

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LOTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

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THE EDITOR OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*

Dr Arran Johnston (arran_johnston@hotmail.com) welcomes contributions for Volume XXXV of the *Transactions*.

Front cover illustration:

Traprain Law viewed from Pencraig Brae. It was the discovery of a Roman silver hoard here which stimulated the creation of our Society.

Rear cover illustration:

Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour (1848-1930), Honorary President of our Society at its foundation, photographed by George Charles Beresford.

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

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN & FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

By Stephen Bunyan



Figure 1. The first outing of the Society, in June 1924.

On 12th May 1919, archaeologists on Traprain Law discovered a stunning hoard of buried treasure made up of over 300 fragments of objects which had been cut up either for exchange as bullion or for melting down and recycling into new objects. This discovery led to great excitement and increased interest in the history of East Lothian, which led in turn to the founding of the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalist Society (the Society) on 10th May 1924.

The founders of the society were largely gentry: Major W A Baird of Lennoxlove; Lt Col P N H Grant of Biel; Sir A Buchan-Hepburn of Smeaton; and Sir J Dobbie of Edinburgh. The first Honorary President was the Rt Hon Arthur, Earl of Balfour (the former Prime Minister). The President was Major W A Baird, with Miss Balfour as Vice President. The council also included Sir H Dalrymple, Lt Col Grant, H Mortimer Batten Esq, and Rev Marshall B Lang.

The declared aims at the foundation were essentially the same as they are today: 'to study the antiquities of the area, to collect material of interest, to publish relevant articles, to go on appropriate excursions, to have lectures and to stimulate general interest in the history of East Lothian'. The subscription was 5 shillings per annum, and by 1925 there were 146 members.

The first edition of the *Transactions* was published in 1925, detailing the setting up of the society and describing the first visits made by its members. On Saturday 14th June 1924, a visit was made under the leadership of Mr J S Richardson, FSA Scot, HM Inspector of Ancient Monuments, to St Mary's church in Haddington and to the ruin of St Martin's in the Nungate (Fig. 1). The second excursion took place on Saturday 19th July, by the kind invitation of Sir Hew Dalrymple, to Tantallon Castle and – for the more adventurous – the Bass Rock. On Saturday 27th September, the members were conducted over the field of the Battle of Prestonpans by Mr W B Blaikie, LLD of Edinburgh, who was an acknowledged authority on Prince Charles Edward (see 'The Prestonpans Thortree Revisited', from p.44 of the present volume).

Volume I, Part II of the *Transactions* was published in 1927 and contained the first of the many articles which have subsequently been researched by members: 'Two Early East Lothian Charters', by William Angus; and 'The Incorporation of Baxters of Haddington', by James H Jamieson.

One of the objects of the Society was to encourage members to study the civil and natural history of the county. The Council, in order to develop this branch of the Society's activities, published suggestions in Volume I, Part III, as to the various lines of research that could be pursued: Archaeology; Archives (divided into the three classes of national records, manuscripts in private custody, and local county records); Folklore and Customs; and Natural History. The first field naturalists' article was published in the next edition: 'The Birds of the Bass Rock', by H Mortimer Batten. In Volume II, Part III the then editor made an appeal to members for photographs taken on outings to be sent to him, with names, to form a record.

The death in 1930 of the Society's first Honorary President, Arthur James Balfour, was recorded in the Volume II, Part I of the *Transactions* with a moving tribute by Marshall B Lang.

Lord Balfour's genuine interest in the Society, among all the other absorbing interests and activities of his life, was made conspicuously manifest during these six years on at least two occasions. On Saturday September 5 1925, he charmed the members by his gracious reception of them at the old Tower of

Whittingehame, and by his personally conducting them to the famous yew tree in its neighbourhood. None of those present will forget the noble Earl as, standing within the sun-patched shadows of the tree, his arm resting on one of its outstretching branches, he discoursed upon its natural wonders and upon the tragic event connected with it, which, as he said with a smile, "we might say had more historical plausibility about it than many legends."

Balfour's sister Alice was Honorary Vice President. She was later made Honorary President in 1936, but after her death on 12th June that same year the role of Honorary President was discontinued.

Within 3 years of losing Arthur Balfour, the Society also lost its founding President with the death of Major William Arthur Baird of Lennoxlove on the 9th June 1933. Following the public meeting on 10th May 1924, chaired by Major Baird, he had been elected President. As a Deputy Lieutenant of the county, a prominent member of East Lothian County Council for eleven years, chairman of the Territorial Army Association, vice president of the United East Lothian Agricultural Society, a member of Haddington School Management Committee since its inception in 1918, and as a faithful elder of the Church of Scotland in Bolton and Saltoun Parish Church, Major Baird served East Lothian handsomely.

Lt Col J P Hamilton-Grant succeeded Baird in 1934, and was succeeded in turn by the Reverend Marshall Lang, minister at Whittingehame, in 1937. He held this office until 1944. Marshall Lang proposed unlimited membership to the society, and in an age of lower car ownership the idea of subsidised buses for excursions was proposed.



Figure 2. The Rennie Memorial in 1936, and at the re-dedication in 2011.

On 8th October 1936 a memorial erected by public subscription was unveiled by the Lord Lieutenant, to the famous engineer John Rennie

(1761-1821). It was sited beside the A1, close to Phantassie where Rennie was born. In September 1981 the monument, with its bronze by Alexander Carrick, was moved to a site in the wall at Phantassie. The Society was granted a 999-year lease of the monument's site dated from 20th September that year. On 4th June 2011 the Society met at the memorial and a service of re-dedication was conducted by the Rev David Scott (Fig. 2).

The East Lothian Bibliography was published in 1937, but at the outset of the Second World War it was decided to limit the Society's activities and membership dropped. In May 1939 a last excursion was made to Yester Woods and the Collegiate Church of Bothans. After this all events ceased. The war years did however see the publication of the *East Lothian Biographies*, the work of W Forbes Gray assisted by James H Jamieson. In 1943 there was a proposal to publish *The History of Haddington* and to make this a viable proposition, non-members were asked to subscribe one guinea. It was expected to cost £200 for 250 copies (the final figure being £233-16). Due to the ongoing conflict the book could not be published by Croall's (The Courier), so it was printed in Edinburgh in 1944. It was re-printed for East Lothian Library Service in 1986.

Excursions did not resume until 1945, when the Society visited Newhailes before returning in September to Prestonpans battlefield. In March 1946 Society talks also resumed with an evening lecture, with lantern slides, on the geology of East Lothian given by Dr J B Simpson FRSE.

In 1946 a letter was received from the Cromwell Society asking about the possibility of erecting an obelisk on the site of the Battle of Dunbar. As this would not appear on the skyline the society opted to make no observations. In due course a memorial was erected on the site of the battle in time for the tri-centenary in 1950. This was moved in 2000 to a position close to Broxmouth South Lodge. In 1966 The Society also expressed concern about the state of the Gardiner monument at Prestonpans, where one of the lions had become damaged. The restoration of the lion had to wait until 2007.

Gilbert N Ogilvy of Winton became President of the Society in 1944 and served throughout the war years until he was succeeded in 1948 by Col Chichester de Windt Crookshank. He in turn was succeeded in 1949 by Lady Edith Broun Lindsay, with the Earl of Wemyss (who had joined the council in 1946) serving as Vice President – an office which he held until his death on the 12th December 2008. Sir David Ogilvy Bt succeeded Lady Broun Lindsay in 1979.

