parliament, aimed to have new council elections in Haddington, with matters manipulated in such a way that a council favourable to the Hays' cause would be returned. The Haddington Burghs franchise was only 99 - the total number of councillors in the five burghs combined. North Berwick, with 12 votes, was a lost cause, seemingly permanently a Dalrymple stronghold, but Haddington, with 25 votes - the largest number - was not. Control Haddington council and there was a good chance of taking the seat.

There were two requirements to ensure a favourable result in the 1723 council election - to make certain that the Hays could command a majority amongst the commissioners, and to have supporters in Haddington with the means to influence local voters.

The marquis himself, of course, could not be seen to influence the choice of commissioners. A family friend, therefore, lobbied for the Hay cause in Parliament - John Cockburn (1679-1758) (fig 6). He is better known as 'Cockburn of Ormiston', the agricultural improver responsible for the planned town of Ormiston.



Figure 6: John Cockburn, M.P. (1679-1758), better known as 'Cockburn of Ormiston', by an unknown artist. (Courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery)

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Cockburn had been MP for the county since 1708. The electorate was between 40 and 55. In the 1710 election, he was not even challenged. When matters could be arranged amongst the leading landed proprietors, there was no point in a contest. In a letter to the marquis, dated 12 August 1723, Cockburn writes:

....upon reading the petition from Haddington, it appears that Sir James Dalrymple had applied to Mr Walpole to be one of the overseers [of the election] himself and to get some of his friends likewise to be of the number. Upon my hearing of this I ventured to give the Duke of Roxburgh my advice [...] that his Grace should move Lord William Hay and an equal number of our friends if they will not allow of a majority [...] then we shall have a majority without Mr Walpole's being prepared to prevent it, even tho' we shall be tyed down to equal numbers in the names given of each side.

Regarding who would be the right man to influence affairs in Haddington, Cockburn writes:

I don't doubt that Mr McCall has waited upon your Lordship before this can come to your hands and that he has acquaint your Lordship that I desired him to go down to help to keep things right below while I took care of the petition here. (Ms.14421, f52)

By 'below' Cockburn presumably meant Haddington as opposed to 'here', i.e. Parliament. (The Duke of Roxburghe was Scottish Secretary from 1719 to 1725.)

McCall was not, however, the only person with aspirations to be the next provost. George Cockburn, who featured during the election, had such ambitions. Pressure was put on him by Andrew Cockburn, presumably a relative (an Andrew Cockburn was chief cashier of the Company of Scotland trading in Africa and the Indies, in which George had invested.) Writing from Cramond on 14 September, Andrew Cockburn reported that George Cockburn had agreed to stand down so no vote would be lost to him. 'It is left to whom your Lordship shall name' (Ms.14421, f56). His lordship chose McCall as his favoured candidate for provost, although in the event George Cockburn's name headed the lists of candidates for the new council, possibly as a smokescreen to confuse the opposition. Andrew Cockburn added further good news: '...the election of the Deacons has given a very hopeful view that the whole election will goe to your Lordship's wish.'

Why McCall was anointed in this way is not known. Both he and Cockburn were leading merchants in the town. Perhaps McCall seemed the more pliant candidate. By way of support, the marquis must have promised to meet his election costs; hence the account for McCall's expenses.

The whole story of this Haddington election is now clear: the reasons for mounting a legal challenge to the 1715 election and for petitioning Parliament for a fresh election; the means taken to ensure the Hays could command a majority amongst the commissioners and hence ensure the election would be carried out in a manner most favourable to their cause; and the steps taken locally through plentiful alcohol and riotous mobs to inebriate, persuade, abduct and intimidate electors.

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Why is this rather sordid story of importance? Scotland in the eighteenth century has been described as ‘one vast rotten borough’ (Gash 1953, 36). In many aspects, the Haddington election of 1723 fits well with such a description. It matches the electoral practices of the period. At local level, susceptible voters are plied with alcohol then pointed in the direction of the poll. The more stubborn are abducted until the poll is complete. Mobs of rival supporters run riot in the streets. The prize is to control the town’s patrimony and its resources, such as the lease of the corn mills and haughs and the right to gather tolls. At a discreet distance there is a power play between county aristocrats with ambitions on the national stage. A seat in Parliament offered opportunities for patronage, access to men of influence leading to appointments for family members and commissions for younger sons.

Although the excesses of the Haddington election are far from unique, it is of particular interest for a number of reasons:

- The attempt by the commissioners to organise an election which would at least have the appearance of fairness with an electoral roll, representatives from each side present and a record kept of the votes cast is unusual. Nothing similar was repeated in Haddington before the Reform Act of 1832.

- It is an early example, applied to local elections, of ‘management’, the black art of eighteenth-century Parliamentary affairs following the Union of 1707. John Cockburn even uses the term *management*.

- The arguments amongst the commissioners and the well-reasoned protest from Dods give insight into the importance of the ‘privilege of the burghess’ and the fine gradations of burghess status. For Dods, only a burghess admitted by the dean of guild’s council after proper examination of his case, with entry money paid and burghess ticket presented, should have the right to vote. The honorary burghess, both resident and non-resident, and the ‘gratis burghess’ (one exempt from paying entry money), should not have the privilege of voting. Worst of all for Dods was the decision to enfranchise simply on the basis of paying stent. As he pointed out, if this were the case, stenting a resident would elevate him to burghess status. The vote may as well be extended to any inhabitant who ‘bears the brunt of watching and warding’.

- The other factor which marks this election out is not the affair itself but the rich documentation that survives in the Yester Papers. The survival of the warrant for the election, the extracts from the minutes of the poll, the text of James Dods’ protest and the correspondence of the 4th marquis, allow us a clear understanding of the charade of the voting procedure and the way in which strings were pulled by the local aristocracy and their friends behind the scenes.

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AFTERMATH

What happened to the cast of characters in this account? Lord William Hay, whose Parliamentary ambitions were central to the whole business, died just five days after the council election, on 23 October. This rather spoiled the plot. An appeal after his death to John Cockburn, for appointments for his sons in the Board of Admiralty, was unsuccessful (Ms.14421, f63).

Although Alexander McCall became provost in 1723, he did not attend meetings of the new council for almost nine months. He served as provost again in 1728. James Dods does not appear to have served as a councillor again.

The 4th marquis of Tweeddale served as Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 to 1746. He greatly underestimated the Jacobite threat, although his accounts show receipt of £3000 in 1745 from the 'Secret Service', presumably to help identify and control such subversives (Ms.14521, f67). He resigned his post in 1746. In 1761 he became Lord Justice General for Scotland in 1761, dying in the following year, shortly after attending George III's coronation. His funeral costs amounted to £423 0s 10½d, roughly four times McCall's account.

Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes continued as MP for Haddington Burghs until 1734 when he fell out of favour at Westminster and lost the seat to Captain Fall of Dunbar.

Haddington electors and councillors continued to behave outrageously. What the chief constable of Derry in more recent times called 'recreational rioting' remained a feature of Haddington elections. This was not confined to the streets. There was brawling in the council chambers in 1734 between rival sets of magistrates. Alcohol flowed freely. Miller (1844, 490) quotes a campaign song of one faction in 1734 which includes the couplet:

Had Tyne been made o' claret wine, Ye wad hae drank it dry.

Lawyers did well out of appeals to the Court of Session on disputed elections. Voters were abducted. In the notorious case of the Lauder Raid of 1831, a group, including men from Haddington, abducted a Lauder baillie to ensure the Lauder vote favoured their candidate for the Five Burghs (Martine 1883, 250 *et seq.*).

Those who sought reform of the whole system at local and national level grew restless. Dragoons were stationed in the town in May 1831 at the request of the magistrates, fearing trouble at the Haddington Burghs election from local reformers and from the Tranent colliers (Ms.14452, f112). Matters improved only after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1833 which gave the vote to £10 householders and put an end to the self-perpetuating councils and the worst of the electoral excesses.

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In his *Pickwick Papers*, published in 1836, Dickens pokes fun at pre-Reform Act elections. His fictional account of the election at Eatanswill is strikingly similar to the real events of Haddington's election of 1723:

'And what are the probabilities as to the result of the contest?' inquired Mr Pickwick.

'Why doubtful, my dear sir; rather doubtful as yet,' replied the little man.

'Fizkin's people have got three-and-thirty voters in the lock-up of the coach-house at the White Hart.'

'In the coach house!'

'They keep them locked up there till they want 'em,' resumed the little man.

'The effect of that is, you see, to prevent our getting at them; and even if we could, it would be of no use, for they keep them very drunk on purpose.'

POSTSCRIPT

What of the drinks bill which sparked this enquiry? There is a plaintive note from McCall on the back of the bill, dated 16 November 1731:

Your Lordship having been so good as to offer to take upon you the payment of the account due to me at the Poall Election of Haddington value one hundred and five pounds eight shillings and nine pence sterling, it will be one aditionall favor if your Lordship will make good that sum to Mr William Fall and Brothers who have been long my Creditors and their receipt shall be the same as a discharge from my Lord.

The marquis paid up, bar the nine pence, in 1733, ten years after the event. The account was receipted by Captain William Fall, Dunbar. It fell to one of his three brothers, James Fall, to unseat Sir James Dalrymple as MP for the Haddington Burghs, in a deeply-flawed election, the following year (see Forbes Gray 1938, 120-41).

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Figure 1: Bust of Robert Brown of Markle, in the collection of David Ritchie, Robert Brown's great-great-grandson. (Photo: David Henrie)

AN AUTHORITY ON AGRICULTURAL SUBJECTS: ROBERT BROWN OF MARKLE, 1756 – 1831

by JOY DODD

INTRODUCTION

The advances in agriculture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century owed a great debt to three East Linton men, Andrew Meikle of Houston Mill, millwright and inventor (Dodd & Dodd 2011), George Rennie of Phantassie, farmer and agricultural innovator (Dodd & Dodd 2013), and Robert Brown of Markle, farmer and writer. It is Robert Brown (fig 1) whose life and achievements form the subject of this paper. The following obituary, published in the *Gardener's Magazine* in April 1831 (page 256), gives an insight into his contribution to agriculture:

ROBERT BROWN Esq. well known by his excellent agricultural writings, died on Feb 14th at Drylawhill, East Lothian in his 74th year. Mr Brown was born in the village of East Linton, where he entered into business; but his natural genius soon led him to agricultural pursuits, which he followed with singular success. He commenced his agricultural career at West Fortune, and soon afterwards removed to Markle. Mr Brown was a contemporary and intimate acquaintance of the late George Rennie Esq. of Phantassie and to the memory of them both agriculture owes a tribute of gratitude. Mr Rennie chiefly confined his attention to the practice of agriculture; and his fine estate furnished evidence of the skill with which his plans were devised and of the accuracy with which they were executed. While Mr Brown followed close on Mr Rennie in the field, the energies of his mind were, however, more particularly directed to the literary department of agriculture. His Treatise on Rural Affairs and his articles in the Edinburgh Farmer's Magazine (of which he was conductor during fifteen years) evinced the soundness of his practical knowledge and the energy of his intellectual facilities. The excellence of his writings had not only caused their wide circulation in this kingdom, but had extended their sphere of instruction to foreign countries. His best articles are translated into the French and German languages; and "Robert Brown of Markle" is quoted by Continental writers, as an authority on agricultural subjects. He took an active interest in the public welfare, especially when rural economy was concerned, and by his death the tenantry of Scotland have lost a no less sincere friend than an able and zealous advocate. We enjoyed the advantages of Mr Brown's friendship for upwards of thirty years, and he was one of our earliest contributors when we commenced this magazine. No one can more deeply regret his loss than ourselves.

