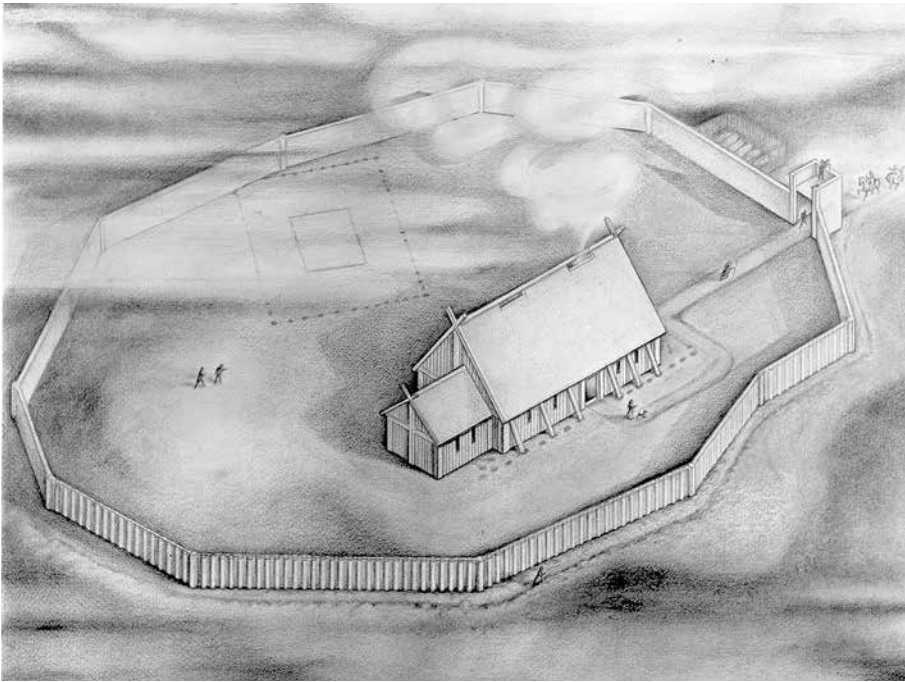


TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LOTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY



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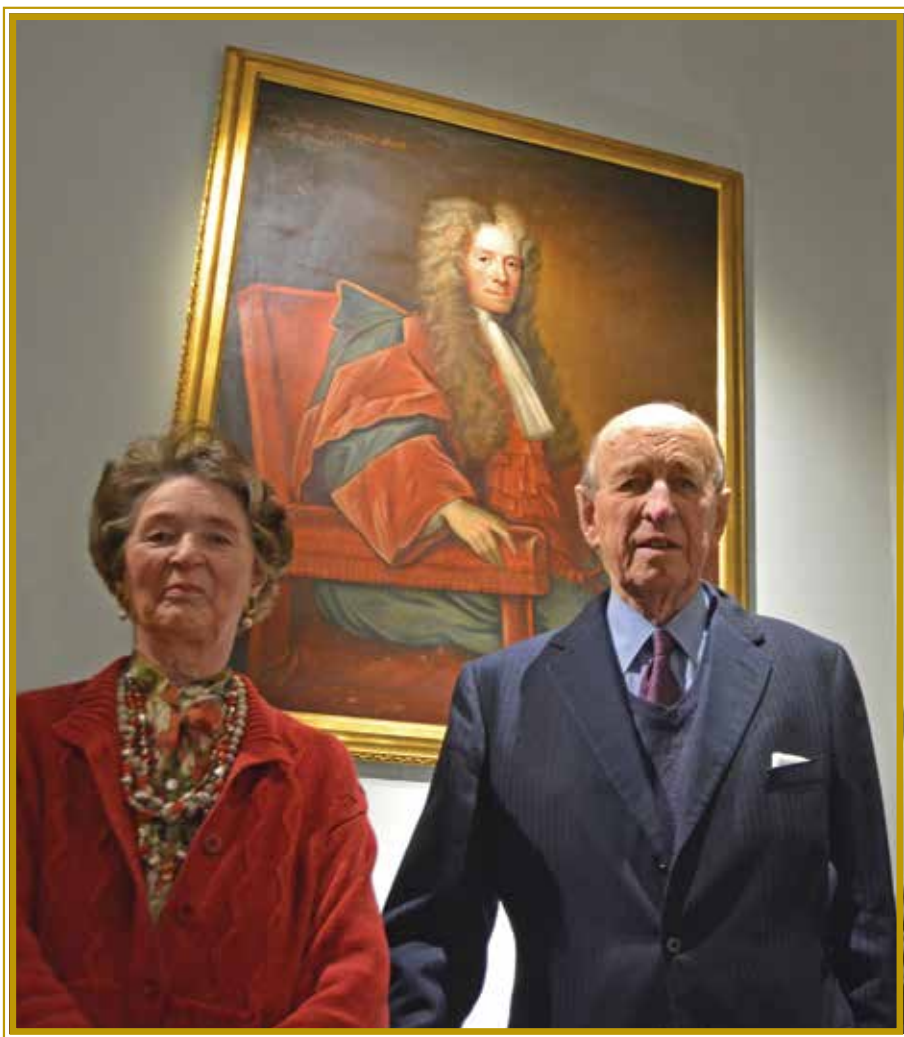
Front cover illustration: Reconstruction drawing of Hall B and its encircling palisade at Doon Hill, near Dunbar, drawn by Dr Brian Hope-Taylor following his excavations there between 1964 and 1966. Dr Hope-Taylor dated the hall to the Anglian period c.650 AD. However, recent research indicates that it was much older, dating from the Early Neolithic c.3,800 BC. (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor)).

Back cover illustration: Dr James S Richardson, Scotland's first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, near Tantallon Castle in the late 1920s with the Bass Rock in the background. During his period in office (1914-48), 'JSR' was responsible for taking many of Scotland's Ancient Monuments into State care, including the great East Lothian castles of Tantallon, Dirleton and Hailes. (© David Richardson).

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

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*Figure 1: Sir Hew and Lady Anne-Louise Hamilton-Dalrymple pose in front of a portrait of Sir Hew's forebear, Sir Hew Dalrymple, 1st baronet (c.1653-1737). The painting, by William Aikman, the renowned Scottish portrait painter, was purchased by the Friends of North Berwick Museum and gifted to the Coastal Communities Museum, North Berwick.
(Photo courtesy of Ian Goodall, North Berwick Photographic Society)*

OBITUARY:
SIR HEW FLEETWOOD HAMILTON-DALRYMPLE,
10TH BARONET, GCVO.
BORN 9 APRIL 1926 – DIED 26 DECEMBER 2018
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE EAST LOTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY
1989-2018

by STEPHEN BUNYAN

INTRODUCTION

Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple (fig 1) was a man of many parts, who played several key roles in East Lothian life. His family are East Lothian landowners of long standing. The baronetcy was created in 1697 for the Hon. Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court Session, who was gazetted Lord North Berwick. The estate included two of Scotland's most important historic sites - The Bass Rock and Tantallon Castle.

Sir Hew was born on 9 April 1926 in The Lodge, North Berwick, and educated at Ampleforth School, Yorkshire. His early career was as a soldier He passed out of Sandhurst with the Sword of Honour in 1944 and was commissioned as an officer in the Grenadier Guards. He spent his service career in various 'hot spots'. He was ADC to the general in charge of the Northern Command in India at the time of the partition in 1947 and tried to halt bloodshed between the Muslims and Hindus. In due course he became the regimental adjutant. He retired from the Army in 1962 with the rank of major.

Sir Hew succeeded his father, also Sir Hew, as 10th baronet in 1959 and soon returned to East Lothian. Five years previously (25 September 1954) he had married Lady Anne-Louise Mary Keppel, youngest daughter of the 9th earl of Albemarle, and together they established a new family home within the walled garden at Leuchie. It was an early sign of Sir Hew's generous spirit that Leuchie House itself, the erstwhile family home, built in 1779-85 and much extended in the 1850s, was entrusted to a community of Servite nuns for use as a holiday home for sufferers of multiple sclerosis; today, it serves successfully as a Scottish national respite centre.

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SIR HEW FLEETWOOD HAMILTON-DALRYMPLE, 10TH BARONET, GCVO.



Figure 2: Sir Hew attends the 10th birthday of the North Berwick Day Centre on 21 March 2015. Standing beside him, with the birthday cake, is Ella Aikman, the longest-serving member of the Day Centre. (Photo courtesy of Ian Goodall, North Berwick Photographic Society)

On returning to civilian life, Sir Hew pursued a business career and joined Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd, rising to become a director and subsequently chairman from 1983 to 1986. He also served as chairman of the Scottish American Investment Company [SAINTS] between 1985 and 1991. The first of his public appointments came in 1964 when he was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of East Lothian; he subsequently became Vice-Lord-Lieutenant in 1973, and finally Lord-Lieutenant in 1987, a position he held until 2001. Sir Hew also joined the Royal Company of Archers, the sovereign's bodyguard in Scotland, becoming Captain-

OBITUARY:

SIR HEW FLEETWOOD HAMILTON-DALRYMPLE, 10TH BARONET, GCVO.

General and serving as Gold Stick for Scotland from 1996 to 2004. He became a Justice of the Peace in 1987. In recognition of his public service he was invested as Commander, Royal Victorian Order (CVO) in 1974, Knight Commander (KCVO) in 1985, and as Knight Grand Cross (GCVO) in 2001.

Sir Hew and Lady Anne-Louise undertook many public duties and were much involved in affairs in the county, most especially North Berwick - Lady Anne-Louise crowned no less than 50 North Berwick Lifeboat Queens (fig 2). Sir Hew and Lady Anne-Louise also generously entrusted the West Links and Elcho Green, in North Berwick, for the use of the local community, and both are highly valued today as public amenities.

Among the many organisations that benefitted from their patronage was our own society - the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society. They both became committed members and played host to us, both on the Bass Rock and at Leuchie House and Garden. Sir Hew was elected as a vice-president of the society in 1989, an office he held until his death. He offered to retire in 2018 and council conferred on him the title Vice-President Emeritus. Sir Hew had invaluable knowledge of East Lothian and gave friendly support to members in their research. By way of example, on 4 June 2011 he joined members at the re-dedication of the John Rennie Monument, at Phantassie, East Linton, which the society has in its care (fig 3). Sir Hew's interest in the affairs of the society was greatly valued and he will be sadly missed.

Sir Hew was predeceased by Lady Anne-Louise, who died in January 2017. He is survived by his four sons, Hew, the 11th baronet, Jock, Robert and William, and their families.



Figure 3: Members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society attend the re-dedication of the John Rennie Monument, at Phantassie, East Linton, on 4 June 2011. Sir Hew is standing on the far right. (Photo courtesy of Joy Dodd)



*Figure 1: Professor Ian Ralston (centre right pointing) guides members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society around Doon Hill in the summer of 2018.
(photo: Chris Tabraham)*

GOING BACK IN TIME: RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE TIMBER HALLS AT DOON HILL, DUNBAR

by IAN RALSTON

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1959 cropmarks of the foundations of at least one substantial building set within an enclosure were discovered on the SE side of Doon Hill, some two miles (3¾ km) SSE of Dunbar (NGR NT 687755). An archaeological excavation led by Dr Brian Hope-Taylor, then of the University of Cambridge, was carried out between 1964 and 1966, with the result that the site was identified as dating from the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The Ministry of Public and Works (MOPBW) arranged for these archaeological features on Doon Hill to be taken into the care of the State; and in the 1970s the site was prepared and opened to the public (fig 1).

In 1976 another cropmark with similarities to the major building at Doon Hill, at Balbridie to the east of Banchory in the Dee Valley, Aberdeenshire, was discovered from the air and subsequently excavated. With the benefit of radio-carbon dating, however, the Balbridie structure was dated to over four thousand years earlier than its East Lothian comparator, to the Early Neolithic period, so raising a number of controversies. Had Balbridie been dated from residual material much older than the construction of the major hall there? Alternatively, Doon Hill was not what it seemed, with at least the first building millennia older than had been proposed. Following Hope-Taylor's death in 2001, his surviving archive was brought to Edinburgh, conserved and catalogued. Work on producing a definitive excavation report was subsequently put in train. This is on-going, and new work is planned at Doon Hill, but the evidence Hope-Taylor amassed now points to all the major structures at Doon Hill being far older than initially assumed. What follows is an interim statement, pending the outcome of further work on site and the publication by the writer of a definitive excavation report.

DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION

The cropmarks were identified and photographed from the air by Dr Kenneth St Joseph of the University of Cambridge in the summer of 1959; they appeared again in 1962. They lay on a level terrace at c.150m OD on the SE side of Doon Hill, below its summit, which effectively sits north of the eastern end of the Lammermuirs and above the East Lothian coastal plain. Over these years, his

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University colleague, Dr Brian Hope-Taylor, was digging the surviving foundations of a timber-built Anglian palace complex at Yeavering, in Northumberland, understood to have been the *Ad Gefrin* mentioned by the Venerable Bede as the location where the conversion to Christianity of the Bernician Angles occurred in 627 AD. The structural remains at Yeavering, set in the landscape below the important later prehistoric hillfort of Yeavering Bell, are thus very important in understanding the development of this northernmost Anglo-Saxon kingdom (Hope-Taylor 1977; papers in Frodsham & O'Brien 2005).

Before the excavation began, Hope-Taylor's initial interpretation of the Doon Hill cropmark evidence, positioned below what we now know to be two substantial and probably Iron Age forts constructed along the summit ridge of the hill, was that the style of building identifiable there represented an indigenous, British, Early Historic style of major hall. This he hypothesized might architecturally and chronologically form part of the background to the major buildings of Yeavering, which could be attributed to the reigns of King Edwin of Northumbria and his successors in the seventh century AD. Hope-Taylor was thus keen to examine Doon Hill to pursue what he saw as archaeological evidence for the interplay of British and Anglian currents in the third quarter of the first millennium AD.



Figure 2: Ground perspective view over the interior of the site looking SE and showing the side wall post-holes of Hall A marked with stakes. Taken by Brian Hope-Taylor, probably early in the 1965 season. (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor))

GOING BACK IN TIME: RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE TIMBER HALLS AT DOON HILL, DUNBAR

Fieldwork at the East Lothian site (fig 2) was undertaken with funding support from various bodies including Hope-Taylor's home institution, Newcastle University, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the British Academy. It received substantial logistical support from the MOPBW in Edinburgh, the predecessor body of today's Historic Environment Scotland (HES). Excavation of the ploughed-down foundations of timber structures and associated features took place over the summers of 1964 to 1966. What was found coincided substantially, but not completely, with what had been interpreted on St Joseph's aerial photographs.

By the end of the 1966 season almost the entire enclosure had been deturfed by hand. Two successive timber halls (the larger 23m long and about half that in width) had been revealed and excavated. They were superimposed at the same

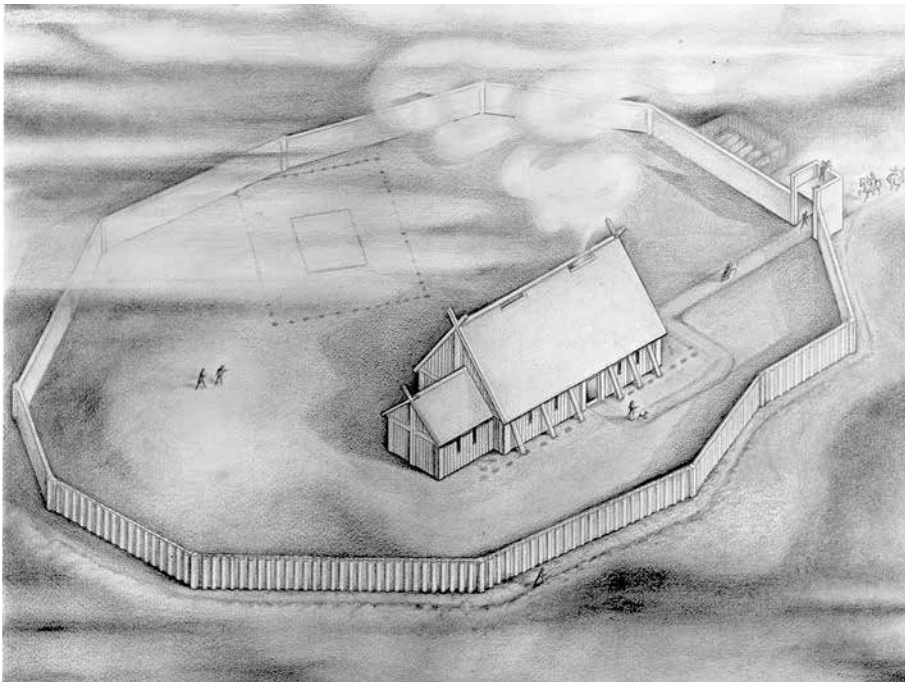


Figure 3: Brian Hope-Taylor's reconstruction drawing of Doon Hill produced after the completion of the excavations. The polygonal palisade is shown with its secondary gate-tower. Outside the palisade line is the cemetery of long graves, here shown as enclosed by a subsidiary fence-line, not otherwise recorded. The Anglian Hall B, with its narrower western annexe, is drawn overlying the outline of the post-holes of Hall A. To the NW of it lies, faintly delineated, the footings of the 'temple' or 'burial enclosure' within a larger rectangle seemingly defined by a suite of posts. The existence of this last feature cannot be confirmed. (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor))

GOING BACK IN TIME:
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position and thus plainly represented two separate building episodes; they were set within the enclosing ditch which had supported a single timber palisade. Otherwise, features were comparatively few, comprising several small pits containing cremation burials, mostly found adjacent to the slots which had once supported a small, almost-square timber structure; and, just outside the enclosure close to its principal entrance, a tightly-grouped cemetery of long graves was also examined (fig 3).

While the second hall had not been apparent on the aerial imagery, Hope-Taylor considered that the site largely conformed to his expectations. He dated it to the centuries just after 500 AD and stated that it represented key evidence – in the direct succession of the two major timber buildings – for the Anglian (Anglo-Saxon) take-over of a previously British elite site. He conceded that the cremation burials may have started slightly earlier. He believed that activity at Doon Hill had ceased by c.700 AD.

Before the end of the 1966 excavation season, a decision had been reached by Stewart Cruden, Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the MOPBW in Edinburgh, to take the site into State care for eventual public presentation. Hope-Taylor thus knew that his small field crew would be spared from the strenuous task of backfilling the site. By 1970, an area encompassing the excavated features had been purchased and work started on laying out a selection of the evidence Hope-Taylor had identified for display.

Cruden chose to emulate the Scandinavian model established at, for example, the great fort of Trelleborg, in Denmark, with differently-coloured concretes set into the below-ground traces of the archaeological features to distinguish remains believed to represent different phases. This approach necessitated a further small-scale excavation of a short stretch of palisade trench along the northern side undertaken in 1972 by Chris Tabraham, of the Scottish Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, immediately in advance of the concreting squad. Work to display and interpret the structures for the public went ahead in the absence of an archaeological report by the excavation director, although advice on aspects of the structures was obtained by Cruden from Hope-Taylor by letter. By the early 1980s, public access to Doon Hill had been achieved, with on-site interpretation providing a brief outline of its importance in the Early Historic period of SE Scotland.

At the time it was excavated and readied for public display, Doon Hill's significance was thus based on the belief that it contained the foundations, within its unusual polygonal stockaded enclosure, of two substantial timber halls (Hope-Taylor 1966a, 1966b, 1980). Elsewhere, major Anglian palisaded sites in Bernicia show some relatively sharp-angled changes of direction in their enclosure lines, but these are normally double palisades, as opposed to the single line encountered

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at Doon Hill; they also usually enclose bigger areas (Alcock 1993, fig 7). The halls, although constructed to markedly different designs, had been successively built at exactly the same location. These buildings were considered to have been the residences of elite members respectively of a post-Roman British (Gododdin), and then an Anglian (Anglo-Saxon) community. The traces of a further small square timber structure within the enclosure were tentatively interpreted as a 'temple' or 'burial enclosure'; nearby to the east was a scatter of unaccompanied human cremations in pits. As they survive, these latter are so fractional as to suggest they may only ever have been 'token' deposits. A small cemetery of some twelve long dug graves, aligned east-west and variants of a type widely found in SE Scotland and attributed to the first millennium AD (Maldonado 2013, fig 5), was also claimed; it lay on the east of the site immediately outside the palisade line, to the north of a projecting wooden gateway which was proposed to have supported a raised fighting-platform and to have been the Anglian-period entrance to the site. The regular orientation of such graves is often taken to be indicative of a Christian community, although Hope-Taylor never explicitly expressed this view.

The Anglian architectural style of the second Doon Hill hall (B), as recovered by excavation, and subsequently consolidated in the concrete rendition of its ground-plan, indicated that its construction belonged in the second quarter of the seventh century AD. A key feature in determining this attribution was the presence of a narrower annexe or chamber at one end of the rectangular building. Its date was ascribed on analogy with *comparanda* amongst the sequence of timber buildings at the Anglian palace site of Yeavering, which Hope-Taylor had previously excavated (1953-62) and was definitively published in 1977. Some Yeavering examples featured similar annexes; a seventh-century AD date was advanced for these. The earlier timber hall (A) at Doon Hill, which Hope-Taylor maintained to show evidence for significant structural repairs indicating that it had stood for a considerable time, eventually burnt down when it was perhaps a hundred years old.

If Hall B were broadly contemporary with the Anglian advance into SE Scotland in the seventh century AD, for example in the decades around the time of their assumed capture (Alcock 1993, 9) of Dun Eidynd (Edinburgh) in 638, the chronological duration that was suggested for Hall A would place its construction at a time well before the historical testimony of the expansion of the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia into southern Scotland. It would thus have been erected for an elite British family, perhaps in the mid sixth century AD. The architecture of Hall A and the wooden palisade was significant for Hope-Taylor's hypothesis of a British component in the timber building styles evidenced at Bernician Yeavering. The Doon Hill buildings were of course thought to have been erected with the help of wood-workers who had access to a good range of iron tools, and accordingly

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the evidence for planking and squared timbers recovered during the excavation and apparent on some of Hope-Taylor's graphics fitted well with this hypothesis.

It seems that none of the 'temple', the nearby cremation burials, nor the supposed long graves at Doon Hill produced any material culture or other evidence that could fit them directly into this period; their dating was assumed, albeit on slender grounds, to be broadly contemporary with the existence of the halls, with the cremation deposits perhaps having begun a little earlier. The site was considered likely to have gone out of use within the eighth century AD. Neither at the time of the excavation in the mid-1960s nor thereafter were radiocarbon dates sought, so that there was no independent 'absolute' chronology for the site; none could be obtained during Hope-Taylor's lifetime, although he had retained charcoal suitable to achieve this. The dating of Doon Hill relied essentially on the assumed cultural associations of the architectural styles of the successive halls identified there; and on hypotheses about the dates of some of the unpublished material culture reputed to have been recovered from their archaeological features.

Doon Hill's principal significance as cultural heritage in the years immediately following its examination by Hope-Taylor thus was as an unique visitable location with physical evidence (rendered in concrete from the 1970s) for the foundations of major timber halls of the kind described in Anglo-Saxon poetry such as *Beowulf*. It further provided evidence (materialized on site by the respective use of grey and pink concretes) for one of the important cultural changes (British to Anglian) which are a key feature of the early history of this part of Scotland.

FROM THE 1980s TO 2017: CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS

The decades since Doon Hill was excavated have seen the story of Britons and Angles in the eastern part of the East Lothian plain further elucidated, notably through rescue excavation projects within the modern town of Dunbar. Especially important is the work reported by Perry (2000) undertaken on the headland beside the more recent castle and harbour in advance of the building of the swimming pool and leisure centre. While some of the finer detail of the lengthy sequence of deposits at Castle Park, Dunbar, has been re-assessed (Blackwell 2010), it remains clear that this was an important Anglian site, in all likelihood the *urbs* – the town attributed to King Ecgfrith of Bernicia - mentioned by Eddius Stephanus in the *Life of Wilfred* (Alcock 2003, 212-3). This important and latterly enclosed settlement towards the headland (which was not known archaeologically in the mid-1960s) and set firmly in the coastal lowlands thus called into question the apparently high status of the Anglian, Hall B, phase at Doon Hill, just out of its direct sight over the brow of Doon Hill. It was in this context that Dr Alex Woolf (*pers comm*) speculated that Hall B might rather be a rural cult building, a possibility he evoked by analogy with the situation in Scandinavia where somewhat similar temple sites emerged at around this time.

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A further problem had been raised when the remains of another substantial timber hall, discovered from the air in 1976 on Deeside, Aberdeenshire, and akin to, but not identical architecturally with, Doon Hill A, were examined. This structure, at Balbridie near Banchory, was excavated and – eventually and despite controversy - demonstrated by radiocarbon dating, environmental evidence and the material culture it contained to have been constructed over four thousand years earlier than the date proposed by Hope-Taylor for Doon Hill Hall A, thus belonging within the Early Neolithic period (Ralston 1982; Fairweather & Ralston 1993). It too had been destroyed by fire. The excavators of Balbridie had initially anticipated unearthing a northern, and thus Pictish, equivalent of Doon Hill Hall A, given the similar scale of the two buildings, their length-breadth ratios (approximately 2:1), and architectural details such as the fact that both had, in plan, bowed, almost ‘herring-bone’-shaped, gable ends.

When it was first mooted from the end of the 1970s that Balbridie was in fact a Neolithic building (Ralston & Reynolds 1978; Selkirk 1980, Ralston 1982), Hope-Taylor (1980) mounted a brief but spirited defence of Doon Hill’s ‘Dark Age’ credentials (fig 4) including, aside from drawing in architectural parallels with north Northumberland palace sites, the fact that during his excavations there the foundations of the Doon Hill halls had furnished iron nails, an iron knife and worn, but diagnostic, sherds of Roman pottery. While he conceded that small quantities of material he considered Neolithic and Bronze Age had also been recovered at Doon

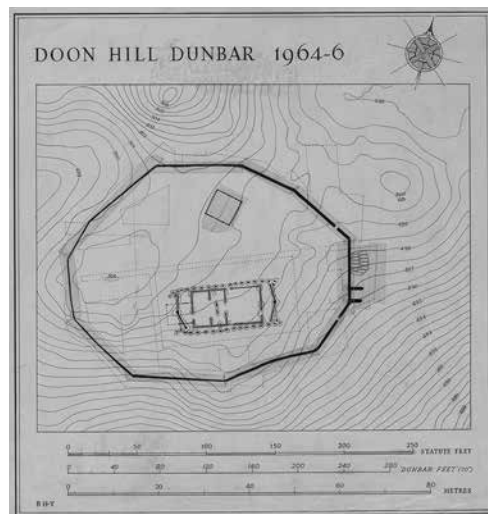


Figure 4: : Post-excavation plan resembling that published by Brian Hope-Taylor in 1980 showing the main features of Doon Hill (cf fig 3) excluding the putative arrangement of posts around the ‘temple’ or ‘burial enclosure’. (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor))

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Hill, these he argued to have been residual, and, seemingly incorporated into the later constructions by chance, thus being irrelevant to the dating of the structures he had excavated. In the face of alternative scenarios as to the relationship between the Doon Hill A and Balbridie buildings (presented in Selkirk 1980), he maintained the importance of their great architectural similarities and cast doubt on the security of the evidence on which Balbridie had been dated, noting how exceptional a major timber hall in NE Scotland would be in the British Neolithic as it was then understood (Hope-Taylor 1980, 18-9). Unpublished contemporary correspondence from some of his archaeological colleagues intimates that they considered his defence justified. It may in fairness be remarked that Balbridie's exceptional size and characteristics also encouraged others to speculate on its function and structural characteristics, if not its date (eg Topping 1996).

Numbers of scholars thus continued to treat Doon Hill as an entirely Early Historic site. In his magisterial overview, Leslie Alcock (2003, 254, 262-3), for example, held to the view that the Doon Hill evidence perhaps indicated a lesser royal centre which belonged entirely to the first millennium AD; and even very recently, some authors (eg Harding 2017) have maintained this position on Doon Hill's dating. Others, though, began cautiously to express the view that Doon Hill A might be Neolithic; the late Jack Scott (1989, 272) was the first to do so in print. Shortly thereafter, Ian Smith (1991), considering in detail a suite of cropmarked buildings at Sprouston in Roxburghshire (also first identified by St Joseph (1982)), noted that one isolated building marginal to the main group there had the same distinctive, bowed gable-ends as found at Balbridie and Doon Hill A; he remarked presciently that surface collection over its stance had produced Neolithic flints.

In 2001 Dr Hope-Taylor died in Cambridge. While there was no report on his fieldwork at Doon Hill among his papers, his archive included Doon Hill drawings, photographs, notes and artefacts. These were recovered by RCAHMS staff in agreement with his lawyers and brought to Edinburgh. Over subsequent years, as funding was made available, this material was conserved, catalogued and assessed, both by RCAHMS and Historic Scotland (HS) staff and in Perth in a project conducted by Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust (SUAT) on behalf of HS in 2009. This included the illustrative material, now held by HES, employed in this paper.

When laid out in the National Museum of Scotland's stores, it was immediately recognized that the Doon Hill pottery which had been recovered from Cambridge was dominantly Neolithic (Alison Sheridan, *pers comm*); there were no certain first millennium AD ceramics in the assemblage as it survived (Ewan Campbell, *pers comm*). As part of SUAT's work, two radiocarbon determinations were obtained on carbon scraped off pottery sherds; one of these produced a result in the Early Neolithic, centred on the centuries just after 4000 BC, the other being

GOING BACK IN TIME: RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE TIMBER HALLS AT DOON HILL, DUNBAR

slightly earlier – and so impossibly old for a pottery association on our current understanding (Sheridan 2016, esp fig 3). Though neither dated sherd had a Hall-A context, and recalling that Hope-Taylor had always acknowledged the discovery of early pottery on site while dismissing it as residual (1980 ‘derived’; also Scott 1989), it became increasingly common for archaeologists thereafter to claim that Hall A was a major Neolithic building on analogy with Balbridie (eg Brophy 2007 albeit hesitatingly; Sheridan 2013, 287 ‘suspected Early Neolithic large house’; Millican 2016, 33; Cummings, 2017); and in 2011, as part of this preliminary re-assessment, new signage was prepared by HS for the site, indicating that the earlier major building might be Neolithic in date, while leaving the architecturally distinctive Hall B as an Anglian creation.

The difficult-to-explain issue that needed to be addressed in relation to this proposal was how the Anglian builders would have known about the earlier building, which would have decayed millennia earlier and would assuredly not have been marked on the ground by the early 600s AD. One possibility, first mooted by Smith (1991, 267), was that the Angles stripped the topsoil before erecting their building and, in the face of a difficult substrate, exploited the long-infilled but softer contents of the Neolithic post-pits to insert the foundation slots of their own building. It can also be pointed out that in a subsequent field project at Lockerbie (Dumfries and Galloway), substantial Neolithic and Anglian timber buildings were set into the landscape physically close to each other (Kirby 2011), lending support to the idea that these very different communities, whilst millennia apart in date, none the less had similar desiderata in terms of where to erect major buildings. At Doon Hill, an added complication is that Hope-Taylor also considered that the palisade and its associated gateways represented two phases of construction – again, relatively easy to envisage when a British-to-Anglian succession was the model, less so when the two phases of its use were potentially separated by over four thousand years.

DOON HILL REVISITED: AN INTERIM VIEW

The current project being undertaken by the writer has been devised to study the surviving elements of the Doon Hill archive with a view to publishing the archaeological fieldwork carried out in the 1960s and to set the Doon Hill evidence alongside that acquired from Balbridie. Assessment of the archaeological content and significance of Doon Hill has to date necessarily been based primarily on those brief published statements produced by Hope-Taylor, and by an overview produced by one of his former students, Nicholas Reynolds, subsequently an Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Edinburgh (Reynolds 1980) who redrew unpublished Doon Hill site drawings that he had obtained from Hope-Taylor. These necessarily remain important sources, the last-mentioned item appearing in print (as an endnote makes

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clear) just at the time when the very much earlier chronology of Balbridie was becoming increasingly secure (eg Ralston & Reynolds 1978, 1979).

The re-evaluation of Doon Hill is not complete at the time of writing this paper, and a further field intervention is planned at the site. Reconsideration of the excavation archive and associated analytical work, including the obtaining of radiocarbon determinations, none the less already intimate a distinctly different pattern of occupation at this key site. Further modifications may be required by the time the final report is produced.

It now seems very likely that the two major timber buildings – and not simply Hall A as some had already suggested – and the enveloping palisade are all to be attributed to the Early Neolithic period (c.3800 BC). This view is based on isotopic dates obtained for all these major features and from study of the surviving small finds, relatively few of which can be pinned down to individual features let alone precise contexts on site. Also of particular help are Hope-Taylor's surviving site drawings and their associated rough work; and the numerous photographs he took of the halls in particular, especially those shot from a tower built of scaffolding poles (see fig 2) which provided a view over the foundation features of the buildings.