With Lady Broun Lindsay's death the Society lost its best-known member. She had brought great wisdom, coupled with an unique knowledge of East

Lothian, and was the Society's first female president. Co-opted onto the Council in 1930 to succeed her mother, she took a keen interest in Society activities for over 50 years and contributed many articles to the *Transactions*.

Over the years, the Society collected many items of interest and the question of storage and security of bequests was to be an ongoing problem. The natural history collection given by Miss Balfour was stored in County Buildings. The society's books were housed in the gallery at Newton Port in 1940 and were the nucleus of the local history library when it was set up in 1976. Two years after that, Lady Scicluna bequeathed to the Society a mounted copy of Forrest's 1798 map of East Lothian.

In 1958 there was an exhibition of drawings by Dorothea Nimmo Smith which she had given to the Society. The pictures were exhibited again in 1971, when they were seen by over 1,000 visitors. These now form an important part of the county's museum collection. George Angus was permitted to make a series of slides of them in 1992.

In 1981, Mrs Leila Hoskins presented to the Society a portrait by Archibald Skirving of his father Adam. The portrait was displayed in the Skirving exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in 1999 and Stephen Lloyd, who set up the exhibition, gave a lecture to the Society in 2002. The portrait, along with the rest of the Society's collection, was formally handed to East Lothian Museum service on 9th December 1998.

The idea of using Haddington House as a museum was put forward by Lady Broun Lindsay as early as November 1942, and it was agreed that this was an excellent idea to explore at a more propitious time. On 15th November 1948 Mr Purves, the proprietor of the house, indicated that he intended to sell it and offered it to the Society for £1,500 with an option of three months. The Society considered the matter and wondered if the National Trust for Scotland would undertake the upkeep if the Society purchased it, and what support they might obtain from the Town Council of Haddington and the Ancient Monuments Commission.

The great question was whether the Society could raise the money, and considering its budget realistically the answer had to be negative. In December, the Earl of Wemyss offered to put up the purchase price on behalf of Wemyss landed estates until the Society could raise the money. An appeal was duly launched and money trickled in. In 1951, the Society received a substantial legacy of £1,000 towards the purchase. But in 1953 a need for repair work costed at £1,340 was identified. In 1954 it was agreed that the necessary repairs should be undertaken and that the wider

implications should be considered. If the National Trust was to be involved they would require an endowment. There was a problem of the tenant and the garden. A special meeting in 1965 agreed that to secure the property and its future a large sum of money would be required. Various options were considered, including the the sale of part of the garden, or a sale of the house under strict conditions, to be controlled by the National Trust with the possible retention of the extension by the Society. To make all this possible it would be necessary to acquire the house back from the Earl of Wemyss and to convey it to the NTS.

In August 1965, Wemyss made a proposal that the Society should buy back the property under a feu charter from the National Trust for Scotland for £1,500, of which they would pay £1000 and he would donate £500 but it was noted that £32,897 was now required for repairs. This arrangement was concluded at Martinmas that year, and would use up almost all of the available funds. At this stage the tenant, Mr Faunt, died. Negotiations were concluded to sell 1.27 acres at the east end of the garden to the Haddington Cottage Society for Incapacitated People. In October 1966 an agreement was made with the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton to sell the House and part of the garden to Hamilton and Kinneil Estates for £4,700 to form part of the Lamp of Lothian project. The sale was concluded early in 1967. Restoration was to be carried out by W Schomberg Scott and all plans were to be approved by the NTS and the Society. This meant that while the salvation of Haddington House was achieved, the aim of creating a museum was not and the Society continued to have no permanent home.

In the meantime, however, it did retain a room by arrangement in Haddington House. As part of a revised relationship with the Lamp of Lothian in 1982, Stephen Bunyan became a trustee of the Lamp on the Society's behalf, and the Society continued to have a room in the house. In July 1992 the Lamp required to let part of the house and to facilitate this the Society gave up its room and the right to hold meetings in the main rooms. It was then agreed that the Society could hold its council meetings at the Poldrate Complex free of charge. This position was confirmed when the Lamp leased the whole property to East Lothian Council in 1995.

The Society had agreed to accept junior members in 1957, and although there have never been many of these, the Society does have a number of young people who attend meetings with their parents. In a further move to engage younger people, Stephen Bunyan, Rennie Weatherhead, Sam Macmillan, and pupils from Dunbar Grammar School carried out a project in 1977 to record and move the remnants of the Meikle Mill at Belton Dod for the Country Life Section of the Museum of Antiquities (Fig. 3).

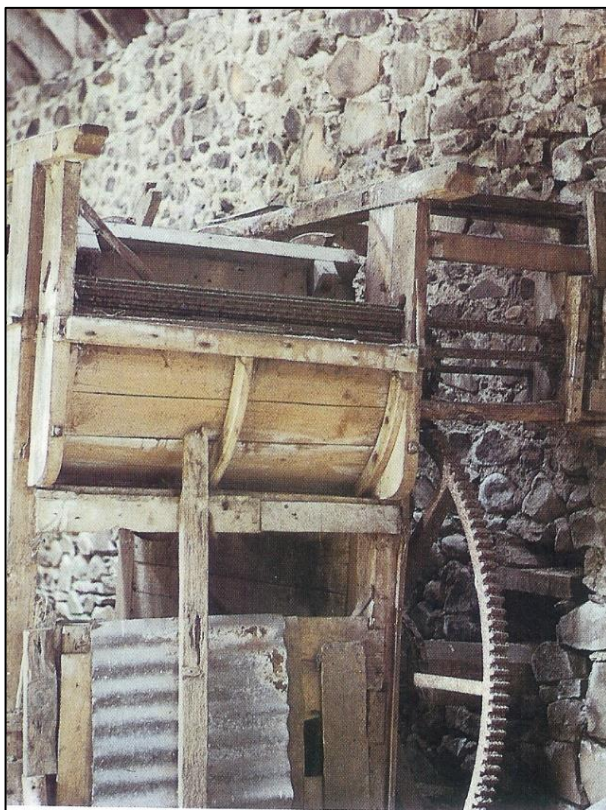


Figure 3. The Meikle Mill at Belton Dodd, 1977

In 1976, it was decided to continue the former practice of holding a Society dinner with a speaker. This continues to this day and the annual dinner forms the conclusion of each season's programme.

After serving ten years as secretary, Norman Cartwright retired as Secretary in 1982 and was made Vice President the following year. He was replaced in September by Stephen Bunyan who had become a member of council in 1978.

In 1987 the Society was registered as a charity. On 3rd January, Dunbar Parish Church had been destroyed by fire and in the aftermath the Society published a special volume containing an essay by Gordon Donaldson, the Historiographer Royal, on the Dunbar Memorial, one about the Earl of Dunbar himself and another on the history of the parish church, both by Stephen Bunyan.

In 1988, following the resignation of Norman Cartwright, Professor Rosalind Mitchison was made a Vice President. She was joined in 1989 by Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple Bt, who had become a member of council in 1981. In 1990 Sir David Ogilvy retired and was replaced by Professor Rosalind Mitchison.

The Society has long had an active role in supporting other relevant bodies in the county. In 1984 the Friends of North Berwick Museum was set up and the Society had two representatives, although this is not presently the case. The society has been represented on the John Muir Park Management Committee since 1980, and on the one established for Traprain Law after its purchase by East Lothian District Council in 1987, since 1990. After the formation of the new East Lothian Council, these were reconstituted as advisory groups in 1997. The Society remains represented on both, and also on that for Aberlady Bay Nature Reserve. Sue Jenkinson, the first East Lothian Council museums officer, who tragically lost her life in an accident in 1994, was a member of Society council.