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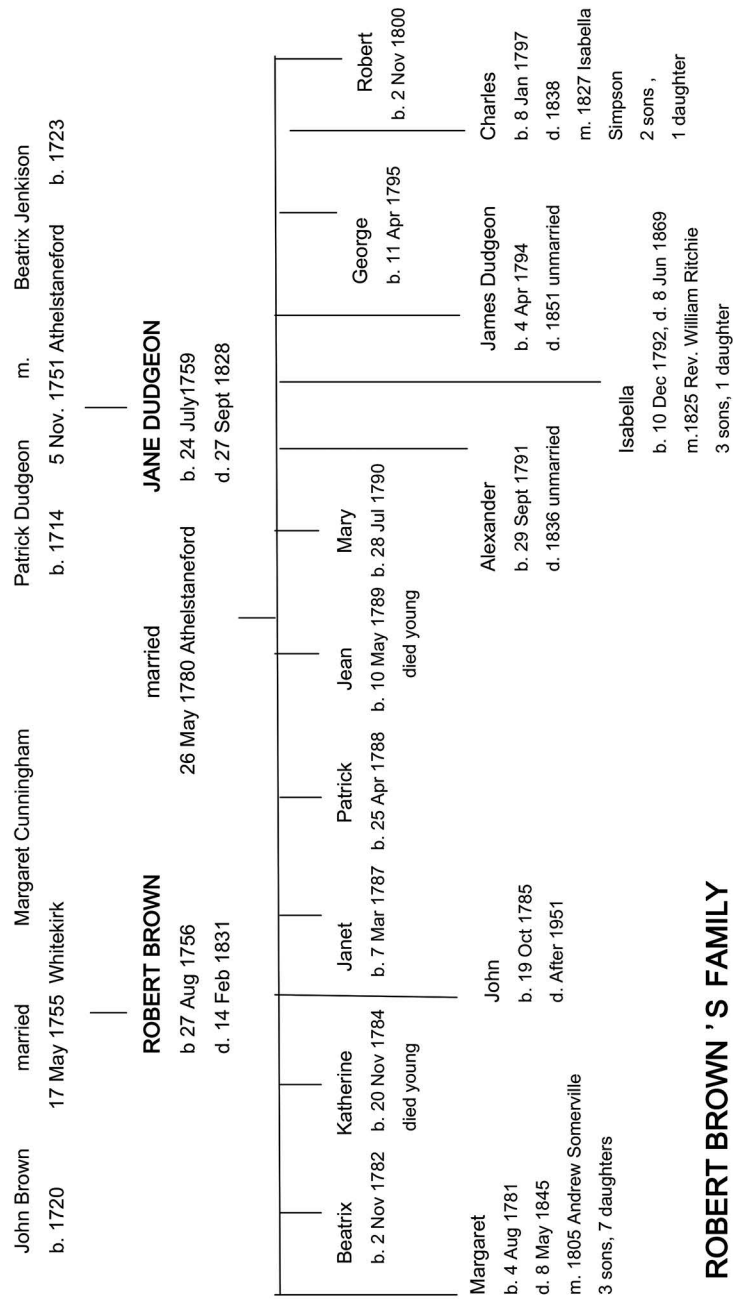
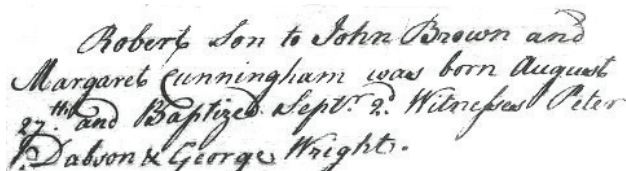


Figure 2: Family tree of Robert Brown of Markle

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BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS (fig 2)

Robert Brown was born on 27 August 1756, in Linton (now East Linton), in the parish of Prestonkirk, Haddingtonshire, the eldest son of John Brown and Margaret Cunningham his wife (fig 3).



*Robert son to John Brown and
Margaret Cunningham was born August
27th and Baptized Sept: 2. Witnessed Peter
Dabson & George Wright.*

Figure 3: Written extract
recording Robert Brown's birth
in the OPR Prestonkirk 1756.

The Browns were a well-established family in Linton by the time of Robert's birth. His grandfather, George Brown, married Isabel Lauchlan in 1718 in Dunbar. They settled in Linton where, on 1 April 1719, George was elected an elder at Preston Kirk and, on 9 May 1720, he was elected treasurer and given the key of the box; he would serve in this role several times. At the same time he was granted a seat in Bothwell's Aisle in the kirk. George Brown was a successful man. The Tynninghame kirk session accounts describe him as a 'merchant in Linton' who paid for 'Bibles, New Testaments and Proverbs for poor scholars' (CH2/359/5). He died before 13 March 1746 when John Brown, his eldest son, paid the kirk session 40d for erecting a headstone. Payment was also made for the 'best mortcloth & bell' for George on 25 January 1747, and again on 16 June 1751 for 'John Browns mother', Isabel Lauchlin (CH2/371/3). The gravestone can no longer be found.

John, the eldest son, was baptised on 29 November 1720 in Preston Kirk. One of a family of four sons and three daughters, he followed his father in the same line of business, inheriting property and a shop in the village. The property, described in his testament as a 'house to the north, with a loft over and a garden at the back', was sited where the former St Andrew's Free Church stands today. The property extended along the west side of the road down to the mills from the square, as shown in an estate map of c.1786 (RHP3682) (fig 4). John Brown was established there by the early 1740s, for on '18 May 1743 John Brown merchant in Linton protested a bill for none payment against Francis Jack, wright in Bankton, for £8.8s.11d' (SC60/11). In 1749 he paid six shillings tax for 12 windows and some building must have occurred soon thereafter for in 1759 he was paying for 18 windows (E336 Window Tax). Both George and John owned property in Linton. The estate map mentioned above shows land, then known as Howkins Park, to the east of the village as 'Mr Brown's land'. John had also bought 27 acres of land from the heirs of George Craw of Netherbyres, and as a landowner became one of the heritors of the parish. This land lay to the north and west of the town fronted by the continuation of the High Street, now known as Brown's Place. On 7 July 1768, 'Mr Brown, merchant in Linton', was present at a meeting of the heritors looking

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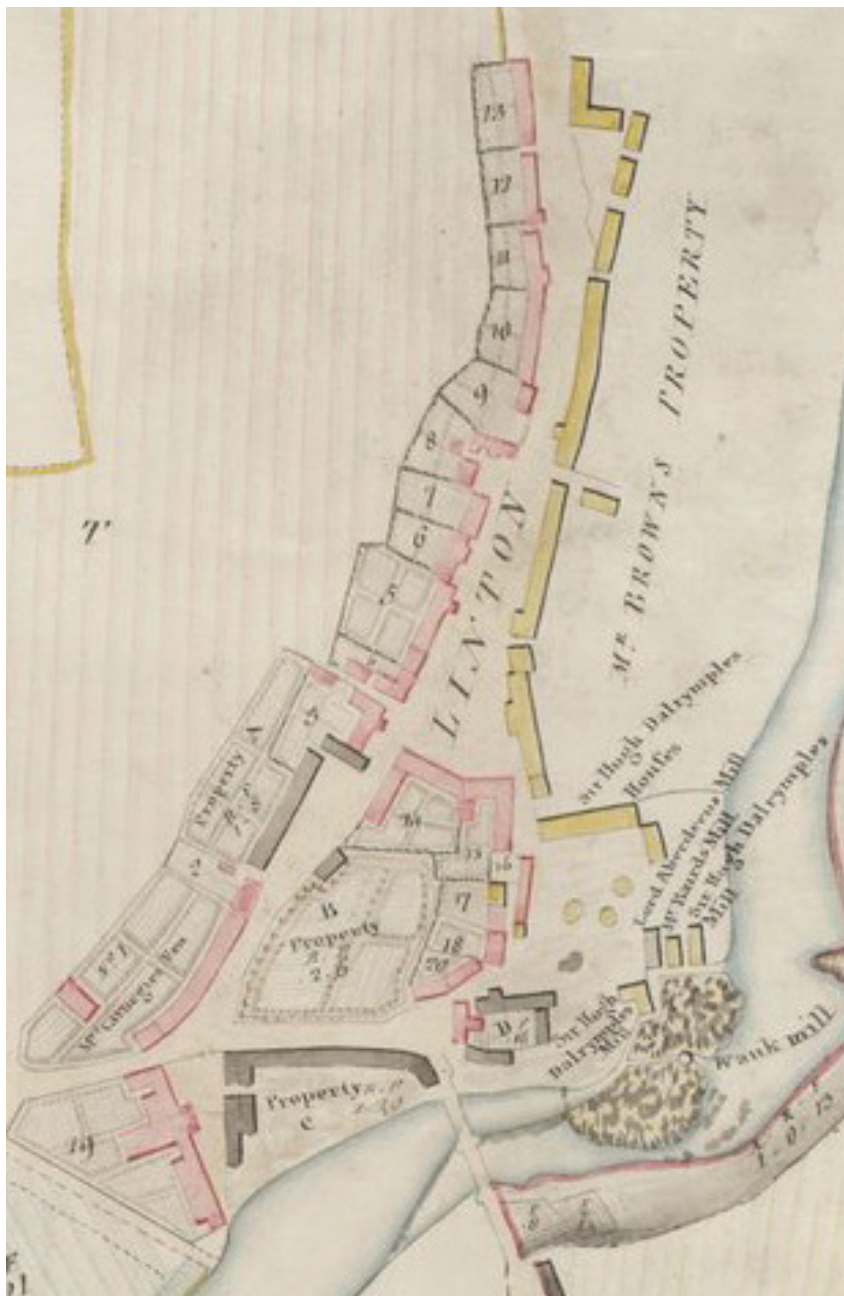


Figure 4: Estate plan of East Linton showing the extent of Robert Brown's property there. (Courtesy of National Records of Scotland: RHP3682).

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at the fabric of Preston Kirk prior to its rebuilding. Following that rebuilding, two seats situated in the SE angle next to the east gable were appointed for Mr Brown's use. As a heritor he also had financial responsibilities and the kirk accounts record: '29th Jan 1773 received from Mr John Brown his proportion of ten pounds sterling granted by the heritors in 1770 for the use of the poor £1.13s.3d' (CH2/306/3).

John Brown married Margaret Cunningham, daughter of John Cunningham, farmer at the Mains of Whitekirk, and Janet Wight, on May 1755. Janet was the daughter of Robert Wight, tenant farmer in Murrays and House of Muir, in Ormiston, who had been encouraged by John Cockburn of Ormiston to enclose fields and grow turnips. John died on 17 April 1776 leaving six sons and one daughter. He made a Deed of Settlement on 5 April 1776 prior to undergoing surgery for 'gravel' and died shortly after, leaving an annuity of 6000 merks to his wife, together with all the furniture etc., during her lifetime. Our Robert Brown, his eldest son, then aged 20, was executor and heir to the business and properties. John's other children - Janet, Alexander, John, George, James and Charles – each received £500. His brother-in-law Robert Cunningham, a surgeon in Dunbar, was one of the 'tutors' to his younger children. Robert paid the church £6 in 1777 to erect a through-stone (a flat gravestone) in memory of his father.

Robert Brown will have received his education in the parish school at Preston Kirk, where he doubtless encountered the Rennie and Meikle children. Young Robert, like George Rennie and his brothers, will have explored Andrew Meikle's workshops and seen the development of the 'thrashing machine' (Dodd & Dodd 2010, 58-65). With his mother's family farming in Whitekirk, and the acres of lands his father owned, his interest in farming will have grown. Within two years of his father's death, Robert decided that business was not for him, and so he made over part of the property in the square at Linton to his brother, Alexander, enabling the latter to carry on their father's business. Alexander, in his own testament, describes this property as:

All and whole that tenement and garden situate in the town of Linton and presently possessed by myself which was acquired by me from Robert Brown, farmer in Markle, bounded in the east by the wynd or road leading to the Mill, in the south by the garden belonging to John Brown, on the west a house belonging to the said Robert Brown and the garden of Mr Rennie and Mr Knox, and on the north by the high road of Linton (SC40/40/1).

This must have been a successful business, for in the Shop Tax of 1785 Alexander Brown paid 2s. 6d., the sole entry for the whole of East Lothian (E324/4 Shop Tax 1785-1789). Alexander married Eupham Dudgeon, sister of his elder brother's wife Jane. They had six sons and one daughter, many of whom continued to live and work in East Linton. Alexander died in 1814, leaving the business to his youngest son, Hugh. Among his trustees were Andrew Somerville, Robert Brown's son-in-law, and Alexander Brown, Robert's son.

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Giving up the family business was a big step for a young man aged 22. Robert's legacy from his father, together with the value of the business, will have given him the financial backing to purchase a lease, acquire stock and implements. In 1778 he took a lease of 350 acres at West Fortune farm, in the adjacent parish of Athelstaneford, from the Hon. Charles Hope. Two years later, on 26 May 1780, he married his second cousin Jane Dudgeon, aged 21, daughter of Patrick Dudgeon, farmer at the next-door farm of Prora and his spouse Beatrix Jenkison. The Dudgeons were another well-established local farming family. Beatrix was the daughter of the Rev. John Jenkison, minister of Althelstaneford, and his second wife Katherine Cunningham (sister of John Cunningham, Robert's grandfather). Beatrix and her sister Mary were staying with their uncle, the Rev. Charles Cunningham, minister of Tranent, in September 1745. It was these two girls who cared for Col. James Gardiner of Bankton, mortally wounded in the battle of Prestonpans, and who died in the manse of Tranent on 21 September. Two days earlier the sisters had met Prince Charles Edward Stuart at Duddingston, where he was holding a council of war, where they were presented with a ring and snuff-box (information from David Ritchie, great-great-grandson) These two events have gone down in history and are now depicted on the 'Battle of Prestonpans Tapestry' (www.prestonpanstapestry.org, panels 59 & 90).