The accumulating evidence now suggests the major elements in the sequence may have been as follows:

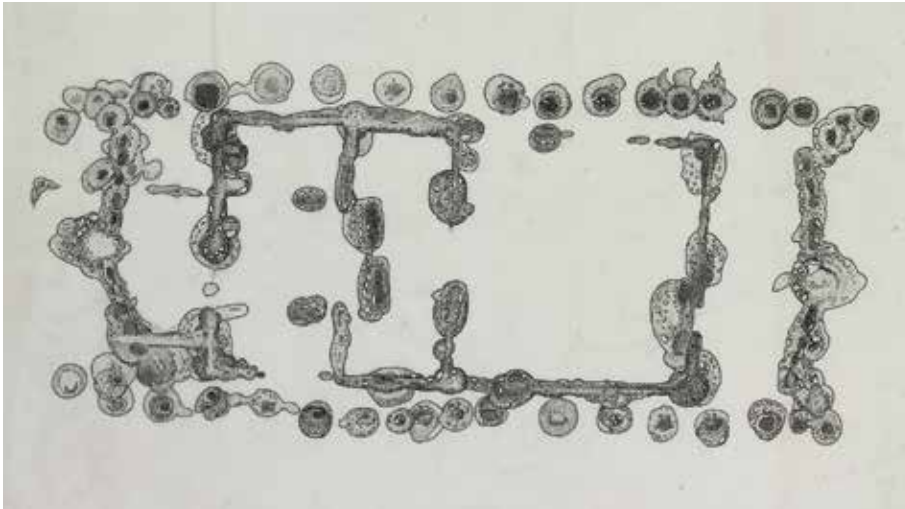
FIRST ACTIVITY

In the early fourth millennium BC a Neolithic community established itself on the shoulder of Doon Hill. They first dug at least two shallow pits in the west of the area subsequently occupied by the major buildings (whose features they underlie); such ephemeral initial Neolithic activity is recognized elsewhere in Britain, although other such pits often include broken objects. It is not known whether these Doon Hill examples did so.

HALL A

Thereafter, the Neolithic community constructed the first timber hall (A), its wooden uprights set in post-holes and lengths of bedding-trench which defined its plan. Its maximum length is c.23m, by c.11m in breadth – a very substantial structure, with the plan of the trenches of its gable-ends forming the distinctive 'herring-bone' or 'open-book' arrangement noted previously (fig 5). Its long northern and southern sides were each marked by a row of substantial individual post-holes. These extend slightly beyond the gable-ends, such that Hope-Taylor initially interpreted the final pits in each row as accommodating raking wooden buttresses propping up the gable-ends – rather a feature of large first-millennium AD structures and not of Neolithic building and in any case not a very satisfactory explanation here in engineering terms. It is possible, however, that Hall A may have

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*Figure 5: Inked post-excavation plan by Brian Hope-Taylor of Halls A and B, showing the bowed gable-ends of Hall A and the shapes of the posts where discernible within the post-holes. Hall B is depicted with the intermittent traces of its western annexe (not apparently identified until late 1966) in part overlying the bowed western gable-end of Hall A. At the SW corner of the halls were two underlying features which seem to have been stratigraphically the earliest on the site.
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had more internal features than Hope-Taylor initially attributed to this massive building, if some of those he allocated to its successor in fact belonged to the earlier structure. Whichever configuration of internal features is accepted, it is nevertheless clear that the available evidence indicates that the eastern half of the larger hall had far fewer internal posts than that to the west (cf. Brophy 2007, 80). The eastern part of Hall A may well represent the biggest unencumbered internal space in a British Neolithic building; this is a matter that it is hoped can be checked in the planned new fieldwork.

THE PALISADE

It is most likely that Hall A was surrounded by the palisade, with its timbers chocked in place within a substantial construction trench, enclosing an area of c.60 x 40m. Radiocarbon determinations indicate that the palisaded enclosure is likely to have been broadly contemporary with the halls. Whilst other major Early Neolithic timber buildings have been identified over subsequent years in Britain and Ireland, however, it should be noted that almost all seem to have been unenclosed, adding to the unusual character of the Doon Hill remains, which are also not in a lowland setting, nor near a watercourse, in marked contrast to several of the other Scottish examples.

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Hope-Taylor envisaged the palisade as having been constructed of horizontal planking, held in position by offset split D-shaped vertical posts rising within its deep (where best preserved) bedding trench, so that he reconstructed this stockade as having a distinctly polygonal plan ensuing from the use of horizontal straight planks (although note that vertical planks are shown in his reconstruction drawing reproduced here – see fig 3). This arrangement, which is that currently marked out in concrete, is not altogether borne out by the irregular but generally curvilinear course of the bedding trench into which the postulated vertical posts and horizontal planking were set although the initial aerial photographs suggest at places (for example towards the NW part of its circuit) some marked changes of direction in the course of the palisade trench.

The general form of the palisade is problematic, however, and is still being re-assessed. If it were to have been as polygonal in plan as Hope-Taylor's reconstruction drawing depicts, this would make the Doon Hill palisaded enclosure very different from known Neolithic examples elsewhere in Britain and beyond (cf Varndell & Topping 2002, *passim*; Gibson, 69-78 in Jones & Gibson 2017). A definitive view of its precise shape and the exact character of the timberwork it contained may, however, not be possible as the surviving record for these features is relatively slight. Set in a near-continuous slot, however, the Doon Hill palisade is very different from the major suite of much later Neolithic major palisaded enclosures which have been identified in Scotland, founded on individual, sometimes massive, and often widely-spaced individual post-holes (Noble & Brophy 2011; Millican 2016); despite the descriptor by which these sites are known, there seems little or no definite excavated evidence to demonstrate incontrovertibly that their individual postholes did not simply accommodate individual upright posts. Contrastingly, Millican (2016, 74-5 & fig 7.1) has usefully drawn together the plans of a range of unexcavated sites with segmented or faceted pitted boundaries which she considers may display signs of sequential construction through time, as at Lauder Barns, Lauder, in Berwickshire (Millican 2016, 111 no 83). At some 80m by 70m, this site is about twice the internal area of the Doon Hill palisaded enclosure and lacks the continuous bedding trench for the palisade found at Doon Hill; but its construction as a slightly disjointed series of straight rows of close-set pits bears a resemblance to the East Lothian site. Lauder Barns remains undated.

In general, however, certain Neolithic enclosures in Scotland are rare, more particularly before the later Neolithic period (Barclay 2001; Murray 1995); and relatively few might qualify as components of settlement sites (cf Kinloch Farm, Collessie, Fife: Barber 1982). There are no obvious Early Neolithic parallels in Scotland for the Doon Hill arrangement of a palisade set in a continuous bedding trench, though examples are known further south within Britain (Gibson 1998, 73;

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Gibson in Jones & Gibson 2017) and in Ireland. In the latter, the long-lived Early Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Donegore Hill, County Antrim, has palisades set within slots (but here – as is generally the case except at Doon Hill - with ditches as well), and this co-existence of palisades in slots with ditching is also recorded at Magheraboy, County Sligo (Cooney *et al* 2011, figs 12.2 & 12.11). An Early Neolithic site has also been identified in the north of Ireland at which a series of palisades set in slightly-sinuuous construction trenches encloses settlement evidence including rectangular buildings; this is at Thornhill College on a low ridge near the River Foyle in Derry. As at Doon Hill, these palisades are not accompanied by external ditches (Logue 2003). Gibson (in Jones & Gibson 2017) classed Neolithic palisades set in a continuous bedding trench as his Type 3.

While few examples are known and excavated, on the basis of the available radiocarbon dates (Jones & Gibson 2017, fig 27 & table 8) these are envisaged as characteristic of the third millennium BC. The start date for the type occurs in the second quarter of that millennium, so thus very considerably later than the proposed date for the Doon Hill example, which meantime remains exceptional for both its apparent early date and the characteristics of its structural timberwork. There is, however, a small quantity of later Neolithic flintwork from the Doon Hill palisade bedding-trench, evidence which may be pointing to later reworking of this feature.

HALL B

Hope-Taylor's view was that Hall A was repaired more than once and had perhaps stood for a century when it burnt down. There is some pertinent graphic evidence which indicates intercutting post-pits and thus likely successive features along the long walls of this building, but the surviving illustrations do not suggest that this view of repeated repair hypothesized by Hope-Taylor can now be supported in detail.

After a conflagration, Hall A was replaced at the same position by a distinctly-slighter, but also Early Neolithic, domestic structure, the remains of which the original excavator considered as a single-phase building, his Hall B (fig 6). This may thus represent only a few decades of use. Hall B is likely to have been architecturally less elaborate than Hope-Taylor believed. In particular, it lacked a narrower projecting chamber attached to its western gable-end for which the archival evidence is at best very weak; it was this annexe and the resultant, predominantly bipartite, plan of Hall B which made this structure seem distinctively Anglian in architectural terms (cf Reynolds 1980). Many of the lengths of its foundation trenches are, however, undoubtedly cut into the infilled tops of post-hole features of Hall A (fig 7). It is thus incontrovertibly the later structure stratigraphically here and the divergences between its plan and that of its predecessor mean that it cannot be understood as an inner framework to the larger building.

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Figure 6: : Photograph of Halls A and B under excavation by Brian Hope-Taylor taken from the scaffolding tower placed at their W end. In the foreground is the sectioned big axial post-hole of the Hall A gable end, while the eastern bowed gable-end is apparent in plan at the far end of the building. Lengths of the wall-trenches of Hall B are visible inside the alignments of post-holes along the northern and southern sides of Hall A. The large unencumbered space within the eastern half of Hall A is apparent. Ranging rods are in Imperial measures (6 feet). (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor))

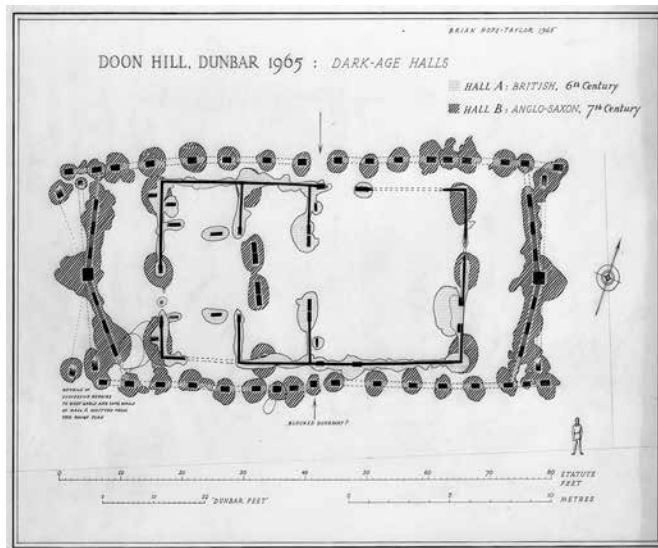


Figure 7: Inked plan of Halls A and B by Brian Hope-Taylor drawn after the end of the 1965 season. Note that the key for the halls has been reversed; the illustration was probably intended for the Medieval Archaeology account but was not published. Note the absence of the western annexe of Hall B; and the earlier features underlying the SW gable corner of Hall A. (© HES (Brian Hope-Taylor))

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The radiocarbon dates for Hall B are slightly later than those for Hall A, so that the possibility that the later building is dated from charcoal from the destruction of Hall A disturbed when the Hall B foundations were originally dug out can be eliminated. In essence, it is a distinctly less imposing building than Hall A, perhaps more fittingly a 'large house' in Sheridan's (2013) terminology. Considered without its annexe, 'large house B' can be assimilated readily to buildings in this slightly later but still Early Neolithic Irish series studied by Smyth (2014). Elements of large house B also bear similarities to some of the Early Neolithic buildings identified further south in Britain which can include lengths of construction trench in their foundations (eg Darvill 1996; Brophy 2015, fig 17.1), including at least two of the buildings at Kingsmead Quarry, Horton, Berkshire, more particularly that identified in 2012 which, if less regular in plan, is close in size and proportions to the Doon Hill structure (Barclay & Chaffey 2014, esp 217).

The palisaded enclosure is considered probably to be broadly contemporary also with large house B, on the basis that the radiocarbon dates obtained for charcoal samples derived from it. It is, however, not now clear that the palisade demonstrates two phases of construction (as Hope-Taylor's labelling of some of the finds from it proposed), although the Early Neolithic pottery and later Neolithic lithics recovered from it would lend support to this idea. Furthermore, a single radiocarbon date lends credibility to the idea that the projections extending outwards tangentially from the palisade line on its eastern side (and featuring in a Hope-Taylor reconstruction drawing as the foundations of a gate-tower) are also Early Neolithic conceptions. It is probably entirely fanciful to see this slightly-splayed arrangement as a precursor of the considerably longer entrance avenues which are a feature of the later series of big palisaded enclosures (Noble & Brophy 2011), but an out-turned 'gunsight' gate arrangement (Jones & Gibson 2017, 75) seems unusual in the Early Neolithic.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Pottery and lithic material (approximately five hundred items in total) associable (although few elements have retained precise contexts) with the buildings, the palisade and the site more generally belongs typologically for the most part in the Early Neolithic, although as has been noted already there are a few items which can be attributed to later phases within that period. The specialist accounts on this material will be presented fully in the final report. One remaining enigma is that no first millennium AD small finds have been encountered, notably any trace of the metalwork mentioned earlier, although one identifiable pottery vessel initially reported as potentially Anglo-Saxon (Hope-Taylor 1966a, 175) is clearly of Early Neolithic style and date. Surviving correspondence in the archive suggests the specialist who concurred that it might be Anglo-Saxon and early in date arrived at a tentative view on the basis solely of a description and/or illustration.

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THE CEMETERY OF LONG GRAVES

Reassessment, largely based on the surviving photographs, strongly indicates that the proposed external long graves adjacent to the palisade trench on its eastern side are too irregular in form to have held inhumation burials (fig 8). There seems to be no record of skeletal material (although acid soil conditions may explain this absence) or grave furniture of any kind having been recovered from them in late 1966 when they were examined and, in the absence of other Early Historic associations for the site, the presence of a cemetery of long graves hard against a much earlier palisade ditch here might be considered eccentric. The hollows and depressions noted at this position in any case appear different from those encountered in more conventional cemeteries of this type, as most recently examined nearby at Auldham (Crone *et al* 2016); they are considered more likely to have been further, more informal, evidence for early settlement. Irregular pits, with or without material culture, are a repeated feature of other Neolithic settlement remains in areas of lowland Scotland, as discussed for example in the report on excavations at Kinbeachie on the Black Isle (Barclay *et al* 2001; Noble 2006, 58-68; see also papers in Brophy *et al* 2016).



*Figure 8: View eastwards over the eastern part of the enclosure. Bisecting the image is the emptied bedding-trench for the palisade; on the right are the two trenches of the 'gunsight' entrance-way, their fills still in place at the palisade line. On the left, the Imperial (6ft) ranging rods lie on the stone carapace which overlies the slight indentations which Hope-Taylor took to represent dug graves.
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There is, however, a little, albeit ambivalent, evidence here to suggest that one or two of these features may have been cut by the digging of the palisade trench, emphasizing their potential earliness in the site sequence. Their use may too have been broadly contemporary with that of the hall and/or large house, although they need not have been. There is no known material culture nor organic samples securely associated with these features which would enable them to be directly dated, so that their interpretation and dating unavoidably remain contentious.

It is possible that, on abandonment, these pits and hollows were covered over with a carapace of cobble- and similar-sized stones, of unknown function, which is visible on several site photographs. This seems to have extended over an area perhaps 10m in diameter. Slight as the evidence is, this may have originally formed a low round cairn, so that this might just cumulatively represent evidence for Neolithic pits concealed under a later mound, as known elsewhere in eastern Scotland, for example at Boghead, near Fochabers in Moray (Burl 1984). Some six clear examples of such Neolithic non-megalithic round mounds are known (Sheridan 2010), the majority associated with Early Neolithic pottery. The Doon Hill evidence for such a feature is, however, extremely tentative.

For approximately two thousand years thereafter, there is no archaeological evidence of recourse to this location. After that passage of time, it is unlikely there would have been any surviving trace of the former timber buildings in the local topography, but other more ephemeral signs (eg vegetational differences, and the possible low stone mound just mentioned) may still have marked the place out as in some way 'special'.

THE 'BURIAL ENCLOSURE' OR 'TEMPLE' AND CREMATION BURIALS

The set of token cremation deposits which were recovered from some six individual pits within the northern part of the enclosure can be attributed to the Middle Bronze Age on the basis of the radiocarbon dates produced for them. Unaccompanied except for a single flint flake in one instance, these cremations are broadly contemporary – an argument only demonstrable by radiocarbon determinations – with a nearby short row of three wooden posts. The holes that accommodated the latter were in turn overlain by the small square structure which has been called a 'temple', and which remains formally undated, but which seems most likely to be related to this Middle Bronze Age activity (fig 9). Given its stratigraphic position, however, this can certainly be eliminated as a small square Neolithic building akin to examples illustrated by Darvill (1996, fig 6.5).

Although labelled alternatively as a 'burial enclosure' by HES in the current site presentation, there is, however, no evidence that this structure ever contained burials. It may have served a ritual purpose but in the absence of any associated material this view is difficult to sustain. Equally, although there have been

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*Figure 9: View from the east of the slots of the 'temple' or 'burial enclosure'. The small pits held cremations. The short length of trench which held three posts and preceded the eastern slot of the structure is also apparent. The bedding-trench on the palisade is under excavation in the distance.
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suggestions made that some of these elements north of the halls might be Anglian (Aliaga-Kelly 1986, fig 5:1, but more cautiously Proudfoot & Aliaga-Kelly 1997, fig 4; the rectilinear setting C, Blair 1995; the cremations, Maldonado 2013, 11) these views can now all be discounted.

SUBSEQUENT ACTIVITY

There is now no significant evidence that there was any further human activity at the hall site after 1000 BC; indeed, after the Middle Bronze Age, it seems to have been definitively abandoned as a place where any archaeologically-identifiable activities took place. One piece of iron slag recovered in fieldwork may be related

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to the use of the two nearby later prehistoric forts, already much reduced a hundred years ago in one case (RCAHMS 1924, 108, (no 166)) and known now primarily as cropmarks, which occupy the summit ridge of Doon Hill (Lock & Ralston 2017: SC3907, SC 3910).

CONCLUSIONS

Doon Hill remains HES's only Property in Care open to the public which was initially discovered through archaeological aerial survey, now some sixty years ago. Further work on the surviving material from the site, coupled with the evolution in the understanding of the Scottish archaeological record over this period, mean that its interpretation is now radically different from that advocated by Hope-Taylor around 1970, when major rectangular earth-fast rectilinear timber buildings were a recent discovery in Northern mainland Britain and seemed uniquely to be a product at the earliest of the first millennium AD.

If the new model is not challenged by further findings on site or in the archives, the key significance of Doon Hill now lies in its presentation of important timber Neolithic buildings set within a substantial wooden stockade. Still rare nationally, these are key components of Scotland's remarkable range of Neolithic timber architecture (discussed by, for example, Millican 2016). Although other substantial Neolithic buildings have since been examined (eg Sheridan 2013; and most recently at Carnoustie, Angus: Ronan Toolis *pers comm*), Doon Hill's Hall A and Balbridie are still the two grandest examples to have been identified, notably in terms of their widths (with all that implies for the way they would have been roofed).

While still relatively rare, major timber Neolithic buildings are now known to be an element of a burgeoning range of remarkable wooden architecture that has been recovered for the Neolithic period in eastern Scotland (and indeed elsewhere in considerable tracts of Britain and Ireland) and which is of wider archaeological significance, for example in indicating the scale and achievements of initial agricultural communities here. In Scotland, the bulk of the surviving evidence for such timber structures lies under the arable lands of the eastern Lowlands; it is thus invisible to observers on the ground and is not at all accessible to the public.

Locationally unusual for significant Neolithic timber 'domestic' architecture, most of which sits at lower altitude relatively near to a water-course, Doon Hill is unique in the portfolio of HES Properties in Care in making this kind of major timber architecture publicly accessible through the on-site presentation of the ground-plans of the key structures. Setting to one side meantime some of the tentative suggestions – such as the presence of the low stone cairn advanced above – Doon Hill has two highly unusual characteristics for such Neolithic sites on mainland Britain. One is the fact that it was surrounded by a continuous

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palisade set in a substantial bedding trench. The other is the superimposition of the two buildings – Hall A and large house B – at the same position and on similar alignments. Over recent years, archaeologists have emphasized that the chronological phase during which these major buildings were erected seems to have been both brief and close to the local start of the Neolithic period. It is further noticeable, as Thomas (2013, 290) remarked, that all the examples published so far ‘... were not replaced when they were destroyed or abandoned’. Thomas then explores in detail the potential social ramifications of this pattern: whether one accepts his views or not, the *in situ* replacement of Doon Hill A with large house B is again an exception to the norm.

Such evidence for the deployment of timber in constructional projects of a variety of kinds, very different from the broadly contemporary stone architecture of the megalithic chamber tombs of western and northern Scotland or of house sites of which the later Skara Brae remains the most widely known example, is key to understanding the scale and nature of the establishment of early farming communities in lowland Scotland. Further elements (different in their individual types) of this architecture were examined as part of the fieldwork in advance of the A1 upgrade through East Lothian, for example at Eweford West, by Dunbar (Lelong & MacGregor 2008), but the nature of that project means that this evidence has been preserved by record and no longer survives *in situ*.

Very little evidence indeed for the erection of accomplished Neolithic structures in wood was, however, apparent to archaeologists examining British material in the mid-1960s. This explains why the premise from which the Doon Hill investigation started – that such architecture was predominantly a feature of the ‘Dark Ages’ – wholly dominated archaeological views of the time. Following the major accomplishment of the dissection and publication of the palace complex at Yeavinger made possible by his lengthy and demanding fieldwork, enhanced by his acute observations (Hope-Taylor 1977), it seems that, in retrospect, Brian Hope-Taylor simply could not acknowledge that, despite superficial similarities in plan, Doon Hill in fact represented a set of remains from a very different period.

NOTE

This interim account draws on the Doon Hill *Statement of Significance* (2018) prepared for HES, and on presentations made by the writer to HES staff, to Aberdeen University’s Northern Studies Centre and to the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists’ Society, also in early 2018. It relies heavily on analytical work being carried out by a number of colleagues and on advice from many others, including some of the student excavators who worked on site in the 1960s, those researching other Hope-Taylor field projects, and curators at museums which might have held objects from Doon Hill. HES staff have helped both in facilitating access to the archive held in John Sinclair House, Edinburgh, in supporting a radiocarbon dating programme for the site, and in other ways. All are thanked for their assistance; full acknowledgement will be made in the final publication. The views expressed here are the present writer’s and may not be shared by those whose contributions have made this account possible.

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NEW THOUGHTS ON OLD PLACE-NAMES: TYNINGHAME AND WHITTINGEHAME

by *ALAN JAMES*

INTRODUCTION

This paper reproduces, with minor editing, the discussion of Tynninghame and Whittingehame in my article - ‘Scotland’s *-ham* and *-ingham* names: a reconsideration’ (James 2010a). What precedes them is a précis of my argument on pages 103-112 of that publication. The remainder of that article considered other names in southern Scotland, including *Tigbrethingham*, Edingham and Twynholm (Kirkcudbrightshire), Penninghame (Wigtownshire), Cunninghame (Wigtownshire and Ayrshire) and Eaglesham (Renfrewshire).

The starting-point for that article was W F H Nicolaisen’s chapter on ‘Early English Names’ in *Scottish Place-Names* (2001, ch 5). At the heart of that chapter is a careful consideration of a range of candidates that may be considered among the earliest Anglian place-names in Scotland. Out of this discussion Nicolaisen drew three place-names – Coldingham, Tynninghame and Whittingehame – as being of a type that, in southern and eastern England, correlate closely with archaeological evidence for a relatively early phase of Anglo-Saxon colonisation, dating from the period before conversion to Christianity. Although his judgements had been widely accepted by place-name scholars and frequently cited by archaeologists and historians, in my article I explained my doubts and suggested some possible alternative approaches to the interpretation (both philological and historical) of these and other *-ham* and *-ingham* names.

Hām is the English word ‘home’, Scots ‘hame’, a habitative term referring to a settlement (see Smith 1956, 226-9). However, it is important to note that it referred as much to the landholding associated with the settlement as to the homestead at its heart, just as a ‘farm’ is both a landholding and a set of buildings. Therefore, in place-names *-hām* may have referred to quite a substantial area, comparable to a later parish, and its main settlement may not always have been at or near the place that preserves *-ham* in its present-day name. Indeed, Fellows-Jensen (1990) argues that *hām* referred primarily to extensive estates, and only came to be attached to particular settlements when those estates were disintegrating in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Nicolaisen based his judgement on two findings of Barrie Cox (1973, 15-73; 1976, 61-3), firstly that *hām* was the most favoured habitative term among the earliest Germanic-speaking settlers and that it remained in use up to around the

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time of Bede, but radical changes in settlement-patterns, land-holdings and fiscal systems caused it to fall into disuse as a place-naming term from about the mid-eighth century, being superseded by a range of other nouns, most commonly *-tūn*. The only concentration of place-names ending *-ham* to be found in (or just outwith) Scotland is in the Tweed basin below Melrose, down to the Merse, and is currently being studied at Glasgow University in an ongoing project 'Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland' (REELS) (see <https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/>).

Secondly, Cox (1973, 15-73) found a correlation, to an impressive degree, between the archaeological evidence for pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon settlement, along Roman roads or navigable waterways, and place-names formed with *-inga-hām*, where *-hām* is combined with the genitive plural of the patronymic suffix *-ing³*; the superscript in *-ing³* distinguishes the patronymic use from other senses of *-ing* (see below). Nicolaisen saw this *-inga-hām* formation in Whittingehame, Coldingham and Tynninghame, and archaeologists and historians, naturally accepting his authority, have been eager to see them as traces of the earliest, pre-Christian, Anglian colonisation of the north.

My article drew attention to two reservations. Firstly, it needs to be emphasised that such names are concentrated in England in the areas of large-scale, primary Anglo-Saxon settlement in the east and south-east. Identification of *-inga-hām* names depends on early records showing evidence for a vowel between *-ng-* and *-h-*, and survival of the velar 'hard' /g/. Applying these criteria, there are probably no *-inga-hām* names in County Durham (Watts 2002, xiii-xiv), nor in Northumberland; indeed, the northernmost certain examples are in the regions of early Deiran settlement in Yorkshire – for example, Goodmanham, Collingham and Walkingham (see James 2010a, 109). Likewise, there are no convincing examples in Cumberland, though Whicham in Copeland is likely to be **Hwīt-ingt-hām*, named after one *Hwīta*, and so identical in origin to East Lothian's Whittingehame (see below). There are none in Westmorland. Whittingham (Lancashire), again named after a *Hwīta*, does seem to be an *ing³ahām*; if so, it is the only reasonably certain example west of the Pennines (even here it was only just in Lancashire, being on the west bank of the River Hodder, the old boundary with the West Riding of Yorkshire). So Nicolaisen's view of these names does need to be questioned.

Conversely, Cox's research found that other formations with *-ing³*, with the nominative plural *-ingas* (as at Hastings (Sussex)), the dative plural *-ingum* (as at Reading (Berkshire)), or the genitive plural *-inga-* combined with *-tūn*, do not correlate with such early settlement and belong to a later phase, yet none of these is found in Scotland. Haddington, and Eddington (Berwickshire), show no evidence in their early recorded forms for a vowel between *-g-* and *-t-*, so they are unlikely to be **inga-tūn*; they are probably **-ing²-tūn* ('named after Hada, Eada')

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(see Nicolaisen (2001, 95) and Liz Curtis (see below pages 36-41), or **-ing⁴-tūn*, where *ing-* is simply a connective particle, which could date from any time from the rise of *tūn* as the main habitative element (about the mid-eighth century) to the end of the Northumbrian period (Nicolaisen 2001, 89-93, 95-6, 98).

Secondly, I drew attention to the observation of Victor Watts (1994, 135-6; see also Smith 1956, 227) that *hām* continued to be used in Old English (OE), at least up to the early-ninth century, as an appellative referring specifically to a religious house (and presumably its landholding). For example, what Bede called *Hagustaldes ea* changed to *Hagustaldes hām*, Hexham (Northumberland), and, most relevant for our names in SE Scotland, St Cedd's monastery at Lastingham (Yorkshire) was known to Bede as **Laestinga-eu* (see Plummer 1896, I, 174-5) 'dry land in a wet or marshy area (see Gelling & Cole 2002, 37-44), of the [people known as] **Læstingas*'. It was evidently re-named, presumably after Bede's time, incorporating the early 'clan' name **Laest-ing³as*, but using it to name the monastic community. So **Laest-ing³-ahām* was the 'house and landholding of [the religious community known as] **Læstingas*'. The underlying perception seems comparable to that seen in early Christian Ireland where, when a monastery was established, the peasant-farmers and other men on its estate were enrolled, willy-nilly, as 'members' of the monastic community, being referred to as *manaich*, 'monks' (Sharpe 1992, 102).

I suggest a similar re-naming at Coldingham. St Æbbe's double house was known to Bede as *Coludi Urbs*, presumably Latinising *Colodesburh* as found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Earl & Plummer 1892, vol 1, 39 s.a. 679). *Colud* was apparently a personal name, or at least it was taken for such by Northumbrian English speakers. The *Urbs/burh* probably refers to the palisaded site on Kirk Hill, at St Abbs Head (Alcock *et al* 1986). The chief buildings in the monastic landscape may have been at the more sheltered location of Coldingham from the start, or else they may have been re-located there after they were burnt down soon after Æbbe's death in c.686 (see Plummer 1896, I, 262, 408-9, 412-14). If we apply the analogy of Lastingham here and suppose that **Colud-inga-hām* was not an early 'ethnic' – *ing³a-hām* but a name given to the later religious house, it may have been based in a similar way on **Coludingas*, as the name for the local populace and/or district. It could presuppose a former **Coludinga-* plus an unknown generic, as in *Læstinga-eġ*, which was replaced by *-hām*. However, as we have seen, such formations seem otherwise absent from Scotland. That would still have been an *-ing³* formation, though such an underlying form need not necessarily be earlier than the mid-seventh century, and the later form with *-hām* would not be directly comparable to the very early, fifth- to sixth-century 'pagan', *-ing³a-hām* names, being given, quite possibly, no earlier than the mid-eighth century.

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TYNINGHAME

At Tynninghame (Nicolaisen 2001, 93-4, uses the spelling Tynninghame, which reflects the modern pronunciation; however, Tynninghame is the current OS form), the monastery was probably founded shortly before the death there of St Baldred (*recte* probably Baldhere/Balthere) in 756 (Alex Woolf in Crone & Hindmarch 2016, 166-70). Cropmarks near the present village indicate a series of buildings comparable to the early Anglian ‘halls’ beside a series of enclosures at Yeavering, in Northumberland (Hope-Taylor 2010). Early recorded forms of the name, given in Nicolaisen (2001, 93-4) and recently updated by Simon Taylor (*pers comm*), include:

<i>in Tininghami</i> s.a. 756	<i>Tiningeham</i> 1240
<i>Tinningaham</i> c.1050	<i>Tiningham</i> 1240
<i>Tiningehame</i> 1094	<i>Tiningeham</i> 1240
<i>Tinningham</i> c.1140	<i>Tynigham</i> 1274
<i>Tiningaham</i> 1140x8	<i>Timingham</i> 1275
<i>Tynningham</i> 1153x65	<i>Timingeham</i> [<i>Tinungeham</i> ?] 1275
<i>Tiningeh</i> 1178x88	<i>Tinnyghame</i> 1562

What may be the earliest recorded form - *in Tininghami* (in *Annales Lindisfarnenses*)- has a somewhat mysterious -i at the end, which appears to be a Latin third declension i-stem ablative; it can hardly be the OE locative, discussed below. However, the next appearance of the name – *Tinningaham* (in *Historia Sancti Cuthberti*, p 4) - shows the form with the genitive plural *inga-*, which does seem to be, as Nicolaisen puts it, ‘beautifully preserved’. He is right, too, to point out that while *-ingahām* formations are normally based on personal names, a few in England are based on topographic names, as Tynninghame is based on that of the East Lothian Tyne. However, Avening (Gloucestershire), cited by Nicolaisen, seems to be the only other example of an *-ing³* name that is apparently based on a river-name (Smith 1964, 86). (Skerningham (Durham), on the River Skerne, might seem a closer parallel, but Watts (2002, xiv & 113) rejects it.) Avening, perched on a steep hillside below the Cotswold scarp, overlooks a minimal stream today lacking any name, Avon or otherwise, hardly likely to have been the basis of an ethnonym – so Avening is itself a problematic case. Again, the remoteness of Tynninghame from any certain *ingahām* names must give us pause.

We may well have a similar case here to that at Coldingham. On the analogy of Lastingham, **Tiningas*, ‘dwellers on the Tyne’, may have been current as a local folk- and/or district-name, though, being anomalously based on the river-name, the formation might have been an analogous coinage, invented only when the monastery was founded in the early eighth century. It is possible that **Tininga-* may have preceded some other generic (the *-eġ* could have been appropriate here, as at Lastingham), but that too would have been a name of a type apparently

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absent from Scotland. Either way, as at Coldingham, *Tīn-inga-hām*, ‘the house and landholding of [the religious community known as] **Tīningas*’, would be an *-ing³a-hām* name, but need not be not anything like so early as those of southern and eastern England.

WHITTINGEHAME AND LYNERINGHAM

In considering Nicolaisen’s third supposed *-ingahām*, Whittingehame, we need to turn our attention to Smith’s *-ing²* (1956, 285-90). It is what I call the ‘naming after’ *-ing*: ‘A-*ing*- B’ is ‘B named after (a pre-existing) A’. A likely example of *-ing²*- with *-hām* is *Lyneringham*, a name recorded in a fifteenth-century document in the parish of Prestonkirk (Bain 1887); a field known as Laringham Hill, east of the road to Stenton, perpetuates the name (ELLHS 1999, 20). Alternatively, it might be an example of Smith’s *-ing⁴*, a connective particle (see above): either way, what follows in this paragraph would remain equally valid. It would be the ‘*hām* named after *Lyner*’, being probably a lost Celtic stream-name like the River Lynher (Cornwall). Such a name could have been formed at any time during the currency of *hām*, in these parts from the mid-sixth to early-eighth centuries.