Over the years, the council has expressed concerns over various buildings in the county and lobbied for their future. Notable examples are Archerfield (now restored), Herdmanston Doocot, and Amisfield Temple, and it has registered satisfaction over the restorations of Newhailes near Musselburgh, Bankton House in Prestonpans, Broxmouth South Lodge in Dunbar, Balgone, and Ballencrieff. The Society was supportive of the purchase of the John Muir Birthplace in Dunbar and its development as a museum.

At the Society's AGM in 1997, the idea of a Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian was considered and it was agreed to hold a meeting with representatives of the other local history and amenity societies. The meeting was held and fourteen other societies proved supportive of the project. A special society, East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account Society, was set up to carry out the project. Lottery funding was sought and granted in 1999. Volume one, *The County*, which surveyed the social, political and economic history, geography, environment and people of East Lothian since World War II was published in 2003. Volumes two-six followed, containing groups of parishes, and volume seven, *Growing up in East Lothian*, was published in November 2009. The project was then virtually complete, except for an electronic version of the complete text. This was finally achieved in 2018. The Alan Ball Local History Award, given by the Library Services Trust to recognise outstanding contributions to local

history publishing, was awarded to East Lothian Council in 2010 as publishers of the Fourth Statistical Account. This remarkable undertaking is celebrated more fully later in the present edition (pp.91-106).

With a steady membership and a sustained interest in the affairs of the county, the Society entered the new millennium with confidence and optimism. In May 2000 Professor Rosalind Mitchison retired as President and Stephen Bunyan was elected to the post he has now held for over 23 years. Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple Bart. and the Dowager Countess of Wemyss and March were Vice Presidents emeritus. At the AGM in May 2023, the post of Honorary President was revised and Alexander, 16th Duke of Hamilton & 13th Duke of Brandon was appointed to the post. Mrs Joy Dodd and Mrs Jacque Bell currently serve as Vice Presidents.

The *Transactions* continue to be important part of the Society's contribution to East Lothian. Over the whole period of its history, except for the war years, the Society has maintained publication of these highly regarded volumes of articles. This is the thirty-fourth volume to be published. At first, the *Transactions* were published by a sub-committee on which W Forbes Gray and J H Jamieson played key roles. Robert Waterston was the first appointed editor. He was followed by Basil Skinner, Edward J Cowan. Professor Rosalind Mitchison, David Moody, and Chris Tabraham. The present editor is Dr Arran Johnston. The Society has also published *The East Lothian Bibliography*, *East Lothian Biographies*, *A Brief History of Haddington*, a booklet entitled *The Ancient Fraternity of Free Gardeners of East Lothian, Dunbar Parish Church: Tribute to the past; Hope for the future*, and an Index to Volumes I-XIII and Volumes XIV-XXI of the *Transactions*. Since 2018, all of these publications have been freely available on our web site, making a century of studies accessible to all.

The Society was affected by the global coronavirus pandemic from 2020, but although the usual programme had to be suspended the Society adapted and held lectures online. The members finally met again in 2022 for our AGM at Preston Kirk Stables, and managed a visit to Papple Steading that year. More can be read about the history of Papple later in this volume (pp.53-76). Emerging from the pandemic, a successful series of lectures at the Maitland Hotel in Haddington was held over 2023.

In May 2024, the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society celebrates its centenary, and we approach it with confidence.

ALTARS OUT: PULPITS IN! THE FIRST POST-REFORMATION IN EAST LoTHIAN. PART TWO: NEW KIRKS

by the late Bill Dodd

Foreword by Joy Dodd

In Part One of this paper (Dodd, 2017, 44-63), my late husband presented an overview of the background to church building following the Reformation in Scotland (1560), the effects on parochial life and organisation brought about by the first *Book of Discipline*, and the enabling physical alterations to existing kirks to approximate to a new unicameral and concentric-seating model, for converting axially-designed Roman Catholic churches to serve the very different form of service of the new Protestant Reformed religion. It focused on the medieval parish church of Pencaitland, and in the by-going commented on the significance of the frequent inclusion of a doocot in the west tower of a kirk.

In Part Two, Bill was planning to review evidence from those parish kirks deemed to have been built *de novo* in the century and a half following the Reformation – Stenton, Prestonpans, Dirleton, North Berwick, and Gladsmuir – to establish their typology and identify their distinctive characteristics. However, ill-health prevented him from completing his study, and his passing prevented him from seeing it published. I am indebted to Chris Tabraham, former editor of these *Transactions*, for working with me to prepare his copious notes and drafts for publication. It omits Stenton, hitherto thought to have been built c.1561 (RCAHMS 1924, no. 180) when the parish changed its name from Pitcox to Stenton, but which fresh analysis, prompted by Bill's research, has now dated to around 1500, and subsequently modified for presbyterian use. I am indebted to Professor Jane Geddes for her insightful study of this fascinating ruined kirk, conducted as part of her contribution to the new edition of *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian* (2024, 819). Her paper is published separately in these *Transactions*.

The Nature of the Evidence

By the time of the Scottish Reformation in 1560, the number of existing parish churches probably totalled about 1,136 (Fawcett, 2011: 399). The work of converting them, designed as they were for Roman Catholic rituals, in order to meet the new requirements of the Reformed Religion, chiefly involved reducing the functional footprint of each building to produce a single large chamber as the entire place of worship - a unicameral auditorium. There seems, therefore, to have been little necessity, and probably insufficient funding, for a general rebuilding just to provide purpose-built new kirks. Often the medieval character of a building thus survived until periodic 'rebuildings', as at Pencaitland, and augmentations, such as adding a bell tower or an individual heritor's aisle, obscured the original pattern of the fabric. Fieldwork in recent years suggests that even what appear to be eighteenth- or nineteenth-century churches may contain medieval fabric, so that it can be claimed that in general: 'when a post-medieval church is known to occupy the site of its medieval predecessor, if it is aligned from east to west, and if it is significantly longer along that axis than from north to south, the assumption should probably be that there are medieval walls below a later surface finish' (Fawcett, 2011: 399, 423 note 23). Even in those cases where a new post-Reformation kirk is suspected, structural analysis still faces considerable difficulties for these buildings were in their turn also subject to alteration, addition and rebuilding, as at Prestongrange and Dirleton, or being superseded and dismantled to serve as roofless burial enclosures, as at North Berwick and Gladsmuir.

The Process of Designing and Building a Reformation Kirk

A new post-Reformation kirk was always intended as a permanent building and accordingly had to be appropriately constructed. For centuries up to this comparatively recent stage in the development of building technology, there had always been a vigorous traditional culture which had effectively served to maintain the established settlement pattern in its landscape setting. In the mid-sixteenth century, touns represented the basic unit of settlement in a largely agricultural national economy. This is the context in which a new kirk was projected to be built, as a permanent, eye-catching structure standing within an extensive, newly enclosed burial ground. The new kirk would become one of a rare category of prestigious permanent structures, including the laird's own residence, on which it was customary to employ expert specialised master craftsmen and their working teams, in all the disciplines - including masons (for all kinds of stonework to be set in lime

mortar), wrights (for all manner of woodworking), slaters, smiths, plumbers and glaziers. For a new kirk, it will have been accepted that the leading professional, and general coordinator, would be a master mason.