Marriages between the Browns and the Cunninghams occur in several generations. Janet Brown, only daughter of John Brown, and Margaret Cunningham, married her cousin, the Rev. Hugh Cunningham, minister of Tranent, on 5 November 1786. Their second son, Robert Brown Cunningham, was born and baptised in Linton on 25 January 1790. Witnesses to his baptism were Alexander and George, her brothers.

As heir to his grandfather, on 28 December 1782 Robert Brown was registered as owner of the tenements in Linton village where his family lived and worked (RS27/271/4). In 1784 he expanded his farming enterprise, taking a lease of 340 acres at Markle, in the NW of the parish, from Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton; an advert appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* on 2 April 1784 offering the farmhouse at West Fortune for rent, 'interested parties to apply to Robert Brown there'. Window Tax records indicate that a Mrs Dudgeon lived there up to 1799. As Patrick Dudgeon had died, and Prora was being farmed by his son James, it is possible that this lady was Beatrix Jenkinson, Robert's mother-in-law. He continued farming West Fenton as well as Markle for many years. The Consolidated Tax records for 1799 show he had one horse paying £1.4s.0d, and to work both farms 32 farm horses paying £9.12s.0d. The house at Markle at that time had 12 windows (E326/15/10). Robert and Jane went on to have thirteen children - six sons and seven daughters. The following letter (GD1/570/27) regarding his tax, written by him in 1805, gives an idea of the situation of the family at that time:

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I Robert Brown farmer at Markle hereby intimate to Mr Archibald Todrick Assessor under the Commissioner appointed for executing the Property Act: 1: That the farm of Markle containing 517 acres was set to me by Sir Alexander Kinloch Bart in 1803 at the rent of £1373 per annum and that I claim on account of Sir Alexander Kinloch the following allowances being the whole of the public burthens affecting the estate in parish of Prestonkirk. £145.10s.59/12d being the feu duty paid by him to the Deans of the Chapel Royal.

*£34.18s.56/12d being the stipend paid to the Minister of Prestonkirk
£2.12s.5d. being the salary paid to the school master of said parish
£3.0s.0d. being his poor rate in said parish
£18 being the amount of his land tax in ditto
Total £206.1s.4³/₄d*

2: Also that I possess the farm of West Fortune under the Honourable Charles Hope containing 350 acres or thereby, the lease of which was granted more than seven years ago and that I consider the worth of the said farm to be £437.10s.11d. On account of the proprietor I claim the following allowances:

*£28.14s.8d. being stipend payable to the minister of Prestonkirk
£1.4s.8d. being the stipend payable to the minister of Athelstaneford.
Total £29.19s.4d*

3: I likewise intimate that I possess 27 acres of land which is my own property lying in the neighbourhood of Linton, the annual value of which I consider to be £10 sterling.

4: That I derive a profit from the periodical publication of the Farmer's Magazine of £100 per annum.

5: I claim an abatement from the duties which shall be imposed upon me by the Commissioners under the property act for the following children all maintained at my sole expense in the year 1804. 1 Margaret, 2 Beatrix, 3 John, 4 Janet, 5 Peter, 6 Mary 7 Alexander, 8 Isabella, 9 James, 10 George, 11. Charles. I claim a deduction of one eighth according to the statute.

This intimation was made on the 27th day of April 1805.

Signed Robert Brown.

The ages of the children in 1805 were: Margaret 23, Beatrix 22, John 19, Janet 17, Peter 16, Mary 14, Alexander 13, Isabella 12, James 10, George 9 and Charles 7. Three other children - Katherine born 1784, Jean born 1789 and Robert born 1800 - must have died young. Beatrix, Janet, Peter, and Mary all died before their father.

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ROBERT BROWN - THE FARMER

Although he owned property in Linton, during the whole of his farming life Robert was a tenant farmer, and subject to the burdens imposed by landlords. He soon became active in trying to improve the conditions of his fellow farmers. Tenant farmers at the end of the eighteenth century had to give day-labour towards the upkeep of local roads, pay tax on windows, horses, farm horses, dogs, clocks and watches, as well as rent to their landlord. They were also often required to pay towards the poor rates and school-master's salary. In early 1793, according to a report in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 15 January, he chaired a meeting of the 'Committee of Farmers of the County of East Lothian', at which the tenant farmers had expressed the feeling that they had been treated in 'a very improper manner' by the committee of landed gentlemen regarding their plan for the management of the bye roads.

Robert was a successful farmer, following all the latest ideas of drainage, manuring, enclosing fields, and building up a large business on the 540 acres at Markle and 350 acres at West Fortune. He installed a wind-driven thrashing machine at Markle. Precisely when he gave up the lease of West Fortune has not been discovered, but a new lease of Markle was granted by Sir Alexander Kinloch in 1802 to run until 1823. The rentals for Gilmerton estate for 1820 (GD247//97/1) give details of his lease and dates for leaving:

Rental of the estate of Gilmerton belonging to Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton for crop year 1820.

Robert Brown

1: Parks of Martle or Markle, separation of crop 1802 – 21 years: dwelling house and stables Whitsunday; parks lands separation 1823, grass Christmas, barns and straw houses 1824; payment for lands at Lammas £698

2: Hill farm or parks of Markle, separation of crop 1802 – 21 years; grounds separation of crop 1823; Houses Whitsunday 1824 payment for lands at Lammas £525

3: Little park & North Langinlass, separation of crop 1802 – 21 years; grounds separation of crop 1823; grass Christmas 1823, payment for lands at Lammas £242.

Against this entry to drive 25 carriages of coal.

4: Fullin Knowe, separation of crop 1806 – 17 years: arable lands separation of crop 1823; grass Christmas 1823. Payment for lands at Lammas £100.

Total annual payments £1,865

A considerable workforce would have been needed to farm these extensive acres. Although he had six sons, only two became farmers, though doubtless the other

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four would have been involved too. One of his men is known by name, John Walker. Born in North Berwick in 1783, he was trained by Robert Brown at Markle and later moved with him to Drylawhill, where he continued working for Alexander, and later Major James Brown. John Walker, an elder of the Free Kirk in Linton, died at Drylawhill in 1856.

On 24 December 1822, the lands of MARKLE or MARTLE and part of the ESTATE of GILMERTON were advertised to be let in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*:
...consisting of about 540 acres, as presently possessed by Mr Robert Brown. The soil is of excellent quality, and capable of bearing the weightiest crops of all kinds of grain, and the whole is well enclosed and subdivided. The lands are in every respect favourably situated, both with regard to manure, and as being in the immediate neighbourhood of the first corn market in Scotland. Nearly one third will be left in grass, the greater part of which is from two to four years old, and from 20 to 30 acres have been constantly in grass. From one-third to a half of the straw is steelbow, and the remainder may be had at a valuation. The entry to the whole of the arable, and a considerable part of the grass lands at the separation of the present crop, and to the rest of the grass at Christmas next. And to the Dwelling-house and stables, which are suitable to the farm, at Whitsunday 1823. The lands will be let either in whole as possessed by Mr Brown, or in such separate divisions as intending offerers may prefer. Offers for a lease for three years when the proprietor comes of age; or fourteen or nineteen years, and for a rent payable in money or grain at the fiars prices, or partly both, will again be received by Messrs RUSSEL, ANDERSON and TOD writers to the signet.

Sir Alexander Kinloch, who granted the lease in 1802, had died in 1813. His eldest son David, then only aged 5, did not get control of his estates until 1827. By 1823, Robert Brown was aged 67, and seems to have decided not to renew his lease. Having previously established his son, Alexander, in the tenancy at Drylawhill, Robert and Jane moved there.

MEN OF INFLUENCE

As well as his contact with the Rennies and Andrew Meikle, two other men influenced Robert's career. Firstly, there was Sir George Buchan-Hepburn (1739-1819), baron of Smeaton, in the parish of Prestonkirk. Educated at Edinburgh University, he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1763, appointed solicitor to the Lords of Session in 1767, and in 1790 became a judge of the High Court of Admiralty (Affleck 2008, 107). Sir George was interested in agriculture, and developed and experimented at Smeaton. He will have known both Robert

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Brown and George Rennie well, for they were all heritors of Prestonkirk and met regularly over parish matters.

Secondly, and more importantly, there was Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster (1754-1834), politician, lawyer and author (Mitchison 1962). Educated at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Oxford, MP for Caithness, and first president of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement established in 1793, he was devoted to the promotion of improvement, particularly in agriculture, and planned and brought to publication the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, a survey of the whole country compiled from material supplied by parish ministers, between 1790 and 1799. Both Sir John and Sir George had houses in Edinburgh's Canongate. At some stage in the 1780s the work of Brown and Rennie came to the notice of Sir John, and given their shared interest in agriculture, it was probably Sir George who made Sir John Sinclair aware of the skills of Robert Brown and other East Lothian farmers. When Sir John began the project of producing 'Agricultural Surveys' of all the counties in the United Kingdom, in the hope that the accumulation of facts would promote discussion and lead to improvements in 'husbandry', he turned to these East Lothian men (Affleck 2010). In 1793 he appointed Robert Brown, George Rennie and John Shirreff of Captainhead, to carry out a survey of West Yorkshire in 1793. Extracts from their journal show that they began their tour of the area at Boroughbridge on 24 October, before travelling on to Knaresborough, Harrogate, and on via Ripley to Settle in the far NW of the county; their return journey took in Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Wakefield, Sheffield, Rotherham, Doncaster, Selby and Tadcaster before finishing back at Boroughbridge. During those five weeks, they looked at land-use and crops, leases and road conditions, and talked to farmers. Their initial report, with observations on the means of improvement, written by George Rennie, was published in 1794. However, in 1797 Sir John Sinclair lost his post as president of the Board of Agriculture, and the new president, Lord Somerville, was not interested in surveys, with the result that all surveys were suspended. So it was not until 1799 that a second, much enlarged, second edition of the *Report on West Yorkshire* was published. This time Robert Brown wrote it. It was his first publication.

The publication of the *Statistical Accounts* and the *Surveys on Rural Affairs* prompted an increase in communication and discussion amongst both the landed gentry and their tenants, and the patronage of Sir John Sinclair will certainly have encouraged Robert Brown in his writings. He had a century of agricultural discussion and publication to build upon. In 1699 Lord Belhaven had published *The Country-man's Rudiments; or An Advice to the Farmers of East Lothian how to Labour and Improve their Ground*, advising East Lothian farmers how to improve their lands; in 1736, John Cockburn of Ormiston had established an Agricultural Club which met regularly to disseminate knowledge amongst local proprietors and

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his tenants until it folded in 1747. One of these tenants, Andrew Wight, a cousin of Robert's grandmother, travelled the country reporting for the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates between 1778 and 1784. Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer* appeared in 1776; and in 1794 Sir George Buchan-Hepburn had his *General view of the agriculture and rural economy of East Lothian* published by the Board of Agriculture. These were just some of the writings that would have inspired Robert Brown to pursue his literary ambitions.

THE FARMER'S MAGAZINE AND OTHER WRITINGS

In January 1800, the first edition of Robert Brown's *The Farmer's Magazine* was published by Archibald Constable & Co., of Edinburgh. Described on the title page as 'A Periodical Work exclusively devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs' (fig 5), it carried the motto:

*Ye generous Britons, venerate the PLOUGH,
And o'er your hills and long-withdrawing vales
Let autumn spread her treasures to the sun.*

The aims of the magazine were explained thus:

The present state of British agriculture, and the known eminence of many who practice it as a profession is such as might justly draw upon the individuals who now address the public the imputation of arrogance were they presume to improve the system by any superior knowledge or abilities of their own. They think it necessary in the outset to say that it is not upon their own knowledge and experience they rely for carrying on the work, but upon the communications of respectable and intelligent farmers who have made agriculture their particular study, and who, in place of amusing the public with opinions, are able to bring forward facts which, under the sanction of experience, can be immediately adopted in practice.