Whittingehame lies immediately to the south of Traprain Law. It is like those *-ingham* names in Northumberland which trip up the unwary by being pronounced [in^dʒəm] (eg. Bellingham, Ealingham, Edlingham, Eglingham, Ellingham, Eltringham, Ovingham and Whittingham). John Dodgson (1967a, 1967b and 1968), in his important series of articles on OE *-ing*, argued that such [-in^dʒəm] names belong to the class that Smith had labelled *-ing²*, but that they preserve an archaic Germanic (indeed, Indo-European) locative inflexion, *-ī*, so that ‘X-*ingġt-hām*’ would be a ‘*hām* at the place named after X’. Whittingehame is the ‘*hām* (here, the estate) at the place named after *Hwīta*’. *Hwīta* was a fairly common OE personal name; there is a Whittingham, pronounced [wit-in^dʒəm], on the River Aln (Northumberland), and we have already encountered Whicham in Cumberland with the same origin, as well as Whittingham in Lancashire, though that is a possible *-ing³a-hām*, or less likely *-ingġt-hām*. How many different Angles named *Hwīta* were involved we have no way of knowing.

That such names preserve an archaic feature of Old English suggests that they were formed quite early. Dodgson reckoned that they probably originated in the pre-Christian period, though not necessarily in the very earliest phases of settlement. His attempts to square this with a distribution largely to the west and north of those parts where Anglo-Saxon pagan burials have been found have a whiff of special pleading. It is of interest in the Northumbrian context that the runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross (Dumfriesshire) and the Franks Casket (now in the British Museum but presumed to be of Northumbrian origin) both contain examples of this locative form, but in both cases the noun is preceded

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by a preposition, implying that the locative sense of the inflection had become moribund. Dodgson regarded them as late-seventh century, but current scholarship places them in the first half of the eighth, again favouring a rather later date for the *-ing¹-hām* names than he proposed, not necessarily pre-Christian (see Page 1973, 66-8, 174-82, 188-9; Cassidy 1992, 19-20, 22-5; MacLean 1992; Meyvaert 1992, 148-50, 164-5)

Nicolaisen (2001, 93) recognised the relevance of Dodgson's findings to Whittingehame, but nevertheless attempted to force that name into the *-ing³-a-hām* class. After declaring that Whittingehame, Tynninghame and Coldingham were all 'genuine *-ingahām* names', he went on to discuss the *[-in^dzəm]* pronunciation of Whittingehame, declaring 'it is therefore OE **Hwītingahām* "settlement of Hwīta's people", or more likely **Hwītingiahām* or **Hwītin^dzahām* "the settlement at Hwīting (= at the place named after Hwīta)". This is most confusing. **Hwītin^dzahām* would be impossible in OE, as *[^dz]* from palatalized *[g]* cannot occur before a back vowel like *[a]*, while **Hwītingiahām* is a monstrosity, grafting the genitive plural of *-ing³* onto the locative singular of *-ing²*. The formation was probably **Hwīt-ing²-hām*, which is indeed 'at the place named after Hwīta', but is formed with the locative singular of *-ing²*. But the early forms *Whittingham* 1254, *Whitynham* 1336, may imply that the pronunciation with *[^dz]* was a more recent development, influenced by the Northumberland Whittingham. The current spelling with *-e-* was introduced only in the late nineteenth century, reportedly to distinguish it from the Northumberland homonym, though that does not necessarily mean the pronunciation with *[^dz]* was a recent development. If it was, the original form would have been **Hwīt-ing²-hām*, simply 'the place named after Hwīta'. Either way, the ending *-ing³-ahām* has nothing to do with Whittingehame; it is an early Anglian name, but not necessarily any earlier than other *-hām* names in Bernicia.

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TWO OLD-ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES: HADDINGTON AND CLERKINGTON

by *LIZ CURTIS*

INTRODUCTION

Haddington and Clerkington are two Old English (OE) place-names that provide insights into life in the Lothians in the Anglian period, which is otherwise very sparsely documented. In Scotland, the name Haddington is found only in East Lothian, while Clerkington (pronounced Clarkington) occurs in both East Lothian and Midlothian. Taking a look at these two place-names not only gives us a glimpse of social arrangements over a thousand years ago, but also of how place-names changed their form over time, how places acquired new names, and how our place-names are intimately entwined with history.

HADDINGTON

The name Haddington probably means ‘a farm called after or associated with a man named Hada’. If so, Hada probably owned the farm when it was named. Old English was spoken in East Lothian from the seventh century, when Anglians from Northumbria moved northwards into territory held by Britons. We can therefore identify Hada as a member of the settler population or one of their descendants.

Haddington joined the historical record in the reign of David I (1124-53) and was an important place in medieval times, not least on account of the wealthy Cistercian nunnery founded by David’s daughter-in-law, Ada de Warenne, in the 1150s (Glendinning *et al*, 2015, 2-5). Its name has attracted speculation since at least the mid-seventeenth century, when the historian David Buchanan opined, incorrectly, that Haddington ‘has this name because it is situated on the River Tyne’ (Blaeu 1654, 63); the spelling on the accompanying map was *Hadtyntoun*, so the etymology may have influenced the mapmaker, or vice versa. By 1800 scholars understood that the name was Old English (Barclay 1792, 40-1). Soon the case was set out in detail by George Chalmers in his monumental work *Caledonia* (1810, vol 2, 396-7). Other scholars followed him, but confusion has continued in the popular mind into the present day: the folk etymology ‘hidden town’ – because ‘you can’t see it until you arrive’ – is widely heard!

Haddington’s OE origins are clear from its earliest recorded forms. These are found in royal charters issued between 1136 and 1171. They include *hadintunia*, *hadintune*, *hadintona*, and *hadingtun* (see plates of original charters: *Chrs. David I* nos 53, 86, 116; Barrow 1960, 40). The first and third have Latinised endings, to match the language of the charters, but have the basic form *hadintun* or *hadinton*.

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The final element, *tun* or *ton*, is from OE *tūn*, meaning a ‘substantial farm’ (Woolf 2007, 323-24). The second element, *-in-*, probably comes from the particle *-ing*, which in this context is thought to mean ‘called after’ or ‘associated with’. The first element, *had*, is from an OE personal name – Hada. Such *-ingtūn* names are fairly common.

The personal name Hada probably belongs to the owner of the farm when the name was coined, as suggested by A D Mills for Kensington and Paddington in London (2010, xv). There are four suitable names in the Anglo-Saxon records, belonging to seven people: there is one person called Hada, one called Hadd, two called Hadda and three called Hædde (*Onomasticon*; *PASE*). Spelling, however, is far from consistent: Hadd is spelt four ways, and Hædde no less than 14 ways. Mills (2011, 218) selected Hada as the eponym of Haddington in his *Dictionary of British Place-names*. He did not give reasons, but the choice seems sensible. Firstly, Hada conforms most closely to the spelling of the early form *hadintun* – the second ‘a’ would be lost before the particle *-ing*. Secondly, it appears in a document from Northumbria, which is likely to reflect the dialect of the Anglian settlers who came to East Lothian: Hada was a cleric, included in a long list, written c.900, of benefactors of the Church of Durham (Stevenson 1841, 26, col 3; Sweet 1885, 151, LV, line 258). By contrast, the bearers of the names Hadd, Hadda and Hædde are all associated with the south of England or mainland Europe.

Place-name evidence suggests that the name Hada, or something similar, was widespread among speakers of Old English. Other farms, settlements or land with such a name include Haddington (Lincolnshire) (*Hadinctune* 1086), Haddon (Cambridgeshire) (*Haddedun* 951), Hadnall (Shropshire) (*Hadehelle* 1086), Hadstock (Essex) (*Hadestoc* 11th century), Hadston (Northumberland) (*Hadeston* 1189), and Hadzor (Worcestershire) (*Hadesore* 1086) (Mills 2011; Ekwall 1960). Care, however, needs to be taken interpreting *Had-* names, as early forms show that some refer to OE *hæth* ‘heather’.

There has been some confusion over early forms of Haddington. The historian and antiquarian George Chalmers, writing at the start of the nineteenth century, correctly identified *Hadintun* from twelfth-century charters (Chalmers 1810, 396). However, he also cited *Hadingtoun*. This was from one of David I’s charters, but not from the original manuscript. Rather, it was from a copy made in the first half of the thirteenth century (*in Burgo de Hadingtune*, *Dunf. Reg.* no 2) and then spelt slightly differently in a book published in 1705 (*in Burgo de Hadingtoun*, Dalrymple 1705, 385).

J B Johnston, in the first edition of his *Place-names of Scotland*, published in 1892, followed Chalmers, listing ‘a. [ante] 1150, Hadintun, Hadingtoun’ (p. 128). Then in the second edition, published in 1903, he added what purported to be a much earlier form: ‘1098, Hadynton’ (p 152). This was taken up by Nicolaisen *et al* in their authoritative work *The Names of Towns and Cities in*

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Britain (1970, 103) and has been quoted elsewhere since (Grant 2010, 51; Mills 2011, 218). Where exactly Johnston found the 1098 *Hadynton* form is not clear. There do not appear to be any surviving charters mentioning Haddington or issued there before David I's reign. There is, however, a *Hadynton* spelling in a fifteenth-century copy of a charter issued c.1095 by King Edgar, but this refers to Edington in Berwickshire, not Haddington in East Lothian. The original spelling was almost certainly *hædentun*, which appears in contemporary confirmations of that charter by William Rufus (Duncan 1958; Bishop & Chaplais 1957, pl VII & IX).

CLERKINGTON

Unlike the name Haddington, the name of its neighbour Clerkington has not attracted attention, though it was mentioned in passing by Chalmers (1810, 811). Clerkington is an estate that adjoins Haddington to the SW, and its name also dates to the Anglian period. Its earliest form, *Clerchetune*, appears in charters of David I c.1140 (*Chrs David I* nos 86, 87). It probably means 'farm of the clerics', from the genitive plural *clerca* of OE *clerc* 'a cleric, an ecclesiastic' + *tūn* 'substantial farm'. The '-ch-' in *Clerchetune* could have sounded like either today's 'ch' or 'k', while the middle '-e-' is the standard reflex (ie. a commonly derived form) of the OE genitive plural '-a'. *Clerc* was borrowed from Latin *clericus* 'belonging to the clergy' (Bosworth-Toller).

In David I's charters and subsequent ones, *Clerchetune* was granted to St Mary's Church, Haddington, and both church and land were in turn granted to St Andrews Cathedral. Its OE name suggests that the farm and church existed and functioned together well before David's day. The clerics were evidently amply provided for. Their estate was large and significant enough in David's time to have its boundaries marked out by a perambulation by a party of nine worthies (*Chrs David I* no 87).

In the charters, the spelling changed from *Clerchetune* c.1140 to *Clerckintune* (cum terra de *Clerckintune*) in 1172 x 1178, and *Clerkenetona* in 1178 x 1184 (cum... terram de *Clerkenetona*) (*SEA* nos 185 & 221). The central element -in- and -ene- could represent a change from OE to Middle English/Older Scots genitive plural -ene, so that the name would still have been understood as 'farm of the clerics' (Nicolaisen 2001, 36). In the thirteenth century it became *Clerkinton* and *Clerkinton* (*St Andrews Liber*, 63, 99). From here it was a short step to the spelling *Clerkingtoun* in 1540 (*RMS* iii, nos 2176, 2611). The first two syllables of the name were by now meaningless, although the final element -toun would still have been understood as 'farm' (*DOST*).

The name Clerkington, in Midlothian, developed in a similar way. It first appears in the records c.1250 in the name of a parish church, *Ecclesia de Clerctun*, paying dues to the Priory of St Andrews (*St Andrews Liber*, 31). The name is clearly OE *clerc* 'cleric' + *tūn* 'substantial farm', though *clerc* is this time not in

TWO OLD-ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES: HADDINGTON AND CLERKINGTON

the genitive case. It seems likely that the cleric or clerics in question served the church that later became the parish church. In the fourteenth century the lands of *Clerkington* came into the hands of the Bisset family, and in about 1338 Christiana Byseth of *Clerkynton* (also spelled *Klerkynton*) granted the church to Newbattle Abbey (*Newb Reg* 8, 9, 10; also see Robertson (1798), 31 no. 38; 36 no. 39; 48 no 2/2). Discussing the name, both Dixon (2011, 40, 381); and Nicolaisen (2001, 36) took the 1338 charters as their starting point and were thereby led into error. Dixon mistakenly said that Clerkington was ‘named from its possession by Newbattle Abbey’, while both said it derived from a Middle English *clerkene tūn* ‘farm of the clerics’. Following the same path as its East Lothian counterpart, by the fifteenth century the name was being recorded as *Clerkyngtoun* (1424 *RMS* ii, no 17) and *Clerkingtoun* (1444 *Midlothian Chrs* 301).

The Clerkington estate in East Lothian was part of a huge tranche of lands and property transferred from St Andrews Cathedral to the duke of Lennox by James VI following the Reformation (*RMS* v no 2273, 777 col 1, 1593). Through subsequent changes of owner, the estate kept its name. In Midlothian, however, the story was very different. Here, at the Reformation, the patronage of the church and rental of the mill was acquired by the commendator of Newbattle Abbey, Mark Ker, ‘who transmitted the whole to his descendants’ (Chalmers 1810, 812; *RMS* v, no 1307, 444 col 2). Ker’s descendants acquired the estate as well, changing its name from Clerkington to New Ancrum, after Ancrum near Jedburgh, where the family held land (*Assumptions*, 236). Subsequent owners changed the name again, calling it Nicolson and then Rosebery after themselves. The names New Ancrum and then Clerkington were restored in the eighteenth century, but then Rosebery was reinstated in 1821, when the 4th earl of Rosebery bought the estate (Chalmers 1810, 812; Mackinlay 283-84; Dixon 2011, 381; *NSA Temple*, 51; *British Listed Buildings*); it remains Rosebery today. In 1618 the parish of Clerkington became part of the parish of Temple (*NSA Temple*, 50). Today, only traces of the church remain on the ground, providing the last whisper of the name on the Explorer map of Midlothian: ‘Clerkington Church (rems of)’.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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*Figure 1: Haddington House (from the rear).
(Photo: H. Robertson 2015)*

A MEDIEVAL PALACE REVEALED: HADDINGTON'S HISTORIC ROYAL RESIDENCE

by *HELEN ROBERTSON with CHRIS TABRAHAM*

INTRODUCTION

This paper originated as a talk presented to the John Gray Centre, Haddington, in July 2015, and subsequently to Haddington's History Society in January 2018. The study began as a relatively straightforward examination into the history of seventeenth-century Haddington House, in Sidegate, the oldest domestic building in the town, particularly in relation to its owners and occupants between 1670 and 1966 (figs 1 & 2). Somewhat surprisingly, that research resulted in an extension of the period of study back beyond 1670, the date when the house and its surrounding lands were purchased by Alexander Maitland. The first step backwards in time related to possession of the land by the burgesses of Haddington. Prior to that, the land was occupied in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as the 'Friars' Croft'. The final step led directly into the Middle Ages when the land was in royal ownership - the 'King's Yaird', 'Palace' and 'Garden'. This paper gives only a summary of the post-1670 period, focusing instead on the pre-1670 era, particularly the pre-Reformation period before 1560.

Following contact with the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society, Chris Tabraham, editor of the *Transactions*, suggested that the original work might benefit from a re-examination of the evidence for the purported royal residence in Court Street. The author is grateful to him for his prompting, without which fresh research on the location of the palace, traditionally accepted as being in Court Street, would not have gone ahead. The author is also grateful for his valuable contribution in the concluding section which offers new thoughts on the medieval royal residence in the ancient royal burgh.



Figure 2: Haddington House (top left) and its garden.
(Drone image: Dr Roger Kirby 2018)

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*Figure 3: The initials AM and KC (for Alexander Maitland and Katharine Cunningham) and the date 1680 above the entrance doorway into Haddington House.
(Photo: H. Robertson 2015)*

PART ONE

HADDINGTON HOUSE AND GARDEN – 1670 TO THE PRESENT DAY

Alexander Maitland and Katharine Cunningham married in 1657 but documents in the National Records of Scotland (NRS) show their earliest purchase in Sidegate as 1670 and their latest as 1678. They didn't build the house; rather, they added to an existing property, understood to have been on that site from the mid-1640s (McWilliam 1978, 243). The date 1680 over the front door (fig 3) is thought to have been the date they completed their alterations to that dwelling, with the addition of a new front entrance, comprising the present front porch and steps. Individual purchases are shown below:

11 April 1670 – 4 tenements of land and 6 butts arable land lying on the east side of Sydgait in the Kings yaird in the burgh of Haddington (NRS: GD1/199/56). (Note: this land refers only to the King's Yaird, suggesting it may not have formed part of the Friars' Croft.)

21 July 1673 – 7 roods of arable land with tenements adjacent, and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements, lying on the east side of Sydgait, in the frier croft or kings yaird (NRS: GD1/199/62).

29 May 1675 – Doucat, standing on the south side of the yard adjacent and belonging to the said William McCaull's tenement of land lying on the east side of Sydgait (NRS: GD1/199/65).

6 Oct 1676 – 2 roods of land lying in the kings yaird on the east side of Sydgait, in said burgh (NRS: GD1/199/67).

6 April 1678 - Disposition by the provost, baillies, etc., of the burgh of Haddington in favour of the Maitlands (NRS: GD1/199/69). (Note: the separate purchases, excepting the doucat, were ratified in this Disposition.)

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Haddington House and garden remained a family residence for the next two centuries, firstly for the Maitlands and thereafter the Wilkies. However, by the early 1860s, the house, with its garden ground, had been leased, as the 1861 Census shows William Runciman, a master gardener, and his family as tenants. The property continued to be tenanted by market gardeners until the death of the last tenant in 1966 after 40 years in residence. In 1968 the Duke and Duchess of Lothian Collegiate Centre. The work included restoration of the surrounding garden ground, renamed St Mary's Pleasance.

Haddington House is currently leased as office premises, whilst St Mary's Pleasance is administered by the Haddington Garden Trust. The aim of the Trust was and remains: 'to preserve the garden as an open precinct to enhance the environment of St Mary's Church and Haddington House, and for the enjoyment in all times coming of members of the public'. For a full account of the more recent history of St Mary's Pleasance, see Roger Kirby's article in the previous *Transactions* (2015a, 39–49).

One important fact to mention at this stage is that following the Maitlands' purchases of those various plots of land, their garden ground was a good deal more extensive than St Mary's Pleasance is today because in 1878 a large section of the garden (1½ acres) was sold to the parochial board for the extension of the cemetery at St Mary's Parish Church (Kirby 2015b, 25). Figure 4 shows the extent of the garden ground purchased by the Maitlands in the 1670s, outlined in red. The blue broken line illustrates where the garden was split in 1878.



Figure 4: Ordnance Survey Town Plan (1853) showing (in red outline) the extent of the ground purchased by the Maitlands in the 1670s and (in blue broken line) where the ground was split in 1878. (Courtesy NLS. <https://maps.nls.uk/index.html>)

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OWNERSHIP BY HADDINGTON'S BURGESSES – 1570-1670

The Maitlands' purchases raised queries about earlier ownership of the land. Further research revealed that between 1570 and 1670 the lands which later formed the garden ground of Haddington House had been in the hands of Haddington's burgesses, with ownership and occupancy changing hands on many occasions. (See Appendix on pages 60-65 for those land transactions 1573-1678). The bulk of those transfers of property relate to lands formerly known as 'the Friars' Croft' and before that 'the King's Yaird'. Some questions posed include: (i) how did the lands fall into the hands of the burgesses? (ii) who were the friars? (iii) what was a King's Yaird'? To find out how the land ended up in the hands of the burgesses we need to learn more about those friars. William Moir Bryce's two-volume opus *The Scottish Grey Friars* (1909, vol 1, 168-94) provided the answers to questions (i) and (ii).

THE 'FRIARS' CROFT' – 1477 TO 1670

The Franciscan, or Grey Friars as they were usually known from the colour of their habit, had settled in the burgh by 1242, on and around the site of the present Holy Trinity Church. The friars served the townsfolk for just over 300 years until they were forced out by the Reformation in 1560. Their vacated properties passed to the town council, who demolished the friary church in 1572. The transactions listed in the Appendix clearly demonstrate that the 'Friars' Croft' changed hands many times prior to the Maitlands' acquisition in 1670.

Bryce also details the location of the friary. The friary church and cloister lay close beside the west bank of the River Tyne, immediately downstream from the Nungate Bridge. The precinct boundary on the north was the Frier Gowell (now Gowl Close). To the west the friary land marched with that of the burgh, described as 'partly waste' and partly built on; in the sixteenth century it was known as 'the rudis [roods] of the 'freir' wall; the friary's western precinct wall appears to have bounded with most of the rigs lying to the east of Hardgate, between Church Street and Gowl Close. The friary's southern boundary is less clear, described by Bryce first as 'the common highway' – then: 'the Kunzey, utherwyse the gait that passis to the parochie kyrk' – now: Church Street leading to the parish church [MS. Discharge, Patrick Cockburn of Newbiggin to the Bailies of Haddington. Burgh Charter Chest] (Bryce 1909, vol 1, 168). Bryce's reference to 'the Kunzey' is intriguing. Did he perhaps think it referred to a mint (in Old Scots, Cunzie-house)? There could well have been a royal mint at Haddington in the twelfth century (see page 55).

In the 1470s the friars were given additional land on the east side of Sidegate by Sir James Cockburn of Clerkington, in return for the friars saying an annual mass for his soul, as was common practice at that time. Sir James had been granted the land by King James III in 1477, and once in the friars' possession it became known as the 'Friars' Croft'. This grant was confirmed in a decree in favour of John Cockburn, dated 1592 [Decree incorporating Backbond, dated 22 July 1592.

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MS. Reg. Acts and Decrees, CDDDVIII.f.11] (Bryce 1909, vol II, 68-71). Bryce advises that over the next 80 years the croft was mainly used for growing crops (Bryce 1909, vol 1, 171). He also provides a full description of Friars' Croft and its boundaries, which figure 5 illustrates:

*The croft lies **3 roods** south of Church Street and extends southwards to the north wall of the parish cemetery and the vicar's garden. In 1559 St Katherine's Chapel and the lands of Robert Schort and Richard Wause bounded it on the north, the kingis walls (of Sydgate) on the west, and on the east, it was described as abutting on the buttis and the sands.*

(Note: the author suspects that the reference to 3 roods, as the distance south of Church Street, is an error, as this description is not shown in other relevant charters).

Returning to question (iii) concerning the 'King's Yaird', Bryce draws attention to Friars' Croft having formerly been 'commonly' known as the 'Kingis palace' and produces details of the 1497 charter to which this relates.



Figure 5: Aerial view showing the boundaries of the Friars' Croft marked in red, along with details of information from various charters. (Crown copyright HES)

A MEDIEVAL PALACE REVEALED: HADDINGTON'S HISTORIC ROYAL RESIDENCE

THE 'KING'S PALACE' – PRE-1497

The 1497 royal charter recording King James IV's grant of a section of waste land to his servitor Robert Trent (Paul 1882, 505, no 2375) elevated the status of the Friars Croft/King's Yaird to a more significant level with King James's description of the Friars' Croft as 'once commonly known as the Kingis palace' (fig 6). Here we have seemingly incontrovertible evidence that the land lying between the SE corner of the burgh and the later-medieval burgh church of St Mary (the latter built over the site of the twelfth-century parish church of St Marie and St Michael) had once been part of the royal demesne of Haddington, and furthermore had served as a royal residence.

Supporting evidence for a medieval royal residence in this location comes from a royal charter granted c.1180 by King William I 'the Lion' (NRS: GD 90/1/7; given in Barrow 1971, 274, no 235) confirming a grant made by his late mother, Countess Ada, to the church of St. Marie and St. Michael, of land lying 'between the house of Pain or Pagan, the king's garden, and the cemetery' (fig 7).

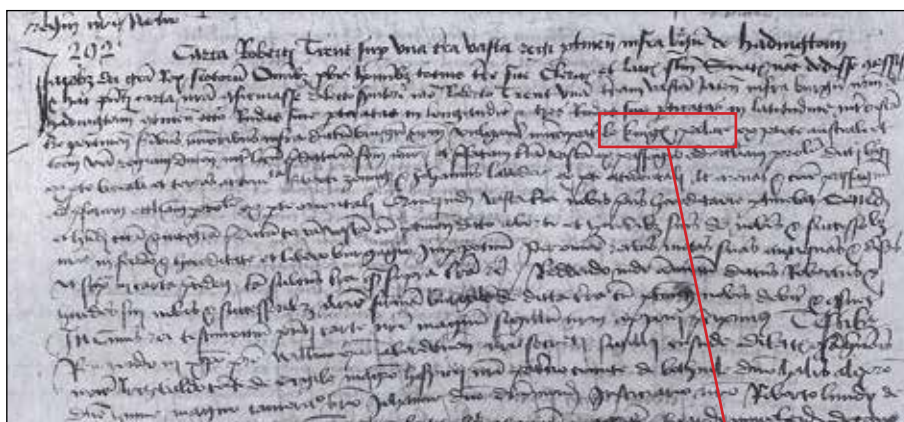
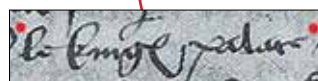


Figure 6: Charter granted by King James IV to Robert Trent for certain lands in Haddington, dated at Edinburgh 26 October 1497. The phrase 'le kingis palace' is highlighted. (Photo: NRS, C2/13)



TRANSLATION: King James IV grants to his servant Robert Trent, and to his heirs, the waste land within the burgh of Haddington containing 8 roods or perches in length and 3 roods or perches in width, between the croft of the land belonging to the Friars' Minor [ie. the Franciscans] commonly called 'le King's palace' on the south side, and the common royal road leading between the place of the aforesaid Friars and the aforementioned wasteland, from the passage to the parish church of the said burgh on the north side, and the lands and holdings [tenements] of Robert Young and John Lawder on the west side, and the sands [waste places] and common passage to the aforementioned church on the east side, which previously belonged to the king by inheritance ...

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Figure 7: Copy of original charter by King William 1 dated 1178x1188 (Image: NRS, GD90/1/7)

TRANSLATION: William, king of Scots, confirms to the church of SS Mary and Michael, Haddington, the land lying between the house of Pagan, the king's garden (*i.e.* William's garden), and the cemetery, granted to the church by Countess Ada, his mother. At Haddington (1178 x 1188). Witnesses: Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews; Ilbert, prior of Haddington; Robert, archdeacon of Glasgow; Walter of Roxburgh, archdeacon of St. Andrews; William, chaplain (I) of King William, Hugh, king's chaplain, Robert Boswell, Robert de Quincy, William de Vieuxpont, Alexander de St. Martin, Sheriff, Hugh Ridel (I).
POMS 1/6/211 (RRS, ii, no. 235).

A MEDIEVAL PALACE REVEALED: HADDINGTON'S HISTORIC ROYAL RESIDENCE

Additional support comes from several sources. Marilyn Brown (2012, 60) cites evidence from the *Exchequer Rolls* for the garden still being there in 1280, and further references are provided by other authors to a 'King's garden' in 1245 (Gordon 1868, 77; Ash 1972, 309) and 1337 (Bain 1887, 228, 513).

It has already been shown that the Friars' Croft was bounded on the west side by the King's wall, or walls, and in the early and late 1400s we find further reference to a King's wall, or walls, in what is now Sidegate. In 1425/26 mention is made of an old street in the town called 'the syde gate on the King's wall' (Thomson 1856, 388), and in 1497 the *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House* describes a rental relating to lands on the west side of the "King's Street of the 'Sidgate of Haddington' (Harvey 1916, 88, no 235), all of which remind us of the royal connection in this area of the town.

Reference to a royal garden strongly suggests that a royal residence lay adjacent, for gardens were important adjuncts to medieval castles. However, received wisdom until now has been that the royal residence in Haddington, established in the twelfth century when King David I elevated a former Anglian settlement beside the Tyne into a royal burgh, lay not beside the parish church of SS Marie and Michael, but at the opposite (west) end of the town, in what is now Court Street.

PART TWO

THE CASE FOR A ROYAL PALACE IN COURT STREET

If we seek to learn more about the early history of Haddington today, the standard references from the library shelves will almost certainly tell us that King Alexander II (r.1214-49) was born in 1198 in a royal palace on the site of what is now the Council buildings in Court Street (anciently known as *Crocegait*, then High Street); a plaque commemorating Alexander's birthplace can be found on the former Court House building (fig 8).

Those earlier histories also contain an account of the murder in 1242 of Patrick, 6th earl of Atholl, in a 'palace' at the west end of High Street. The two stories are often combined, reinforcing the belief that both events took place in the same building. Investigation into these two events has highlighted a tangle of inconsistencies in the narratives passed down through the centuries which are now accepted as fact. What follows is an attempt to throw fresh light on the origins of those narratives to help understand how they came to be thus interpreted.

A MEDIEVAL PALACE REVEALED: HADDINGTON'S HISTORIC ROYAL RESIDENCE



Figure 8: Plaque on the former Court House in Court Street identifying the spot as the birthplace of King Alexander II in 1198. (Photo: H. Robertson 2018)

EVENT 1 – THE BIRTH OF KING ALEXANDER II IN 1198

The birth of a royal son, then as now, was an important event, but in Alexander's case his appearance as the legitimate male heir to the throne brought great joy – and considerable relief too – to King William 'the Lion' and his queen, Ermengarde de Beaumont. William had been on the throne for 21 years and had fathered several illegitimate children by the time he married Ermengarde in 1186. In the nine years following their marriage, the couple produced only two daughters: Margaret born in 1193 and Isabel born in 1195. In the summer of 1195 William fell seriously ill, causing widespread concern not only for his health but also because there was still no accepted legitimate male heir to the throne. The king recovered, but his health remained uncertain, with the result that the news of Prince Alexander's birth was a matter of national rejoicing (see Oram 2012, 9-10).

EVENT 2 – THE MURDER OF THE EARL OF ATHOLL IN 1242

The murder of the youthful Patrick, 6th earl of Atholl, in Haddington in 1242 was another event that sent reverberations through the realm (see Oram 2012, 158-61). It followed a jousting tournament in the town during which Patrick overthrew Walter Bisset, lord of Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire. In an act of apparent revenge, Bisset had Atholl, along with two of his companions, murdered in his lodgings in the town, and the building set on fire to conceal the crime. Patrick's murder caused a political crisis, with the authority of King Alexander II himself called into question because of his support of Bisset. It was certainly one of the major talking-points in its day.

So what evidence do the various annals, chronicles and the like, provide about the locations of the two events?

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EVENT 1

The *Chronicle of Melrose*, compiled by Cistercian monks in Melrose Abbey between 1140 and 1270, simply states: 'Alexander, the son of William, king of the Scots, was born in 1198 on the day of St Bartholomew the apostle (24 August), and at his birth many rejoiced' (Stevenson 1857, 146, 185). The *Chronicle* makes no mention of Haddington, let alone a royal palace or a location within the town. The first to mention Haddington as the king's birthplace was John of Fordun, in his *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, written in the 1380s (Skene 1872, 270).

EVENT 2

The *Chronicle of Melrose* tells that: 'Patrick, earl of Atholl [...] a most excellent youth [...] was wickedly murdered [...] in his own residence, at Haddington, after he had gone to rest for the night.' (Stevenson 1856, 185). The thirteenth-century chronicler, Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica Majora*, gives more details, including an intriguing reference to the fact that the earl and his two companions were sleeping in a barn in Haddington at the time of the fire (Luard 1880, vol 4, 200-1). Another thirteenth-century source, *Chronicon de Lanercost*, alludes to Patrick's enemies surrounding the burning house, so preventing him from escaping; and adds that the young earl's corpse was buried in the church of the Grey Friars (Stevenson 1839, 49-50). A fifteenth-century chronicler, Abbot Walter Bower, adds to the story. In his *Scotichronicon*, completed in 1447, Bower provides the first detailed description of the building and its location, telling that the murderous event took place in Patrick's own 'fine manor, princely residence and house' which was situated 'at the side and at the end of the same king's highway to the north-west' (Watt 1990, vol 5, 179-91). Not surprisingly, Abbot Walter, a Haddington man, also alludes to Alexander II's birth in his native town (Watt 1994, vol 4, 419-21).

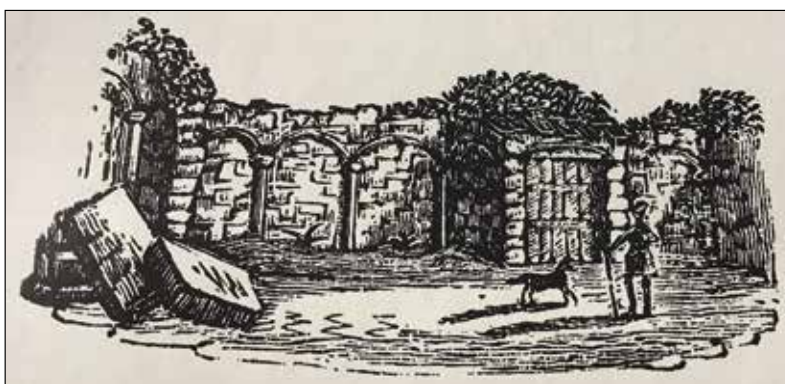


Figure 9: Sketch of the ruinous remains in Court Street, first published by Neill & Company in 1834 and subsequently reproduced in Gray & Jamieson's *A Short History of Haddington* (p.139).

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The next known independent line of evidence does not occur for 400 years. By the nineteenth century, the two historical events (one birth and one murder) were becoming linked to the same location. Without an obvious existing medieval palace, and with no written description of an earlier palace, attention was drawn to a ruinous building on Court Street, Haddington, on the site of what is now part of the East Lothian Council buildings.