A surviving contract from 1620, to build a new kirk at Falkland in Fife, illustrates the contemporary Contract System, which was the typical record of the legal arrangement between the client and his chosen contractor (in this case John Mylne, a master mason), under the terms of which, for an agreed sum, the building was to be erected in strict accordance with a rehearsed specification, with any detailed drawings to be issued by the client, leaving the contractor no freedom to alter the agreed, designed appearance or dimensions (Mylne, 1893: 110-11; MacGibbon & Ross, 1892: v, 515-69).

No sets of working drawings have survived from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (Howard, 1995: 213), but their existence cannot be doubted, because a system of graphic representation is normally essential to translate complex spatial ideas into the solid enclosing forms proposed (a scale-model, or reference to some existing building, would have been of limited use), and as no laird could have been expected to have the full technical expertise of a master mason, the design drawings must have always been of the mason's practiced invention, and the final graphic confirmation of a process by which the client discussed his needs and aspirations in order to establish an agreed brief. The master mason will then have interpreted the brief into analytical drawings, and then presented alternative sketch-schemes to fulfil the brief. The preferred design, selected by the client to suit his own aesthetic satisfaction, would then be worked up into a final, agreed design. A full Specification of the quality of materials and workmanship would then be agreed, and the price of erecting the kirk determined, including a fair profit to the master mason.

Once an agreement was reached, a lawyer could then be commissioned to draw up a binding contract for the agreed sum, quoting the specification and provision of drawings by the client, and establishing the patron's complete control of every detail of the project. Normal social hierarchy would be preserved by this convention, and in all probability the laird will have played a major part by initiating the project, by choosing and briefing the master mason, and then in influencing the devising of the final form of the kirk.

The Protestant Reformation stopped short of a complete revolution. Certain central tenets of Christianity continued to exercise Scots after the Reformation, notably the fear of death, the final Divine Judgement, and the hope for everlasting life. People therefore continued to be interred in the burial ground around their parish kirk, with the kirk's east-west orientation acting as a permanent reassurance and a guide for parallel graves to be dug, sharing the prized advantage of the feet of the departed being prepared, already pointing towards the east and Jerusalem.

Before 1560 the local laird had usually taken responsibility for the upkeep of the chancel, wherein his family had expected to be buried, close to the altar; Seton Collegiate Church is a classic example. However, within a new Protestant kirk interments were unwelcome and people were normally forbidden to dig graves within 12ft of the exterior of a new kirk (CH2/285), the protected envelope being reserved for future additions such as a bell-tower or an easier forestair to the loft(s), but chiefly for the laird and other landowners in the parish when they wished to exercise their right to build a private family burial aisle against the kirk, usually at a location corresponding most nearly to the seats allocated to them within; the Ruchlaw Aisle at Stenton, for example, built in 1772, projects 12 ft. from the kirk's north wall. These private, extramural aisles could range from a roofless, walled enclosure, to a roofed private 'mortuary' adjoining the kirk, or to a mortuary with an upper storey for a gallery looking into the kirk but entered only from the kirkyard.

The addition of this last type may have freed up some internal seating-space, but it could also play havoc with the fabric of the building whenever a landowner chose to exercise his right as a heritor. The origin of what has been termed the 'T-plan' is the result of the principal heritor, who normally was seated in the most favoured position in the kirk directly opposite the central pulpit, choosing to erect a private burial aisle with gallery above, projecting centrally from the north wall of the kirk; a classic example is Yester in Gifford, built *de novo* in 1710. At Dirleton (the Maxwell Aisle, 1664) and North Berwick (the Grant-Suttie Aisle, 1698), heritors chose to build aisles with galleries sited in inconsiderate positions, thereby causing disruption to the fabric of the kirk's south wall where the pulpit normally stood, and adversely affecting the windows provided there to light the whole of the kirk's interior. The uncertainty of such unplanned and drastic alterations to the structure of the kirk was the price parishioners had to pay for the principal landowners of their parish, the heritors, having to shoulder at least from 1633 the legal responsibility for the provision and maintenance of their kirk and kirkyard, their minister's stipend, manse and glebe (at least

four acres of inalienable, cultivable land to support the minister and his family), together with a school and school-master's house, and the school-master's salary.

At the Reformation, experienced master masons would have been able, by inspection, to replicate structurally useful or distinctive decorative features of much older buildings. However, the problem faced by the designers of new Scottish kirks in the wake of the Reformation was not to evolve the old order but to devise a new typology, and an architectural idiom, appropriate for Reformed Protestant worship. As Deborah Howard observes: 'This was one of those rare moments in architectural history which called for a sudden rejection of long-established traditions' (1995: 177-8). A more radical rethink was required, due to the tenor of reform in Scotland being far more fundamentalist than the change from Roman Catholicism to Anglican worship had been in England since the 1530s.

The Present Inquiry

The Protestant Lowland lairds were the strongest faction at the Reformation, and East Lothian was a particular stronghold. It comes as no surprise therefore to discover that one of the first entirely new Protestant kirks in the country was built in the county, at Prestonpans in around 1596. Further new kirks followed during the following century: at Dirleton (c. 1612); North Berwick (1664); and Gladsmuir (1695).¹

The following study pays particular regard to the physical evidence of the surviving fabrics at all four of these kirks, and in those where this is still sufficiently extensive, to use historical records coupled with the techniques of plan regression, using the predictive power of the normal *model* kirk's layout, i.e., planned symmetrically about the pulpit, previously discussed in Part One. This evidence is produced in the form of conjectural sketch drawings of the reconstructed earliest completed phase of each kirk, shown in plan and south elevation, to convey its approximate appearance as originally conceived. Within each such plan, the probable corresponding interior arrangement is sketched in outline, representing for each kirk what may have been its most convenient layout to convocate the Protestant congregation. This had to be able to be used either *occasionally*, with an

¹ The oldest surviving Scottish Reformation kirk is Kemback (Fife), dated 1582. The other extant kirks built pre-1600 are Burntisland (Fife), built 1592, largely intact and still in use; the Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle (1594); and St. Bride's, Blair Atholl, c.1590. For the full list, see Hay, 1957: Appendix A.

axial space for a long communion table(s) erected in the space between the then customary north and south (lateral) men's bench seating areas; or *normally*, with that central space for use by females of the congregation, seated segregated on their 'creepies' or folding stools. In such a plan, everyone faced towards the lofty panelled minister's pulpit, topped by its essential canopy, or sounding board, with the baptismal basin's iron cradle attached, and the reader's desk (lattron) directly in front. The pulpit normally occupied the central position along the south wall, flanked by large windows, as the principal focus of the interior layout. In addition, the east and west lofts provided additional, elevated accommodation, within the limited critical extent of audibility of the voice of the preacher projecting from his pulpit.

Prestonpans Kirk (c.1596)

In 1560 the spot where the kirk stands today lay within the parish of Tranent. There were then two main settlements in the area: Preston itself, on the higher ground to the south on the main road from Edinburgh to England, in the area surrounding Preston Tower, the residence of the Hamiltons; and Salt-Preston (or Prestongrange) a little to the north-west, where the Cistercian monks of Newbattle Abbey had been producing salt for centuries. There had been medieval chapels at both, but they were so badly damaged during the English invasions of the 1540s that the parishioners attending them had thereafter to journey to the parish church in Tranent, a mile and more to the south-east, for worship. Most refused, maintaining that Tranent Kirk was far too small (CH2/185/1, p.115). Even the fundamental right to burial was denied to them (CH2/307/28, p.131). This 'terrible state of affairs' was put right in 1595 when Haddington Presbytery declared Preston *quoad sacra*, a parish in its own right. They approached Rev John Davidson, the charismatic minister of Liberton near Edinburgh, to become its first minister; and on 12th January 1596 he was inducted in a service held in Tranent parish kirk (CH2/185/1 p.125). After much negotiation with the two principal landowners, the Hamiltons of Preston and the Kerrs of Newbattle, a site for the new parish kirk was chosen on the ridge of land overlooking the Pans, between a wynd now called Kirk Wynd and eastwards to Mill Wynd, with its principal access from the north. The kirk was built on the western side within a burial ground, with the manse and school to its east. According to the *New Statistical Account* (1845: 304), John Davidson raised

most of the finance for all three buildings himself. He will assuredly have had the greatest say in how the kirk was designed.