This first volume was dedicated to Sir John Sinclair and there is no doubt that he had considerable influence in the publication, for the dedication read in part:

Your rank in the scale of society, the high degree of respect in which you are so deservedly held, added to the zeal you have shown for the improvement of British Agriculture, encouraged the promoters of this present work to hope that under your auspices, it will meet with the same favourable reception, from the public, that everything in which you have hitherto been concerned has done.

Considerable planning must have taken place before January 1800 to achieve this end. A prospectus had been sent out to contacts and possible contributors all over the country, and copies of county surveys were made available for review. Robert Brown served as conductor (or editor) for the first twelve years, assisted for the first three years by Dr Robert Somerville, surgeon in Haddington.

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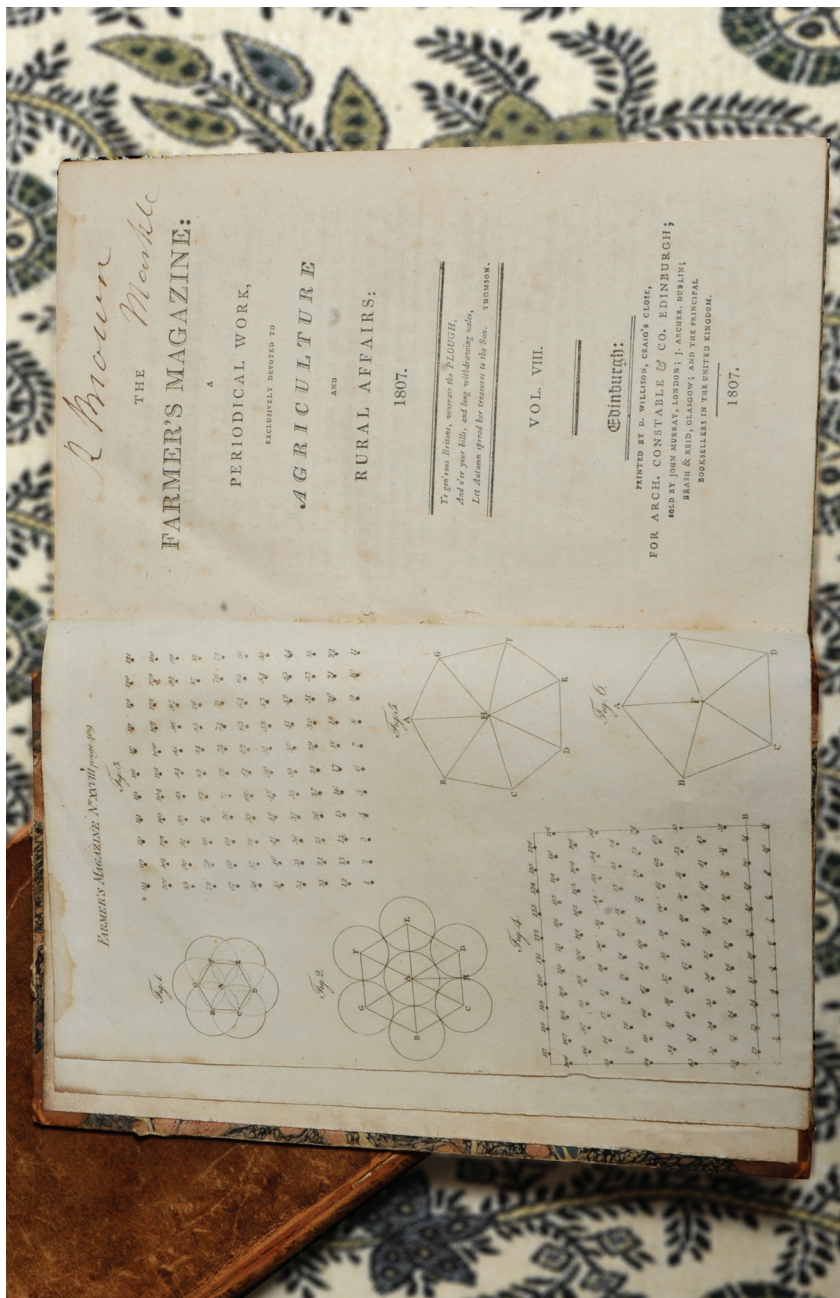


Figure 5: Volume VIII of Robert Brown's *The Farmer's Magazine*, published in 1807, bearing Robert Brown's signature (top right).
(Courtesy of David Ritchie, Robert Brown's great-grandson; photo: David Henrie)

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Dr Somerville must have come from a farming background, for he was appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement to draw up a 'General view of the agriculture of East Lothian' for the Board's consideration. However, he died in 1803, before completing it, and the survey was subsequently published from his papers by 'a well-known dissenting minister' in 1805. Robert Brown reviewed it in *The Farmer's Magazine* (1806 volume 7, p. 353.)

The success of Brown's new magazine was such that in 1802 the publishers presented him with a massive silver cup as a token of their esteem. It was inscribed:

From the Proprietors of The Farmer's Magazine to Robert Brown, Esquire.

*'Weel speed the plough o'er Scotia's plains,
The source of plenty, health and gains,
Lang smile in peace her cultured charms,
Her farmers, and her thriving farms.'*

In his tax assessment for 1805, Robert Brown declared that he received £100 annually from his work as its editor.

The Farmer's Magazine was published quarterly until 1825, providing an opportunity for farmers all over the country to report on their work and experiences. Every branch of agriculture was covered. 'Agricultural intelligence', reports from most of the counties of Scotland and England, appeared in every issue. Sir John Sinclair wrote many articles and obviously used it as an outlet for his views. Publications such as the County Surveys were reviewed, and obituaries of notable men, such as Andrew Meikle, also appeared. The contentious Corn Laws were frequently discussed. Cattle, sheep, potatoes, types of grass-seed, tithes, tenants, leases, illustrations of machinery - the variety of subjects was endless. Some contributors wrote under their real names, but the majority preferred to use pseudonyms: George Rennie wrote as 'Avator', whilst Robert Brown himself used 'N' or 'Versus', when not making comments in his role as 'conductor'. George Buchan-Hepburn, John Shirreff of Captainhead, and Robert Hope of Fenton were other local contributors.

An 'Account of the parish of Prestonkirk, county of Haddington', with notes by Robert Brown and first published in the second volume of *Chalmers' Caledonia*, appeared in *The Farmers Magazine* in 1811 (vol xii, 47–50). In the same volume (page 51), Brown wrote a 'Comparative view of East Lothian Husbandry in 1778 and 1810'; it continued in subsequent quarterly instalments. This compared the developments in agriculture in the later eighteenth century from the perspective of a tenant farmer with over 30 years' experience. This paper, which also included an introduction to the state of affairs since the Union of 1707, is today a valuable source for assessing the impact of advances in husbandry during that period.

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In that same year (1811), Robert Brown published ‘in two volumes octavo, price in boards, 25s’ his *Treatise on Rural Affairs*, illustrated with various plates of Husbandry implements (fig 6). He dedicated it, with permission, to Sir John Sinclair, president of the Board of Agriculture. Although a greater part had previously been published as separate articles in *The Farmer’s Magazine* and subsequently in the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, he took the opportunity to expand and improve on these. 1811 was certainly his most productive year for publications. At the end of it he ceased to be ‘conductor’ of *The Farmer’s Magazine*, bringing to an end twelve years of regularly riding his horse to publishers in Edinburgh, and around the country. He was succeeded by James Cleghorn (1778-1836), farmer and actuary, who was editor of *Blackwood’s Magazine* and founder of the Scottish Provident Association. But Brown did not stop writing, and contributed articles to the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, *Gardener’s Magazine* and other journals throughout the rest of his life.

The last issue of *The Farmer’s Magazine* was published in 1825. It ended with a review of the newly-published *Encyclopaedia of Agriculture*. In the third edition of this journal, in 1835 (page 131), John Claudius Loudon (1783 – 1843), editor, and publisher and founder of *Gardener’s Magazine* in 1826, writing about *The Farmer’s Magazine*, stated that the journal ‘did more to enlighten Scottish farmers than any other work’.

PROPRIETOR AND HERITOR

As well as the land and property he inherited, Robert Brown bought other tenements in Linton, in 1790 and 1791. Some of these he subsequently disposed of. In 1808 Sasines record him selling a large house and land on the east side of the High Street (RS27/610/212), and in 1815 selling ground to the Associate Burgher Congregation, whose former church building can still be seen in a wynd off the east side of the High Street. In that same year he sold a large house and five other houses on the same street (RS27/751/273). The 27 acres of land known as Nether Byres, to the west of the road leading north from Linton, that he owned enabled him to play an active part in the affairs of the parish. The minutes of heritors’

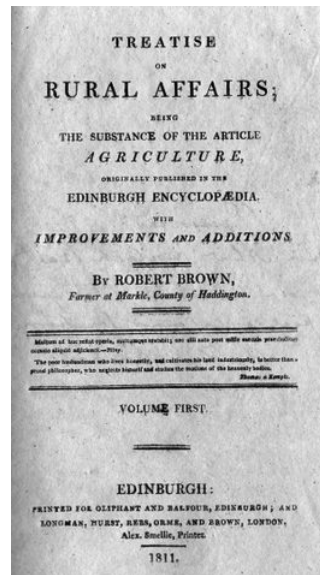


Figure 6: Title page of Robert Brown's *Treatise on Rural Affairs*, published in 1811. (Courtesy of Tom Middlemass, Markle Mains.)

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meetings indicate his involvement with the care of the poor. In March 1796 when the price of grain rose as a result of the French wars:

The meeting resolved that all tradesman and day labourers shall have a reasonable allowance of meal in proportion to their families and wages at a reduced price and that widows and single women shall have also a reasonable allowance at a still more reduced price.

Robert Brown and George Rennie had already purchased a large quantity of oats ‘which they were willing should be appropriated to the above purpose’. They were duly thanked for their generosity and were part of the committee that distributed the same (HR113). The heritors regularly met to discuss and check on repairs to the roads within the parish, ensuring that all the landowners and tenants fulfilled their obligations. Robert, on several occasions, paid for and carried out more repairs on the roads around Markle than was required.

In 1812, his eldest son, Lt. John Brown, was seized in life-rent in part of the Netherbyres called ‘Tossie Nosie’. There were codicils in 1814 and 1817, and these lands remained under Decrete in favour of the ‘curator bonis’ of John Brown until the 1850s. John had served in the 82nd Regiment of Foot, and must have received either injury or collapse that left him unable to care for himself. He spent the rest of his life in Saughton Hall Asylum, Edinburgh.

LATER YEARS

When the East Lothian Agriculturist Society held its first meeting on 10 December 1820, Robert Brown was not among the farmers present, but at the next meeting his is among the names mentioned as ‘Directors’. The aims of this society were to promote ‘improvements in agriculture, breeding and farming of stock and for more new or improved implements of husbandry’. Although his name appears as a director in the first two years, he does not appear to have played an active role, though other members of his family did. His son Charles was appointed a judge of Clay-Land Farms in July 1823, and his son Alexander, farmer at Drylawhill, was proposed for membership in 1825. Andrew Somerville, his son-in-law, became a director for some years.

In sorting out his affairs in 1824, Robert Brown wrote to the heritors regarding the land he owned in the parish:

A letter was laid before the meeting by the Clerk from Robert Brown Esq. of Netherbyres stating that the valuation of the lands in this parish purchased by his father from Mr Craw of Netherbyres and rated in the Cess Book of the county at £129.9s.8d. Scots, was now divided by the Commissioners of Supply between Sir John Buchan Hepburn, John Rennie Esq, William Hepburn Esq, and himself. Mr Brown requested that the three Chalders of Corn at which the above lands are in the parish books, and according to

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which the Parish assessments are proportioned should be divided among the said portioners. Mr Brown laid before them a scheme of Division of the above three chalders calculated by Hugh Fraser Esq, clerk to the Commissioners of supply in which the above mentioned proprietors are rated as follows:

<i>Sir John Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton</i>	<i>£42.12s.</i>
<i>John Rennie for Broomielands</i>	<i>£19.15s.11d.</i>
<i>and for Langside</i>	<i>£9.18s.</i>
<i>Robert Brown for Tossie Nossie</i>	<i>£19.15s.11d.</i>
<i>and for Miss Burtons lands of Kilncroft</i>	<i>£19.15s.11d</i>
<i>William Hepburn for Yellowstones</i>	<i><u>£17.11s.11d</u></i>
	<i>£129.9s.8d.</i>

(HR113/1, p 277 August 1824)

He continued farming Markle until his lease expired in 1823, moving to Drylawhill where he had bought a lease in the name of his son, Alexander. Still writing and supporting rural welfare, he could not put up with the doctrines and opinions of landlords and their agents who in the past had done much ill to their tenant farmers. Just before his death in 1831, he wrote to the papers in favour of investing the tenantry with the elective franchise and against the present law of hypothec (a term in Scots law giving a right over a debtor's property). Just after his death, *The Scotsman* of 9 February recorded a 'conditional loan' of £25 he had made to the Commissioners for the City Improvements for unemployed workmen.