In 1833, during the demolition of a building in Court Street, masonry was discovered which was considered consistent with a Saxon or Norman date. Adam Neill, a local printer, published a sketch of the ruinous remains in the *East Lothian Register for 1834* (see Gray & Jamieson 1944, 139) (fig 9). In 1844, a decade after Neill's sketch, James Miller produced his *Lamp of Lothian*, the first major history of the royal burgh of Haddington. Miller (1844, 229) describes the two events, but he does not associate the recently-discovered ruins with either of them. He does, however, tell of the discovery of the ruinous building thus:

The site chosen [for the new Court House] was that of the remains of one of the oldest buildings in the burgh, which appeared to have been of considerable extent and to which tradition assigned the importance of a 'palace'. The ruins removed consisted of a vault and part of an arched passage communicating with it. The pillars of the arches were of the Saxon order

An interesting footnote to these nineteenth-century accounts comes in 1905 with the posthumous publication of John Richardson's memoirs *Recollections of a Haddington Octogenarian*, 1793-1815. Richardson, a former procurator-fiscal in Haddington, provides the only eye-witness account we have of the building demolished in Court Street. He remembered the building from his youth as having a vaulted frontage (known then as 'the vouts'), which was being used by a local carter to store carts. Apparently, it was one of three very old buildings still standing in the town at that date, all of which had vaulted frontages. One of them, then known as the monastery of the Knights Templar, stood at the junction of High Street and Hardgate, and another was St Ann's Chapel, in Sidegate. Richardson describes the Court Street ruin as 'the most ancient building in the town, long said to have been the birthplace of one of the kings of Scotland.' However, despite his nod to local tradition, Richardson chose to describe the ruin as 'having the appearance of an early religious house' (Richardson 1905, 14-15).

In 1944, exactly 100 years after Miller published his *Lamp of Lothian*, W Forbes Gray and James H Jamieson produced *A Short History of Haddington*, in which they describe the Court Street 'palace site' as follows: (Gray & Jamieson 1944, 139):

What is now Court Street was at one time designated King Street, thus doing obeisance to the well-founded tradition that in this quarter, when Haddington was a regal town, stood the royal palace which had associations with William

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the Lyon and Alexander II. That a palace was situated here is vouchsafed for by Fordun, the chronicler, who, while not always to be relied on, was at any rate living sufficiently near the time covered by his narrative. From Fordun we derive the information that 'a palace' stood at the west end of the High Street, and that 'in it Patrick, 6th earl of Atholl, was murdered in 1242'.

It is difficult to understand what lay behind the above statement. The authors appear to be seeking to convince the reader on several fronts, viz:

- Court Street was once called King Street, providing a compelling case for a royal palace in that location;
- John of Fordun provided the information about the location of King Alexander's birth;
- Fordun also provided the information that it was in that same building that the earl of Atholl was murdered.

On the first point, there was at least one other street in Haddington called King (or King's) Street; in 1494, for example, reference is made of a 'King's Street of Sidgate' (Harvey & MacLeod 1930, 88, no 235). On the second point, Fordun makes no mention of the location of King Alexander's birthplace in Haddington. Thirdly, Fordun makes no reference at all to Atholl's murder. Significantly, it is Gray and Jamieson who appear to be the first modern writers to suggest that Alexander's birth and Atholl's death took place in the same 'palace' building.

The flaws in their account leave us with just an ancient ruin, probably of late-twelfth/early thirteenth-century date but certainly not Saxon, at the western end of the High Street. It was, apparently, one of three stone-built medieval buildings surviving in the town in c.1800, all three having similar vaulted frontages. The other two were seemingly religious buildings. The *Yester Rental Buik of Haddington*, dated around 1560, looked as though it might provide a clue to the long-lost 'palace', for it provides a full list of names, along with the number of roods (widths of their frontages), for both the north and south sides of *Crocegait* (High Street) from the West Port to Hardgate (Cleland Harvey 1913, 377-83).

Unfortunately, the list provides no hint of a palace, but it does provide a possible clue to what might be a lost religious building, for it mentions 'the landis of sanct ninianis chapel' with a frontage of two roods on the south side of *Crocegait* (Cleland Harvey 1913, 380). The website of the 'Friends of Ninian & Whithorn' (<http://ninian.org/content/st-ninian-sites>) also describes a former St. Ninian's Chapel 'somewhere in west Haddington', and a further clue to its location is to be found in *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D.1424-1513* (Paul 1882, 389). The Scottish Catholic Archives add to the intrigue by suggesting the location of a Dominican friary at the West Port of the burgh (Cowan & Easson 1976, 118).

So where does all this leave us?

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PART THREE

NEW THOUGHTS ON HADDINGTON'S HISTORIC ROYAL RESIDENCE

There can be little doubt that King Alexander II was born in Haddington in 1198. That he was born in a royal residence almost goes without saying, for all royal births took place in the privacy and security of the royal bedchamber. Frustratingly, the various annals and chronicles singularly fail to identify just where in Haddington that royal residence was sited.

Haddington was one of Scotland's earliest royal burghs. The records have long been lost, but we know from associated documentation that it was established in David I's reign (1124-53). A 'villa de Hadintune' is noticed as early as 1139 (Lawrie 1905, 164), and late in his reign King David granted a toft in 'burgo meo de Hadingtun' to the Benedictine monks of Dunfermline (Barrow 1971, 80-1). Prior to its elevation to burgh status, Haddington had been the administrative centre of the Anglian shire of Haddington (Barrow 1973, 35; Gledhill 2013, 96-100) and its thane (the Crown-appointed official responsible for administering it) makes his final appearance in a royal charter of c.1140 (Barrow 1999, no 86).

There is no doubting Haddington's importance as a royal centre in the twelfth century. King David issued two charters from his burgh, and William I a further eighteen acts at Haddington during his reign, putting it eighth on the list of places visited by him, out of a total of 48 (Barrow 1971). Indeed, the royal burgh of Haddington may have been of more than regional importance for it may well have been the location of one of King David's innovative royal mints for producing silver coinage – the others were at Bamburgh, Berwick, Carlisle, Corbridge, Edinburgh, Newcastle and Roxburgh (Blanchard 1996, 36). Hitherto, coins bearing the intriguing mint-stamp HA were assumed to stand for HAMER (a long-lost settlement where Whitekirk is today), but David Ditchburn (2017, 309, note 44) has recently suggested that HADDINGTON would be perhaps more likely. The actual location of such a mint is unknown, but reference to a street known as 'the Kunzey', now Church Street (see page 46), may suggest that the 'cunzie', or mint, lay in that area.

Haddington's early history as a royal burgh is somewhat unusual. In 1139, soon after its foundation, King David entrusted both the burgh and shire to his new daughter-in-law, Ada de Warenne, daughter of the powerful Anglo-Norman baron, William (II), 2nd earl of Surrey, on her marriage to his only son and heir, Henry. The lucrative wedding gift, which also included the burgh of Crail with its castle, in Fife, formed part of her marriage dower. Essentially, a dower was a guarantee that in the event of the new bride being widowed, her future financial situation would be taken care of, in much the same way as a life insurance policy today. In other words, although the terms of Countess Ada's dower would have been formally announced in 1139, the dower itself would only come into effect if, and

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when, she became widowed. Sadly, Henry died in 1152, aged just 38, leaving his widow, herself still in her late twenties, in sole control of her dower, including most importantly the substantial revenues from the royal burgh and shire of Haddington, including its royal castle.

During their marriage, Henry and Ada would have lived largely separate lives, with Henry constantly on the move because of his demanding commitments (as well as heir to the throne and earl of Northumberland he was also earl of Huntingdon), and Ada living a more settled life, most probably centred on Bamburgh Castle, where Earl Henry probably built the impressive stone tower-keep that survives today (Constable 2003, 52-6; Dixon & Tabraham 2017, 334-6). With Henry's premature death, all that changed. With the prospects for peace in northern England fast diminishing, Countess Ada relocated to Scotland with her five children. She may well have divided the remaining years of her life between Haddington and Crail now that they were formally hers. She founded the Cistercian nunnery of St Mary's, a little to the east of Haddington, around the time of her arrival (Cowan & Easson 1976, 147), and was probably laid to rest there at her death in 1178. Thereafter, the castle, burgh and shire of Haddington, together with the castle and burgh of Crail, reverted to the Crown, in the person of her eldest son, King William the Lion. The first of his numerous visits to Haddington was in March 1180.

King David founded fourteen royal burghs in addition to Haddington – Aberdeen, Berwick, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Elgin, Forbes, Linlithgow, Montrose, Peebles, Perth, Roxburgh, Rutherglen, Selkirk and Stirling (McNeill & MacQueen 1996, 196). All the royal burghs except Haddington had royal castles associated with them, to help project the authority and lordship of the king. They not only provided a high-status residence for the king and court during their occasional visits but served also as the official residence of the sheriff, the king's 'eyes and ears' in the region. Castles were vital to the political, administrative and economic life of the burghs, as well as to national defence (Tabraham 2005, 12-13). However, although such castles were 'of the town', they weren't actually 'in it'. As Geoffrey Barrow points out (1981, 86):

A close study of both the physical layout and the tenorial record of such early towns as Berwick upon Tweed, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Perth and Elgin, are proof that at these places the castle stood out-with the burgh and formed no part of it. [...] No castle could have functioned effectively if a town had been allowed to grow up around it. As long as castles were in active use they stood in clear areas either at one end, or on the edge of the burgh.

The survival of Scotland's first royal burgh castles is very patchy. They were almost certainly primarily of earthwork and timber construction, although they could include individual buildings of stone; St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh

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Castle, built in the 1130s, may originally have formed part of a tower-keep like those at Bamburgh and Carlisle (Ferne 1986, 401-3). Some were substantially rebuilt in stone from the fourteenth-century on, most notably Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Stirling, whilst the remainder have largely disappeared beneath more recent urban development (eg, Aberdeen, Perth and Rutherglen). Good examples of twelfth-century royal burgh castles survive at Auldearn, Elgin, Lanark and Peebles. Those at Auldearn (Yeoman 1988, 131,132, no 72) and Elgin (Hall *et al* 1998, 753-829) utilised natural knolls to achieve a commanding height, whilst that at Peebles contrived to look down imperiously upon its royal burgh from an elevated promontory at the confluence of the Eddleston Water and the River Tweed (RCAHMS 1967, vol 2, 263, no 523). That at Lanark took the form of an entirely man-made motte-and-bailey castle, (Lewis 1978, 129-32) of which just the motte remains, now happily serving as a bowling green. Richard Oram (2012, 242) stresses that such a physical domination of the surrounding landscape was of vital importance as symbolising the power and authority of the lord within.

The only twelfth-century royal burgh currently thought to be without an accompanying castle is Haddington. The chroniclers wax lyrical about David I's castle-building achievements. *The Chronicle of Melrose* for 1153, the year he died, relates that 'after he fortified the kingdom with castles and arms, the king died, an old man, at Carlisle', whilst a contemporary eulogy proclaimed that David '... decked thee [Scotland] with castles and towns, and with lofty towers' (Skene 1872, vol 2, 237). So why would he and his successors, including Countess Ada, who may have grown up in Lewes Castle, Sussex (fig 10), one of the most impressive motte-and-bailey castles in England, be seemingly content to reside in a 'palace' somewhere in the west end of Haddington? Furthermore, why would William the Lion have been content for his only legitimate male heir, Alexander II, to be born in an insecure urban palace in 1198?



Figure 10: The motte-and-bailey castle at Lewes, Sussex. Countess Ada de Warenne, King David I's daughter-in-law, may have been born and brought up here. (Photo: Chris Tabraham)

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That somewhat unconvincing scenario seems now to be coming towards the end of its shelf-life. As well as the flawed evidence for the Court Street 'palace' we have good documentary evidence for a royal residence immediately to the SE of the burgh, between the town and the parish church. This location seems far more plausible for a royal castle, not least because of its situation hard by the River Tyne, which would have unquestionably provided a naturally defensive site requiring only a little artificial modification to make it into a formidable defence – probably of motte-and-bailey form to achieve the commanding height required. As the saying goes: 'Absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence'.

So why isn't Haddington Castle there today? We know that some of the other royal burgh castles, including Lanark and Peebles, fell out of active use during the Wars of Independence in the early fourteenth century. But whilst these castles no longer functioned, the ground they occupied remained in the royal demesne, probably as 'waste'. Haddington's royal castle could well have shared such a fate. However, that still doesn't explain why nothing remains visible at Haddington, whereas the castle mounds at Lanark and Peebles still survive.

Perhaps the answer is that the motte at Haddington was removed. Given Haddington's susceptibility to flooding, it may well have been swept away, a fate that befell the de Bruces' great castle at Annan in c.1100 (Reid 1954, 163-66). Fordun describes 'a great flood of rain' bursting forth in Lothian in September 1358 'as had not occurred in the kingdom of Scotland from the time of Noah until now' (Skene 1872, 367). Or it might have been removed intentionally. There is a parallel for wholesale removal of a motte at Bothwell,



Figure 10: St Mary's Church and Nungate Bridge. (Photo: courtesy of Richard Morton)

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near the River Clyde 10 miles south of Glasgow. This was not a royal castle, but one built by the powerful Olifard (Oliphant) lords in the twelfth century. Their great motte is graphically depicted on William Roy's Military Survey of Scotland, produced in the 1750s (Roy 2007, pl 25), but was almost entirely removed within a century, a casualty of the Industrial Revolution. If we are looking for a reason why Haddington's motte no longer exists, then perhaps we need look no further than the Wars of the Rough Wooing in the 1540s. In late April 1548 Sir Thomas Palmer and Lord Gray of Wilton, both high-ranking English military men, arrived in Haddington and immediately set about creating 'a massive major fortress able to withstand whatever the French could throw against it' (Merriman 2000, 315-6). It was a 'state-of-the-art' artillery fortification such as was then fast coming into vogue on the Continent. Bordering the River Tyne, it was quadrilateral on plan and built not of stone but of great mounds of earth formed into ramparts, with large bastions at the four corners. It is tempting to picture Palmer and Gray eyeing up the decaying motte and bailey as a handy source of raw material.

It is to be regretted that Haddington's royal castle no longer survives above ground. Just imagine how Haddington would look today if something like Lewes Castle still stood alongside the burgh's two other fine architectural legacies from medieval times – St Mary's Church and Nungate Bridge (fig 11). Perhaps with the advent of modern, geophysical survey techniques in archaeology, such as Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR), evidence may yet be found for its presence beneath St Mary's Pleasance.



It may be that Haddington's royal castle once held centre-stage here, on St Mary's Pleasance.

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APPENDIX

Transactions relating to the Friars' Croft and King's Yaird 1573–1678 <i>All information referenced GD1/199/ is from National Records of Scotland (NRS)</i> <i>Earlier transactions can be found in William Moir Bryce's Scottish Grey Friars vol 2, 97.</i>		
GD1/199/32	Instrument of Sasine narrating Sasine given by a bailie of Hadingtoun to William Thomsoun and Agnes Schortus, his spouse, of 2 roods of arable land in the frier croft , lying on the east side of the burgh of Hadingtoun	12 Jun 1573
GD1/199/33	Charter by the Provost, Bailies etc, of the burgh of Hadingtoun, in favour of William Thomsoun , burgess of Hadingtoun, and Agnes Schortus, his spouse, of 2 roods of arable land in the croft called frier croft acquired by said burgh from George Scott, son and apparent heir of Walter Scot of Sintoun, lying on the east side of the burgh of Hadingtoun	24 Sep 1573
GD1/199/36	Instrument of Transumpt of an Instrument of Resignation and Sasine, dated 11 September 1574, narrating resignation by Sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of the "Halie Blude" Altar within the parish kirk of Hadingtoun, in the hands of Alexander Thomsoun , bailie, of the waste tenement of land lying on the east side of the Sydgait , in burgh of Hadingtoun, and sasine given to Andrew Broun and Issobell Hainschaw, his spouse [Seal]	14 Jul 1586
GD1/199/38	Instrument of Resignation and Sasine narrating resignation by William Thomsoun , gardener near the west port of Edinburgh, in the hands of Patrick Broun, a bailie of Hadingtoun, of 2 roods of arable land lying on the west side? of the Sydgait in kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, and sasine given to Adam Thomsoun in Leith, son of the said William Thomsoun	4 Aug 1603

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GD1/199/40	Instrument of Resignation and Sasine narrating resignation by Adam Thomsoun, gardener in Leith, in the hands of Henry Cokburne , a bailie of Hadingtoun, of 2 roods of arable land in the croft called the kings yaird lying on the west side? of the Sydgait, in burgh of Hadingtoun, and sasine given to George Sleych, merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun and Helen Wilsoun, his spouse	11 Oct 1606
GD1/199/41	Charter by John Broun, brother german of George Broun of Colstoun, in favour of George Carkettill, merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, of 7 roods of arable land in the kings yaird, and waste tenement of land lying on the east side of the Sydgait , in burgh of Hadingtoun	4-5 Nov 1607
GD1/199/42	Instrument of Transumpt of an Instrument of Resignation and Sasine, dated 9 June 1614, narrating resignation by Henry Quhyte burgess of Hadingtoun in the hands of a bailie of Hadingtoun , of an annual rent of 20 merks furth of 8 roods of arable land with the waste tenements adjacent thereto , lying on the east side of the Sidgaitt in the kings yeard, in burgh of Hadingtoun , and sasine in favour of Robert Learmonth, merchant, and James Cokburne, miller, burgesses of said burgh. [Seal]	7 Nov 1620
GD1/199/43	Apprising at the instance of Cristiane Vallance, lawful daughter of the deceased James Vallance, merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, and Elizabeth McNath, his spouse, and Richard Cheplane, merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, spouse of the said Cristiane, against George Cokburne , maltman, burgess of Hadingtoun, and Margaret Cokburne , his spouse, on bond dated 6 December 1617	4 Aug 1629
GD1/199/44	Instrument of Sasine in favour of Richard Chaplane , merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, and Cristiane Vallance, his spouse, of 4 tenements and 6 butts of arable land lying on the east side of the Sidgaitt, in kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, which were apprised from George Cokburne, maltman in said burgh	4 Oct 1629

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GD1/199/45	Instrument of Cognition Resignation and Sasine narrating Cognition given to Henry Quhyte as son and heir of Henry Quhite, burgess of Hadingtoun in 8 roods of arable land in the frier croft and waste tenements adjacent thereto in burgh of Hadingtoun; resignation in the hands of James Bartrum, a bailie of Haddington; and sasine in favour of George Carkettill , burgess of said burgh	24 Jan 1631
GD1/199/48	Instrument of Resignation and Sasine narrating resignation by Patrick Carkettle , son of the deceased George Carkettle , burgess of Haddington, in the hands of James Cockburn, provost of the burgh of Hadingtoun, of 7 roods of arable land with tenements adjacent thereto and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements adjacent thereto, lying on the east side of the Sidgait , in the frier croft or kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, and sasine in favour of the said Patrick Carkettle and Margaret Blak, his future spouse	9 Mar 1646
GD1/199/49	Instrument of Cognition, Resignation and Sasine narrating Cognition given to Richard Chaplane , as heir of Richard Chaplane , merchant, burgess of Haddingtoun, his father, 4 tenements and 6 butts of arable land lying on the east side of the Sidegait, in the kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun; Resignation by said Richard Chaplane in the hands of John Sleich, a bailie of said burgh, of said lands; and Sasine in favour of Robert Chaplane , brother of the said Richard	26 Apr 1649
GD1/199/50	Precept of Clare Constat by the Provost, Bailies etc, of the burgh of Hadingtoun in favour of Patrick Carkettill , merchant burgess of Hadingtoun, as lawful son and heir of the deceased George Carkettill , burgess of Haddington, of an acre of land in freier croft in burgh of Haddington, and also of a half acre of land there	29 May 1652

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GD1/199/51	Tack between Peter Carkettle , merchant burress of Hadingtoun, on the one part, and Christiane Houletstoun, David and Barnard Bell, and Alexander Home, gardeners, indwellers in the burgh of Hadingtoun, on the other part, of the croft of land belonging to the said Peter Carkettle lying in the burgh of Hadingtoun	Oct 1654
GD1/199/52	Instrument of Sasine in favour of John Smith, merchant, burress of Edinburgh, of 7 roods and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements adjacent thereto, lying on the east side of the Sidgate, in the frier croft or kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, proceeding on Disposition dated 14 July 1655 by Patrick Carkettill , merchant burress of said burgh, with consent of Jean Hamiltoun, his spouse, in favour of the said John Smith	14 Jul 1655
GD1/199/54	Instrument of Resignation and Sasine narrating resignation by Patrick Carkettell , merchant, burress of Hadingtoun, in the hands of John Sleich, a bailie of said burgh, of 7 roods of arable land and tenements adjacent thereto and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements lying on the east side of the Sydgait in the frier croft or kings yaird, and tenement of land on the south side of Market Street , in burgh of Hadingtoun, and sasine given to Mr. Hugh Gray, Minister at Kyllie.	14 Jan 1663
GD1/199/55	Instrument of Sasine in favour of Mr. Hugh Gray, minister at Kyllie, of the teinds of 7 roods of arable land and 8 roods of arable land lying on the east side of the Sydgate, in the frier croft or kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, on precept dated 7 November 1662 by Patrick Carkettle , merchant burress of Haddingtoun, with consent of Jean Hamiltone, his spouse	13 Apr 1664

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GD1/199/56	Disposition by Robert Chaplane , merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, with consent of Helen Leirmont, his spouse, in favour of Alexander Maitlane, chamberlane to John, Earl of Landerdaill, and Catharen Cuninghame, his spouse, of 4 tenements of land and 6 butts of arable land lying on the east side of the Sydgait in the kings yaird, in burgh of Hadingtoun, and of an annualrent of 26s. 8d. furth of one of above tenements	11 Apr 1670
GD1/199/58	Instrument of Resignation and Sasine narrating resignation by Patrick Murray, indweller of Hadingtoun, and Catharine Trottar, his spouse, of annual rent of 26s. 8d. furth of tenement of land lying on the east side of the Sydegait, in burgh of Hadingtoun and sasine given to Robert Chaplane , merchant, burgess of said burgh, and Helene Lermont, his spouse	20 Apr 1670
GD1/199/60	Inhibition at the instance of Alexander Maitland, chalmerlane to Johne, Earl of Lauderdaill, and Katharine Cunningham, his spouse, against Robert Chapeland, merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, and Helen Learmond, his spouse, following on Disposition of 11 Apr 1670	18 Apr 1671
GD1/199/61	Extract Disposition by Patrick Carkettill , merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, with consent of Jeane Hamiltoun, his spouse, in favour of Mr. Hewgh Gray, minister at Kyllie of 7 roods of arable land with the tenements adjacent and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements on the east side of the Sydgait , in the frier croft or kings yaird, and tenement of land on the south side of the Crocegait in burgh of Hadingtoun	7 Nov 1672

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GD1/199/62	Disposition by Mr. Hugh Gray, minister at Kyllie, with consent of Patrick Carkettle , merchant, burgess of Hadingtoun, and Jean Hamilton, his spouse, to Alexander Maitland , chalmerland to the Duke of Lauderdale, and Katharine Cunynghame, his spouse, of 7 roods of arable land with the tenements adjacent and 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements lying on the east side of the Sydegait, in frier croft or kings yaird, with the teinds thereof, in burgh of Hadingtoun	20 Jun to 21 Jul 1673
GD1/199/65	Extract Disposition by William McCaull, burgess of Hadingtoun, to Alexander Maitland , factor and chamberland to the Duke of Lauderdaill, and Katherene Cunynghame, his spouse, of doucat standing on the south side of the yard adjacent and belonging to the said William McCaull's tenement of land lying on the east side of the Sydgait, in burgh of Hadingtoun	29 May 1675
GD1/199/67	Disposition by John Sleich, elder, late provost of the burgh of Hadingtoun, with consent of John Sleich, younger, present provost of said burgh, and Marie Smyth, his spouse, to Alexander Maitland , factor and chamberland to John, Duke of Lauderdaill, and Katharen Cuninghame, his spouse, in conjunct fee, of 2 roods of land lying in the kings yaird, on the east side of the Sydgait , in said burgh	6 Oct 1676
GD1/199/69	Disposition and Renunciation by the Provost, Bailies etc, of the burgh of Hadingtoun , in favour of Alexander Maitland , factor to John, Duke of Lauderdaill, and Katharen Cunynghame, his spouse, of the feuduty or annuity of £10 furth of 4 tenements and 6 butts of arable land; 7 roods of arable land and tenements of land adjacent; 8 roods of arable land and waste tenements adjacent; and 2 roods of arable land lying on the east side of the Sydgait, in the kings yaird, in said burgh	6 Apr 1678

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*Figure 1: Aerial view of Tantallon Castle from the NW.
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DIGGING UP TANTALLON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888 – 2014

by *GORDON EWART and DENNIS GALLAGHER*

... *Tantallon vast;
Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
And held impregnable in war.
On a projecting rock it rose,
And round three sides the ocean flows,
The fourth did battled walls enclose,
And double mound and fosse,
By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
Through studded gates, an entrance long,
To the main court they cross.
It was a wide and stately square;
Around were lodgings fit and fair ...*

(from the Fifth Canto of Sir Walter Scott's epic poem *Marmion*)

INTRODUCTION

When Queen Victoria visited Tantallon Castle (fig 1) in the summer of 1878 and partook of tea while seated on a sofa at the edge of the rock she was the most distinguished of a long line of visitors (*The Scotsman*, 27 August 1878). Following the publication of Walter Scott's epic poem *Marmion* in 1808, Tantallon became a 'must see' on any tourist's Scottish itinerary. Her Majesty's visit was the catalyst for a new appreciation of Tantallon as 'heritage attraction'. Within a decade of her visit the castle's owner, Sir Walter Hamilton-Dalrymple, embarked upon a major 'restoration', including archaeological excavation. In 1924 his son, Sir Hew, entrusted the castle into the care of the HM Office of Works. James Richardson, Scotland's first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, writes in his guidebook to the castle, published in 1937, that it 'thoroughly overhauled the whole fabric' and 'reduced the outworks by excavation to their original level'.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

Since World War II little in the way of archaeological excavation took place, until 2013 and 2014 that is, when Historic Scotland conducted a programme of geophysical survey and keyhole excavation to make some sense of what might lie under the great swathes of grass covering most of the site. This has added significantly to our understanding of the castle both as a place of strength but perhaps more significantly as a place of lordship where people lived and worked. New evidence was forthcoming of gardens, service buildings and cultivation as well as graphic evidence of its turbulent history. A more detailed archaeological report is in preparation by the authors, but what follows here summarises the results as we know them so far (fig 2). Fuller descriptions of the castle may be found in the Royal Commission's *Inventory of East Lothian* 1924, no 106, 61-7, James Richardson's guidebook (1937) and W Douglas Simpson's article in vol 7 of these *Transactions* (1958, 18-27).

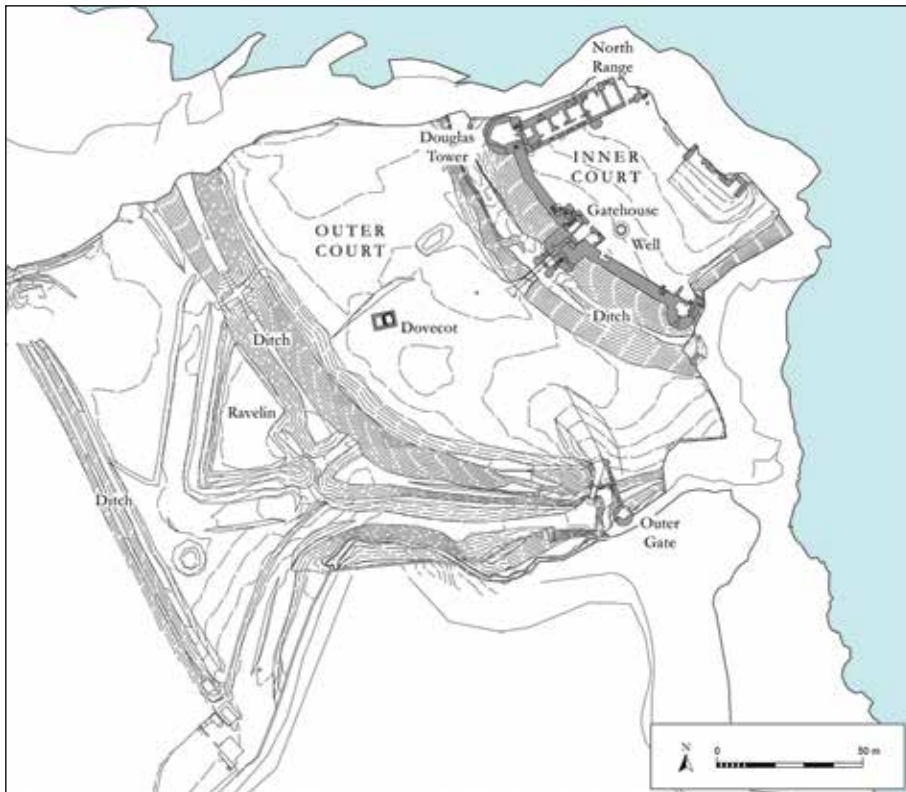


Figure 2: Plan of the castle showing the principal components

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

SIR WALTER HAMILTON-DALRYMPLE 1888-1890

Tantallon ceased being a lordly residence when the castle and barony were purchased from the marquis of Douglas by Sir Hew Dalrymple, lord president of the Court of Session, in 1699 (Fraser 1885, III, 343-4). The castle was thereafter allowed to fall into decay, and its stonework quarried for use elsewhere. Sir Hew preferred to reside at Leuchie House, 3km west of Tantallon, which he surrounded with a designed landscape, one of whose avenues focussed on the ancient castle. Some of Tantallon's stonework may have been used to build the enclosure walls associated with the house, depicted on General Roy's map of 1752-5 (Roy 2007, plates 44 & 49), as well as for building the Dalrymples' new mansion, erected in 1779-85.

The early Dalrymples may have aided the castle's decline but it was a later member of the family, Sir Walter Hamilton-Dalrymple (1854-1920), who arrested that decay and organised the first archaeological work. He had a strong interest in the castle and as soon as he came in to his inheritance in 1888 he embarked on a major work of repair and clearance. Initially, he had the assistance of the architect and architectural historian David MacGibbon (*The Scotsman* 23 April 1888), who the previous year had published with Thomas Ross an account of Tantallon in the first volume of their magisterial work on Scottish castles (1887, 429-35) (figs 3 & 4). Thereafter, the work was directed by the architect Basil Champneys, advised by John Dick Peddie (*The British Architect* 11 May 1888; see also the Dictionary of Scottish Architects database online at www.scottisharchitects.org.uk); Tantallon was Dick Peddie's last commission in a long career as an architect and leading light in the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

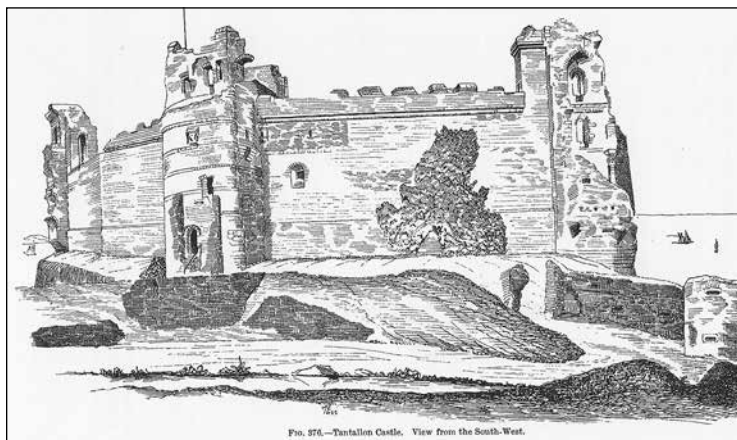


Figure 3: Tantallon's mighty curtain wall as depicted in MacGibbon & Ross's Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, published in 1887

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The work included ‘clearing out the accumulated rubbish of centuries’. Commenting that it was the custom in the fifteenth century for nobles to erect ‘large halls and apartments for strangers in the quadrangle, quite apart from the keep’ it was noted that excavation within the north range had shown very interesting traces of these apartments, and subsequent alterations to them. Various chambers in the gatehouse were opened up which, it was recognised, had been ‘closed up for strengthening purposes’, as were the stair passages in the curtain walls; some of the blocking was left to show what it was like before clearance. The drawbridge pit was excavated and ‘the attachment of the hinges’ noted. The ‘whole upper part’ of the Fore Tower was found to have been covered with a thick layer of earth, ‘so as to make it proof against the artillery of the time’, and ‘half-a-dozen round shot of iron about six inches in diameter’ were found in it (MacGibbon 1891, 82-3). MacGibbon’s plan (1891, 81) shows the barbican, presumably excavated at this time. The castle was now formally opened to visitors and an admission charge of 6d levied to prevent destruction to the fabric (*The Scotsman* 27 April 1888; 1 May 1888). Staircases, ‘built up by James V’, were reopened, enabling visitors to ascend to the battlements, and the well in the Inner Court was cleared down to the water level at 106 feet (32.3m) (MacGibbon 1891, 80-4).