Much of the present kirk dates largely from a rebuilding carried out in 1774. However, the existing tower at the west end stands largely as built in the 1590s, and this, coupled with information gleaned from the session minutes, indicates a building aligned east-west, measuring 72 ft in length by 24 ft wide, two full stories in height, and with lofts at either end. The slender tower, 10 sq ft, survives almost as built; only its broach roof and octagonal belfry date from later, probably the 1770s rebuilding. It was designed for a 'knock', or timepiece, as well as a bell. The knock was commissioned on 22 January 1602, indicating that the tower had been completed by that date (CH2/307/28, p.141). Of the kirk itself, just the west portion of the south wall survives. This contains the original south entrance into the west end of the kirk, round-headed and roll-moulded. The long-gone north entrance into the west end of the kirk was probably the main entrance for it had a stone inscription set over its door, reading:

SEDEM • DEDIT • PRESTONIS

AEDIFICAVIT • DAVIDSONIS

TEXTIT • WILLIAMSONIS

[Ground given by Preston

Built by Davidson

Roofed by Williamson

There may well have been a third entrance, centrally placed through the east end. Windows were probably placed on the south side only, although a small window was inserted on the north side by the Mariners in 1603 (CH2/307/28, p.143). The session minutes also refer to lofts for the Hammermen and Salters, but no evidence for them survives. The pulpit would most probably have been sited centrally along the south wall, flanked by tall windows. A Laird's aisle is mentioned in 1623 (CH2/307/28, p.159), probably opposite the pulpit as seat 11, halfway along the north wall gallery, belonged to the Laird of Prestongrange in a 1702 survey of seats (CH2/307/9). During alterations in 1891 an oak heraldic panel, dated 1604 and bearing the initials of Sir George Hamilton and his successor Sir John (who had gifted the land on which the kirk was built), together with their

respective spouses, was found being used as the back of a seat in the gallery opposite the pulpit (Hislop, 1892: 241-50).

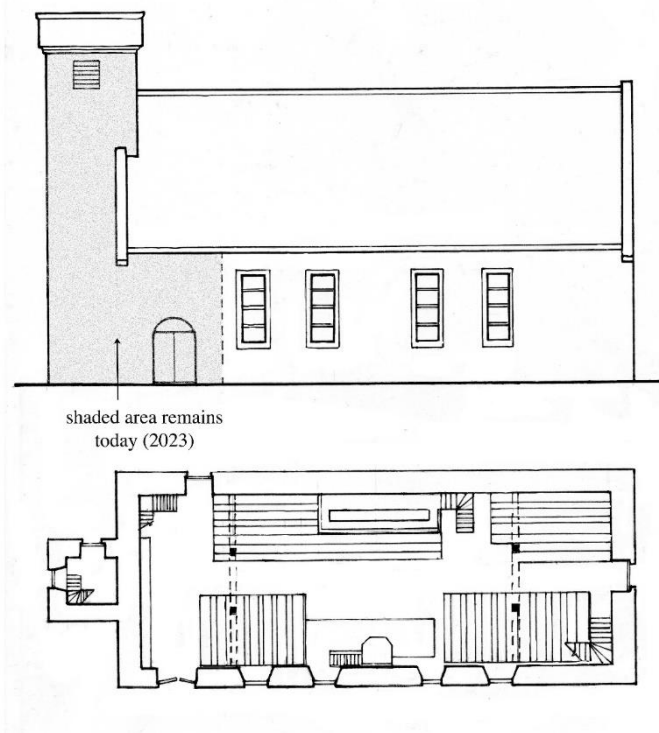


Figure 1. Prestonpans 1596.

The first alteration came in 1635 when the session minutes record that the ‘new enlargement at the east end of the Kirk was now inserted & fit for placing seats and desks’ (CH2/307/28, p.165). However, by 1710 the building was in such a sad state that the congregation had to meet in a barn; apparently, coal workings beneath were causing structural damage. After repairs were undertaken, the congregation returned to worship, but by 1774 the kirk fabric was in such a dilapidated state that a major rebuilding took place. The south wall was almost entirely rebuilt – the existing round-topped windows date from this time – whilst the north wall was demolished in its entirety and rebuilt 6 ft. further north. The walls were also heightened to accommodate more seating in the lofts, and the roof was totally rebuilt with a collar-braced frame covered with Easdale slates (GD357/34). These, and subsequent alterations and additions, have replaced most of the original structure, such that very little now remains of one of Scotland’s oldest Protestant kirks.

Dirleton Kirk (1612)

In the first half of the seventeenth century, dozens of new kirks were erected across the country, of which around eighteen remain extant in some form (see Hay, 1957). Among the first was Dirleton, which remains in use to this day. At the Reformation Gullane parish was one of the largest in East Lothian, but its parish church lay not in the heart of the parish, the town of Dirleton, but at the twelfth-century St Andrew's Church, beside the sea two miles to the west at Gullane. However, natural forces were making life difficult for the congregation, as an Act of Parliament of 1612 makes plain:

Our Soverane Lord and Thri Estaittes of this present Parliament, understanding it being credible informit that the kirk of Gulane is situat at the outsyd of the hail parochin thair of, quilk is ane great parochin, and is as incommodiouslie situate beside the sea sand; that the same with the kirk yard thair of, is continewallie overblawin with sand; that nather the kirk serves commodiouslie for convening of the parochiners, nor yet the kirk yard for their burial, besydis mony utheris inconvenientis staying the saidis parochiners in time of storme and unseasonable weather to convene at the said kirk, and considering lykwayis that the towne of Dirletoun is ane flourishing towne, and lyis within the said parochin of Gulane, within the middle thair of, and it is the will and intention of the haill parochiners of the said kirk of Gulane that the same kirk be transportit fra the said towne of Gulane to the said towne of Dirleton, as weill for the ease and commoditie of the parochiners as of the ministers serving the cure of the said kirk. Thairfore it is thocht maist expedient, be our Soverand Lord and Estaittes forsaidis, that ane kirk and kirk yard be erected and biggit within the said towne of Dirletoun, for serving the hail parochiners of the kirk forsaid, and to that effect it is statute and ordainit be these presentis, that it sal be lesum to Thomas Vicount Fentoun, Lord Dirleton, to demolishe and cast down the said kirk of Gulane, and to transport the stanes hail tymmer work and otheris materiallis thair of, to the said towne of Dirleton, for bigging of ane new kirk within the samyn, providing that the said Viscount obtene the consent thairto of the presbyterie within the quilk the said kirk of Gulane lyis and the consent of the parochiners thair of, or the maist part of thame, and that in the mayn tyme the said Viscount find and furneis ane

sufficient hous and place within the said towne of Dirletoun, whair the word may be preachit and the sacramentis administered to the saidis parochiners, quill the said kirk be sufficientlie biggit and finishit.