Robert Brown died at Drylawhill on 4 February 1831. He was laid to rest in Prestonkirk graveyard. His wife Jane had predeceased him in 1827. Their impressive gravestone (fig 7) stands to the east of the church. It is inscribed:



Figure 7: The imposing gravestone (centre left) of Robert Brown and his wife Jane Dudgeon in Prestonkirk graveyard. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
Robert Brown Esq
LATE FARMER AT MARKLE.
DISTINGUISHED BY SUPERIOR TALENTS, WHICH HE
DILIGENTLY CULTIVATED,
POSSESSED OF EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE
WHICH HE BOUGHT TO BEAR WITH HAPPY EFFECT ON
THE VARIOUS SUBJECTS OF WHICH HE TREATED
HE ENGAGED CHIEFLY IN
RURAL AFFAIRS
AND ROSE TO EMINENCE NOT LESS BY HIS NUMEROUS
AND USEFUL WRITINGS ON HUSBANDRY
THAN BY
HIS SKILL AND SUCCESS AS A PRACTICAL AGRICULTURIST
AN AFFECTIONATE HUSBAND
A KIND FATHER
AN EXEMPLARY CHRISTIAN,
HE WAS
ALWAYS FORWARD TO ASSIST THOSE LESS SUCCESSFUL
THAN HIMSELF
HE DIED 14th FEBRUARY 1831 AGED 74 YEARS.
ALSO
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF
Jane Dudgeon,
HIS BELOVED SPOUSE, WHO DIED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1828
AGED 69 YEARS.
THIS MONUMENT
IS ERECTED
BY THEIR AFFECTIONATE CHILDREN
MDCCCXXXIX

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In 1828 Robert Brown had made a Trust disposition. Amongst his trustees were James Dudgeon, his brother-in-law, and Andrew Somerville, his son-in-law. He had previously made settlement 'of certain heritable subjects belonging to me lying in and about the town of East Linton in the county of Haddington in favour of John Brown my eldest son.' His household furniture, plate and bed and table linen were left equally to his children, in particular 'all the articles in the hands of Alexander Brown my son at Drylawhill as specified in a list thereof signed by me dated the twenty fourth October 1825'. The trustees were also 'to make over and deliver to my sons Alexander and Charles my library of books bound and unbound to be divided equally between them, as also to deliver to them all my manuscripts and private writings, all of which they are authorised to preserve or destroy as they may judge most prudent and advisable'. Two of his grandchildren, Janet and Robert Somerville, the children of his daughter Margaret, were left £200 and £100, 'which sums I hereby legate and bequeath to them at the dying request of my late daughter Janet Brown'. Robert Brown, eldest son of his youngest son Charles, was left £500. He named his surviving children as Margaret, John, Alexander, Isabella, James, George and Charles, and detailed how their shares of his estate were to be divided and how they were to receive their share. A caring father, he sought to do his best for their future (SC40/40/1).

DESCENDANTS (see fig 2)

MARGARET, his eldest daughter, born 3 August 1781, married Andrew Somerville, farmer at Athelstaneford Mains, in 1805. They had nine children. Margaret died on 8 May 1845 at Luffness Mill, and Andrew on 12 August 1852, aged 54. They were both buried in Athelstaneford churchyard. Of their children, John and Robert both went to America; Jane married James Walker, farmer at Whitelaw; Elizabeth married Alexander Brodie, farmer at East Fortune; Andrew became a merchant in Leith; Jessie, Beatrice, Catherine, Margaret and Isabella, were all mentioned in the testament of Major James Brown (SC40/40/9).

JOHN, his eldest son, born in October 1785, was bought a commission in the 82nd Regiment of Foot and reached the rank of lieutenant. It seems that he suffered some permanent injury, for after about 1812 he was cared for at Saughton Hall, in Edinburgh, then an asylum for the insane of the well-to-do. His affairs were first taken care of by his brothers, firstly Alexander, and on his death by Major James. John outlived all his brothers, and on the death of James, Isabella Ritchie or Brown, his sister and his nephew Robert Brown applied to the courts to appoint another nephew, Andrew Somerville, to act as guardian (CS313/542. Lt. John Brown son of Robert Brown, Markle, East Lothian 1852).

ALEXANDER, born on 29 September 1791, worked with his father at Markle, and was bought a tenancy at Drylawhill, which he farmed successfully

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until his death in 1836. He did not marry and died intestate, his affairs being dealt with by his two sisters, Margaret and Isabella.

ISABELLA, born on 10 December 1792, married the Rev. William Ritchie, minister of Athelstaneford, on 4 October 1825 after her father had moved to Drylawhill. William died on 3 January 1846, and Isabella in Edinburgh on 8 June 1869. They had four children, Andrew, Jane, Robert Brown, and James. In her father's testament, Isabella was to get 'five hundred pounds more than the share of any of my other children in consideration of the great trouble she has sustained in the management of my family'.

JAMES DUDGEON, born on 4 April 1794, was bought a commission in the army and reached the rank of major in the 79th Cameron Highlanders, serving in Canada and other foreign parts. When he left the army he took on the farm at Drylawhill, where he died, unmarried, on 8 December 1851. He left his estate to his nieces and nephews (SC40/40/9).

GEORGE was born on 11 April 1795, but it has not been possible to find out what happened to him. His father's testament indicates that he was not yet then settled in business.

CHARLES, born on 8 January 1797, married Isabella Simpson in 1827. They had three children, Robert, James and Jane. Charles had been bought a tenancy at Foulden Westmains, in Berwickshire, where he died in 1838. All three children are mentioned in the testament of Major James.

CONCLUSION

Andrew Wight of Ormiston, in his book, *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*, published in 1778, wrote:

In the course of surveying East Lothian, I have discovered that improvements in agriculture are chiefly owing to the tenants. East Lothian is a fine county; and agriculture has been long carried on there to greater perfection than in any other county in Scotland. This has made a good deal of money to circulate among the tenantry, or yeomanry, as termed in England, who are fond of their county and never willing to desert it. By this means there are always substantial tenants at hand to bid for every spot that is vacant; and the money and credit they have, enable them to make the most of their possessions. In other parts of Scotland, gentlemen have no other method to improve their estates, but by taking farms into their own hands, improving them and letting them out to tenants. As this is unnecessary in East Lothian, the gentlemen are few in number who apply themselves to agriculture.

Robert Brown became one of those tenant farmers. Of sound practical knowledge he successfully managed the farms of West Fortune and Markle for over

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40 years. His intellectual and literary skills that produced *The Farmer's Magazine*, the *Treatise on Rural Affairs* and other writings made his name known worldwide. His best articles were translated into French and German. By example and in his writings, informing, discussing and encouraging improvements in husbandry and rural affairs, his contribution to agriculture was unequalled amongst his contemporaries. His name is remembered in East Linton in 'Brown's Place', the continuation northwards of the High Street, where the houses are built on land he once owned.



Figure 8: The street sign 'Brown's Place' at the north end of the High Street, in East Linton, where Robert Brown owned land. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

It is remarkable that three Lintonians - Robert Brown, George Rennie, and Andrew Meikle - all made such a huge contribution to the development of agriculture in their county. James Miller, in a poem published in 1837 (see Martine 1883, 373), captured in words the efforts of these innovative improvers of East Lothian's husbandry:

*Among the first who led our patriot band,
To spread their rural studies o'er the land,
Was learned Hepburn, with law honours crowned,
Colleague of Sinclair; these associates found,
Leisure to form the plan, extend the code
That led the farmers on improvements road.
From dull obscurity's ungenial shade,
Fletcher brought Meikle's art their skill to aid;
While labour stretched his arms with cheerful smile
And blest the man that lightened all his toil.
Then Brown uprose, his pen with ardour glowed,
And taught what Rennie, in his practice showed;
While Brodie skilful – Howden, zealous now,
Bid us exulting cry, 'God speed the Plough'.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks go to Professor David Ritchie, great-great-grandson of Robert Brown, for his help and encouragement.

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*Figure 1: Newbyth House, built for Robert Baird to a design by Archibald Elliot. The fine battlemented Gothic pile – seen here looking towards the west (entrance) front – replaced a mansion built c. 1800 but destroyed by fire in early 1817. Robert Baird died in the house on 18 June 1828.
(Photo courtesy of David Brown)*

FATHER AND SON: TWO GENERATIONS OF BAIRDS AT NEWBYTH

by *DAVID K. AFFLECK*

INTRODUCTION

In Volume 26 of these *Transactions*, Stephen Bunyan (2006, 54-68) presented a paper on the Bairds of Newbyth, focusing chiefly on the life of General Sir David Baird (1757-1829) and his ancestral home at Newbyth, in the parish of Whitekirk. In passing, it touched on Sir David's elder brother, Robert 'of Newbyth' (1745-1828), and his brother's son, David (1795-1852), who inherited the estate from his father and the title 'baronet of Newbyth' from his uncle. Little has been published about either Robert or David, and this paper attempts to shed more light on the father and son who owned, and resided at, Newbyth House for the best part of a century.

ROBERT BAIRD 'OF NEWBYTH'

Robert Baird succeeded to the estates of his brother, William Baird, on the latter's death in Bristol on 19 July 1769. (Robert Thorne (1986, III, 112), in his *Parliamentary History*, states that Robert Baird succeeded to Newbyth in 1769 on the death of his father, William Baird senior, but the latter was buried in Liberton Kirk in January 1766.) A manuscript in the National Library of Scotland entitled *Account of the surname of Baird*, attributed to William Baird of Auchmedden and dated 1770, ends with the statement: 'Robert, the second son, is an officer and went about that time to his regiment in Minorca' (NLS: ADV.MS32./6.12). On 6 August 1770, while in Gibraltar, Robert Baird signed a deed appointing his mother, Alice Baird, and John Mackenzie W.S., of Delvin, as 'my sole curators [...] to manage the lands, coalwork buildings and heritages lying within the shores of Edinburgh and Haddington and to pay debts due to my father and late brother William's creditors' (NRS: RD4/208/311).

Three main sources shed fresh light on the life of Robert Baird. The most reliable are the biographical notes compiled for Members of Parliament, for Robert became an M.P. for the Haddington Burghs in 1796 (Thorne 1986, 112). These give his date of birth as 1745, and record that he married his cousin, Hesther Johnston, at Hutton, in Berwickshire, on 20 November 1778; Hesther was the daughter of Wynne Johnston, 6th of Hilton. After her death in 1789, at the Hot Wells, Bristol, according to the *Scots Magazine* of 1 July 1789, Robert married Hersey Christina Maria Gavin, daughter of David Gavin, a wealthy merchant based in Holland who had acquired the estate of Langton, also in Berwickshire, by purchase from a branch of the Cockburn family in 1758; Hersey's mother, Lady Elizabeth Maitland,

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was the sister of James Maitland, 7th earl of Lauderdale. Those same notes also include details of his military service, through paid commissions extracted from the Army List - ensign in the 39th Foot in July 1769 (the year he inherited the estates following his elder brother's death), then lieutenant in 1774, and finally captain in the 82nd Foot until he retired in 1781. The 39th Foot was the Dorsetshire Regiment. National Army Museum records suggest that the regiment was in Ireland in 1769 and set off for Gibraltar in May that year, where they were based for fourteen years. His younger brother, the future General Sir David Baird, joined him there for a time in 1774, in his capacity as ensign with the 2nd Regiment of Foot. The 82nd Regiment of Foot was raised in Lanarkshire in 1778 for service in the American Revolutionary War. It was sent there in 1779 to establish and defend New Ireland (Maine). In April 1781, the regiment deployed to Wilmington, North Carolina, and was then interned following the British army's final defeat at Yorktown.

The British Newspaper Archive shows that on his return home, and before his entry into Parliament, Robert became a significant breeder of race-horses and frequently acted as steward at horse-racing events. John Martine (1999, 243) records that 'He kept a good stud of hunters and was the owner of several racehorses', adding that 'one called Cleveland ran second for the St. Leger at Doncaster in 1826'.