Figure 4: Tantallon's Inner Court as depicted in MacGibbon & Ross's Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, published in 1887

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HM OFFICE OF WORKS 1924–39

Following Sir Walter's death in 1920, negotiations commenced to entrust the castle into the guardianship of HM Office of Works; the formal handover took place in 1924 (NRS: MW.1.311). Conservation work on the upstanding masonry was then re-started in earnest, in tandem with extensive excavations, which continued into the 1930s. The kitchens at the east end of the north range, as well as the 'Seagate' and steps down to the sea, were excavated in 1924 (Anon 1924, 8). The barbican was certainly among the first archaeological features excavated, for publication of the Royal Commission's *Inventory of Monuments* for East Lothian was delayed so as to include the following addenda (RCAHMS 1924, 156):

In the course of excavations conducted by H.M Office of Works, the structure of the barbican has been revealed. It terminated in D-shaped turrets, within which swung a drawbridge. There were two storeys, both latterly vaulted. From the lower, a doorway in each wall opened on the solum of the ditch; the southern doorway had been built up and a gunloop formed in the infilling. The rybats removed from this door were apparently reused to build the present entrance. When the barbican was vaulted, a stair descending to the lower storey was formed in the entrance passage.



Figure 5: The east end of the Outer Ditch, following completion of excavation in 1929
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Thereafter, we know that the main ditch was excavated in 1928 and restored to its ‘former condition’ (*The Scotsman* 24 September 1928), and that the east end of the outer ditch was cleared in 1929 when large blocks of masonry were removed from the area near the outer gate (NRS: MW 1/309); see Caldwell 1991, 336) (fig 5). Further excavations took place in the Outer Court in 1930 (fig 6), and it may have been around this time that ‘foundations of outhouses of late date were uncovered’ (Richardson 1950, 4).

The scale of the work undertaken was facilitated by manpower made available through a scheme for the relief of the unemployed that resulted in the large-scale excavation of many historic sites throughout Britain. In 1929–30 a total of 500 to 700 men were employed on eleven Office of Works sites in Scotland, including Tantallon. The work was said to be not restoration but only ‘the clearance and excavation of moats, foundations, etc’ (*Hansard* 1929–30, V:232, 1001–2; *The Times* 18 November 1929; *The Scotsman* 27 November 1929). During the week ending 14 February 1931, for example, three tradesmen (stonemasons presumably) and 20 labourers had worked at Tantallon (*Hansard* 1930–1, V:249, 42). The castle and its surrounding earthworks as we see them today are largely the result of these extensive works. Unfortunately, as was largely the case with these early twentieth-century archaeological operations, they were poorly documented and rarely published. Record drawings and photographs survive in Historic Environment Scotland’s archive (HES: ELD 99/2 and 99/4), whilst some notes and lists of artefacts recovered are still on file ((NRS: MW1/309; MW1/1081). James Richardson, who oversaw most of the work, was not noted for publishing his numerous excavations (see the article on him later in these *Transactions*), and even the account of his two guided tours of the castle, given to members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists’ Society in 1924 and 1928 and published in these *Transactions* (1930, 212–5), were written by another (unnamed) member.



Figure 6: Excavation trenches in the Outer Court, looking south towards the Outer Gate, March 1930.
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HISTORIC SCOTLAND 2013-2014

For a considerable period after World War II little in the way of archaeological work was carried out at the castle. In 1978 John Lewis excavated in advance of the erection of a secure perimeter fence but, given the small size of the holes, he found little of interest (1978, 15). In 2009/10 Kirkdale Archaeology carried out excavations and standing building recording in tandem with the masonry conservation of the Gatehouse. A timber put-log high up in the Fore Tower was dated by dendro-chronology as being felled in the second or third decade of the sixteenth century, confirming that the Fore Tower was built after James V's 1528 siege (Crone 2007; Ewart & Gallagher *forthcoming*).

It was the possibility of using Tantallon Castle as a venue for historic re-enactments (for example, the 1650/51 Cromwellian siege) that led to the most recent archaeological investigations. Given that such events would doubtless take place on the extensive grassed area that dominates much of the site, Historic Scotland considered that it would be best to determine more precisely what in the way of archaeology might lie beneath the sward. In 2013 a programme of geophysical survey and archaeological excavation was carried out, which continued in 2014.

The geophysics measured electrical resistance (resistivity) and magnetic variation (magnetometry, also known as gradiometry). Both surveys identified a wide variety of anomalies of potential archaeological significance (figs 7 & 8). Within the Inner Court well-defined anomalies suggested possible building ranges whereas in the Outer Court the data was more ephemeral. However, both datasets suggested a possible range of buildings immediately to the NW of the Gatehouse.

The geophysical surveys were followed by archaeological excavations (figs 9 & 10); the results of which confirmed the assumed range and complexity of the archaeology of Tantallon but also shed new light on its preservation and contrasting character within well-defined zones. These zones are the basis of a sequence of highly-developed site plans, exploiting the natural promontory for defence, accommodation, service, cultivation and visual impact. Of particular note was the remarkable preservation of a range of earthworks showing how the presently prominent artillery siege and defensive earthworks can now be seen alongside newly-revealed defensive banks and platforms, agricultural buildings, field systems and gardens - all of which featured earthwork construction. Despite the limited size of the trenches, a new sense of the long, complex and colourful history of the site was established.

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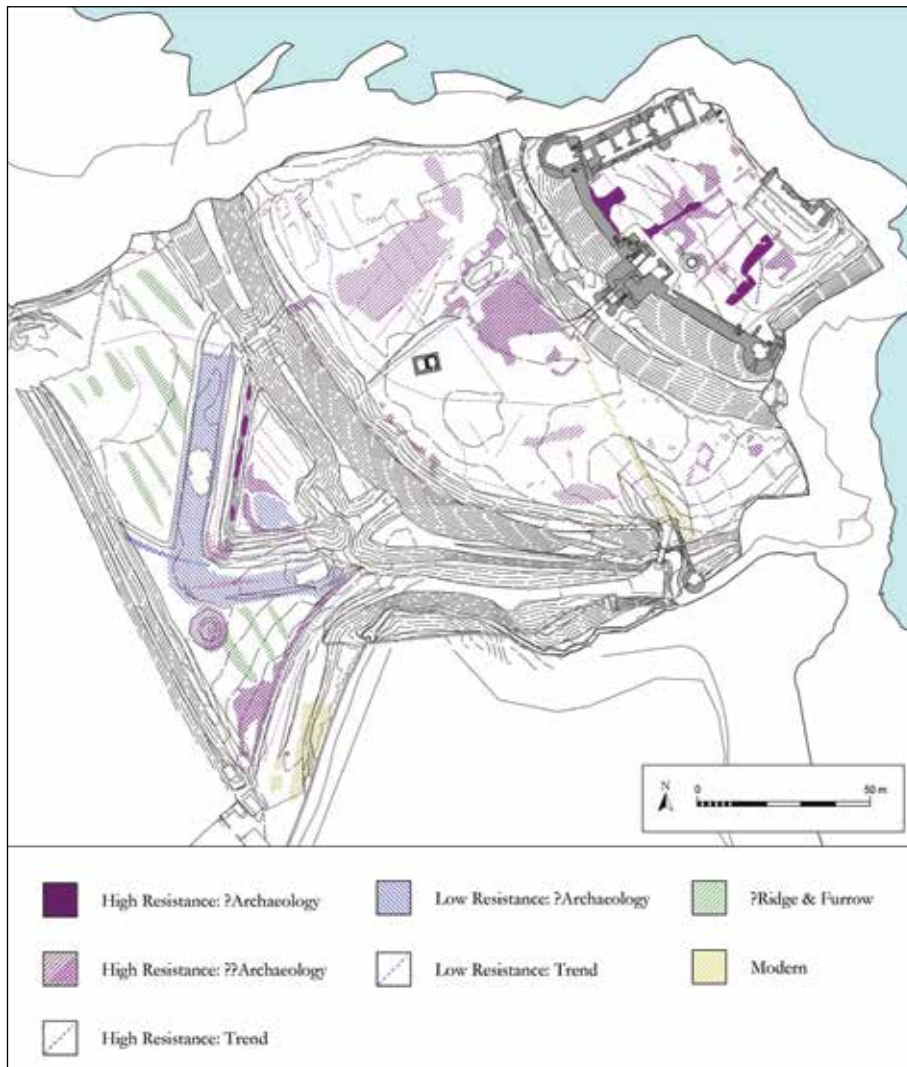


Figure 7: Results of the resistivity survey, based on plans by Rose Geophysical Consultants.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

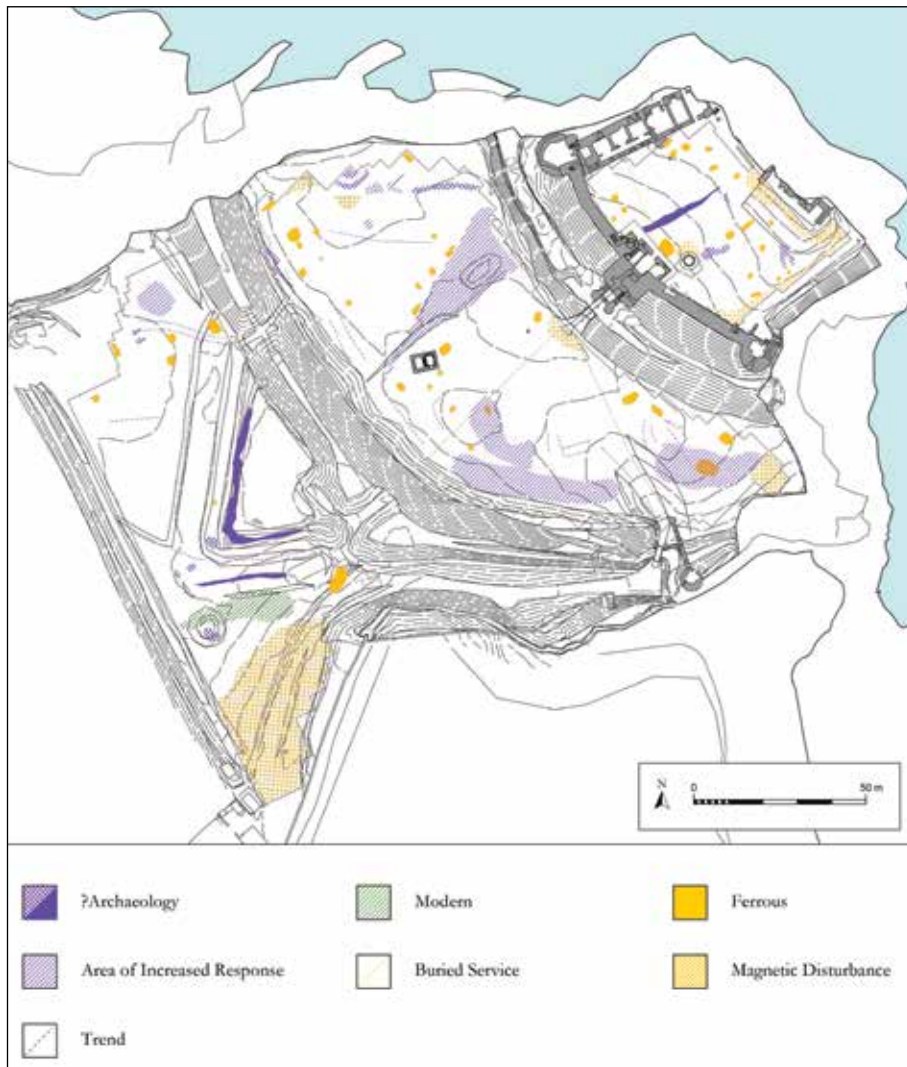


Figure 8: Results of the gradiometry survey, based on plans by Rose Geophysical Consultants.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
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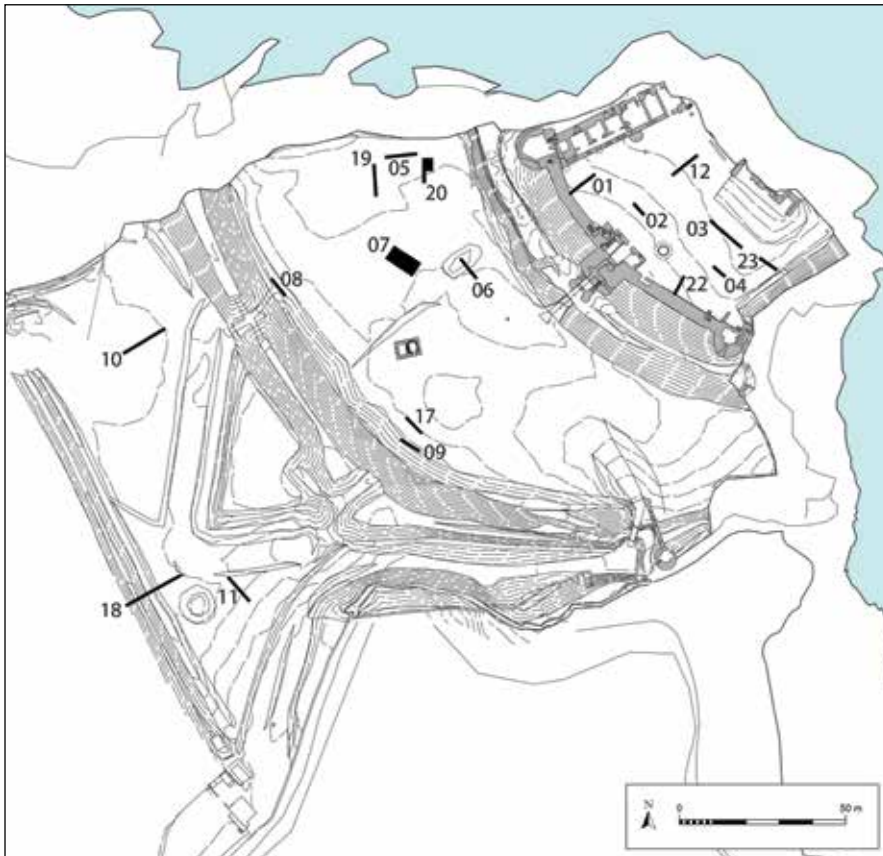


Figure 9: Plan showing the location of the excavation trenches.



Figure 10: Excavation underway on Trench 12, in the Inner Court, in 2013.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

THE INNER COURT - DESCRIPTION

The defences of Tantallon, particularly its awesome curtain wall, are so impressive that the residential aspects of the castle tend to be overlooked. It is clear from the documentary evidence, however, that this was not only a strong place but one where the trappings of elite life could be enjoyed by its Douglas lords. An inventory of 1582 shows that the walls of the great hall and the adjacent Douglas Tower were lined with tapestries, that the high table was adorned with silver cups and ewers, and that the beds were bedecked with hangings of velvet and cloth of gold (*CSP Scot* VI, 182-3; Sanderson 2002, 95). One objective of the recent archaeological research was to discover how buried structures in the now empty space of the Inner Court related to this elite residence.

An earlier inventory, taken in 1556, listed artillery and munitions and mentioned the ‘werkhou’ and ‘munition hous’, both of which were likely to have been in the Inner Court although their exact locations are unknown (Richardson 1950, 27). Possession of a large artillery train and a munition house to hold it and all its accoutrements was a way of displaying princely power; in 1538-9, for example, James V created a munition house in Edinburgh Castle (Ewart & Gallagher 2014, 95). The archaeological work aimed to investigate what is now a large open space, and several trenches were placed there to investigate the geophysical anomalies.

A distinct linear anomaly corresponded with a hatched line marked on the plan in the guide book as ‘foundation of older building’ (Richardson 1932). Trench 02 confirmed that this was indeed a substantial wall of sandstone with a rubble core, 1.8m wide and extending east from the north corner of the Gatehouse and parallel with the north range. Taking the geophysical survey and excavation evidence together it can be shown that it extended c16m across the Inner Court, thus dividing the Inner Court into two unequal-sized parts – a smaller northern half adjacent to the hall block and Douglas Tower, and a southern half, roughly twice the size, to its south. This indicates that the elite elements – the lord’s lodgings and halls - were physically separated from the remainder of the castle, which would be expected.

INNER CLOUT – NORTHERN HALF

Trench 01 examined the area adjacent to the north curtain wall where geophysical anomalies were interpreted as flooring and compaction associated with lean-to structures. Here the lowest level was paving immediately adjacent to the curtain wall, which was covered by a deposit of compact silt cut by a steep-sided linear feature, 120mm deep and extending 6.6m east-west; finds from its basal fill indicated a late-medieval or post-medieval date.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

Geophysics in the NE area produced an anomaly interpreted as either foundations, or the product, of more recent landscaping. Trench 12, 12m south of the kitchens in the north range, found evidence of late-medieval industrial activity (fig 11). The upper fills were dated by an English-made tobacco pipe of c.1640–60 (fig 12) and several iron fragments from a large diameter mortar shell (fig 13); the artillery employed against the castle by Cromwell's troops in 1651 included mortars (Hall 1651, 620). In the late eighteenth century Francis Grose (1789, I, 83) noted that 'pieces of bombs, cannon balls, and broken arms' were frequently found in the castle; indeed, iron shot can still be picked up off the beach far below (*pers comm* Chris Tabraham). The lowest layer contained coal, charcoal and slag, indicative of metalworking or smelting, but five small pits nearby had no consistent form or pattern.



Figure 11: Trench 12, viewed from the west. Light industrial activity was discovered here, together with evidence of the Cromwellian siege of 1650/51. (© Crown copyright: HES)



Figure 12: Nationalism 17th-century style, as expressed in the humble tobacco pipe. The English-style pipes of c 1640-60 (left and centre) contrast with the Scottish-style heeled pipe (right).



Figure 13: Physical evidence of the 1651 siege: fragments of a mortar shell. (Photograph by AOC Archaeology)

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

INNER COURT – SOUTHERN HALF

Three trenches – 03, 04 and 23 – all produced evidence for a substantial formal garden. Trenches 03 and 04 revealed a series of straight-sided, shallow trenches filled with white mortar-rich rubble; four were 4m wide and a fifth 850mm wide, and none was deeper than 300mm. Trench 23 revealed a low bank running parallel with the south curtain wall. Excavation to a general depth of 800mm revealed a series of discrete surfaces, whilst the bank comprised three elements – firstly a flat, stony surface with a few deep fissures that extended north for 3m, gently sloping down to the west; then a 3m-wide area of large well-preserved turfs, up to 500mm x 600mm in size, with a series of smaller turfs (typically 350mm x 250mm) to the west (fig 14); and finally a level surface of compacted stones and gravelly soil 1.7m wide.



Figure 14: Trench 23, showing the areas of well-preserved turfs in the formal garden found therein.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
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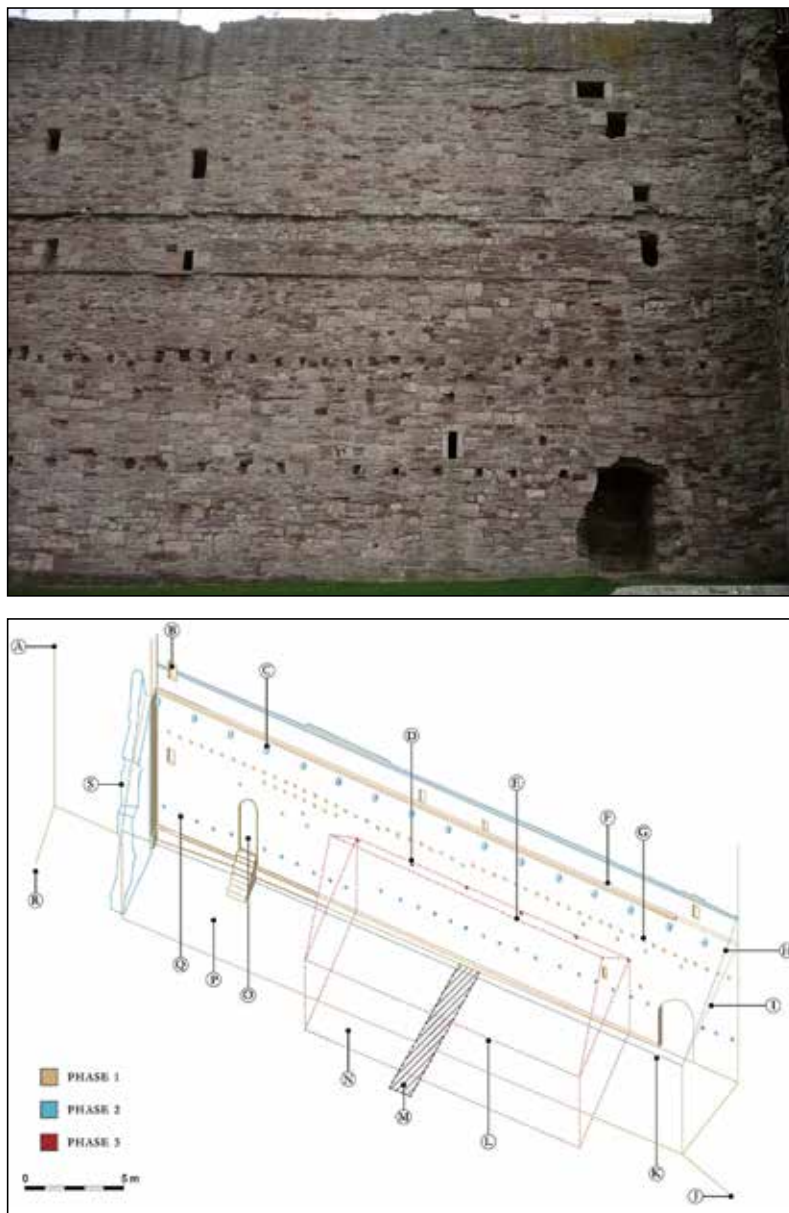


Figure 15: (Top) The inner face of the curtain wall to the south of the Gatehouse, showing the scars of long-gone timber lean-to structures that once abutted it. (Bottom) Conjectural phases of the lean-to buildings, with the footprint of Trench 22 added, based on a drawing by Thorsten Hanke.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE CASTLE 1888–2014

One of the most intriguing features of Tantallon's upstanding architecture are the scars of long-gone timber structures that once abutted the inner curtain wall south of the Gatehouse (fig 15). A tentative phasing is offered here.

This stretch of curtain wall has two doorways close to present ground level; although much altered, fragments of the springers show they were originally round-headed. There is a string course along the length of the wall at half its height, above which are a number of small rectangular windows, the southernmost of which is still blocked. The first identifiable phase relates to a lean-to structure, whose roof scars are visible on both the curtain wall and the north wall of the East Tower (A); another scar (I) in the east wall of the Gatehouse meets a scar in the curtain wall and thus probably relates also to this phase.

The next construction phase is evident from the string course and roof scar 7m above ground level (F), which covered and sealed the join between the roof cover and the vertical wall. Below it are the remains of corbels that carried a runner-beam providing support to the rafters of a lean-to roof (C). (P) indicates the possible footprint of this lean-to building. At 1.4m below (C) there is a row of joist sockets (G) along the whole length of the curtain wall. A lean-to building towards the south end of this feature probably met the wall-plate of the phase 1 and phase 2 lean-to buildings. The conflict of a window with the roof scar (B) suggests that the latter represented the apex of the lean-to roof of the phase 2 building. There is also a row of eleven floor sockets (Q) at the south end of the curtain wall 1.5m above ground level and extending for 5.5m. This floor level appears to cross the southernmost doorway in the curtain wall, although it would not necessarily have blocked the entrance. The scar (H) visible in the east wall of the Gatehouse meets a scar in the north wall of the curtain wall, and so probably relates to the phase 2 building.

In the final phase the lean-to roof was replaced by a multi-pitched roof. To this phase is attributed a series of collar-beam sockets arranged at intervals of 2.6m, hinting at the existence of a five-bay building 15.5m long and 5.5m wide. This makes little sense in the context of the phase 1 and phase 2 features and seems to represent a separate phase that either pre-dated or post-dated them. The latter is the more likely because the string-course suggests that a lean-to roof was the earliest roof here. The suggested footprint of this third structure is indicated by (N), with (E) representing its apex and (L) the level of the eaves.

To help shed light on this conundrum, trench 22 was positioned at right angles to the curtain wall. The results were disappointing. The earliest levels consisted of a platform of compact clay, 270mm deep, overlying the natural clay. The platform was cut by a linear feature with a U-shaped profile, the fill of which suggested that it was a backfilled robber trench of the outer wall of the lean-to range. Two large pits may also reflect clearance of the buildings abutting the inner face of the curtain wall. Modern bottle-glass in the topmost layer is probably the result of HM Office of Works' wall-chasing.

DIGGING UP TANTALLON:
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INNER COURT: CONCLUSIONS

The excavations showed that the Inner Court was once divided by a substantial wall running east-west, thereby creating two smaller courts - an inner court to the north, in front of the lord's residence in the north range and Douglas Tower, and an outer court to the south.

In the north half, south of the kitchens, there was evidence from trench 12 of industrial activity. The find of a single English tobacco pipe datable to 1640-60 can be ascribed to the post-1651 English occupation of the castle, possibly associated with post-siege destruction, especially the dismantling of buildings for valuable materials such as lead; two other Tyneside pipes recovered from the Office of Works' excavations may also be associated with the English garrison (Caldwell 1991, 354, nos 177 & 179). The fragments of a mortar shell in the backfill of a large trench or pit in association with general demolition debris and a variety of burnt deposits, including slag, suggest some form of metalworking activity along with graphic evidence of artillery use, again most likely associated with the 1651 siege.

In the south half the archaeological evidence for the sequence of timber buildings abutting the south curtain wall was slight. The linear feature in trench 22 may be the robbed-out remains of the wall along the NE front of this range, whilst two large pits could be considered as robbed-out structural features. It is further possible that the projecting foundation course of the curtain wall acted as a bedding platform for floor joists for a building which existed alongside and in connection with the western doorway in the curtain wall. This could explain the lack of floor deposits within the trench. If the building did not have a continuous masonry façade to the NE then there is no reason that one might expect to find a continuous linear foundation trench. If, as was contended earlier, the NE façade at ground level was punctuated with doors, then only smaller discrete cuts would be required in order to bed the solid parts of the façade, which could either have been of solid masonry or more likely timber supported on pads or runners of stone or wood.

Trenches 03, 04 and 23 provided evidence for a formal garden occupying a large part of the south courtyard. It is possible that a garden had existed within the castle from the outset in the later 1300s. The archaeological evidence certainly confirms inventory evidence for one existing in 1670, for it mentions a 'garden chamber' (Fraser 1885, III, 343-4). This picture of peace and tranquillity contrasts with Tantallon's earlier inventories (1556 and 1582), for missing are the 'werkhous' and 'munition house'. However, the meagre furnishings of the 1670 inventory indicate that the castle was no longer in use as an elite residence. Archibald, 1st Marquess of Douglas and 11th earl of Angus, had lived in Edinburgh from 1651 until his death in 1660 when he was succeeded by his young grandson, James. The latter did not attain his majority until 1668 and on his marriage in 1670 he restored

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Douglas Castle, in Upper Clydesdale, as his principal residence (Fraser 1885, II, 229). The bareness of the furnishings in the 1670 Tantallon inventory certainly indicates neglect of the property. It is likely, therefore, that the garden found in the Inner Court dates from an earlier period, when the castle was in use as a principal residence. The lack of tobacco pipes from the latter part of the seventeenth century (with one exception) also suggests that the castle did not function as a residence after the withdrawal of the small English garrison (Caldwell 1991, 353-5).

The well-preserved turfs in Trench 23 formed a decorative surface, possibly one side of a square mineral parterre, that covered most of the southern half of the court. The interior of the parterre featured linear chalk and mortar designs, as evidenced by the shallow linear trenches. A possible parallel for it is the garden of the former house of the abbot of Holyrood, which was situated to the east of the palace. This was the town house of the Douglas earls of Angus in the early seventeenth century and details of its elaborate parterres are shown on the 1647 bird's-eye view of Edinburgh by Gordon of Rothiemay (Fraser 1885, II, 440 and 448). A further, and relatively local, parallel can be seen in the late sixteenth-century plan of Berwick Castle which features an elaborate parterre located next to the curtain wall (Menuge and Dewar 2009, 4).

THE OUTER CLOURT

The Outer Court presently has no upstanding buildings apart from a seventeenth-century dovecot (fig 16 and see fig 1). However, the geophysical survey produced a number of anomalies suggesting a concentration of buildings in the northern half of the area (see figs 7 & 8). Subsequent limited excavation revealed evidence for numerous structures built of timber, stone and earthwork (see fig 9).



Figure 16: General view from the castle battlements looking west over the Outer Court and showing the locations of trenches 5 (beyond the Outer Ditch) and 10 (far right).

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Figure 17: Imported pottery found during the excavations - 1: a sherd from an Anglo-Dutch tin-glazed vessel, possibly a drugs jar; 2: an abraded base from a lustre-decorated bowl, Spanish or Italian; 3: a body sherd from a German Raeren stoneware 'medallion' jug.

Trench 05 was sited near the northern edge, where the geophysical survey detected anomalies indicating possible timber buildings. Excavation revealed the presence of masonry walls on an approximate north-south alignment but their form or purpose could not be ascertained. The ceramic assemblage, including sherds of a German Raeren stoneware 'medallion' jug (fig 17, no 3), indicated occupation in the late fifteenth/sixteenth centuries.

The geophysics also indicated the presence of a range of buildings at the southern limit of this northern zone, roughly on the same axis as the Gatehouse but some 25m to its north. These showed a building c.30m long by c.7m wide at its eastern end, and trench 06, cutting across this range, revealed the stone foundation of a 1m-wide wall. In Trench 07, north of the dovecot, the earliest identifiable structural phase was a timber structure with four stone-lined post settings. This was replaced by a building with stone foundations in which were two rectangular voids indicating the presence of a timber superstructure. It had a doorway 800mm wide with a stone socket for a door pivot.

Trench 19 was aligned north-south across a low bank and excavation confirmed that there had been a sequence of a least two earthworks of late- and post-medieval date here, aligned roughly parallel with the edge of the promontory. Both were made of turf interleaved with clay and gravel but were of two distinct phases, the earlier earthwork being cleared before the second was built. They in turn overlay a stone-lined structure – possibly a box-drain but as yet undated. Trench 20 revealed that the earliest coherent feature was a partially robbed wall, aligned north-south, 800mm wide and extending 2.35m (fig 18). This wall had subsequently been reduced and sealed by a series of landscaping dumps, associated with the fragmentary remains of two light masonry walls, which appeared to have

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Figure 18: A substantial wall footing from trench 20, but of unknown date and function.



Figure 19: Trench 17 looking southward with flat stones from a possible roadway.

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utilised reused ashlar fragments. These in turn were partially robbed of stone and cleared in advance of the construction of an extensive earthwork or bank, reflected by dumps of re-deposited clay and decayed turf. No artefacts were forthcoming to help date any of this.

Trench 17 was situated to the south of the dovecot (fig 19), in an area where excavations carried out prior to 1932 revealed the ‘foundations of out-house buildings of late date’ (Richardson 1950, 4). A geophysical anomaly here was interpreted as stone structures – footings or walls associated with defences marking the SW limits of the Outer Court. The results were disappointing, just an occupation surface with fifteenth – sixteenth century pottery, replaced by a surface of large slabs, possibly from a roadway.

OUTER COURT: CONCLUSIONS

The excavations showed that the Outer Court, now devoid of structures other than the solitary dovecot, once contained a number of buildings. One documentary insight into the use of these structures is provided by a royal warrant of 1582 instructing that corn from the Mains of Tantallon be stacked there as had happened previously (NRS: GD16/37/11). The Tantallon crop was not just for local consumption as Alexander Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, having recently succeeded to the lands of Tantallon, had an agreement in 1557/1559 to supply an Edinburgh merchant with 27 bolls of wheat and barley each year (*ER* XIX, 439-40; Coutts 2003, 57-8). It is clear that Tantallon was not just a fortress but functioned as the centre of an estate, and the buildings in the Outer Court would doubtless reflect this with structures such as a granary, barns, malt-kiln, stables, and the present dovecot or its predecessor.

The northern part of the Inner Court appears to have been more built-up than its southern counterpart. Structures included what is interpreted as a wooden building on stone footings; a similar building technique was found in a post-1497 context at Dunbar Castle (Perry 2000, 90), in Perth c.1300-30 (Murray 2010), and Aberdeen, in thirteenth/fourteenth-century contexts (Murray 1984, 306 & 309). The building range, c.30m long and 7m wide, part of which was found in trench 06, is remarkably similar in dimensions to the ‘grange’ within the outer ward of Dunstanburgh Castle, in Northumberland, which was 30m long and 6.6m wide (Oswald *et al* 2006, 62). The range at Tantallon is aligned with the Gatehouse and may indicate the existence of an earlier, more direct, approach to the gatehouse, of which the tentative road surfaces excavated in trench 17 may be a part. The creation of dog-legged approaches to castles, to replace more direct ones, was apparent from excavations at Caerlaverock Castle, in Dumfriesshire (MacIvor & Gallagher 1999). Such alterations were needed to take into account the new-fangled gunpowdered artillery, and Tantallon’s Outer Gate would seem to be another clear instance of this.