(Thomson & Innes ((eds)), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol iv, 490a)

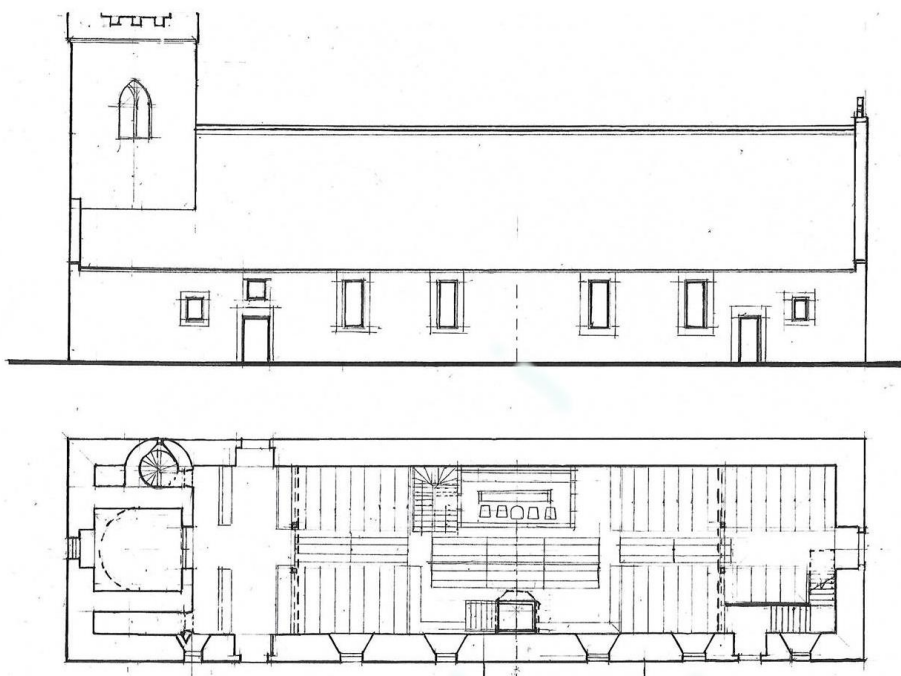


Figure 2. Dirleton, 1610.

The new kirk was duly built and made ready for worship soon afterwards. Unlike Prestonpans, much of the original Dirleton Kirk remains largely intact.

Like Prestonpans, however, Dirleton was orientated east-west with a tower at its west end. Measuring 88ft by 22½ft, it was a little longer than Prestonpans but not quite as wide, and it stood just one and a half stories high. The external walls, built of harled rubble with freestone dressings, are unusually thick (4ft compared to Prestonpans' 3ft) in order to contain the thrust of its collar-framed roof. There were three original entrances, again as

at Prestonpans – two opposing doors, north and south, at the west end, and a central doorway through the east end, evidenced by the lower door jambs below the later window. The only original windows were in the south wall. They were originally square-headed with chamfered edges, but only one remains, now blocked up, near the west end of the south wall. The pulpit would have been placed in the middle of the south wall, and lofts probably erected at either end with their stairs and the ground-floor seating lit by underloft windows in the south wall. The west tower, at 17sq ft almost twice the size of that at Prestonpans, was originally two storeys high with a vaulted ground floor accessed by a round-headed doorway in the south wall, and a doocot on the upper floor reached via a turnpike against the north wall.

The first significant alteration came about in 1664 with the building of the Archerfield Aisle for James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton, part way along the south wall. This doubtless impacted on the location of the pulpit, but how the kirk was reconfigured internally is not clear. Works from a reconstruction in 1836 include the existing round-headed windows, the new west entrance through the altered basement of the tower, and the heightened west tower itself, with its spiky Gothic parapet. The Y-traceried round-arched window in the east wall belong to a reconfiguration of the interior around 1930. Yet despite these alterations and additions, Dirleton Kirk retains much of its original form, though scarcely anything of its internal layout.

North Berwick (1664)

The building of new kirks gathered momentum in the second half of the seventeenth century, and among the first was North Berwick. It was prompted by storm damage to its medieval predecessor, perched on a tidal island immediately offshore and accessed by a causeway, in the autumn of 1652. The congregation temporarily moved to the ‘Great Tenement’ on the east side of Trongait (now Quality Street), and services continued to be held there for the next decade or so while the heritors and kirk session deliberated on what to do. Only the bell in the old kirk tower, installed as recently as 1642, continued in use in the meantime.

At the time of the storm, the parish was in an impoverished state. The town’s importance during the heady days of medieval pilgrimages to St

Andrews had long gone, and although it had the status of a royal burgh it was little more than a fishing village. Additionally, the storm had occurred only two years after Cromwell's victory at Dunbar and the impoverishment of Sir William Dick of Braid, the principal heritor, for supporting the Royalist cause had only added to the parish's woes. It was not until 1656 that Haddington Presbytery and the heritors decided to erect a new church within the burgh itself. The site eventually chosen was a field abutting burgage plots on the south side of High Street and the burgh boundary to its west; John Mure, the owner of this land, had recently died. In April 1657 the heritors received £100 pounds from Cromwell's Council of State towards building the new kirk, and in March 1658 the heritors and kirk session agreed:

that the new Kirk should be built in the form of ane capital I, which is the form [wherein] the new kirk of Gladsmuir is now beginning to be built, the body thereof lying east to west to be of 70 or 80 feet within the walls & 22 foot in breed [breadth] with four doors & competent windows. (CH2/285,1. p.21).

They instructed the mason, Matthew Wilson, to remove freestone from the old church for re-use in the new building to reduce costs. Full details regarding the building of the kirk are in the session minutes (CH2/285/4).

The completed building measured 74ft by 22ft, much like Prestonpans. It was lit by two round-headed windows near the ends of the south side and a smaller central window to light the pulpit. Lofts were built at either end, reached by external stairs, with small, south-facing under-loft windows lighting the seating below. Unusually, there was an entrance doorway at each end, and a third centrally placed along the north wall, facing the town. A door through the south wall was reserved for the minister. No tower was built, for the bell in the old church tower continued to be tolled. The date 1660 is inscribed on the south-east corner, but it was only in January 1661 that the heritors and session agreed to erect the roof. Wrights were appointed to carry out the work but the minister reported delays in receiving the £100 stented on the heritors to cover the work, and so was unable to pay the merchants and craftsmen. Only in 1662 were the slates ordered from Dundee. In July of that year the heritors were stented for doors and windows, a wainscot pulpit and other internal furnishings, and in that same month the burgh council requested that the heritors grant them ground on the north side of the kirk yard for a passage from one side of the side of the town to the other (now the Kirk Ports), and that they build the whole north

part of the kirkyard dyke at a competent height. Even then delays continued, and it was not until June 1664, twelve years after the old church had been abandoned, that the new kirk was ready for use. The session minutes for 5th June 1664 are remarkably understated: *'This day the paroch mett in the new kirke for worship.'* (CH2.285/4 p. 115).