The third source arises from the other properties owned by his great-grandfather, Sir Robert Baird of Saughton (1621-97). Newbyth land granted to his grandfather, William Baird, included land between Phantassie and Kirklandhill, as well as lands at Gilmerton, in the parish of Liberton, in Edinburgh. The extraction of coal and sandstone from Gilmerton, referred to in the *New Statistical Account* in 1845 (Begg 1845, 20), helps explain how the Baird family had been able to finance the erection of not one but three mansion houses at Newbyth – the first by Robert and James Adam to a design by their father William Adam (died 1748), then a rebuilding c. 1800 to a design by James Burn, and finally an entirely new one – the present house (fig 1) – following a fire in 1817, designed by Archibald Elliot (Bunyan 2006, 60).

Whilst the estate records do not appear to have survived, the merchant activities of Robert at Newbyth, with its 'five valuable farms' (Martine 1999, 242), appear to have been a consequence of land-ownership through land-leases and marketing agricultural produce such as grain; in the *Caledonian Mercury* for 29 August 1791, for example, Robert is listed as a member of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool. Yet estate management was not without its problems, especially during the economic downturn caused by the Napoleonic Wars. One of Robert's tenants, George Turnbull, farming at Howden and Stonelaws, was unable to pay his rent for all of 1809 and part of 1810, and as a result was sequestered. However, the financial settlement was not resolved until December 1833 when

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Robert Baird's trustees and executors and other claimants came to a minute of agreement on the allocation of the assets of the by-now deceased farmer (NRS: CS46/1834/2/82). Another case of civil action, dated 12 February 1802, refers to a George Hepburn having received a lease in 1772 for the farm of Pleasance from Robert Baird; this was apparently an improving lease for a period of 21 years on land 'that was not supposed would prove a lucrative concern' (NRS: CS235/11/11/4).

In 1795 Robert Baird stood for the Parliamentary seat of the Haddington Burghs (comprising the five burghs of Jedburgh, Lauder, Haddington, Dunbar and North Berwick) in a by-election. He was returned unopposed in June 1796. According to Thorne's account in *Parliamentary History* (1986, III, 112), Robert Baird, described as a sportsman, was under obligation to Henry Dundas and owed his entry into Parliament to his second marriage (Hersey Gavin was a niece of Lord Lauderdale and Lord Tweeddale). The entry continues: 'When the latter put him up for Haddingtonshire on an anticipated vacancy in March 1795, Baird was embarrassed to discover that in consenting to this, he fell foul of Dundas, who had chosen another candidate and, smelling opposition, reminded him of favours conferred on his family. Conceiving that it was too late to detract, Baird, who denied opposition or ingratitude, reluctantly consented to a compromise whereby he waived his candidature for the county in exchange for the assurance of a seat for Haddington Burghs, which he obtained.'

Another, fuller account highlights the role of Sir George Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton, who had agreed to support Baird on the understanding that he was a friend of the government. In 1795 Buchan Hepburn was beginning to regret the role he had played 'and wished still to be regarded as Dundas's friend' (Thorne 1986, II, 542). The account refers to an agreement 'being sealed at Pencaitland with a plentiful dose of claret' on 26 October that year. Buchan Hepburn is quoted as rejoicing 'we are all one man's bairns again.' Apparently, Baird showed no opposition in that Parliament and vacated the seat in March 1802 'without having uttered in debate'. When he tried to stand for Haddingtonshire in 1807, 'Lauderdale declined putting him up [...] as he stood no chance and was not popular'. His remaining years appear to have been spent as a country gentleman running a stud for horse-racing winners within the U.K., as well as building a new mansion at Newbyth. Bunyan (2006, 60, 66) speculates that the fine new Gothic mansion (see fig 1) was built in preparation for his son David's marriage to Lady Anne Kennedy, eldest daughter of the 12th earl of Cassilis, which took place in 1821. Robert himself died on 18 June 1828 in his new house at Newbyth. No obituary has as yet been located, and the length of the notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* is restricted to a mere three lines.

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SIR DAVID BAIRD, 2ND BARONET OF NEWBYTH

David Baird succeeded to his father's estate in 1828, and in 1829, following the death of his uncle, General Sir David Baird, he succeeded also to the baronetcy of Newbyth. Researching his life has been a challenge of hidden histories.

Take, for example, his career as a soldier. All we know is that at Waterloo, in 1815, he was an ensign serving in the second battalion of the 3rd Regiment of Foot, under Second Major (Colonel) Frances Hepburn, that he was promoted to captain on 4 July 1816, and left the service in 1817. No personal record of his experience of Waterloo has been located, but there is an account that must have been written after his death by a Private Matthew Clay, then serving with the Coldstream Guards in the defence of Hougomont stading. Clay describes how he was kneeling and firing from cover at the French approach 'but annoyed by a most galling fire' pouring in from the left as more and more French soldiers enveloped the west corner of the buildings. Incoming fire was heavy, and 'the spreading of small shots rarely escaped contact with our knapsacks and accoutrements [...] Even the heels of our shoes whilst kneeling were struck by them'. He continues: 'Ensign David Baird in his company was struck on the jaw bone by a musket ball, which knocked out some teeth on the opposite side of his mouth. The bone was left protruding with some teeth still embedded in it. Staunching the blood flow in the first instance would have required an experienced surgeon, and with only two surgical assistants in an average infantry battalion, this was unlikely. Nevertheless, someone succeeded' (Clay 2006, 18).

In August 1821, David married Lady Anne Kennedy, daughter of Archibald, 12th earl of Cassilis, by special licence at the Cassilis' home in Middlesex. She was his first cousin once removed. The marriage was more than a simple commitment of two people to each other. Reference has already been made to David's father as a noted breeder and owner of race-horses. It was an interest David inherited, and also shared with his father-in-law, who is depicted in a painting hanging at Culzean Castle riding a horse at speed. He is listed in *The Scotsman* for 15 October 1823 as taking part in the Kelso races, whilst the *Leicester Chronicle* for April 1838 reveals Sir David's participation in a horse-race meeting at Croxton Park, in Cambridgeshire; his horse Fudge fell twice during one race, and in another he beat Lord Macdonald's horse. This passion is reflected in a comment in an obituary that 'he devoted himself to the chase and was the most daring rider of his day, sometimes performing feats which astonished the field, even in Leicester'.

Sir David was undoubtedly a keen sportsman, but here again researching his achievements is a challenge. He was, for example, a keen curler, and Reverend John Kerr, minister of Dirleton, in his *History of Curling* (1890), in describing the background to the formation of the Grand Caledonian Curling Club (now the Royal Caledonian Curling Club), noted that Sir David attended a meeting of delegates

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from instituted clubs to discuss the setting up of the national body in 1838. However, the early records of East Linton Curling Club make no reference either to Sir David as its president or to his attendance, on behalf of the club, at that 1838 meeting. Sir David was duly elected as the Grand Caledonian Curling Club's third president in 1840/41, and he and his wife, Lady Anne, patroness of East Linton Curling Club, hosted club matches and bonspiels at Newbyth Lake when weather conditions allowed.

Sir David was also an avid golfer. A display board in the British Golf Museum in St. Andrews discloses that he won five gold medals at North Berwick and two from the Royal and Ancient Club itself. The Reverend John Kerr, in his *Golf Book of East Lothian*, published in 1896, notes that Sir David was founder member and first captain of North Berwick Golf Club in 1832, and the first outright winner of the Saddell Medal for three years, entitling him to keep the award. He is recorded as willing to ride any distance to get a game. Willie Park senior, four-times winner of the Open Championship, is quoted as saying that on one occasion Sir David 'drove down to Musselburgh in heavy rain, played eight rounds and then drove back without any change of clothes'. However, as Willie Park was only born in 1833, and the event took place before December 1851, there is cause to wonder if the account is reliable, though it would have been a tale worth remembering. Certainly the early minute books of the North Berwick Golf Club give examples of his generosity, particularly in the practice of celebrating socially through supplies of beer, champagne and mutton.

Not everything Sir David tried succeeded. His attempt to win the constituency of Haddington Burghs in the 1831 election, the last before the introduction of the Reform Act, resulted in his defeat at the hands of James Balfour of Whittingehame by 39 votes; Balfour had the benefit of support from his own father-in-law, the earl of Lauderdale. He stood again at the Parliamentary election for Haddingtonshire in 1832 as the Whig candidate but still could not break the earl of Lauderdale's control. John Kerr described him as more of a sportsman than a politician, but the respect he earned from his supporters in that election led to them praising him as a reformer at a special dinner in Haddington in September 1833, at which he was presented with a special plate bearing the following inscription:

*This expression of public feeling emanates from seven thousand individuals
of the County of East Lothian whose contributions were limited
from one penny to one shilling.*

There is a painting now hanging in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery called 'The Golfers', by Charles Lees, RSA. It was based on a golf match played at St. Andrews in 1844 between Sir David and his partner, Sir Robert Anstruther, against Major Playfair of St. Andrews and John Campbell of Saddell. They are depicted surrounded by a group of select golfers of the day, including Sir David's

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close friend, Charles Robertson; Kerr refers to the two men as 'two amphibious heroes who loved the gutty well and were splendid curlers'. One striking feature of the painting is Sir David's intense concentration as he watches to see if Major Playfair's ball will drop into the hole.

In 1844 Sir David was struggling with a plan to sell part of his Newbyth estate to Walter Gilmour, a neighbour of his at Gilmerton, in Edinburgh. His plan had been challenged by agents acting for his daughters, sons and other members of his wider family with a claim to the estate. It had gone to the Court of Session in 1842 where the Court found in favour of the petitioners - that the terms of the deed of entail executed by Sir John Baird on 4 August 1737 did not permit the heirs of taille to feu out or sell off the manor places of Newbyth and Gilmerton. The case then went to the House of Lords, which on 18 February 1847 held that Sir David could not sell more than the manor. Despite the verdict and the award of costs against him, Sir David took part in a public meeting of proprietors of entailed estates in Edinburgh, chaired by the lord provost. According to the full report in *The Scotsman* of 10 March 1847, entails were seen as one of the greatest obstacles to the improvement of the land. Sir David spoke of a movement that had begun little more than twelve months previous and that he had raised the subject with proprietors and tenantry of East Lothian, adding 'though my observations and my sentiments were approved of, my advice was disregarded.' One speaker saw the 1685 Act 'as the last efforts of an expiring feudalism ... in the present age of science, civilisation and freedom'. The meeting closed with a motion to bring this concluding link in the cause of free trade to a triumphant conclusion. Sir David was clearly out for a fight and used the words 'we shall have to combat the prejudices of a party who deem it a species of sacrilege to attempt to disturb any custom, law or grievance which in their view is hallowed by the stamp of antiquity'.

Four years later, Sir David, politician, estate owner, magistrate and sportsman, was dead. The circumstances of his death were tragic. Whilst taking part in Lord Elcho's hunt at Marchmont on 16 December 1851, his horse was injured so he borrowed another. But upon dismounting to clear an obstruction, the horse repeatedly kicked him, causing great injury to his leg. He was taken to a nearby inn where some reports say he died a few days later. However, according to the memorial to him in Liberton Kirk (fig 2), he survived until 7 January 1852; he would be joined by his wife Anne in 1877. His will was confirmed at Haddington Sheriff Court on 8 April 1852, and his baton was passed to the next generation (NRS: SC40/40/09).