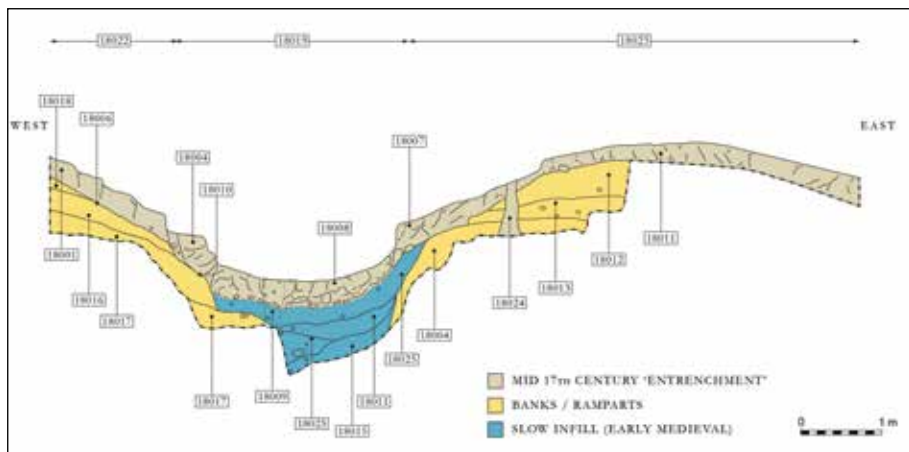
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THE OUTER DEFENCES AND BEYOND

The principal element in the outer defences is the curvilinear earthwork, ditch and rampart that crosses the promontory some 95m west of the main curtain wall, curving towards the castle on its more vulnerable southern flank and terminating at the Outer Gate. That gate still has its attendant traverse wall and gun-tower intact, punctured with wide-mouthed gunholes, of a type identical to those in Dunbar Castle's blockhouse, dated to c.1520 (MacIvor 1981, 123). The date of the curvilinear ditch and rampart is as yet unknown but is likely to be multi-period.

The west side of the curvilinear earthwork is further defended by a triangular ravelin (an outer gun defence) that projects some 33m forward of the outer ditch; it was not investigated. A further 60m west of the outer ditch is another, narrower ditch, 135m in length, which crosses the promontory in a straight line from NW to SE. Three trenches - trenches 10, 11 and 18 - investigated aspects of these outer defences (see fig 9).

Trench 10, north of the ravelin, produced evidence for ploughing. The earliest features comprised a series of twelve faint, linear variations in a cleared and levelled natural horizon, fairly regular in width (c.1m) and apparently parallel to each other and also with three later banks. All these features were probably the result of ploughing over an extended period. The three banks were probably rigs, whilst the twelve linear features beneath may reflect variations in drainage within the rigs, rather than 'cut' or 'constructed' features. Trench 11, south of the ravelin, produced from its lowest deposits ceramics dating between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Above these was a low, level bank of clay-rich soil surviving to a height of 400mm, but of indeterminate date or function.



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Trench 18, across the outermost ditch, produced two phases of ditch construction. The earlier was a ditch 4m wide and 2m deep, with an upcast earth bank on both its east and west sides. Pottery from the ditch fills dated it to the twelfth - fourteenth century. The second phase of activity saw the ditch partially re-cut, making it wider and flat-bottomed. This work was augmented with stacked turf forming walls on each side of the ditch as well as a floor. After the laying of the turfs, the earlier banks were also built up with more turf. These were better preserved on the east side of the ditch where a stone free, clay-rich surface was most likely compacted turf (fig 20).

THE OUTER DEFENCES: CONCLUSIONS

The shallow, parallel banks noted in trench 10 are most likely evidence of strip-field cultivation, specifically a series of rigs that have been levelled and compacted. The series of narrow linear features beneath, defined by slight variations in colouration and compaction against a cleared subsoil, is most likely a result of regular and long-term strip-ploughing within the upper 500mm of the soil profile. The eroded nature of these agricultural features is in part due to the natural desiccation and compaction of the upper soil profile noted across the level areas of the Outer Court and the Outer Defences. This in turn appears to be due to a combination of the naturally free-draining soils and the regular maintenance of its current (long established) mown open grassy character. This has created the homogenous appearance of soils immediately below active turf growth where root penetration creates an almost peat-like quality in the turf. This was paralleled in Trenches 06 and 07, both of which reflected still upstanding but massively eroded earthworks. However, the very firm quality of the surfaces revealed in trench 10 may also be the result of deliberate compaction and levelling, to flatten the terrain around the newly-constructed ravelin, which appears to post-date the ploughing/strip-field activity.

The outermost ditch would appear to be, as Richardson surmised in his guidebook, a 'counter-work raised by an attacking force'; its straight line across the promontory was designed to isolate the headland and provide a sheltered line of communication for the besiegers. An early example of such straight trenches can be seen in the plan of the 1560 siege of Leith where it linked batteries surrounding the town (Steer 1962). In 1644 the parliamentary forces besieging Lathom House, Lancashire, dug a trench, 'a yard of ditch and a yard of raised turf', around the house whilst protected by gabions (Harrington 2004, 71-2). In the 1651 siege at Tantallon it was reported in *Mercurius Politicus* (Hall 1651, 38, 618-9 & 39, 620) that after eight days, with 300 soldiers working every night, the castle was closely besieged to within a pistol shot of the defenders; the outermost ditch was certainly within a pistol shot of the ravelin. If the normal pattern of siege warfare was carried out at Tantallon there would also have been more substantial siege earthworks

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further away from the castle. An example is the redoubt outside Blackness Castle which is marked on a plan of 1690 (NLS: MS.1647 Z.02/75a).

The fill of the primary ditch, from which the twelfth/fourteenth-century pottery was recovered, may originate from the levelling of the defensive banks, pushed into the ditch and rammed flat. The ditch is assumed to be a defensive feature and the step noticed in the western face of the ditch may reflect some aspect of the outer defences augmenting the upcast bank – possibly some form of timber shuttering. The finished work most likely formed part of the Cromwellian siege-works. The turf structures comprised a walking surface across the flat base of the ditch and evidence for timberwork (posts), 700mm deep x 100–300mm wide, along the inner edge of the outer (east) rampart.

The elaborate use of turf for artillery fortification was well established by the mid-seventeenth century and is attested in contemporary accounts. Paul Ives, in his *The Practise of Fortification* (1589), describes the method thus:

The manner of fortifying with earth [...] the turffe must be cut like a wedge, of 12 or 14 inches and 5 or 6 inches broad equidistant, the one end 4 or 5 inches thicke and the other sharpe, and these turves must be carved and handled without breaking and layde in the worke, the great ende outward and the grassy side downward...



Figure 21: A besieger's-eye view of the castle from trench 18, showing the leached turfs on the outward (eastern) side of the outermost ditch.

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Figure 1: An aerial view of Tynninghame from the SW. Tynninghame House lies in the trees to the right. The present village is centre left. The old village lay between them. (© HES)

FROM OLD TO NEW: THE CREATION OF THE PRESENT VILLAGE OF TYNINGHAME

by JOY DODD

*Old Tynningham! thy nut-brown ale in reaming bumpers flowing,
Once roused the woodman's sober tale, and set his heart a glowing;
Around yon elm, with nimble feet, they danced - conversed -
where green boughs wave;
Thy ancient village, stone by stone removed, its inmates gone!
But oft a mossy stone appears amidst the leafy solitude,
That marks, where met in other years, the aged tenants of the wood.*

“Saint Baldred of the Bass” by James Miller (1824)

INTRODUCTION

The information board beside the coffee shop in Tynninghame village states that ‘the original village stood in front of Tynninghame House but the Earl of Haddington demolished it in 1761 and built this new hamlet on the Tyne to house his old retainers. It was extended in the 1830s to be the estate village.’ However, a close inspection of the kirk session minutes of Tynninghame (NRS: CH2/359), together with the registers of births and marriages from 1615 to 1761 (Dodd 2017a & b), tell a different story, for the first mention of the village of New Tynninghame occurs in 1709 (fig 1).

EARLY HISTORY

The early history of Tynninghame is associated with St Balthere, or Baldred as he is now more familiarly known. According to the Northumbrian annals, this holy man ‘trode the way of the fathers’ in the monastery at Tynninghame in the year AD 756 (Anderson 1908, 56). Recent excavations at nearby Auldham have cast new light on the early monasticism in this part of the county and raised the possibility that the monastery at Tynninghame may have been a successor to the small, cliff-top monastic house looking over the water to the Bass Rock and founded around the mid-seventh century (Crone & Hindmarch 2016, 129-42 & 166-70). (A similar relocation of a monastic house seems also to have taken place in Berwickshire with the apparent shift of the hill-top site of *Urbs Coludi* (Coludsburh), on Kirk Hill, St Abbs, to nearby Coldingham.)

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The place-name *Tynninghame* (*Tinningaham* in c.1050) most likely indicates an ecclesiastical estate, with 'ham' representing the estate dependent upon a minster; thus *Tinningaham* means 'the house and landholding of [the religious community known as] *Tiningas [dwellers on the Tyne] (see Alan James's article in this volume, pp 32-3). A ninth-century cross fragment found within the ruins of the twelfth-century St Baldred's Church suggests that the site of Balthere's monastery lay on or about that site (Stevenson 1959, 46-7). In the year 854 Tynninghame was one of a number of manors claimed by the bishopric of Lindisfarne (Arnold 1882, vol 2, 101). By the eleventh century, according to the anonymous *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (see Johnson South 2002, 79-80, 124-9), Tynninghame was not just one of those manors but the 'caput', or chief manor, credited with having under its control all the lands between the Lammermuir Hills and the mouth of the River Esk, this despite the devastating Viking raid of 941 that 'laid waste the church of St Baldred and burned Tynninghame (Anderson 1908, no 73). In King Duncan's charter of 1094, Tynninghame is still much to the fore, as the centre of an estate



Figure 2: St Baldred's Church, Tynninghame, erected in the twelfth century but abandoned for worship in 1761. (Photo courtesy of Judy Riley)

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reaching from Auldham to Broxmouth, beyond Dunbar (Lawrie 1905, no 12). It has been suggested that Dunbar and Tynninghame were ‘twins’, the former the secular caput and the latter the spiritual heart of the shire entrusted by King Malcolm III to Gospatrick, former earl of Northumbria, following his expulsion from England by William the Conqueror in 1072 (Crone & Hindmarch 2016, 133).

In 1159 King Malcolm IV ‘the Maiden’, in a charter to the monks of Kelso, granted the privilege of sanctuary for their church of Innerleithen, Peeblesshire, the same privilege of sanctuary or girth as the kirk of Tynninghame (Fraser 1889, xxv). An Ancient Taxation in 1176 of the parishes of East Lothian rates Tynninghame at 40 merks, not as much as North Berwick at 60 merks but more than Morham (20 merks) and Garvald (15 merks) (Chalmers 1810, vol 2). A hundred years later, in 1275, the council of Lyon imposed a tax of a tenth part of all church revenues during the following six years for the relief of the Holy Land; known as Bagimond’s Roll, it rated Tynninghame at £10.13.4.

The present church of Tynninghame, dedicated to St Baldred, was built in the mid-twelfth century (McWilliam 1978, 454-5; Fawcett 2011, 49-50) and served the parishioners until 1761, when the parish was merged with that of Whitekirk (fig 2). Tynninghame church was then mostly demolished, except for its two fine arches. The old tower and fortalice of Tynninghame was rebuilt in 1829 by William Burn, incorporating the seventeenth-century mansion house. The place-name Tynninghame applies to both the parish and the estate, but this article is concerned only with the estate and the village.

EARLY OWNERS OF THE LANDS

The spiritual and civil estate of Tynninghame was first a dependency of Lindisfarne, later passing to the diocese of St Andrews in 1250 (Fraser 1889, xxix). The bishops (and from 1472 archbishops) of St Andrews had for a long time an unlimited jurisdiction; one of their titles was Lord of Tynninghame.

Although the diocese of St Andrews remained superior throughout the Middle Ages, in the 1530s King James V became a rival for possession of the lands, and on 9 July 1535 Cardinal James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews and primate of Scotland, granted a charter to James Stewart, James V’s eldest natural son, of ‘the lordship of Tynninghame, viz. the lands of the mains of Tynninghame, twenty husbandlands and twenty cotlands, five brewlands, the mill of Tynninghame, lands called Warrilandis, Gilliescot and Smithyland, with fishing in the water of Tyne and lochs and cunnigars [rabbit warrens] of the lands of Tynninghame and with the office of bailiary of the Lordship’ (Fraser 1889, 254). The lands later became the property of Regent Murray and, by private arrangement, of William Maitland of Lethington (Fraser 1889, xxxii).

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During much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the tenants of Tynninghame were the Lauders of the Bass. In September 1568 an agreement was reached between Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass and William Maitland for an exchange of lands and payment of 11,000 merks, as a result of which the Lauders became the new land-owners (Fraser 1889, 277). They also acquired the nearby lands of the Knowes and Kirklandhill. However, by mortgaging the lands for large sums of money George, the last Lauder of the Bass, and his mother, Lady Isobel Hepburn, were by 1621 in financial difficulties, and so forced to dispose of the estate (Fraser 1889, xxxiii). John Murray, later Lord Annandale, bought for 200,000 merks the following:

[...] Maynes of Tynninghame, the Twentie husbandlands, the Twentie Cot Landes, 5 brewlands, mill of Tynninghame with the mill-lands, multures and sequels, lands called Wardlands, Geillischott, Smythslan, salmon and other fishing in the Water of Tyne in fresh and salt water within the flood of the sea, lochs, fishings, cunningses and cunningghers [rabbits and rabbit warrens] of said lands of Tynninghame, with the wrack and wair of the sea, staines, quarrellis and Lymbstayne with the mures and mosses of the saidis Landis and Lordschipe of Tynninghame and all thair pertinentis [...] town and burghie in baronie of Tynninghame, port and harborie thairto, biggit or to be bigged with the custome, Anchorages, Liberties and privileges belanging thairto; [...] 3 brewlands in said town of Tynninghame with houssis, biggingis, kill [kiln], maltkill and barne of the samen and thair pertinentis.

A feu was also set to Robert Lauder in Tynninghame on 'three and a half husbandlands in Tynninghame, two brewlands, the stokland aikar, two coatlands, the noltfauld, Stevinstouns fauld, and a part of the park fauldis, held feu for £7:8s.4d. per annum' (NRS: NRAS3503/1/55/3). John Murray never lived at Tynninghame but is remembered by the gift of a bell to hang in the steeple of St Baldred's in 1625 and a large bible (NRS: CH2/359/1/53); both items were removed to Whitekirk in 1761 but sadly were lost in the fire there in 1914.

THE EARLS OF HADDINGTON

In 1628 John Murray sold the estate of Tynninghame, for the same price, to Thomas Hamilton, 1st earl of Haddington (1563-1637); his descendants are still in possession. He was succeeded by his son, also Thomas, 2nd earl, who was killed on 30 August 1640 in a gunpowder explosion at Dunglass Castle, Berwickshire. The next two earls were brothers – Thomas, 3rd earl (1625–45), who died without issue, and John, 4th earl, born in 1626. The latter married Lady Christian Lindsay, daughter of John Lindsay, 17th earl of Crawford, on 13 April 1648, and died on 31 August 1669.

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Charles Hamilton, the 5th earl, was born in 1650 and succeeded to the title in August 1669. He married, on 8 October 1674, Lady Margaret Leslie, heiress to the earl of Rothes. As part of their marriage contract it was agreed that their first-born son would be heir to the earldom of Rothes and their second son heir to the earldom of Haddington. Lady Margaret succeeded as 8th countess of Rothes on 26 July 1681. The family then moved to Fife, leaving Tynninghame tenanted. Charles died in May 1685.

Thomas Hamilton, 6th earl, was baptised at Tynninghame on 5 September 1680, and succeeded to the title in May 1685 aged only five years. He married his first cousin, Lady Helen Hope, daughter of John Hope of Hopetoun and Lady Margaret Hamilton, in 1696. During the early years of their marriage they lived in Fife, but following the death of his mother, Margaret, on 20 August 1700, they returned to Tynninghame. The parish minister, Rev George Turnbull, notes in his diary for 4 December 1700 that ‘...being Wednesday, did my Lord Haddington and his family come hither, my lady Hopeton and Lady Ann Lindsay [dowager countess of Haddington, their grandmother] were with them’ (Paul 193, 397). Thomas died on 28 November 1735 and was buried in the kirkyard at Tynninghame (Dodd 2017c). He was succeeded by his grandson, also Thomas, 7th earl (1721-94), his eldest son, Charles, Lord Binning having died on 27 December 1732. It was during the 6th earl’s time that the old toun of Tynninghame was replaced by the new one.

THE OLD TOUN OF TYNINGHAME

As early as the time of St Balthere a civil community will have developed close to the monastery, and later to the church. By the time of the surviving kirk session minutes, beginning in 1615, it was a thriving community. However, its exact location has long remained uncertain. George Chalmers, the antiquarian and political writer, comments that: ‘Every manor, in those ages, had its place, its church, its miln, its kiln and its brewhouse, for the accommodation of its tenants. And the followers of the lord sat down around him, having each a house, a croft, some arable land, a meadow with a right of commonage on the waste of the lord. There lived blacksmiths, ploughwrights, tanners, shoe-makers, weavers, tailors who must exist in every society’ (Chalmers 1810, vol 2, 430 & 495).

Old Tynninghame was such an estate village. Much of what is known there comes from the kirk session minutes written by the Rev John Lauder, minister from 1610 to 1662. ‘Mr Jhone’, as he was affectionately known, was a native of Tynninghame who had family living close by; his father, John, had been its baillie. Living at a time when the ‘church’ had great control over the lives of its parishioners, he details all the events as they occur (NRS: CH2/359/1). Perusal of his minutes, for example, gives us an idea of the layout of the old toun (fig 3). During one winter (1619) he ceased preaching on seven Sunday afternoons and

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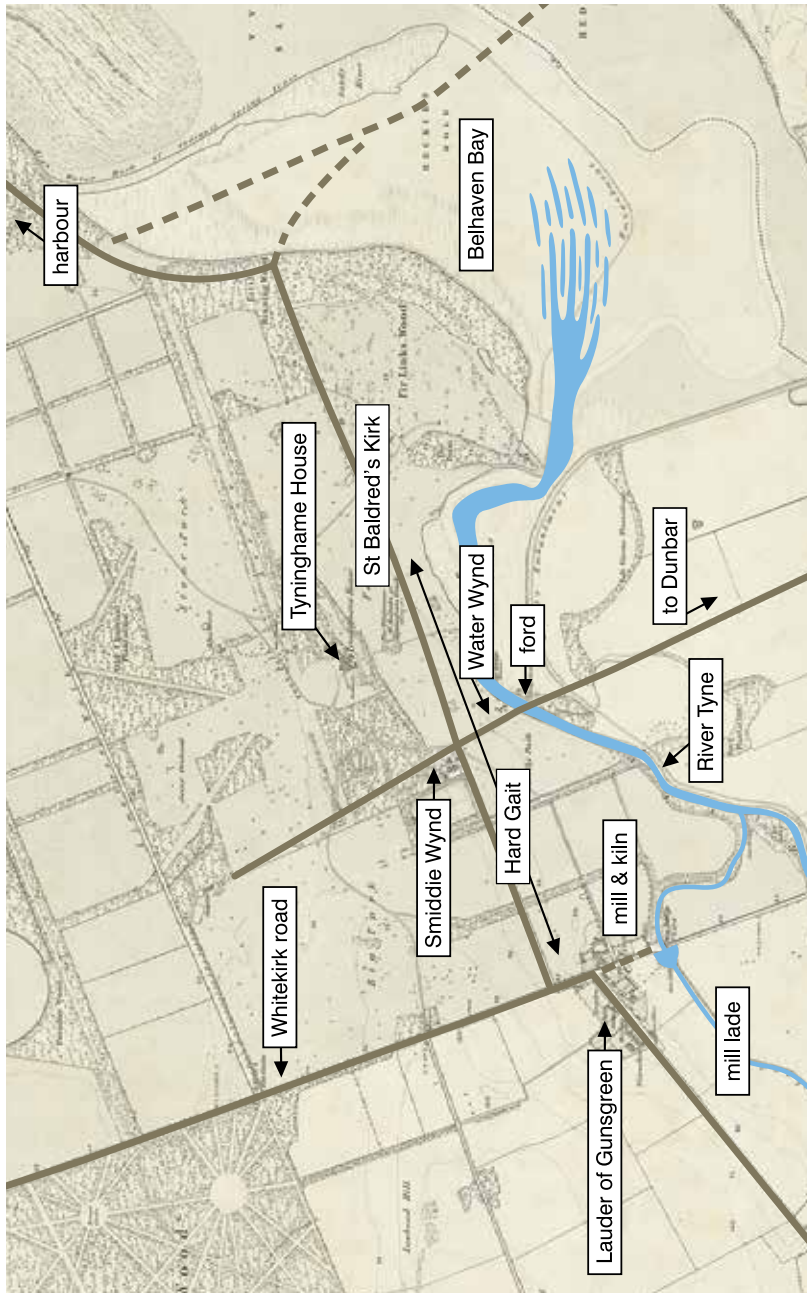


Figure 3: The probable layout of Old Tynninghame, overlain on the Ordnance Survey map of 1855, based on Kirk Session minutes written by Rev John Lauder (minister 1610-62), (© NLS)

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gave instructions ‘that the parish suld be dividit in sevin pairts and so the minister suld examine all in sevin Sabbothe dayis’ (NRS: CH2/359/1, 24 Oct 1619). Four of these seven parts related to the toun and tounship; the other three dealt with the wider parish. The four parts relating to the toun are described thus:

1. *7 November 1619 - the pepill fra the eist end of the toun to the Water Wynd came to the examination at efternoon.*
2. *14 November 1619 - the pepill fra the Water Wynd in the hard gait and west syd of the toun to the Kilne came to the examination.*
3. *21 Nov 1619 - the pepill from the north syd of the toune to the Smiddie Wynd came to the examination.*
4. *28 Nov 1619 - the pepill in the eist end of the town fra ye Smiddie Wynd, togidder with Lochouss, Ravensheuch and Fisherhouss examined.*

This indicates that the centre of the toun was where the Water Wynd and the Smiddie Wynd crossed the ‘hard gait’. The minutes also mention the ‘croce’, or cross, where there were stocks and jouns. In 1647 John Knowis, in trouble for beating his wife, is told if he does it again ‘that he suld pay twa dolors and be put in the stokis at the croce, or kirk door’ (NRS: CH2/359/1, 19 Sep 1647). The smiddy must have been nearby, for in 1633 it was used to imprison a miscreant, Thomas Wilson, overnight, the stocks being moved into the smiddy for the occasion.

A land contract between George Lauder of Bass and William Messer, dated 22 November 1585, supports this as being the location of the village:

[...] acre called dowcat aiker between lands of Mr. George Lauder of Bass on the east and lands occupied by Alexander Skougall on the west, with onsett houses etc., lying in the town of Tynninghame on the north side thereof between Mr. George Lauder’s land on the east, lands of the town on the west, dowcott aiker on the north, and the gait of Tynninghame on the south [...] Mr George Lawder grants obligation to infeft William Messer in foresaid lands except acre called the dowcat alias the baxter aiker onsett and houssis lyand nixt adjacent therto, and croft containing 4 buttis of land with the houssis onsett and yaird sometime occupied by Andrew Annand is also to infeft him in land on the east side of the hyndes brigges adjacent to said William Messer’s own lands of Brigges on the west side thereof, and in an onsett of houssis, biggingis and yairdis on the east of the smiddiwynd presently occupied by said William Messer, in excambion for the Dowcat aiker and croft with the onsettis of houssis adjacent thairto sumtyme occupyet be the said William Messer and Andro Annand. (NRS: NRAS 3503/1/53, 1-4)

There was also a well in the toun, for on 31 May 1704 the then minister George Turnbull recorded in his diary: ‘this same day my son George fell into a well in the town but was mercifully preserved and got out again’ (Paul 1893, 439).

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Figure 4: An extract from William Forrest's Map of Haddingtonshire, dated 1799, showing the Tynninghame area. (© NLS)

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MAP AND LANDSCAPE EVIDENCE FOR THE OLD TOUN

Parts of the 'hard gait' through the toun can be seen on Forrest's map of 1799 – on the west from the Whitekirk road past the south of the walled garden and in line with the present gate into the Fore Field (the field south of St Baldred's Church) (fig 4). It can then be picked up in the east, past Linkhouses, and continuing thence to the sea; the harbour was probably in the shelter of the north side of Whitberry Point. The western part of the road was planted with holly trees on raised banks after the village was moved in the early 1700s, and part of the road has now been ploughed out, but it can still be traced to the Whitekirk road, though very overgrown. That this was the main road through the toun is confirmed in 1785 when 'Lochhouses, Links and West Mains at New Tyninghame and Scougal farms [were] allotted to the repair of the road leading from the sea by Old Tyninghame west to the Whitekirk road' (NRS: CH2/371/3).

Just inside the gate to the Fore Field a track leads south down to the river; was this the Water Wynd perhaps? The field to the west of this track is known as the Smiddie Park (now divided by the road). The first Ordnance Survey map, published in 1855, marks a ford at the foot of this track. This appears to be part of a drove road or hollow way. Traces can be found both south of the Tyne as a field boundary, and can be followed going north, incorporated into the nineteenth-century 'ha ha' in front of the 6th earl's obelisk (see below, page 110) and then as a hollow track towards Lochhouses. Farm tracks going north from Lochhouses towards Newmains Farm link to the present road towards Auldham - possibly an ancient route connecting the monasteries of Auldham and Tyninghame. This track crosses the 'hard gait' through the toun as the Water Wynd, on the south, and the Smiddie Wynd, on the north.

It seems likely that the centre of the old toun was in the area where the head gardener's house and other properties are today and extended westwards under the walled garden and east and north of the present road to Tyninghame House. The greater tounship will have extended from the mill in the SW, by New Tyninghame, to Linkhouses in the east.

A plan of 1760 (NRS: RHP49496) shows St Baldred's Church with its graveyard, the beadle's house to its SW and, next to it, the site of the old manse, which was abandoned in 1711. To the south is shown the minister's glebe lands which extend down to the Tyne. The later manse is shown to the NW of the kirk and SW of Tyninghame House. This manse was occupied until 1760, when the then minister, George Buchanan, died. The Window Tax from 1648 until 1760 shows payment by the minister for 24 windows (NRS: E326). It was following George Buchanan's death that the 7th earl requested that the parish of Tyninghame be joined to that of Whitekirk (see below).

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It is unlikely that there were any houses immediately south of the kirk, for the River Tyne then was tidal up to Knowes Mill, one mile upstream. From the early seventeenth century this land was the minister's glebe; Rev John Lauder refers to it as his croft and bank. On 20 October 1631 he records that 'ane extraordinarie great spait of water, great raine having fallen on almost all that nicht before and that day accordinglie it overflowed all the bankis' (NRS: CH2/359/1). Were there man-made banks along the north side of the Tyne perhaps, now gone? Rev George Turnbull's diary records a similar event occurring on 11 October 1702: 'the lords day was most stormy & rainy, all our salt greens at Tynninghame covered with water, much late corn destroyed, the like not seen for 40 years' (Paul 1893, 421). It should also be noted that the main entrance to the old Tynninghame House was opposite the Lawhead road; the present entrances were erected in c.1830, when the new mansion was created. The road west from Tynninghame passed through Prestonkirk (now East Linton), joining the great post road westward up Pencraig Hill.

There was no bridge over the Tyne nearer than Linton until 1778. On 17 September 1637 'Mainis Clerk producit ane bill desiring the pepill to contribute something to him for ane boat to help folk through the water, the session thoct gude that this be intimat to the pepill' (NRS: CH2/359/1). This was agreed to, and the boatman was granted a free house and yard on the south side of the river. The names of the boatmen can be traced from this time until the bridge was built in 1778. The jetty was accessed on the north by a bridge over the mill lade (a stone footbridge still exists near the junction of the lade with the river). Mention is made in the kirk session records of stepping stones being needed in the water. Therefore, access at low tide seems to have been by crossing the ford at the bottom of the Water Wynd. Another ford existed at Mosshouse Point. Access to and from the toun to the east was possible on horseback, over the mud flats of Belhaven Bay. Most eighteenth-century maps indicate a track from Belhaven/West Barns across the Tyne basin, and settlements called Linkhouses are marked on Forrest's map at both ends (see fig 4).

The Hearth Tax of 1692 gives some idea of the size of the old toun (NRS: E69/9/1). Apart from Tynninghame House with its 36 hearths, Lady Trabroun and her tenants with eleven, the minister with three, and Walter Lauder, the smith, with two (one each for his house and forge), the rest of the 25 or so houses had only one hearth, to provide heat and cooking facilities for themselves and their servants.

TYNINGAME ESTATE C.1700

Following the death of the 5th earl in 1685 the estate was let to tenants, and managed by his mother, the countess of Rothes, and the tutors of the young 6th earl. When Thomas returned to East Lothian from Fife in 1700, as he later wrote in

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a letter to his grandson: 'They pulled up the hedges, plowed down the banks, and let the drains fill up; so that when I came to reside here, everything of that kind was in ruins, except the thickets to the east, and west of the house (Hamilton 1756).

Not only had the estate been without a resident landlord for eighteen years, but in 1695 the parish minister, Rev Thomas Edward, had died. It was almost five years before his successor was appointed:

The parish of Tyninghame having been for several years vacant and considering yr long disalutione & unspeakable loss for the want of a settled minister did at last by the advice & concurrence of That Reverend Presbyterie of Dunbar signe & subscribe ane harmonious & unanimous call to the Rev. George Turnbull at Alloa. (NRS: CH2/359/3/1)

George Turnbull was admitted minister on 26 September 1699 and had been in post a little over a year when the young earl returned from Fife.

As early as 1666 the 3½ husbandlands [91 acres] belonging to the Lauders of Gunsgreen had reverted to the earl as laid out in an 'Instrument of resignation ad perpetuam remanentiam by Mr John Lauder, writer in Tyninghame, as procurator for Robert Lauder of Gunsgreen, grandson and heir of Robert Lauder, portioner of Tyninghame, to John, Earl of Haddington of house, dovecot etc...' (NRS: NRSA 3503/1/57/11, 1 Jan 1666). Then, in 1702, Gilbert Hog, tenant and elder of the kirk, unable to pay his dues, made over to the earl 'all horse, nolt, sheep, cowes, cattell, insight plenishings, plough graith or cairt graith of all sorts with all corns growing upon the ground and others whatsoever belonging to me any manner of way and it in payment and satisfaction to the sd earle and his forsaid the said soume of one thousand three hundred and eighteen pounds 6 sh scots' (NRS: RH15/39/225). This freed up yet more land for the earl to enclose and develop.

NEW TYNINGHAME

From as early as October 1589 until 1661, the branch of the Lauder family known as 'of Gunsgreen' and 'portioners of Tyninghame' had held, under sasine, lands which included '...dwelling house, doocot in Tyninghame and 3 husbandlands, a half husbandland and 2 brew acres commonly called the Bankaker, and the Stokaker in township and territory of Tyninghame with the mill occupied by said Robert and his miller with multures and pertinent and pasturage of 8 soumes of cattle or horses on the mains of Tyninghame with other pasturage as the other tenents of Tyninghame have and possess' (NRS: NRAS 3503/1/57/1). Another document, of c.1620, mentions 'the tail dam running from the mill of Tyninghame formerly possessed by George Lauder to the Water of Tyne on the south, all in lordship of Tyninghame' (NRS: NRAS 3503/1/12/4). This corn mill was sited near the present arched gateway into the estate, suggesting that the dwelling house and doocot owned by the Lauders were on the site of New Tyninghame, together with houses for the miller and other servants.

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The 6th earl, in his 'Short Treatise on Forest Trees', published posthumously in 1756, explains, on coming to live at Tynninghame, that:

As I was not then of age, I took pleasure in sports, dogs and horses; but had no manner of inclination to plant, enclose or improve my ground, but being at last obliged to make some enclosures for grazing my horses, I found buying of hay very expensive, this made me wish to have enough of my own, yet I did little or nothing of this kind for some years; but as my wife was a great lover of planting she did what she could to engage me to it but in vain. At last she asked leave to go about it, which she did. And I was much pleased with some little things that were both well laid out, and executed, though some of them are now not to be seen.

The following extract from the estate accounts (NRS: RH/15/39/211) shows that as early as 1703 he had begun enclosing fields, planting trees, sowing grass seeds and undertaking building work:

Extract from account of payments Mart 1703-04

<i>To James Wilson mason of account & receipt</i>	<i>£490.19.00</i>
<i>To John Air quarrier of account & receipt</i>	<i>£94.17.4</i>
<i>To Alexander Russel wright of account & receipt</i>	<i>£106-1-8</i>
<i>To William Begbie in Scougal for 6 cairful stanes</i>	<i>£4.0.0</i>
<i>To the toun herd for herding the 3 carters and the hedgers kyne betwixt whit 03 & whit 04</i>	<i>£4.00.00</i>
<i>To Lochhouses for leading ten roodes of stanes</i>	<i>£140.0.0</i>
<i>To the master of the bark that bought down the Allars (alders) from London and seeds from Leith to Northberwick</i>	<i>£2.18.0</i>
<i>To Daniel Wallace skipper in Dunbar for bringing from Leith</i>	
<i>40 bundells of allars</i>	<i>£2.00.00</i>
<i>To 22 women at setting 3 lyme kilns</i>	<i>£16.10.00</i>
<i>To the 3 carters for going 3 times to Garvit for whyt stanes</i>	<i>£1.16.00</i>

In his *Short Treatise* the earl wrote that with his wife's encouragement: *I now took pleasure in planting and enclosing, but because I did not like the husbandry practised in this country, I got some farmers from Dorsetshire. This made me divide my ground; but as I knew the coldness of the climate, and the bad effects the high winds had, I made strips of planting betwixt every enclosure, some forty, fifty or sixty feet broad as I thought best. These look very well and I hope will be a great shelter and come to warm the ground. From these Englishmen we came to the knowledge of sowing and management of the grass seeds.*

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Having planted a wilderness near the house, the earl recalls that the countess had observed in 1707:

There was a field of three hundred Scots acres, each one fifth larger than an English acre, called the Muir of Tynninghame, that was common to some of my tenants and a neighbouring gentleman, the ground of very little value, except some small part of it which one of my tenants pays a trifle of rent. This ground she desired to enclose and plant; [...] The gentleman and tenants had their loss made up to them, and in the year 1707 she began to enclose it and called it Binning Wood [...] An incredible number of trees are planted in this field.