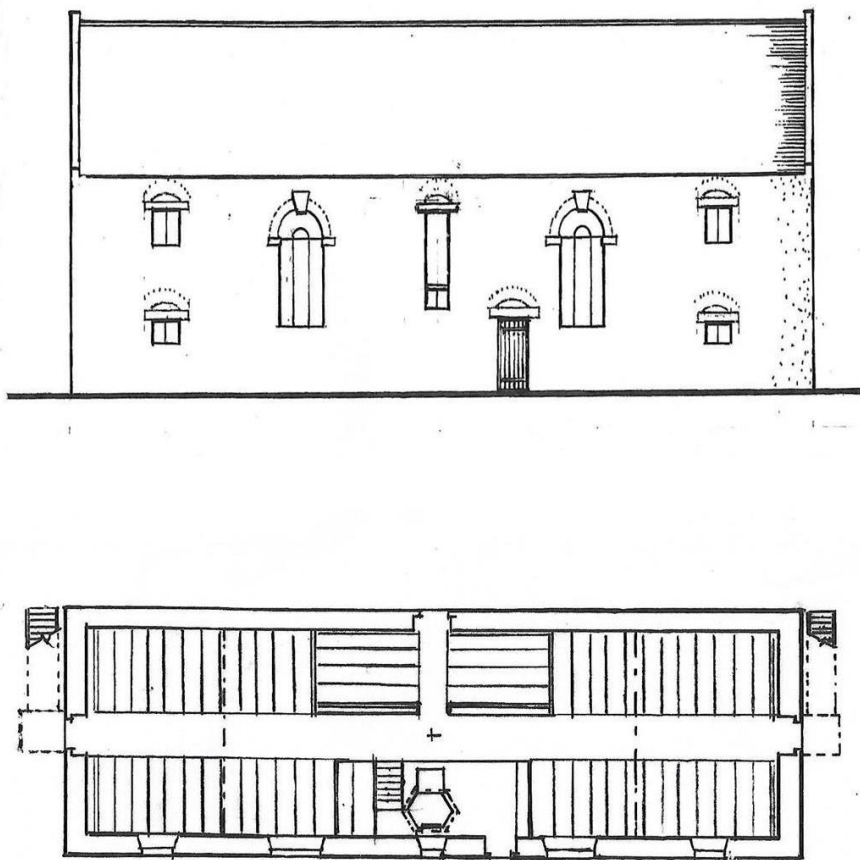


Figure 3. North Berwick, 1664.

In August 1664 the heritors allocated their seats, agreeing to build them only 7ft out into the body of the kirk, leaving an 8ft central space. It was agreed that:

the south siede of the east ende of the Kirke betwixt the two doors ordained for the Marquesse of Douglass with libertie of building a loft, when he shall think expedient, reserving a seat for the Basse in the east side. Two partis of the north ende of the Kirke towards the east ordained for the Abay [the former Cistercian nunnery, now the residence of the Humes], taking in John Achesone with the libertie to build a loft. And the third part of the north seide upon the weast seide to be for Heuch. Balgone appointed to have ther seat on the south seide of the weast ende of the Kirke from the west seide of the round window to the doors. Northberwicke loft appointed to continue as before and Gurlabank appointed to have a seat under the same. Gleghornie, Craige, Smeiton appointed to having seats upon the north seide of the east ende of the Kirke. Seidserfe, ffentontour & Leuchie appointed to have ther seats upon the north seide of the weast end of the Kirke. (CH2/285/4/, p.101).

Finally, in 1670, the bell was taken down from the old church and moved to a corner in the new kirk awaiting re-erection – where it sat for the next hundred years!

The first changes to the fabric came around the turn of the seventeenth century. Firstly, in 1699 Sir George Suttie of Balgone was given permission to build an aisle on the south side at the west end adjacent to the pulpit, so long as he did not damage the roof or alter the lighting within the kirk, and carried out the work entirely at his own expense. The western round-headed window was removed at this time and its stonework used to enlarge the smaller window lighting the pulpit. Then, around 1718, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had acquired the estate of North Berwick in 1692, was given permission to build a second aisle midway along the north side, directly facing the pulpit. At the same time he rebuilt the east loft, which was accessed by a new, enclosed external stair (GD110/889; GD110/690). Finally, in 1770-71 a tower measuring 12ft by 14ft was added at the west end of the kirk, of two stages and three storeys and crowned with a cornice and ogival slated roof. Although the session records are silent on this matter, the work must have been part of a more general remodelling and the

similarity of the details with those in the new kirk at Prestonkirk, completed in 1771, strongly suggest that the two building projects were carried out by the same hand.

No further structural work took place, except for a session house and vestry built beside the minister's entrance on the south side in 1828. In 1873 concerns were expressed about the cramped accommodation within the church, and by January 1879 sufficient subscriptions had been collected for a new church to be built on the site of the old manse in the High Street. On 3 June 1883 the last service was held in the town's first Reformation kirk.

Gladsmuir Kirk (1696)

The creation of Gladsmuir parish and the building of its parish kirk proved to be a long and protracted business, involving not one but two kirks. Prior to 1560, the large tract of land lying to the west of Haddington - Gladesmoore ('moor of kites') - had been used for grazing cattle, and the people from that area were expected to attend Haddington parish kirk more than 3 miles away. This was despite the fact that it had been agreed at the Reformation that new kirks should be built for parishioners who had more than 3 miles to travel to get to a kirk. Only in 1642 was a proposal made to create a new parish called Gladsmuir, to be carved out of lands from the parishes of Haddington, Tranent and Aberlady, and for it to have its own kirk. However these were uncertain times, chiefly because of the British Civil Wars, and nothing happened. In 1647 the laird of Lamington in Clydesdale and the laird of Elvingston, who owned the lands of Penston and Elvingston respectively, offered to build a church and manse at the west end of Haddington parish, and a decree to that effect was given by the Commission for Plantation of Kirks on 28th February 1650 on the recommendation of Haddington Presbytery. Once again nothing happened, and it was not until 4th June 1657 that:

the presbytere appoints the brethren of Haddington to speak Mr Robt Hodge that he keep the place appointed by the Committee of Parliament for building the church at Gladsmoore. (CH2/185/6, p. 293).

Robert Hodge had recently acquired Thrieplaw (now Hodges) from the Earl of Haddington, and appealed to the surrounding parishes for help with

stones and lime. The new kirk, sited 2km south of Gladsmuir (NT 460715), was ready by 1660, with Rev Mungo Watson as its minister (Scott, 1915: vol 1, 366). However, 'Hodge's Kirk' as it was affectionately known, soon fell out of use and no trace of it remains today.

The troubled years continued and it was only on the accession of William and Mary in 1690 that peace returned and Presbyterianism was restored. The lairds and inhabitants of Gladsmuir were not long in appealing to Presbytery regarding the creation of a new kirk. Despite objections, including from the minister of Haddington who faced a cut in his stipend, the new parish was finally established on 29th July 1692. William Baillie, laird of Lamington, gave land a little to the north of the 'Great Highway', in the ferm-toun of Gladsmuir, for the new kirk. By November 1695 the walls had been built and only the roof remained to be added (CH2/185/9). It was presumably ready for worship in the following year.

The now-roofless kirk, immediately to the north of its nineteenth-century successor, was not rectangular like its predecessors at Prestonpans, Dirleton and North Berwick, but rather built on the T-plan which had developed from the practice of adding burial aisles to rectangular kirks (Hay, 1957: 52-63). The main body of the new kirk, lying east-west and 71ft long by 23¾ft wide, was rubble-built with ashlar dressings and crowstepped gables at each end. There was no door through either gable, just two entrances at either end of the south wall. The western one was the main doorway, giving access to the body of the kirk and the west loft, whilst the eastern one also gave access to the session house beneath the east loft. The large south-facing windows flanking the pulpit were rectangular, with checks and hinge-pins for external shutters. The underloft windows at either end survive. The lofts themselves have gone but their presence is indicated by joist holes.