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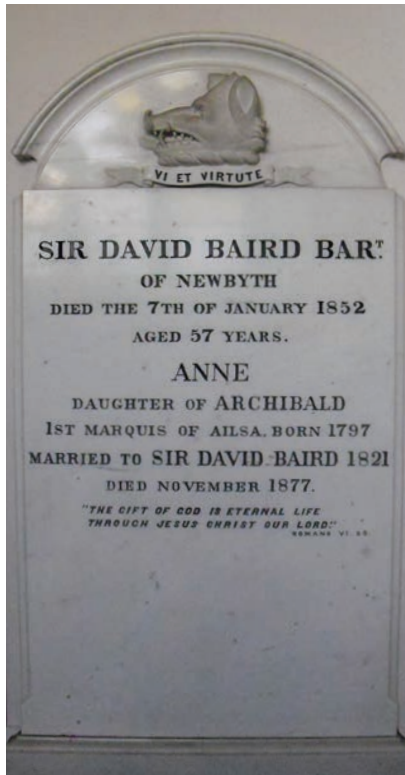


Figure 2: The memorial to Sir David Baird, now displayed in the Elders' Room in Liberton Kirk.
(Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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Figure 1: The punchbowl on its table.
(Courtesy Lyon & Turnbull, Auctioneers, Edinburgh)

SCOTLAND'S LARGEST WHEEL-THROWN POT: THE PRESTONPANS PUNCHBOWL

by *GEORGE R. HAGGARTY*

Research Associate; National Museums Scotland

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION

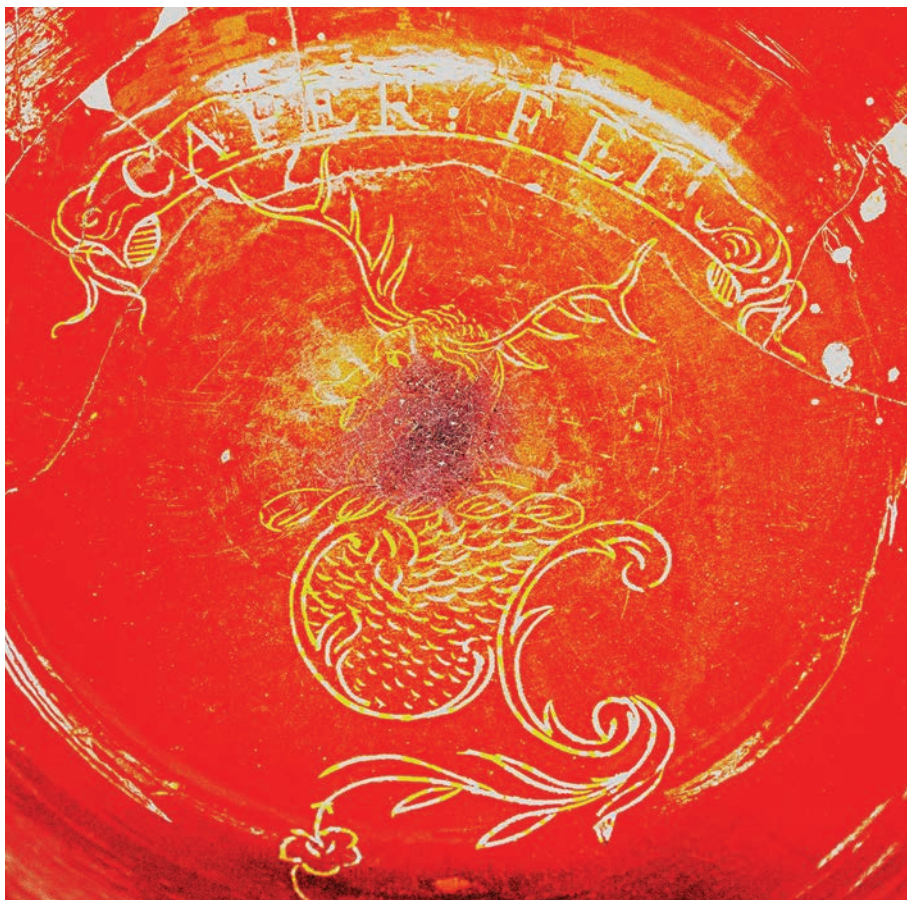
The National Museums Scotland recently acquired an extremely large, lead-glazed redware punchbowl, sitting on a late-Victorian ebonised table with eight turned legs linked by stretchers (NMS accession no: X2015 271). The punchbowl had been damaged and repaired, and the top of the table adapted to hold the bowl within what is now a damaged circular collar (fig 1). Both were consigned from Dollerie House, Crieff, and offered for sale on the 12 August 2015, in Edinburgh, by Lyon and Turnbull, a major Scottish auction house. The auctioneers were kind enough to ask the author to examine the bowl prior to it being catalogued, and to everyone's delight, when it was turned over by two strapping members of staff, it was found to have been incised on its base. This consisted of a date - '1776' - and the probable potter's initials - 'M.C', or possibly 'M.G' - followed by the letters 'P. Pans', short for Prestonpans (fig 2). Unfortunately, as yet I have been unable to match these initials to a potter in the records of the Prestonpans Potters' Box (NRS: CS96/1/299), parish births or marriages, but research continues.



Figure 2: The date and potter's markings on the base of the punchbowl. (Courtesy Lyon & Turnbull, Auctioneers, Edinburgh)

The punchbowl, with a diameter of 750mm and a height of 320mm, is the largest piece of Scottish wheel-thrown pottery recorded to date and, if filled, could hold well in excess of 180 imperial pints. The bowl has been incised underglaze on its interior with a stag's head, partly hidden below a puddle of run lead glaze, under a fancy ribbon containing the motto 'CABER. FET' (fig 3).

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*Figure 3: The words 'CABER FET' on the inside of the punchbowl.
(Courtesy Lyon & Turnbull, Auctioneers, Edinburgh)*

The words, more accurately 'Caper Fey', are a corruption of *Cabar Feidh*, which refers to the stag's head, or more correctly its antlers, rendered on the arms of Mackenzie of Kintail, and later the earls of Seaforth. Below the stag's head are two large rococo 'C' scrolls, one tailing off with leaves and a flower, while between the scrolls and filling one, are overlapping scales weakening into dashes. The exterior has also been decorated with a band of incised swags below its rim, and under this are traces of a very broad, meandering floral and foliate band of what looks like quite sophisticated honey gilding, traces of which can still be seen if one looks closely. All the incised decoration has been filled with white slip, which now looks yellow under its lead glaze.

SCOTLAND'S LARGEST WHEEL-THROWN POT: THE PRESTONPANS PUNCHBOWL

THE FAMILY

Although there is no documentation, it has always been assumed by the family that the Prestonpans bowl arrived at Dollerie when Anthony Murray, 11th of Dollerie, married Georgina Murray of Ochtertyre in 1829. The Buck's Head crest and motto in the bottom of the bowl is that of George Mackenzie, 3rd earl of Cromarty, Grand Master of Scottish Freemasons 1737-38, and a Jacobite army officer, who had his estates and title confiscated after the 1745-6 uprising. He died twenty years later, on 28 Sep 1766. His daughter, Lady Augusta Mackenzie, married Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre in 1770 and was the grandmother of Georgina Murray. Georgina brought much in the way of possessions or dowry with her on her marriage to Anthony Murray. Given that the punchbowl was produced ten years after George Mackenzie's death, could it be that it was commissioned as some form of commemoration? The use of decorative rococo scrolls on the 1776 bowl is interesting as it is a style which had begun to decline from the 1760s, when it began to be replaced by neoclassical symmetry. It is therefore possible that the internal scrolls may be a hidden 'E' and 'C', referring to the earl of Cromarty, with the flower being of Jacobite significance.

PRESTONPANS

At the period of the punchbowl's manufacture there were three potteries in Prestonpans - the Old Kirk, Bankfoot and a small one making coarse redwares. The Old Kirk pottery, situated at the extreme east of the town, was founded in 1750 by the entrepreneur William Cadell senior. Both the merchant Samuel Garbett and the physician and experimental chemist Dr John Roebuck had an interest in this pottery. At first producing salt-glazed stoneware, it was run by Cadell's nephew, also William Cadell. Following his departure to set up on his own in the smaller pottery at Bankfoot at the west end of town, Old Kirk was managed by his son John. We know from documentation and newspaper adverts placed in both the *Caledonian Mercury*, and *Edinburgh Evening Courant* that by the time the Dollerie bowl was produced, the Old Kirk pottery was marketing a range of creamware, gilded black and tortoise-shell wares. Unfortunately, very few examples of its manufacture have been identified. These include part of a printed and painted creamware dinner service, and an earlier large white salt-glazed stoneware punchbowl incised 'Prefstonpan 1754'. Interestingly, this bowl, which is much smaller than the Cromarty example, with a diameter of 406mm, may still be the largest extant example of British thrown white salt-glazed stoneware. Certainly it is a masterful example of wheel-thrown stoneware and powerful testimony to the skill of the potters who fashioned it.

Despite their undoubted ceramic expertise, it was not until 1789 that the Old Kirk company contemplated manufacturing glazed brownware including: '...

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Pigs, at five pence per dozen ...', and if this venture was successful, they intended to build workers' housing (NRS: CS40/20/12). Despite this, the possibility that the Old Kirk pottery was the source cannot be discounted, given their adverts which suggest they employed somebody capable of gilding.

The Bankfoot pottery site consisted of a 'Tenement of land with houses, biggings, yards, corn barn, malt barn and kiln steep-stove' (NRS: RS 27/175/17), and it has been suggested that it may have originally specialised in brown earthenware, using local clay. What is certain is that by 1771 they were grinding flints at a nearby mill which had been let to Margaret Cadell for nineteen years by Janet, countess of Hyndford (NRS: CS40/20/5 & NRS: CS40/20/70). After the death of her husband, Margaret was advertising in 1775 that the pottery 'continues to make CREAM COLOURED STONEWARE of all different kinds; Red China ditto; Enamelled ditto; Black and Tortoise-shell, brown Earthen Ware'. Presently, we cannot identify any of the wares produced at the Bankfoot pottery during the Cadell tenure. The works was sold in 1795 by Margaret Cadell (née Inglis) to the Gordons, who had been potting at Morrison Haven.

SUMMARY

The reason why such an important bowl was produced in redfiring clay is not difficult to understand. It would have been almost impossible to fire a vessel of this large size either in creamware or white salt-glazed stoneware. From what remains of the extensive gilding, we can almost certainly exclude the small redware pottery whose stock-in-trade would have been common dairy bowls, crocks and flowerpots etc. Given that the Old Kirk pottery did not contemplate manufacturing glazed brownware (what we now call redware) until 1789, and although it is far from proven at present, the Bankfoot potteries may be our best option for the manufacture of the Dollerie bowl.

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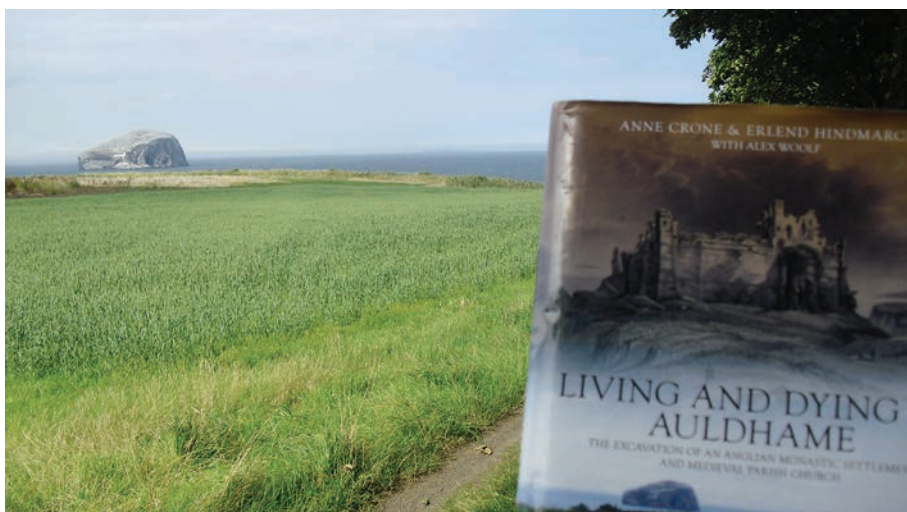


Figure 1: The book, and (beyond) the grassy headland at Auldham, where: excavation has revealed one thousand years of burial activity and liturgical practice, the nature of which changed over the course of the millennium. It has charted the birth and death of a church, from a monastic settlement established in the seventh century AD, which then became a parish church in the twelfth century and ultimately ended its life in the seventeenth century AD as the burial aisle/mortuary chapel for its wealthy landowners.

(Photo: Chris Tabraham)

BOOK REVIEW:

LIVING AND DYING AT AULDHAME: THE EXCAVATION OF AN ANGLIAN MONASTIC SETTLEMENT AND MEDIEVAL PARISH CHURCH

by ANNE CRONE AND ERLEND HINDMARCH
with ALEX WOOLF

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INTRODUCTION

It was just an ordinary headland with an extraordinary view out over the Firth of Forth to the Bass Rock, Fife Ness and the Isle of May (fig 1). Until February 2005, that is, when a keen-eyed farmer planting tatties on the promontory at Auldham, within bow-shot of mighty Tantallon Castle, spotted human bones being turned up by his plough. Those bones led to a walkover survey, then to a site evaluation including test pitting, and finally to a full-blown archaeological dig, all funded by Historic Scotland. By the time 2005 had run its course, that simple headland had yielded up its long-held secret – it had once been the site of a church and graveyard reaching back to the time of St Baldred (or Balthere as we now have to call him) and the Anglian occupation of East Lothian 1300 years ago.