He also revealed, at a later date, that the warren near the sea was cleared of the rabbits and that ‘A gentleman who had lived some time in Hamburg [Hamburg], one day walking with your grandmother, said that he had seen fine trees growing upon such a soil. She took the hint and planted about sixty or seventy acres of this warren.’

All this activity will have required a large workforce, who would have needed accommodation for their families; houses were also required for those displaced by the enclosures. There will always have been some houses near the mill, and it seems that accommodation for the increased workforce started to be built in that area as early as 1704; the designation ‘New Tynninghame’ first appears in the parish registers in 1709, with the baptism of William, son of Alexander Dudgeon and Elizabeth Richardson, on 21 August (NRS: OPR723). Alexander Dudgeon farmed the West Farm of Tynninghame. Over the next three years, eighteen families are mentioned as living in the new village, of which fifteen were incomers.

The kirk session minutes (NRS: CH2/359/3&4) give glimpses of the development of the new village. In 1707, for example, the earl paid 50 pounds scots to the kirk session for a house in Tynninghame formerly belonging to Peter Turnbull, to which the session had a right, for money due to them (NRS: CH2/359/3, 24 Sept). It is possible that the earl then had it demolished. In May 1711 the minister reported to the session that the manse and grass allocated to him by the presbytery lay within an area intended by the earl to be enclosed. This manse, in much need of repair, with its office houses and garden, was on the ‘hard gait’ just to the SW of the graveyard and thus easily viewed from Tynninghame House. The earl offered to build a new manse and, until this was done, to repair a house belonging to him, known as Lady Trabroun’s House, to accommodate the minister (NRS: CH2/99/4).

The new manse was never built, and Lady Trabroun’s House, which lay between Tynninghame House and the present walled garden, served as the manse until 1761; it is marked on Forrest’s map (see fig 4). In 1715 five hospital houses with gardens were built in the new village. The kirk session minutes (NRS: CH2/359/4) record that:

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This day the session have agreed that the afore mentioned persons all poor and widows be received in the Hospital; viz Jean Dawson, Eupham Nisbet, Marion Marshall, Margaret Nisbet, Isobell Mason, Margaret Dobson, Jennet Wadderstoun, Christine Jackson and Isobel Haitlie.

Another five houses were built in 1720. The accounts indicate that they were built of stone and lime mortar, with thatched roofs, glass windows and locks to the doors. Any houses that were not needed for the poor were let to villagers to provide additional income for the poor (NRS: CH2/359/4).

The extensive planting of trees from 1704 would, by the 1750s, have produced a plentiful supply of timber. In November 1752 estate accounts record '14 fir trees for the saw mill - no charge'. The baptismal records record the birth of a child to George Black, servant to the earl of Haddington, at the sawmill in 1754 (NRS: OPR723); this new mill was sited to the west of the old corn mill and was re-built by Thomas Hannan in 1828.

In February 1711, prior to fleeing into exile following the aborted Jacobite Rising of 1715, John Erskine, 23rd earl of Mar, visited Tynninghame (Paul 1893, 398). A keen architect and landscape architect, Mar, in a letter to the 6th earl written in exile and dated 1731, suggested certain improvements to the earl's estate (Fraser 1889, lvii):

Tynninghame is a fine situation and the house is in the right place, tho there were one still to be built there. The old house is now so well repair'd and so convenient that it were follie to think of making a new one but all the policie to be made to answer it, so that the views from it may be as fine as they would be from a new house, tho not so in those towards it, especially from the post road, One of the greatest beautys about the place and which ought to be most studied to improve is the Saltgrass meadows on the south side. A canal through them opposite to the middle of this front would be a very fine and agreeable prospect from the house, and supply the want of an avenue could it be so contrived that it would always stand brimful of water either salt or fresh; but if that cannot be easily compased, it would be nixt best to have a nice smooth flat meadow in the middle, the larger the better, with a canal round it on the far side, and all the old tracks of the river and broken parts of the meadows filled up and smoothed.

The church to be taken from where it now is and placed in the new village; a pavilion to be made over the burial plots of the family and another answering to it on the other side of the gravel walk to be from the house and court to the meadows, for a summer house. That which is now cornland besouth the church, with the church yard, to be smoothed and laid into grass so far as can be seen from the south front of the house from both sides.

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In 1760, following the death on 20 April of George Buchanan, minister of Tyninghame, the 7th earl, in a memorial to the presbytery of Dunbar, requested that the parish should be annexed to that of Whitekirk, the stipends being also conjoined. He further added (Fraser 1889, lxii):

The parish kirk of Tyninghame, as is well known to the Presbytery, as well as the manse and gleib, is very incommodiously situated for the memorialist, as his policy and improvement are greatly hurt by them. [...] In the neighbourhood of the Town of Tynningham where the bulk of the Parish live stands the Kirk of Whitekirk which is at a little more distance from it than the Kirk of Tynningham; [...] The Memorialist is desirous to have the Parish annexed to the Parish of Whitekirk which is as commodiously situated for the Inhabitants of Tynningham and as this annexation will be of prejudice to no person whatsoever so it will be a benefit to the Memorialist by leaving him at liberty to beautifie and improve the seat of the family and the adjacent fields and for this purpose the Memorialist proposes to have the Gleib and Ministers yard which at present are very inconveniently situated for him either excamb'd for some other piece of ground less hurtful to him or to pay such a sum to the minister in place thereof as shall be judged reasonable.

In 1761, the Whitekirk session minutes for 30 August (NRS: CH2/371/4/5) record that 'the moderator informed that the parishes of Tyninghame and Whitekirk were now annexed by Decreet of the Lords of Session, and he in consequence thereof admitted last Sabbath by appointment of the Presbytery of Dunbar minister of that parish and as before of this, and that the two sessions in consequence were also united'.

CONCLUSION

The evidence above shows that movement from the old toun to the new village was a gradual process spread over some 50 years rather than a single act of resettlement. As the 6th earl and his countess enclosed fields and planted trees, so an increased workforce was needed and existing tenants displaced. All required to be housed. The kirk session records show that the occupants of the new village were not those of the old toun. Young couples set up homes, whilst the elderly needing care were moved to the new hospital houses. Gradually the old houses would have been pulled down, so that by 1761 nothing but the kirk would have remained visible. Mar's suggestion to remove the church altogether was in effect carried out with the joining of the parish of Tyninghame to that of Whitekirk. The 7th earl used the timber from his burial aisle to build a new aisle at Whitekirk, the bell was removed and re-hung in the steeple there, and finally the main structure of the building was taken down, the gravestones removed and the ground levelled.

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The labours of the 6th earl and his countess are commemorated on the obelisk to the north of the walled garden. Erected in 1856 by Thomas, the 9th earl, it reads:

TO THE MEMORY OF
THOMAS VI EARL OF HADDINGTON,
BORN 1680, DIED 1735,
WHO AT A PERIOD OF THE GREATEST NATIONAL DEPRESSION
HAD THE FORESIGHT AND ENERGY
TO SET THE EXAMPLE OF PLANTING ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE,
AND TO BE AN ACTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL PROMOTER OF
AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.
ALSO TO THE MEMORY OF HIS WIFE
HELEN, SISTER OF THE FIRST EARL OF HOPETOUN,
BORN 1677, DIED 1768,
OF WHOSE VALUED SUGGESTIONS AND ASSISTANCE
HER HUSBAND HAS LEFT AN AMPLE RECORD
THE OBELISK WAS ERECTED BY THEIR GRATEFUL
DESCENDANT AND REPRESENTATIVE IN 1856.

The present village of Tyninghame sits on the footprint of the eighteenth-century village. It was largely rebuilt between 1828 and 1850 by Thomas and James Hannan, stonemasons and builders, who lived in the village. The hospital houses of 1715 were altered and renamed ‘Widows Row’, whilst the bakehouse was rebuilt in 1842 and in the 1950s became the village hall. The smiddy, the old ale and porter house, as well as parts of some cottages also date back to the eighteenth century. Colin McWilliam (1978, 455), in his *Buildings of Scotland: Lothian except Edinburgh*, describes New Tyninghame as ‘the very model of an estate village’, and movingly describes the ruin of old St Baldred’s Church as ‘an extraordinary sight marooned among the flower beds of Tyninghame House’.

*While Tyningham, thy chapel bell is heard no more these shades among;
For, Time, alas has ceased to swell the saintly Baldred’s funeral song.*

“*Saint Baldred of the Bass*”, by James Miller (1824)

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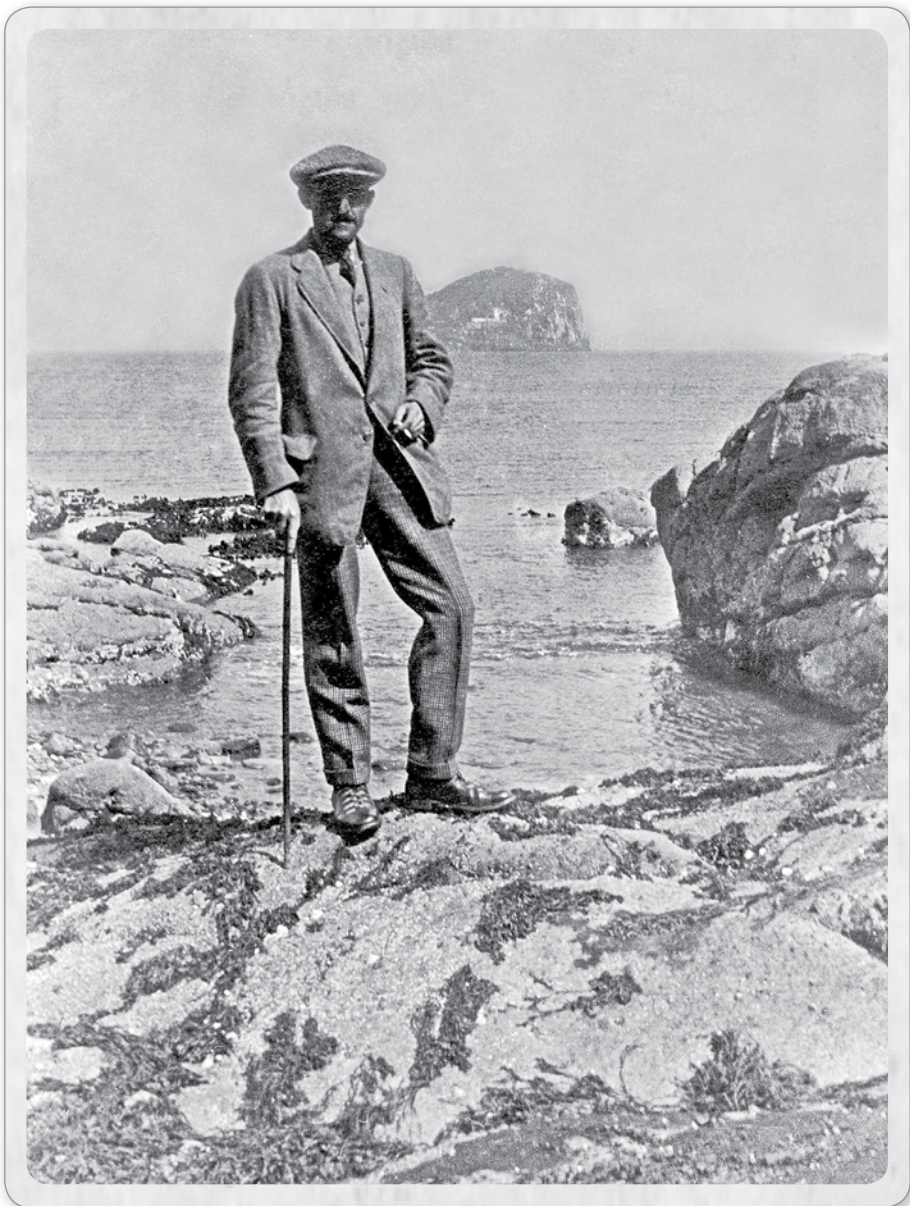


Figure 1: James S Richardson (JSR) at Tantallon Castle in the late 1920s, with the Bass Rock in the background. Dr Richardson was Scotland's first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, serving in that capacity from 1914 to 1948. (© David Richardson)

THE MONUMENT MAN: JAMES SMITH RICHARDSON, 1883–1970

*by DAVID RICHARDSON, DAVID BREEZE,
AILS A FORTUNE and CHRIS TABRAHAM*

INTRODUCTION *by Chris Tabraham*

The year 2020 will mark the 50th anniversary of the death, in North Berwick, of James Smith Richardson, LLD, HRSA, FRIAS, FSA (Scot) – henceforth simply referred to as JSR (fig 1). Although born in Edinburgh, JSR was raised in North Berwick, and such was the impact he made on his adopted town that in 1967 he was made an honorary burgess and given the Freedom of the Burgh. JSR was also one of the 144 founding members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society in 1924, serving as a member of council until 1934, when his work commitments compelled him to take a back seat, and again following his retirement in 1948 until his death. He led the very first excursion of the society, in June 1924 to St Mary's and St Martin's churches in Haddington, and over 40 years later, in 1965, he led his last – appropriately to St Mary's again. He held his audiences spellbound with his resonant voice and skill in stagecraft such that it was said votes of thanks seemed quite inadequate (fig 2).



Figure 2: JSR holds inaugural members of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society in thrall at their first summer outing, to St Mary's Church, Haddington, in 1924. (© David Richardson)

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But JSR was far more than just a ‘local hero’. As an architect, antiquarian and archaeologist he made a significant contribution to the nation’s cultural life. In 1912 he was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In 1914 he was appointed Scotland’s first Inspector of Ancient Monuments. In 1922 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Incorporation of Architects of Scotland. In 1925 he became an honorary curator of the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In 1934 he served as one of three United Kingdom representatives on the League of Nations’ International Commission on Historical Monuments, and in 1937 represented the UK Government at an international conference meeting in Cairo to discuss archaeological excavation. During World War II he sat on the Scottish Appellate tribunal that determined whether iron railings of historical interest should be melted down for the war effort or preserved. In 1948 St Andrews University bestowed on him an honorary Doctorate of Laws, and in 1953 he was made Honorary Professor of Antiquities at the Royal Scottish Academy. The Société Préhistorique Française made him a Life Member. One of his truly public triumphs came in 1945, the bi-centenary of the ‘45 Jacobite Rising, when he and Professor Gordon Childe of Edinburgh University curated the exhibition ‘Scotland from the Stone Age to the ‘45’; it drew 32,000 visitors in seven months.

Following JSR’s death, Alexander Ormiston Curle, the archaeologist and his life-long friend, wrote a fulsome obituary, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1970, vi-x). As the 50th anniversary of his death approaches, the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists’ Society felt it appropriate that we remember the life of one of our foremost members. David Richardson, his great-nephew, presents a personal reflection of ‘JSR - the family man’, Professor David Breeze, formerly Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, considers ‘JSR – the monument man’, and Ailsa Fortune, the historian, writes of ‘JSR – ‘the doctor’’, covering his retiral years back home in North Berwick.

JSR – THE FAMILY MAN by *David Richardson* (fig 3)

JSR died of a cerebral thrombosis on 12 September 1970, in North Berwick’s St Baldred’s Tower Nursing Home. He was 86 and I was 12, and even at that young age his death left a great hole in my life. Uncle Jimmy - he could be Jamie to the close friends and family of his own generation, but he was always Jimmy to my immediate family – lived in the top two floors of 7 Tantallon Terrace, North Berwick; my three younger brothers and I lived with our parents in the ground-floor flat. I would often bump into him cycling to or from the town and would happily join him for the ride, and he would sometimes join us for walks along the beach or, very occasionally, accompany us to one of East Lothian’s castles. He would also encourage me to bring him any curios that I found for identification, especially broken china or odd stones from the beach, and he also encouraged me to create

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my own ‘museum’ for my treasures in the house. In fact, he got his friend, R B K Stevenson, former Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, to bring me down a few bits and pieces from Edinburgh to supplement it, including stone tools from the Viking site of Jarlshof!

We would see him most when he came into the house to watch the 6 o’clock news on our television – he didn’t possess one, and with hindsight it is clear that he could be a lonely old man. I would rush around the house desperately trying to find paper and pencil so that he could draw me pictures of the Bass Rock, Vikings or Romans (I still draw them to his precise formula today), whilst my mother would be in despair at his presence as she tried to feed her four young sons and prepare us for bed. He loved to entertain us with old Scots nursery rhymes and songs, and it is a matter of great regret that he used a tape-recorder, purchased for him by North Berwick Town Council for him to use to download his unrivalled knowledge of North Berwick’s history, to record us reciting nursery rhymes instead; the knowledge that died with him! I well remember attending the ceremony, in late November 1967, at which he was installed as North Berwick’s newest burgess – something that absolutely delighted him – and I also remember him getting my parents to suspend the most enormous flag (a Red Ensign, I think) between his



Figure 3: JSR with his nephew, Arthur, and grand-nephew, David (co-author of this paper), outside the family home at 7 Tantallon Terrace, North Berwick. (© David Richardson)

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upstairs windows so that he could point his house out to passengers on a National Trust for Scotland cruise to the Northern Isles. He sometimes accompanied these cruises as resident expert.

To me he was a hero: all-knowing about the past, inspirational, a great teacher and the possessor of an ‘Aladdin’s Cave’ of amazing curiosities – what more could a young boy want? In his final years, I loved to go upstairs to help him in his vain attempt to sort the jumble of his possessions and papers out, and I still have them, or as many of them as I could hoard away after his passing. He was a massive influence on my life and, while in a very different league intellectually, I share his fascination for the past and, more alarmingly, some of his less admirable traits, including an extremely untidy mind, which manifested itself as a life lived in clutter, an inability to finish key projects (he was not as diligent as he should have been in publishing excavation reports), and a somewhat stubborn and awkward character. It was his influence that led directly to my studying archaeology at Edinburgh University and he remains a major influence to this day.

PEDIGREE, UPBRINGING AND PERSONAL LIFE (figs 4 & 5)

JSR, the second of six children born to Dr James Turnbull Richardson, MD, and his wife, Christina, daughter of a Royal Navy surgeon, emerged at 1.10pm on 2 November 1883 in 3 Dick Place, Edinburgh. Was JSR’s subsequent rise to



*Figure 4: JSR
(second from left) with his
elder brother John (left),
sister Mary and younger
brother David in c. 1901.
(© David Richardson)*

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*John and JSR (right)
in front of
7 Tantallon Terrace*



*John, JSR (centre) and Mary,
Edinburgh c1887*



*JSR (left), David and
Mary with their mother,
North Berwick c1890*



*JSR (left) with John and Mary, East Bay,
North Berwick*



*John, Mary, David & JSR (right) with nurse
(seated) and unknown adult c1887*



JSR at 7 Tantallon Terrace c1897



*JSR (right) with brother David,
North Berwick c1899*



JSR at 7 Tantallon Terrace c1896

Figure 5: Family snaps. (© David Richardson)

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comparative eminence the result of nature or nurture? The answer has to be a bit of both, for he came from high-achieving stock but his unusual upbringing must have had some impact on his career. His pedigree was in some ways typical of the emerging Victorian professional classes, and in some ways not. His great-grandfather on his father's side, Robert Richardson, came from lowly tenant farming stock in Berwickshire and apparently trained as a gardener under Capability Brown on the Duke of Devonshire's estates. He then headed north once more to serve for a long spell as overseer or factor at Winton House. Robert's son and JSR's grandfather, also James Smith Richardson, left Pencaitland to become an apprentice tailor in Edinburgh, subsequently forming a partnership with another tailor, William Binnie, and together opening tailoring premises in Edinburgh's Hanover Street and then in London's Old Bond Street. They did exceptionally well and James and his wife moved into a large house in London's Hans Place. Sadly, in 1850, aged just 46, James Smith fell ill, returned to Scotland and died, leaving one legitimate son, three-year-old James Turnbull Richardson (JTR), two illegitimate sons, and a sizeable sum of money.

JTR was raised by his mother on the money left by his father. He attended Edinburgh Academy and Merchiston Castle School, before going on to study medicine at Edinburgh University, and in Paris and Vienna. His testimonials suggest a very fine brain and he could speak five languages. However, he was decidedly eccentric. In 1880, while living in Millerfield Place in Edinburgh, and I think working at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, he met and married Christina Thomson, who lived in the same street. They set up home in Dick Place, where JSR and three of his six siblings were born within four years of each other. In 1887 the family 'upped sticks' and moved to 7 Tantallon Terrace, North Berwick (they named it *Tighnamara*); part of the house is still owned by my brother.

We know quite a bit about the family's early years from an account of his childhood written by JSR's younger brother and my grandfather, David Turnbull Richardson (DTR), just before his death in 1957. DTR's character and interests were polar opposites to JSR's, and this, more than the three-year age gap, meant that they didn't have a lot to do with each other as boys. JSR paired with his older brother, John, while DTR paired first with his older sister, Mary, and then with his two younger brothers, Adam and Arthur. However, his account does set the scene. On moving from Edinburgh to North Berwick in early 1887, the growing brood of children were cared for almost entirely by their nurse, Phemie Smith, as was typical at that time in larger middle-class families. Dominating the lives of the whole family was their father's approach to work. Despite his first-class brain, capable hands, university degree and practical experience as a surgeon, JTR never once practiced as a doctor after moving to North Berwick. Whether someone had died under his knife or some other calamity had occurred his children never knew, but once in North Berwick he did nothing, living, as DTR wrote, a 'lazy life' and showing no interest in medicine. The family's sole income was the legacy that JTR

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had received from his father, much of which had already been spent, and which was insufficient to raise a family of six children in the manner that JTR had enjoyed as a young man.

JSR was privately educated in North Berwick's Abbey School, where he found himself studying alongside the sons of gentlemen farmers, retired army officers and businessmen, until a shortage of family funds forced him to switch to the High School for his last few terms. We still have quite a few of JSR's Abbey School reports 'of Attendance, Application, Progress and Conduct'. He was not the brightest in class but generally appeared in the top half. In the last report I have, by Richard W Waddy, MA, his headmaster, who was writing from Oxford, we are told that JSR:

Has brains, but they are not easily got at; still they are there! Behaves himself very well in school and class. Has a sweet voice and can dance admirably.

Has my best wishes.

Away from school JSR was fortunate to experience foreign lands and cultures in the company of his father and brother John. While sometimes bored, it is clear from JRS's letters home to his mother that he learned a lot on these holidays, and foreign study continued throughout his adult life. Shortly before he died JSR recalled that he had met the keepers and directors of museums in most countries of western Europe.

JSR and his brothers were very different in character as children and the differences became more exaggerated as they grew older. DTR describes JSR somewhat unflatteringly thus:

James was the gallant and dandy, at whose feet everything fell but who was too busy to reap the advantages. He possessed an intuitive and unbelievable instinct for the old and ancient, in the knowledge of which he became the first authority in Scotland. Otherwise, he was a petted child who entirely lacked business acumen and any knowledge of, or interest in, the ordinary affairs of the ordinary citizen. He entirely lacked the sporting nature.

JTR died on 1 February 1914. Just 18 days later JSR's mother wrote to her son, by then working and living in Edinburgh, congratulating him on his appointment as Inspector of Ancient Monuments, the first to be based in Scotland. Barely six months later, World War One broke out and JSR's part-time appointment was put on hold whilst he volunteered for military service.

MILITARY SERVICE (figs 6 & 7)

While JSR was many things, his family were quite clear that he was not a born soldier, something borne out by his military record. Perhaps unfairly, his brother DTR's view was that he was 'nothing more than a peacock who loved to strut up and down Edinburgh's Princess Street in his uniform'. A member of the school cadet force in 1900, JSR had been a volunteer in the Royal Scots since 1909 and duly enlisted in 2/8 Battalion, Royal Scots, receiving his commission as second

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*Figure 6: JSR posing in his military uniform outside 7 Tantallon Terrace, North Berwick, in c. 1914.
(© David Richardson)*

lieutenant on 16 December. His was a draft and training battalion that supplied troops to the fighting battalions, and, apart from brief spells at the Front in 1915 and again in 1918, he had a pretty cushy deal.

By March 1915 JSR was writing home to his mother from Chelmsford, where the 2/8 was based, and mentioning that Zeppelin raids were keeping them up at night. His battalion moved to the Front soon after, for on 5 August he wrote home from there. He mentions some of the dead from North Berwick but not much else as the letter had to pass through the censor. By 29 August he had travelled by car from Bourges to Le Puy-en-Velay, writing what amounted to a holiday letter home, describing his trip and France and with no mention whatsoever of the War. In January 1916 he was with his battalion in Falkirk, and then in mid-March back in Chelmsford, where the Zeppelins still posed a problem; he was forbidden from giving details other than that he was quite close to three of them and one dropped a bomb. He also mentions that he sent Alexander Curle, director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, some pottery he had found in the trenches. Curle forwarded it to the British Museum who declared that it was late Celtic ware ‘of exceptionally fine and delicate fabric’; Curle told JSR that it was the first of its kind to reach Scotland.

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JSR posing



JSR (far left) with 2/8 Royal Scots building a bridge



JSR (centre with stick) with 2/8 Royal Scots



JSR with 2/8 Royal Scots at Chelmsford Barracks



JSR (front) leads 2/8 Royal Scots into Chelmsford



JSR (left) with his mother and younger brother Arthur



*JSR and sister Mary at 7 Tantallon Terrace
c1914*

Figure 7: Great War snaps. (© David Richardson)

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Over the next few months JSR was busy training recruits in Chelmsford, responsible for the 100 men in his company, who ranged from parsons to assistant schoolmasters, dust grinders, the manager of a lace manufactory and a showman's horse driver; he calls them 'the halt, the lame and the blind'. He was clearly enjoying himself and reported that he was to get his third star (promotion to captain), thereby joining his brothers John and David in that rank; in fact, this didn't happen until the War had finished. A break in August saw him at the Inkerman Barracks, near Woking in Surrey, and while there he crossed to the Isle of Wight to visit John, who was convalescing in Osborne House after being wounded and buried alive at the Somme. In October 1916 he moved to No1 (NC) School of Instruction at Brocton Camp, in Staffordshire, but he was back with his battalion in December, packing for his Division's move to Ireland. However, officers in the 2/8th were to be sent to France to replace the killed and wounded, and JSR thought it quite possible that he would end up in the 1/8th with his elder brother John; he hoped that it was true, for he had heard that John was one of the battalion's best officers. We don't know whether JSR went to France or not, but on 27 March 1917 he was writing home from Richmond Barracks, in Dublin, where he was once more with the 2/8. At some point during that summer the 2/8 was disbanded, and by 6 October JSR had joined the 2/5 King's Own Scottish Borderers, based at Rath Camp, at the Curragh, in Ireland. He rarely mentioned the 'Troubles' in his letters home, though in November he wrote that the Irish Regiments had had many rifles stolen, and that Sinn Fein members joined up for that sole purpose! I seem to remember some story about his platoon mistaking a donkey for Sinn Feiners in a dark wood and shooting the poor animal, but it is only a vague memory.

In early October 1917 JSR served as best man at brother John's wedding, and by November their mother was clearly putting JSR under pressure to follow John's lead. He replied twice, in the first letter explaining that there was no-one special in his life and that the only two potentials, whom his mother clearly knew, Eileen Bruce and Iris Cunningham, appeared to have no matrimonial interest in him. In the second he observed that 'The devastation on the manhood of the country unquestionably renders it the duty of every man to get married', but then gave reasons why he couldn't - too far from home, no money, might get sent to the Front, and so on.

JSR was back at the Front by early June 1918, this time with 1/8 Royal Scots. It was now a changed regiment, with many East Lothian sons having been replaced by men from all corners of the UK. Among the casualties was brother John, whom JSR understood had been shot through his tin hat but not killed; he was subsequently invalided out, returned to his Edinburgh legal practice and died in 1962. In July JSR wrote to his sister, Mary, asking her to send out newspapers and

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light reading for his men, adding teasingly that: ‘The kilties out here, at least the boys that we see in the line, are neither big nor handsome, but perhaps this is due to the fact that they discard their kilts and work in their shirt tails!’ On 7 July he asked his mother to send £2 to the children of his batman, at their address in Cockenzie. The following day he was in No.14 Stationary Hospital, why we don’t know, but he did reveal that there were lots of archaeological finds nearby; years later he donated ‘a platter of Samian’ to the Antiquaries’ Museum he’d found on a beach at Wimereux, near Dieppe (Richardson 1926). On returning to his battalion, JSR finally saw action. At some point in late August he went into ‘No Man’s Land’:

I had rather a rotten job last night – a long way there and back. Tonight I am off on the same track and I hope that things go well. One feels anxious about getting the men safely through, they are always so encumbered that movement is slow. It’s when you get on the homeward track that you can leg it properly, and then there is a great relief when the danger point is passed.

By 2 September JSR had become unwell, writing that: ‘Last night I had off as my tummy as yet has not improved its manners. I am not feeling up to the mark today but I hope to be able to take my turn tonight.’ Despite making his dug-out more comfortable and acquiring a brazier to heat it, his health didn’t improve, and by 4 September he was in a field hospital run by Dr Frank Crombie, a family friend from North Berwick. He was still there four days later and commented: ‘The doctor who attends is quite keen on the early prehistoric and we had a long chat yesterday. He has given me an enormous implement of flint that he found close to the hospital.’ This was JSR’s last wartime letter home.

Was his brother, DTR’s, assessment of him true - that he was a very poor soldier and preferred to strut around like a peacock than risk his neck? Quite possibly, for it seems odd that at a time when Britain needed every able-bodied man at the Front, JSR should have spent so much time behind it. Equally, it is curious that such an able communicator should have remained a lieutenant until after the war was over. Clearly, some are born to lead from the front and fight, and others aren’t. The only war story of his that I remember clearly is of him leading a night patrol and coming across a wooden cross marking the grave of a Lieutenant James Richardson – or it might have been Lt J S Richardson; it certainly put the fear of God into JSR!

After the war JSR returned to Edinburgh and his residence at 5 Randolph Place. While his wartime search for a bride was unsuccessful, in the summer of 1924 he married Frances Margaret Douglas, widow of Lieut - Commander David Douglas, who had died on HMS *Black Prince* at the Battle of Jutland in 1916. She brought her two daughters to the marriage. We know little about the marriage or the subsequent divorce, though correspondence shows that the step-daughters remained on very good terms with JSR after he parted from their mother in around 1940.

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JSR – THE MONUMENT MAN *by David Breeze (fig 8)*

JSR was introduced to archaeology by his father. His first outing into print was in a paper written by JTR on prehistoric remains near Gullane (Richardson 1902). JSR's contribution was a sketch of a crouched burial, and it was those idiosyncratic sketches that became one of his hallmarks; in 1907 his pen-and-ink sketches helped illustrate his father's guide to North Berwick (fig 9). In that same year, JSR had short 'notices' on various archaeological discoveries in and furth of North Berwick published in the *Proceedings* (Richardson *et al* 1907). However, it wasn't as an archaeologist that he began his professional life but as an architect – the career chosen for him by his father.

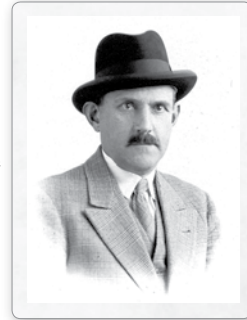


Figure 8: JSR
'Man from the Ministry'.
(© David Richardson)

ARCHITECT

JSR joined the Edinburgh practice of James Macintyre Henry in 1899, and studied at the School of Applied Art, before entering Sir Robert Lorimer's office as an assistant in 1903 (for a fuller account of JSR's architectural career, see *DSA*). In 1909, aged 25, he opened his own practice in Randolph Place, in Edinburgh. Not surprisingly, among his first works were designs for a wooden chancel screen at St Baldred's Church, and a roller-skating park, both in North Berwick. Another project, restoring the ruined kirk of Teampull Mholuidh, at Europie, on Lewis, in 1911-12, showed his continuing interest in archaeology. It was rewarded in March 1914 when Sir Charles Peers, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments in London, appointed him as an Inspector of Ancient Monument in HM Office of Works, Edinburgh - the first such post to be based in Scotland. His appointment, on a part-time basis, came just months after the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act in 1913 and gave some indication of Peers' intention for the better protection of ancient monuments throughout Britain. However, no sooner had JSR settled into his new role when World War I broke out. He volunteered for military service, demitted his post as Inspector and closed his architectural practice.



Figure 9: JSR's pen-and-ink illustration of the Bass Rock from Tantallon, published in his father's *Guide to North Berwick and Central East Lothian*, in 1907. (© David Richardson)

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JSR resumed his architectural practice in 1919. Among his first commissions was the design of North Berwick's War Memorial (fig 10), a special act of dedication to his youngest brother, Arthur, killed on 25 September 1915 leading his platoon into battle at Loos. However, on 8 November 1920 he was re-appointed as Inspector of Ancient Monuments, this time on a full-time basis. He didn't forsake his architectural practice altogether though. He entrusted its running to his new partner, John Ross McKay, whom he had known since his student days, but still took on commissions. These included alterations to Dirleton Kirk, designing Fowler's Motor Garage in North Berwick and the Caley Picture House, Edinburgh. He even found the time to become a part-time lecturer in architectural history at Edinburgh College of Art in 1922. He was now doing three jobs. He continued with his architectural practice until 1942, and his teaching post until 1946, and finally retired as Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland in 1948, aged 65.