But that wasn't the end of the story. As the diggers were packing up their buckets and trowels, experts were beginning to sort their way through the assorted assemblage of 'finds' – human bones, artefacts, soil samples and so forth. It was a slow, painstaking process, but it proved to be immensely rewarding and hugely significant. For the simple headland that had turned into a church and graveyard during the dig was transmogrified into something even more fascinating – an Anglian monastery no less, founded in the time of Balthere, and possibly by the saint himself. It is perfectly possible that our local holy man of God himself was buried there at his death in AD 756 – and who knows, his mortal remains may well be among the 242 skeletons recovered.

Living and Dying at Auldham is the full, definitive report of that 2005 'dig'. It reveals the fascinating story of that exposed headland down the centuries, from its possible use in prehistory as an Iron-Age promontory fort, its re-use as an Anglian monastery, its destruction, probably by Viking raiders, around AD 900, its re-emergence in the twelfth century as the parish church and burial ground for the good people of Auldham, ultimately ending its days in the seventeenth century as the burial aisle/mortuary chapel for its wealthy landowners.

BOOK REVIEW

The main authors, Anne Crone and Erlend Hindmarch, both of AOC Archaeology Group, and their 'army' of experts, are to be congratulated on producing such a comprehensive and highly readable account. The chapters on: the excavated features (the buildings and burials), chronology, the artefactual assemblage, osteo-archaeological studies and the ecofact assemblage, are all full of fascinating insights.

Two highlights stand out for special mention. The discovery of an Anglo-Saxon inkwell (one of only six known in Britain) suggested that the Anglian monastery had a *scriptorium* – a possibility further supported when large quantities of dog-whelk shells were found in the soil samples; apparently, dog-whelk shells were used for extracting a purple dye or pigment for soaking or marking parchment.

The second, and arguably even more fascinating, discovery was that of a grave whose young adult male skeleton was associated with Viking-Age objects, including a copper-alloy belt set and iron prick-spurs and spearhead, all of which associate him with the Norse communities around the Irish Sea. Was he perhaps one of the Vikings who sacked Tynninghame monastery around 940, and probably ended Auldham's existence too? Even more intriguing - could he have been the leader of that expedition himself, Olaf Guthfrithson, king of Dublin and Northumbria, who died soon afterwards?

The report is brought to a conclusion by an engaging chapter titled 'Living and Dying at Auldham' by the authors and three experts in their respective fields - Andy Heald, who reviews the Viking activity, Morag Cross, who charts the documentary history of the site from 1000 to 1800, and finally Dr Alex Woolf, of the School of History in the University of St Andrews, who brings the volume to a rousing climax with his 'historian's view of the evidence from Auldham'.

There was a time when I used to walk across that headland with my collie dog, admiring nothing but the splendid views. Now, whenever I visit, that view pales into insignificance as I reflect on what went on beneath my feet a millennium and more ago.

Chris Tabraham

Formerly Principal Historian with Historic Scotland

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ANNUAL REPORT 2015

The ninetieth annual meeting of the society was held in Prestongrange Parish Church on Saturday 10th May 2014. The society was welcomed by the session clerk, Mr Ian S Wallace. Twenty one members were welcomed to the meeting by the president. There were several apologies.

The president paid tribute to members and former members who had died in the course of the year - Mrs Jean Colley, Dr Islay Donaldson and Mrs Sarah Tennent and former members Mr John Edington, Mr Stewart Ritchie and Dr Arthur Taylor.

The minutes of the previous year's AGM were approved. The annual report for the previous year, which had been circulated beforehand, was accepted. Mrs Joy Dodd presented the accounts and the financial report was approved. She underlined the importance of members paying by standing order and signing gift-aid forms. The president thanked Mrs Dodd for her work on behalf of the society and expressed thanks to Mr John Sparksman, the external examiner.

Stephen Bunyan was re-elected as president, and Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Bt GCVO, and The Dowager Countess of Wemyss and March were re-elected as vice-presidents. 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. There was no nomination for the office of press officer and this post remained vacant. The Duke of Hamilton was elected as a new member of council, and the existing members - David Affleck, Jacquie Bell, Allison Cosgrove, Bill Dodd, Bridget Elwood, Vicky Fletcher, Iain Hardie, John Hunt and Shena Jamieson - continued to serve. John Sparksman was re-appointed as independent examiner for the accounts.

At the conclusion of the meeting, after tea, a talk was given by the session clerk, Ian Wallace, on the history of the church, which was particularly interesting as it was among the first churches to be built for the Reformed kirk. Mr Paton, the church officer, spoke about changes in the structure over the years and led some members round the graveyard. Thanks were expressed.

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ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 7 June the society had a conducted tour of the Pinkie battle sites. On Saturday 12 July the society visited the Whittingehame estate, by kind invitation of Michael Brander Esq. This was a visit to the old tower, the old church, the woodland and the parish church but did not include a visit to Whittingehame House. Michael Brander spoke about the tower, David Affleck about the old church and the Balfour family, John Hunt about the woodland, and Stephen Bunyan about the parish church. Tea was provided by John and Christian Lindsay in the Old Manse.

On Sunday 9 August the society visited Gosford House, where they were received by the Dowager Countess of Wemyss who led a comprehensive tour of the interior and gave an enormous amount of information about the pictures and furniture.

On Saturday 13 September the society visited medieval Crichton Castle, led by Chris Tabraham, who gave a most comprehensive tour of the castle.

The final outing of the season was to Duns Castle where the group was received by Mr and Mrs Alick Hay. Mr Hay talked about the history of this important building, part of which dates from 1320 when it was granted to Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray. It is essentially a great house designed for the Hays by James Gillespie Graham between 1818 and 1822. It contains a fine collection of pictures and furniture.

Three lectures were given in the course of the winter. On 11 November Sally Wilson gave a fascinating talk based on her book about, Lady Helen Hall, wife of Sir James Hall, 4th baronet of Dunglass, entitled *Lady Helen Hall: Lang-heidit ledy*. The second lecture, on 17 February, was given by David Spaven on the life and death and rebirth of the Borders Railway. The third lecture, on 18 March, was by Dr Claire Pannell on the theme of East Lothian Council's collection of paintings. At the annual dinner on the 17 April, John Hunt gave a talk entitled 'SOS Puffin', about the work of removing tree mallow from the Seabird Islands off North Berwick.

OTHER MATTERS

Volume 30 of the *Transactions* is now published. The society is grateful to contributors, and also to Chris Tabraham, our hon. editor, for his tremendous efforts in bringing it all together.

The president has retired as a trustee of the Lamp of Lothian. The Duke of Hamilton is currently a trustee. 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. John Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay advisory group. The hon. secretary represents the society on the East Lothian

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Heritage Forum. The society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland.

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

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ANNUAL REPORT 2016

The ninety-first annual meeting of the society was held in Tranent Parish Church on Saturday 16 May 2016. Twenty-one members were in attendance. Apologies were received from Mrs J Bell, Mrs A Cosgrove, Mrs I. Gristwood, Mr J Hunt, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Mrs C Holland, Mrs P Miles, Miss E McGregor, Lady Ogilvy, Mr & Mrs Primrose, Mr & Mrs G Robertson, Mr N Roger, Mrs Frances Scott and Mrs J Wilson. The society remembered members Norman and Julie Murphy, both of whom had died during the course of the year.

The minutes of the previous year's AGM were approved on the motion of Ian Hardie, seconded by Bill Dodd. The treasurer submitted the accounts for the past financial year which had been approved at a meeting of council held prior to the commencement of this meeting. The accounts were noted. The treasurer advised that the Gift Aid form had been revised to take account of recent changes by HMRC, and he underlined the importance of members paying by Standing Order and in confirming that they were UK taxpayers as the Gift Aid recovered on such subscriptions was financially beneficial to the society.

The president reported that the storage of past volumes of the *Transactions* continued to be a problem, especially for the Librarian's domestic arrangements, and that consideration was being given to transferring them to a digital data base. This would allow the considerable body of learned papers to be available to a much wider audience and the option of making a financial charge for accessing this data base was also being explored. Chris Tabraham, hon. editor, advised that volume 31 was due to be published by Easter 2017 and that papers currently under consideration included Yester Castle, Post-Reformation kirk architecture in East Lothian, Robert Brown of Markle and the Haddington Election of 1723.

The Council's nominations were then approved as follows:

President - Mr Stephen Bunyan

Vice President - Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple BT. GCVO

Vice President - The Dowager Countess of Wemyss & March

Honorary Treasurer - Mr John Lamb

Honorary Secretary - Mr Graeme Bettison

Honorary Press/Publicity Officer - vacant

Honorary Librarian - Mrs Joy Dodd

Honorary Field Naturalist Advisor - Mr John Hunt

Honorary Editor of the *Transactions* - Mr Chris Tabraham

Website Advisor - Mr Simon Boak

The existing members of council, being The Duke of Hamilton, Mr David Affleck, Mrs Jacquie Bell, Ms Allison Cosgrove, Mr Bill Dodd, Mrs Bridget Elwood, Miss Vicky Fletcher, Mr Ian Hardie and Mrs Shena Jamieson, would

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continue to serve for the coming year. At the conclusion of the meeting, Joy Dodd gave a talk on the recent survey of Tranent's graveyard and gravestones.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 6 June the society visited Aberlady Bay, a trip organised by John Hunt and led by the warden, John Harrison. This was a very pleasant afternoon. On Saturday 11 July the society visited Lennoxlove by kind invitation of the Duke of Hamilton. After a most enjoyable tour of the house, members were entertained to tea, following which they had an opportunity to enjoy the gardens.

On Saturday 8 August the society visited Mordington, where they were received by Mr and Mrs J Trotter. Mordington was, in the fourteenth century, held by Sir Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and is the presumed burial place of Agnes, countess of Dunbar. The group was entertained to tea and enjoyed a tour of the extensive gardens and grounds. On Saturday 12 September the society visited Gilmerton Cove, led by Graeme Bettison. This proved a fascinating experience. There is still great conjecture about the origin of these coves.

The final outing of the season was to Barony House on Sunday 11 October. The group was welcomed by Mr & Mrs Davies. This house, which is not normally open to the public, was the home of Sir Walter Scott just after his marriage. He rented it from 1798 until 1804, before he moved to the Borders. It was later extended by the Clerks of Penicuik and used as a dower-house. It was a lovely sunny day and the garden in its autumnal beauty was much admired.

On Saturday 29 August the society hosted a series of lectures in St Mary's Church, Haddington, on governance in Scotland, and East Lothian in particular, in the seventeenth century. Entitled 'Kings, Kirks and Commonwealth', this was the start of the Archaeology and History Fortnight arranged by East Lothian Council's Archaeology Service, and proved a very popular and successful event. It is hoped that such a conference will become an annual event, and plans were well advanced to hold the second annual lecture day on Saturday 3 September 2016 at St Mary's Church Haddington on the theme 'Union, Rebellion, then Enlightenment: East Lothian in the 18th century'.

Three lectures were given in the course of the winter. On 18 November Kristian Pederson gave a fascinating account of the earliest settlers in the area and urged the society to support attempts to reach a greater understanding of the coastal area and around East Linton. On 17 February Stephen Welsh, a local ornithologist, gave a talk entitled 'Our evolving *Avifauna*', which was most interesting. The third lecture was given on Wednesday 16 March by John Finlay, Professor of Scots Law in the University of Glasgow. His lecture, entitled 'Local Lawyers in early modern Scotland', looked at the developing link between lawyers and the local gentry in the

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seventeenth and eighteenth century, and how lawyers came to serve the community at local level.

The annual dinner was held on Friday 15 April in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington. It was attended by 35 members and guests. Professor David Ritchie, former president of the James Clerk Maxwell Foundation, and David Forfar, the present president, spoke on the history of the foundation and the importance of the contribution to science of James Clerk Maxwell.

OTHER MATTERS

The president reported as follows. The president continues to represent the Society on (a) the John Muir Park advisory group (which he chairs) and (b) the Laws advisory group. John Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay advisory group. The hon. secretary represents the society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum.

The president concluded by observing that the council is looking at ways in which to attract new members, particularly from a younger age group. A 'new member' pack is to be produced and an update of the society's website is planned. Information about the society had been put on the web and in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and about East Lothian continue to be received and the society continues to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland and remain 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. Complimentary copies are issued to Queen Margaret University, secondary schools across East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill School and some other bodies. Information about the society has been put on the web and in a number of international directories. Enquiries about the society and about East Lothian continue to be received.

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