*Figure 10: The War Memorial in North Berwick at the centenary of Armistice Day, 2018. JSR designed the memorial in memory of his youngest brother, Arthur, killed at Loos in 1915.
(© Ian Goodall, North Berwick Photographic Society)*

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INSPECTOR OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

JSR threw himself into his new position as the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland. Curle (1970, vii), in his obituary, writes of JSR ‘travelling Scotland from end to end with hardly any staff, sizing up the nature and volume of work, devising plans for the conservation of visible remains, writing notes, and helping the investigators for the R.C.A.H.M.S., many of whose inventories acknowledge indebtedness to him’.



Figure 11: JSR posing on the rocks beside Tantallon Castle in c. 1929. JSR was responsible for taking the mighty castle of the Douglasses into State care in 1924 and was conducting archaeological excavations at the site when this photograph was taken. (© David Richardson)

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One of his first tasks was to consider the proposal to create the Scottish National War Memorial in Edinburgh Castle. Here he found himself in opposition to his former boss, Sir Robert Lorimer, who had been given the commission. The two seemingly had little time for each other; JSR had apparently accused Lorimer of pinching one of his clients and so called upon that ‘somewhat stubborn and awkward character’ to defeat the worst excesses of Lorimer’s scheme. He had a canvas mock-up of Lorimer’s proposed ‘dome’ erected which, despite being described by Lorimer as a ‘nightmare erection’, carried the day. (A photograph of this mock-up appears in Peter Savage’s book *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, first published in 1979.) Lorimer, in a letter to a fellow architect, fulminated about JSR being ‘a wild-talking irresponsible devil ... trying hard to wreck it [his scheme], incidentally with the hope of wrecking me’ (DSA).

The 1920s and ‘30s were the glory days of HM Office of Works. No doubt encouraged by Sir Charles Peers, who was following the same path in England, JSR brought many monuments into state care. The Ancient Monuments Act 1913 had established an advisory body for Scotland, the Ancient Monuments Board. JSR, as its secretary, was fortunate to work with Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, its chairman, who was equally eager to bring ancient monuments into state care. JSR was lucky too in his colleague, Sir Lionel Earle, permanent secretary of the Office of Works. At first, he also worked well with the architect in HM Office of Works, John Wilson Paterson, but by 1930 the relationship had soured, of which more below. In the twenty years between the two World Wars, JSR presided over 90 monuments coming into State care, approaching 30% of the total number in the estate today.

The sites ranged across the geographical spectrum – from Lewis (Steinaclet Cairn and Stone Circle) to Berwickshire (Edrom Church), and from Unst in Shetland (Muness Castle) to Wigtown Bay (Cardoness Castle). The chronological spectrum too was broad, spanning the Neolithic to recent times, including the State’s first industrial monument, the Click Mill at Dounby, Orkney. Many of Scotland’s iconic monuments and historic buildings were taken into care under his watch, including three of East Lothian’s finest castles – Dirleton, Hailes and Tantallon (fig 11) – as well as Dunglass Collegiate Church, Preston Market Cross and Seton Collegiate Church, his last acquisition, in 1948. It wasn’t just standing buildings and archaeological sites that JSR gave a secure future to. He rescued for posterity the rare scheme of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings on the walls of Kinneil House, which Bo’ness Town Council was in the process of demolishing (Richardson 1941) and brought together, under protective roofs, in various locations across Argyll a fascinating collection of West Highland grave-slabs, such as those at Kilmartin Church. Perhaps his most unusual task was to supervise the taking down and re-erection of the island stronghold of Loch Doon Castle, Ayrshire, in advance of a hydro-electric scheme in 1933. The estate of Ancient Monuments thus acquired was truly eclectic, and included the small as well as the great, the accessible as well as the remote.

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Having acquired this rich estate, JSR's next task was to render them visitable. Working in tandem with Wilson Paterson, JSR developed a style and technique of conservation and display of ancient monuments that is still largely followed today. This entailed clearing them of rubble, in some cases excavating them more fully, and then laying them out for public inspection. Wilson Paterson created the Office of Works' own squads of stonemasons and labourers to undertake the task. Whilst today we might raise an eyebrow at the scale of their activities, and particularly the lack of archaeological supervision, there is no denying the legacy. Eyebrows were certainly

raised at the time. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland expressed its concerns, and the Office of Works responded by appointing the Society's nominee, Gordon Childe, to observe the clearance work at Skara Brae, Orkney; Childe duly published his 'final report on the operations' in the Society's *Proceedings* in 1931. Elsewhere on Orkney, Richardson himself directed excavations at Gurness Broch (fig 12), though in actual fact the supervision on site was carried out by two military gentlemen with no apparent archaeological qualifications; alas, they were not published until decades later (Hedges 1987).

JSR's fondness for stone sculpture, wood carving and miscellaneous artefacts is still particularly evident across the estate. Undoubtedly his greatest achievement was the creation of the Commendator's House Museum at Melrose Abbey, following the large-scale clearance work and consequent mass of objects recovered; his museum survives largely unaltered to this day, and displays a beguiling collection of carved stone fragments, decorated floor tiles, pottery and other assorted objects. Other examples of his creativity include the sarcophagus monument to Lady Dervorgilla at Sweetheart Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire, made to his design, and the reconstructed King's Fountain in the courtyard at Linlithgow Palace (fig 13). He was also instrumental in obtaining plaster casts of six of the famous 'Stirling Heads' from a neighbour in North Berwick; the original 'heads' were elsewhere and these plaster casts were displayed in Stirling Castle until most of the originals were eventually traced and returned.

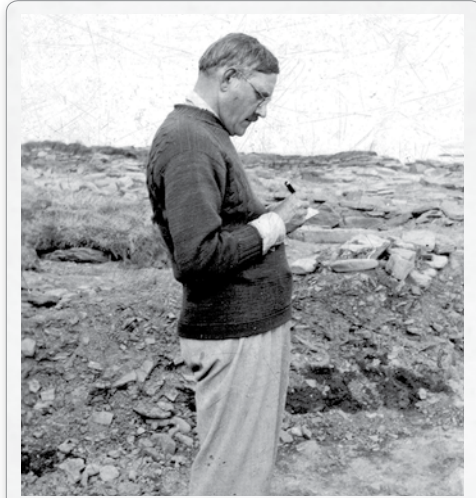


Figure 12: JSR making notes on one of his many archaeological digs, probably the Broch of Gurness on Orkney in c. 1930. (© David Richardson)

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As well as innovative museums and stone displays, JSR also published authoritative 'official guides' to the newly-acquired properties. He began with *Edinburgh Castle* in 1929, written jointly with Marguerite Wood, before moving on to *Huntingtower* (1931), *The Abbey of Dryburgh* and *The Abbey of Melrose*, both also with Marguerite Wood, *Tantallon Castle* (1932), *Hailes Castle* (1933), *The Castle of Dirleton*, *The Abbey of Dundrennan*, *The Abbey of Sweetheart*, *The Cathedral Kirk of Moray: Elgin*, with H B Mackintosh, and *Linlithgow Palace* with J Beveridge (all 1934), *The Abbey and Palace of Holyroodhouse*, *The Castle of Balvenie* and *The Castle of Stirling*, the latter two with Margaret Simpson (all 1936), *Inchmahome Priory*, also with Margaret Simpson (1937), and finally *The Broch of Gurness, Aikerness* (1948). The style of the guidebook was to separate the history of the monument from the guided tour, with a centre-fold of black and white photographs and a large plan at the end. It is noteworthy for the period that JSR collaborated with female as well as male authors. Marguerite Wood was Keeper of the Burgh Records of Edinburgh. Margaret Simpson served as the first secretary of the Edinburgh League of Prehistorians before her appointment in 1930 as Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments; she remained in office until 1941 when she and her husband, Frederick Root, private secretary to the First Commissioner of Works,



Figure 13: : A cutting from *The Scotsman* of King George V and Queen Mary's visit to Linlithgow Palace in 1914. JSR, newly appointed Scotland's first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, is standing closest to King James V's fountain, which he supervised the restoration of in 1934.
(© David Richardson)

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moved to London. Ian Ralston (2009, 84) observes that Margaret Simpson was arguably the first female professional archaeologist in Scotland (Breeze *et al* 2019).

Somewhat disappointingly, despite JSR's track record in publishing guidebooks to the properties, his own publishing record was indifferent to say the least. He has a number of articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Richardson 1925; 1926; 1927 & 1928), two in the East Lothian Antiquarians' *Transactions* (Richardson 1929b & c) and one each in the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Society's *Transactions* (Richardson 1938) and those of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society (1954). Most to be regretted was his failure to publish much in the way of his archaeological excavations. Only two appeared in print, and neither of them was at a property in care. The first was the tile-kiln beside the nunnery in his beloved North Berwick in 1928, where he found many examples of twelfth- and thirteenth-century floor tiles, including some that are unique (Richardson 1929a, Norton 1994, 137-73). The second was a very brief account of the 'dig' at Kalemouth Cairn, Roxburghshire, which he and Ian Lindsay, the noted architect, excavated in 1932 but published only in 1952; it may well have been Ian Lindsay who wrote it! His greatest legacy insofar as his publication record is concerned resulted from the Rhind Lectures he gave to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1949 on the theme 'The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland'. The invitation to deliver the lectures was the acme of an illustrious career and an acknowledgement by his peers both of his scholarship and his eloquence. Even here JSR was reluctant to go into print, and they weren't published until 16 years later (Richardson 1964).

JSR's work extended well beyond monuments in State care – 'guardianship monuments' as they were then called – and included, most importantly of all, the 'scheduling' of ancient monuments. The Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 had included a schedule of sites to be given protection. The word 'schedule' was the legal term for a list, and the noun was turned into a verb - 'to schedule', that is, the act of placing an ancient monument on the list. The Ancient Monuments Act of 1900 extended the powers of central and local government to protect sites. However, it was appreciated that this was insufficient in itself and, at the prompting of Baldwin Brown, Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh, Royal Commissions were established from 1908 to help in identifying those monuments in need of protection (Breeze 2001, 47- 50). It was soon realised that this was a far larger task than first imagined, with the result that a new Ancient Monuments Act was passed in 1913, further extending the powers of government to protect sites. World War I put the process on hold, but upon JSR's appointment as full-time Inspector in 1920, the scheduling of ancient monuments proceeded, albeit haphazardly, partly because JSR had to concentrate most of his efforts on bringing

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properties into State care and also because he lacked the staff. Only with Margaret Simpson's appointment as his assistant inspector in 1930 did the scheduling process get underway in earnest.

Outside his office, JSR played a part in wider Scottish archaeological affairs. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1912 and served as curator of the Society's museum (forerunner of the National Museum of Antiquities) from 1925 to 1954. In this capacity he supported the policy of purchasing, or obtaining on loan, old finds such as the Culbin armlet. On many occasions he would buy items in sale-rooms, and either pass them on to the society (as recorded in their *Proceedings*) or retain them himself to add to his rich collection at home. The late Ronald Cant, of St Andrews University, recalled that when JSR lived for a time in Abbey Strand, at the foot of the Royal Mile, he held court there with local 'down and outs' whom he trained to rake around in Old Town bins for objects that had been thrown out. Their activities spread to the back door of the Antiquities Museum when he heard that there had been a 'clear out'. This produced one item of interest which he exhibited at the next Antiquarians' meeting, inviting Curle to opine on its provenance, which he did, unaware that it had been thrown out. JSR thunderously ridiculed: 'No – it came from your back door!' Despite this, when a Board of Trustees for the National Museum of Antiquities was created in 1954, JSR was invited to become a trustee and advisor, remaining in these capacities until his death.

We have already observed that JSR was a somewhat stubborn and awkward character, as evinced by his relationship with Sir Robert Lorimer. It seems that his relationship with Wilson Paterson also deteriorated, to the extent that an administrator, D L McIntyre, was appointed over their heads. There is no doubt that JSR was a somewhat prickly individual, used to getting his own way. Angus Graham recorded his perceptions of the senior people in Scottish archaeology when he became Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in 1935 and observed that 'trouble could always be expected from time to time from James Richardson, the Office of Works Inspector of Ancient Monuments' (Graham 1981, 212). Perhaps JSR's sense of humour, described as puckish, occasionally uttering barbed comments, ruffled feathers; possibly he did not suffer fools gladly. Yet his authority was enormous, his knowledge prodigious and his experience expansive, and all were used to the greater benefit of Scotland's cultural history. Scotland owes much to the energy and foresight of JSR, not least in his pivotal role in the acquisition of so many archaeological and historical sites which are so important to today's tourist industry. To paraphrase what was said of Sir Christopher Wren, if you want a monument to his memory look around you.

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*Figure 14: JSR out and about North Berwick on his bike in his retirement years.
(© David Richardson)*

JSR – ‘THE DOCTOR’ by Ailsa Fortune (fig 14)

When JSR retired from his position as Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland in 1948, he didn’t slip into retirement - far from it. His continuing cluttered life and house is beautifully illustrated by an event that took place in 1947. Writing to him from Balmoral Castle on 14 September, Lady Victoria Erskine-Wemyss, Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Elizabeth, said that she had been commanded to thank him for sending the Queen two copies of his guidebook to Elgin Cathedral, and to tell him ‘how delighted and interested The Queen was in all she saw in your little exhibition, and how charming she thought your house was.’ (At this time JSR was living in Abbey Strand, beside the main entrance gates to the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and he must have extended an invitation to Her Majesty during her Scottish ‘Royal Week’ in early July.) The true story, as JSR related it, is that everything went well until the guided tour of his house. All public rooms had been cleaned and tidied and were looking their best. However, the Queen, who by all accounts was used to getting her own way, insisted on seeing the kitchen and JSR’s efforts to dissuade her were swept aside. Apparently, she took one look at the shambles inside, exclaimed ‘Oh, Mr Richardson!’, and promptly shut the door. Some time after this, JSR was standing beside his car in a queue at Queensferry waiting to catch the ferry across the Forth when he was spotted by Her Majesty, whose car was also in the queue. He was summoned over and asked if his house was as untidy as ever!

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In 1950 JSR returned to the family home at 7 Tantallon Road in North Berwick, his interest in Scottish antiquity undiminished. He was soon back in the thick of things politically too following the ‘theft’ on Christmas Day of the Stone of Destiny from Westminster Abbey. Whilst the hunt for those responsible went on, JSR turned his thoughts to the matter of the Stone’s authenticity. After extensive research, including the examination of the early mediaeval Royal Seals of Scotland – his annotated sketches of them survive– he published an article in *The Scotsman* on 17 February 1951, in which he cast doubts on the Stone’s authenticity. These were subsequently picked up by Nigel Tranter, the author and fellow East Lothian resident, who credited JSR with opening the debate.

Apparently unaffected by the state of JSR’s kitchen, in 1952 Queen Elizabeth, now the Queen Mother, sought his advice on the matter of converting medieval Barrogill Castle, Caithness, which she had newly purchased for use as a summer residence, into a comfortable twentieth-century royal residence. JSR did precisely that, heightening the south front and adding a battlemented wing for use as domestic offices, using stone from local quarries. To cap things off, he invited Hew Lorimer, son of his old boss, Sir Robert Lorimer, to carve the Queen Mother’s coat-of-arms that graces his wing. The Queen Mother took up residence in the renamed Castle of Mey on completion in October 1954.

The National Trust for Scotland also sought JSR’s advice in 1952 when they embarked on the restoration of the Great Garden at Pitmedden House, Aberdeenshire, originally laid out in 1675 for Sir Alexander Seton and his lady, Dame Margaret Lauder. They were surely motivated to do so because of JSR’s design and planting of the wonderful walled garden at Edzell Castle, which he had brought into State care in the early 1930s. At Pitmedden JSR reconstructed the fountain and created parterres loosely inspired by Charles II’s garden at the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

Back in North Berwick JSR soon became a ken-speckled figure about town, where he was affectionately known as ‘the Doctor’; such was his imperious presence that some called him ‘Herr Doktor’! (fig 15).



Figure 15: JSR drawing sketches for some North Berwick children in c. 1960. (© David Richardson)

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Figure 16: : JSR directing excavations at the Auld Kirk, beside North Berwick's harbour, in 1951.
(© Courtesy of East Lothian Archive Services)

Among his earliest projects was the excavation of, and laying-out for display, the Auld Kirk, near the harbour, in 1951-2 (fig 16); he gave the East Lothian Antiquarians a guided tour in July 1952. As with most of his excavations they remained unpublished, apart from progress reports in the *Haddingtonshire Courier*, and a drawing of the pilgrim badge mould found at the site much earlier and published in the Royal Commission's *Inventory* (fig 17). Only in 2013 did the results of his findings appear, in Thomas Addyman's account of the excavations that preceded the erection of the Scottish Seabird Centre between 1999 and 2006 (Addyman 2013, 60-66).

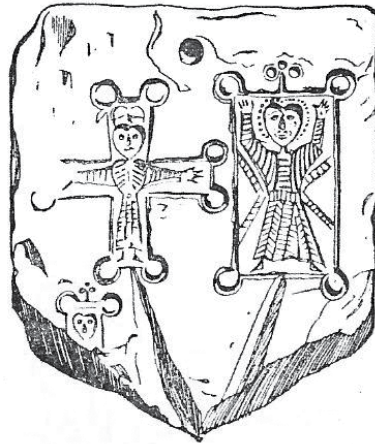


Figure 17: JSR's drawing of the stone mould for making medieval pilgrim badges, found near the Auld Kirk.

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Figure 18: JSR opening the doors at the formal opening of North Berwick's Burgh Museum in July 1957. Beside him are Lady Hamilton-Dalrymple, mother of the late Sir Hew, and Provost George Gilbert. (© Courtesy of East Lothian Archive Services)

Undoubtedly JSR's biggest single contribution to his adopted town was the creation of the Burgh Museum, which opened its doors in School Road in July 1957 (fig 18). JSR had long contended that there was a valuable history of North Berwick that should be displayed in a museum, and it is said that he harried the Town Council with his ideas until they gave way. This was not always the case; the Council's response to JSR's suggestion to establish a Museum Authority, with additional powers and him as its head, was vetoed outright. Whatever the truth of the matter, in March 1957 Dr Douglas Allan, director of the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, accompanied by Mr Pirie Glen, treasurer of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, visited North Berwick to assess the viability of such a museum. They were favourably impressed. Pirie Glen wrote to Douglas Allan shortly after their visit: 'It was most refreshing to find on our visit to North Berwick such an enthusiastic band of people interested in the museum. I am glad the school [the former public school in School Road] has become available for showing their hard work and collections made locally over a period.' Douglas Allan's own report identified JSR as a key figure in the negotiations: 'The town is fortunate in having as a resident a local archaeologist and historian of first rank, ex Ministry of Works Inspector of Ancient Monuments whose services and private collections could give the North Berwick Regional Museum an outstanding history section.'

Of course, in the event JSR did much more than put together 'an outstanding history section'; he created a museum that reflected the exceptional diversity of the small coastal town – its origins, its early Bronze- and Iron-age settlements, its

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status as a royal burgh, its religious significance and importance on the medieval pilgrim route to St Andrews, the relevance of its harbour and fishing activities, and its burgeoning importance as a holiday resort and golfing centre - the 'Biarritz of the North' - following the arrival of the railway in 1850. JSR also gave prominence to a natural history section, which included the geology of the area, as well as its flora and fauna.

In the months leading up to the museum's official opening, JSR worked tirelessly to pull together a collection of objects of antiquarian and historic interest relating to the neighbourhood. For example, he pressed hard for the loan of a collection of ancient weapons which he knew were languishing in a Ministry of Works store in Edinburgh, and when it was pointed out that the weapons had no obvious connection with North Berwick, he argued successfully that they would serve to illustrate the type of weapons carried at a typical burgh *wappenscaw*. The town clerk, Robin Wotherspoon, also wrote scores of letters, at JSR's behest, to bodies such as the National Library and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, but most importantly to local residents whom they knew had old treasures hidden away at home, in lofts and down sofas. Among the countless donors were Captain Whitelaw of Nungate, who presented an ornate glazed medieval floor tile from the town's Cistercian nunnery, James Watt, the clubmaker, who gave a collection of old-fashioned clubs and early gutties [golf balls], and William Inglis, who donated his large and varied collection of stuffed birds, animals and marine exhibits. Many of the items, of course, came from JSR's own large collection. Unsurprisingly, JSR became the museum's honorary curator.

It wasn't all 'work and no play' for JSR, however. One story in particular stands out. In 1966 the sex symbol Brigitte Bardot came to North Berwick to film *A Coeur Joie* ('Two Weeks in September') on Seacliff Beach. David Richardson remembers the excitement in North Berwick, and particularly in his family, when JSR was invited along to the shoot for some reason. He, of course, loved all the attention, but he told David's father afterwards that it was the first time in 83 years he had been called 'darling' by another man!

JSR's ultimate accolade came the following year. In November 1967, North Berwick Town Council conferred on him the Freedom of the Burgh, the highest honour they could bestow, 'in recognition of his many qualities, his achievements and the work which he had done for the town' (Fowler 1970, iv). The honour absolutely delighted him. The ceremony in the Pavilion, down at the harbour, was a colourful affair, not least because JSR himself chose to wear his red robe of Doctor of Laws, a title lately bestowed on him by St Andrews University (figs 19 & 20).

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Figure 19: (top) JSR's sketch for a burgh flag for the town's new museum, dated 4 March 1952. His colourful representation of the ancient Burgh arms (depicting pilgrims crossing the Forth between North Berwick and Earlsferry, Fife) also figured appropriately on a shield (bottom) carried in the procession accompanying JSR (in his Doctoral robes) to the Pavilion, beside North Berwick's harbour, on the occasion of receiving his 'Freedom of the Burgh'. (© David Richardson)

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JSR died three years later, and was laid to rest beside his parents in North Berwick Cemetery. His passing was mourned by many, among them the late Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, who deftly summed up JSR's achievement and pertinacious character thus:

He more than anyone else made us realise that North Berwick has a history and historical buildings that are worthy of preservation. He had been a thorn in the side of the Council and on many occasions a thorn in the side of many distinguished local people – he has bestirred us. North Berwick would be a much less beautiful Royal Burgh if he had not been with us.

North Berwick's provost, J C Fowler, in an obituary published in these *Transactions* (1970, iii – iv), also spoke for many:

He was to us a person of kind understanding, equally at home in the company of all people, with a sense of humour that found him a ready audience wherever he might be [...] We will greatly miss the sight of him on his daily travels from Tantallon Terrace to the High Street on his bicycle. We will no longer have the pleasure of saying how we met the Doctor – other doctors in the town were always named but to him was given the precedence and respect of being known simply as 'the Doctor'. We salute the passing of a great man.

One who knew JSR more than most outside his family circle was Alexander Ormiston Curle, his friend and colleague, who found the Traprain Treasure in 1919. In his obituary, Curle (1970, x) writes of:

His warm-hearted consideration for others ignored social distinctions, as well as making him an ideal travelling companion. Helpers were drawn from all walks of life, and, during his term of office as Inspector, he took particular interest in the custodians of the monuments under his charge. [...] At a social gathering he was the life of the proceedings, not only by himself but in his capacity to 'egg on the lave'. [...] But, above all, for children whom he loved, he was an ideal companion. Never did he talk down to them, but shared with them his sense of fun yet treating them as intelligent beings; while for those of riper years who were trying to learn, he would point the way, leaving them to find out more for themselves.

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Figure 20: Dr James S Richardson, LL.D, HRSA, FRIAS, FSA (Scot), accepts the Freedom of the Burgh of North Berwick from Provost Millicent Couper in November 1967. (© David Richardson)

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ANNUAL REPORT 2016¹

The ninety-first annual meeting of the society was held in Dirleton Church Hall on Saturday 16 May 2015. Twenty-two members were in attendance. Apologies were received from Mrs E Bayne-Jardine, Mrs A Cosgrove, Mrs I Gristwood, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, Mrs M Laidlaw, Mrs R Loggie, Mrs P Miles, Miss E McGregor, Mr P McMorland, Lady Ogilvy, Mr & Mrs Priest, Mr & Mrs Primrose, Prof I Ralston, Mr & Mrs P Rayner, Mr & Mrs G Robertson, Mr & Mrs Ross-Russell and Mrs C Stephen. The society remembered Mary Tindall and Deidre Edington, both of whom had passed away during the year.

The minutes of the previous year's AGM were approved on the motion of John Hunt, seconded by Vicki Fletcher. 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. On the motion of Jacqui Bell, seconded by the president, the accounts were noted. The treasurer underlined the importance of members paying by Standing Order and in confirming that they were resident UK taxpayers as the Gift Aid recovered on each subscription was financially beneficial to the society. The president reported that the council had agreed to retain the categories of Individual and Joint membership with a fee of £15.00 and £20.00 respectively, and that each category would be entitled to one copy of the *Transactions*. Mrs Dodd had intimated her wish to retire as treasurer whilst remaining a member off the council. The president thanked her for her contribution in that office over the past years. John Lamb had offered to take on the office of honorary treasurer, and was duly elected to council in that capacity.

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 Jacqui Bell, Ms Allison Cosgrove, Mr Bill Dodd, Mrs Bridget Elwood, Miss Vicki Fletcher, Mr Ian Hardie and Mrs Shena Jamieson, continued to serve for the coming year.

¹ This report replaces the one printed in the previous *Transactions* (volume XXXI, p 124-6), which was incorrect.

ANNUAL REPORT 2016¹

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Andrew Spratt, monument manager at Dirleton Castle, and his son gave a lively and informative demonstration on medieval armour and weaponry.

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, Berwickshire, 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, Edinburgh, 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, Midlothian, 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; it 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

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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 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 Duke of Hamilton is now a trustee and represents the society on the Lamp of Lothian. 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 *Transactions* continue to be held in high regard. They are lodged in the copyright libraries and are purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to Queen Margaret University, secondary schools in East Lothian and to Loretto and Belhaven Hill School and some other bodies. However, the storage of back issues continues to be a problem for our Librarian. The possibility of transferring them to a digital data base, thus making this considerable body of learned papers available to a much wider audience on line, with options for making a charge for the service, is being investigated and will be considered by Council in due course.

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 continued to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland and remained vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape.

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The ninety-second annual meeting of the society was held in Tranent Parish Church on Saturday 21 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 Jacqui Bell, Ms Allison Cosgrove, Mr Bill Dodd, Mrs Bridget Elwood, Miss Vicky Fletcher, Mr Ian Hardie and Mrs Shena Jamieson, would continue to serve for the coming year.

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At the conclusion of the meeting, Joy Dodd gave a talk on the recent survey of Tranent Parish Church's graveyard and gravestones.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 4 June the society visited Pressmennan Wood, organised and led by John Hunt. It involved gentle walks in mixed woodland and was most enjoyable. It was followed by a picnic at Stenton Bowling Club.

On Saturday 2 July the society visited Mertoun House and gardens by arrangement with the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. The group was welcomed by the Duke who then led the party on a tour of the mansion house. He pointed the most important pictures in the collection. After a most enjoyable tour of the house, members were entertained to tea, following which they had an opportunity to enjoy the gardens and pleasure grounds. Some members were then taken by His Grace to visit nearby Mertoun Kirk. The visit was led by Stephen Bunyan.

On Saturday 6 August the society visited Monkton House at Old Craighall, by arrangement with Dr Zoe and Mr Michael Bennett-Levy, where they were received by Mr and Mrs J Trotter. The visit was led by Ian Hardie. Monkton is an A-listed building dating from c.1680, though it has an older core. It is set in three acres of landscaped grounds with fine specimen trees.

On Saturday 10 September the society visited Penicuik House and gardens, arranged by Allison Cosgrove with the Penicuik Preservation Trust. The house is the newly-conserved shell of the Palladian mansion built in the eighteenth century which was destroyed by fire in 1899. The house was a great meeting-place for the important figures of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Purchased by the Clerk family in 1654, the estate is still owned by them, and the present baronet lives in the converted stables. There is a 20-year programme of conservation projects for the estate.

On Sunday 9 October the society's final outing of the season was to Brunstane House. The visit was arranged by Stephen Bunyan with Sean Hignett, George Kerevan MP and Angela Wrapson who all welcomed the group. Sean led the group round the earlier part of the mansion and Angela led them round the Adam wing. The house is now divided but it dates back to the fourteenth century when it was in the possession of the Crichton family. It came into the possession of the Duke of Lauderdale and after his death was in the possession of his widow, the Countess of Dysart. It was extended for Lauderdale by Sir William Bruce. It had several owners and was extended by William Adam for Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, who acquired it in 1747. It was a fascinating opportunity to see this rather lost mansion.

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On Saturday 3 September the society hosted the second in a series of lectures in St Mary's Church, Haddington, on the theme 'The Union, Rebellion and the Enlightenment in Scotland and East Lothian'. 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.

Three lectures were given in the Maitlandfield Hotel in the course of the winter. On 12 November the expected speaker could not attend, and a talk on agriculture in East Lothian in the eighteenth century was presented by Joy Dodd. On 11 February John Hunt gave a talk on Scotland's Marine Heritage - a new role for the Scottish Seabird Centre. The third lecture was given on 18 March by Gregory Lauder Frost on the Lauders of Fountainhall. The family owned this and other estates until 1919.

The 3rd Annual Heritage Gathering for East Lothian was held in the Town House, Haddington, on 25 March. This very successful event was a useful showcase for the various groups in the county. Dunbar History Society have agreed to host the gathering in 2018.

The Annual Dinner was held on Friday 28 April in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington. Chris Tabraham, retired Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, gave an illustrated talk entitled 'My career in ruins'. It was attended by 30 members and guests.

The society agreed to support the celebrations to commemorate the life of Robert Noble RSA, PSSA. The celebration was held 12-14 May 2017. The society agreed to make a contribution to the cost of an information board in East Linton.

OTHER MATTERS

The president reported as follows: The Duke of Hamilton is now a trustee and represents the society on the Lamp of Lothian. 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.

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ANNUAL REPORT 2017

The president concluded by observing that, although membership remains reasonably steady at 109 (26 family subscriptions and 57 single subscriptions), 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 continued to be received and the society continued to support the work of the Scottish Local History Forum and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, and remained vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscape.

ANNUAL REPORT 2018

The ninety-second annual meeting of the society was held in Dunbar Methodist Church on Saturday 20 May 2017. The officers and council were re-elected:

President - Mr Stephen Bunyan, MBE

Vice President – Mrs Joy Dodd

Vice President Emeritus - Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple BT. GCVO

Vice President Emeritus - The Dowager Countess of Wemyss & March

Honorary Treasurer - Mr John Lamb [Mrs Joy Dodd assuming responsibility in his absence in New Zealand]

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

Members of council: Alexander, Duke of Hamilton, Mr David Affleck, Mrs Jacquie Bell, Ms Allison Cosgrove [until Dec 2017], Mr William Dodd, Mrs Bridget Ellwood, Miss Vicky Fletcher, Mr Ian Hardie and Mrs Shena Jamieson. Arran Johnstone was subsequently co-opted in February 2018.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the president gave a talk on John Wesley and the Methodist Church in Dunbar. It was noted that the congregation had recently united with St Anne's Episcopal Congregation. The future of this historic building is uncertain.

ANNUAL PROGRAMME

During the year various excursions were made. On Saturday 10 June the society visited Fountainhall by kind invitation of Mr and Mrs Edward Hocknell. It was interesting to see the improvements that have been made to this very fine sixteenth-century listed building.

On Saturday 24 June the society were led on a guided walk to St Abb's Nature Reserve by John Hunt. They were welcomed by Liza Cole, the National Trust for Scotland's site manager. Members appreciated the care taken by the NTS, and much enjoyed the flora and fauna in the area.

On Saturday 15 July the society, led by the president, visited Greywalls. They were welcomed by the manager, Duncan Fraser. Neil Davidson, the head gardener, led a tour of the exterior of the fine Lutyens building and the garden, originally designed by Gertrude Jekyll. Some recent garden layout has been done by Laura Mackenzie. On conclusion of the tour, tea was served, and it was possible to view some of the interior.

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On Saturday 19 August Ian Hardie led a visit to Torness nuclear power station. This somewhat unusual visit was much enjoyed, during which members discovered the contribution made by the power station to the environment.

On Saturday 16 September, by arrangement with Alex and Sophy Campbell, the society visited Keith Marischal house; the visit was led by Ian Hardie. The ancient home of the Earls Marischal, built in 1589, was altered later and 'baronialised' in 1889 by Peddie and Kinnear. Heavy rain made it difficult to enjoy the grounds and ruined chapel, which dates from the 1220s.

On Saturday 8 October the society made its last visit of the season to Melville Castle Hotel. It was led by the president, who gave a short summary of the building's history. The estate was noted as far back as 1155, when it belonged to Galfrid de Malleville. In the eighteenth century it became the seat of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, who virtually ruled Scotland until his death in 1811. The estate remained in the possession of the Dundas family until c. 1980 when it became a hotel. Members took tea therein and saw the restored main rooms.

On Saturday 9 September the society hosted the third in a series of lectures in St Mary's Church, Haddington, on the theme 'Empire, Expansion and Disruption in East Lothian in the nineteenth century'. 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.

Three lectures were given in the Maitlandfield Hotel in the course of the winter. On 11 November Arran Johnston gave a fascinating talk on the Scottish Diaspora Tapestry. On 10 February Professor Jane Dawson gave a talk on John Knox and his East Lothian connection. On Saturday 10 March Ian Ralston, OBE, gave a talk on Doon Hill, beside Dunbar. This was a most appropriate timing as *The Times* that very day had told the academic world that the conclusions about the site by its excavator, Dr Brian Hope-Taylor, in 1966 could no longer be sustained because new scientific evidence showed that the timber hall built there was 4,000 years older than claimed.

The Annual Dinner was held on Friday 20 April in the Maitlandfield Hotel, Haddington. Mrs Judy Riley gave an illustrated talk 'Helen - the hand who launched a thousand trees'. It was attended by 30 members and guests.

ANNUAL REPORT 2018

OTHER MATTERS

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