The aisle, projecting north and measuring 24sq ft, created the T-plan. A semi-circular arch with moulded impost stones separated it from the kirk. It was accessed from outside through a door in its north-west corner. It was clearly not a burial aisle, as none of the heritors was resident in the parish. The burials visible today, it should be noted, date from after the kirk was abandoned in 1839. Although not specified, the aisle may well have been intended for the use of the Earl of Winton, the chief heritor, for the Presbytery minutes of 27th April 1697 recording the allocation of seats in the kirk, show that the entire north side of the kirk was entirely to be taken up by him. Those minutes make for interesting reading, as they reveal the

process every congregation must have gone through on completing their new parish kirk:

The heritors and presbyterie considered the most equal way whereby the New Church of Gladsmoor might be distributed so as all concerned might be continually provided wt seats it was thought fit that the valuation should be the rule of division & considering that the Earl of Winton the most considerable heritor both for valuation & otherways, It was appointed that the whole North Isle both high and laigh should be assigned to him and whole tenants for his lands of Long-Niddrie, Wester Adniston & Bog House, with Liberty for his vassals viz the Laird of Redhouse for the Westermains of Redhouse, Cut-field of Longniddrie, Baillie Gilbert Fife for the lands of Greendikes and Chesterhall; Sr William Paterson of Grantoun for the lands of Easter Adnistoun and pertinents, and Alex Grey portioner of Long-niddrie. To advance toward the south the whole breadth of the isle six foot into the body of the Church. Redhouse upon the east hand and Greendykes, Sr William Paterson & Alex Gray upon the west. As also it was appointed that the whole east end of the church except the Session House should be assigned to the Earl of Haddington for the Baronie of Samuelstoun & to the Lord St Clair for the backlands of Samuelston and Templefield. To the laird of Hopetoun for the lands of Coats and portioners of Elvingstoun except Sir John Clerk & his tenants. To be distributed amongst them as they shall agree and in case of differences to be referred to neutral persons. And further it was appointed that the whole west end of the Church both high and laigh be assigned to the Laird of Lamington for his lands of Penston, Hoprig, Wheatrig, Cookieburn and pertinents Providing James Hamilton of Pencaitland for his lands of Gladsmoor and the Minister be accomodated on the sd west side as they shall agree. Moreover. it was provided that Sir John Clerk may set up a pew of six foot square upon the south side of the west end of the church next the pulpit, in liberty for his tenants in Elvingstoun, to be furnished for themselves wt seats in the west most end of the church. And further it was allowed to the above-mentioned Heritors and others that they should have a year and a day for the building of their seats in the places above assigned. (CH2/I69/1 p 214).

Apart from a two-faced sundial dated 1700, added to the south-west angle of the kirk soon after the kirk opened, and the bellcote atop the west gable added in 1761, little alteration was made to the kirk. A survey carried out in 1790 recommended the building of a new kirk but nothing resulted. In 1836 the minister, Rev John Ramsay, described his kirk as ‘small, cold, damp, and in bad repair’ (NSA 1845: 195), which prompted the session to carry out a further survey, which concluded that it was useless to carry out further repairs. As a result, land for a new kirk adjacent was again given by the Baillies of Lamington, and the congregation relocated to their new premises on 20 October 1839.

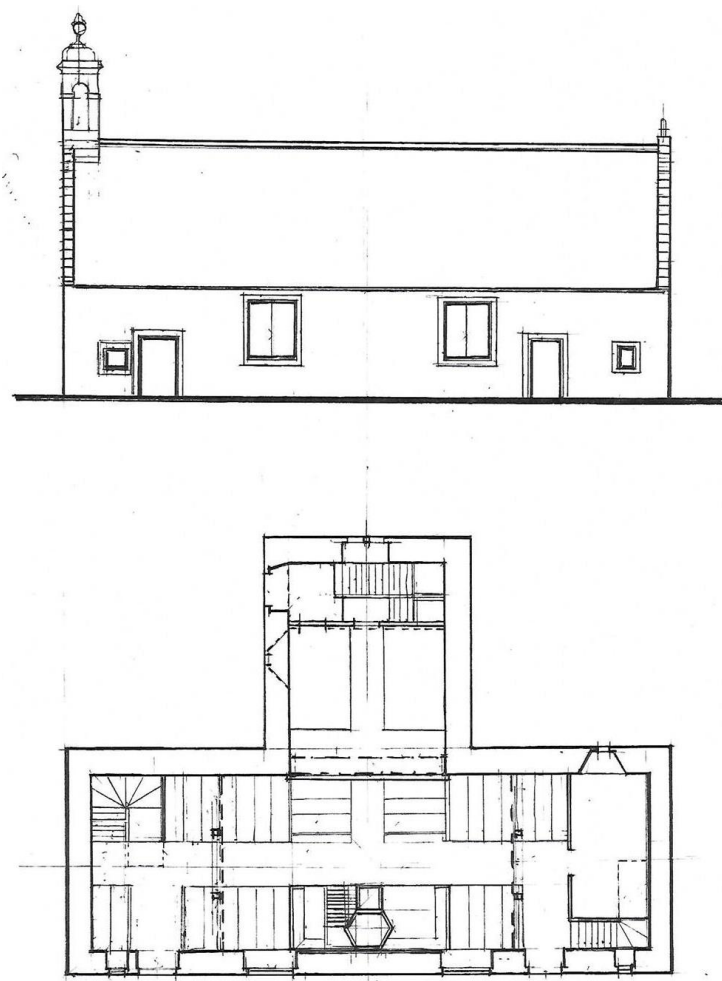


Figure 4. Gladsmuir, 1696.

Conclusion

The magnitude of the change in the appearance of parish churches in East Lothian due to the Scottish Reformation cannot be understated. There was a centuries-old tradition of the accepted design of a church in Western Christendom - as a series of cells along a west-to-east axis, with increasing prestige and spiritual status in progressing eastward, reflected in steps up in the floor, and culminating in the platform of the High Altar at the east end, where during the Mass a priest performed in Latin, with his back to the congregation, what was accepted as the mystery of transubstantiation, on behalf of the people, who came forward in turn to receive Communion kneeling. At the Reformation, this established model was replaced by an entirely new one: a single large space, designed to be symmetrical about a north-south axis, with the pulpit rising at the centre of the south wall, framed by the windows of the symmetrically designed south facade, which admitted the sun's light and warmth into the relatively shallow depth of the interior, with its greater length accurately oriented towards the east, the conventional direction of the Holy Land.

At the change in 1560, only the former nave of an existing church, the largest space, was required, and other spaces were normally blocked off as no longer required for worship, as at St Mary's, Haddington, for example, where the walls blocking off the transepts, sacristy and chancel to the east were only again removed in the early 1970s. Windows were not normally provided in the north wall. Regarding entrances, the formula adopted was for three doors – a north and south door opposite each other at the west end, and a third centrally placed at the east end – a physical embodiment of the fact that the High Altar no longer played any part in Reformed worship.

The Reformed faith was based on the individual's relationship with his maker, without mediation of anyone. It was governed by God's Word, printed in his native language, in his Family Bible, and further interpreted by his educated minister's preaching in communal public worship every Sabbath from 9am or 10am until 4pm in the afternoon, with a break for a midday meal. In the kirk people were expected to sit in the area allocated from the outset to the estate of their landlord, on forms or stools; the lengthy description of the seating allocation for Gladsmuir, made in 1697 (quoted above, p.29), is a perfect illustration of this. For Communion days, long tables were erected along the central length of the kirk, at which the congregation was seated (sometimes in successive sittings) to re-enact the Last Supper with bread on a patten and a communal cup. Where the narrow

boards and folding trestles were normally stored is not clear, but the base of the tower or the session house may have been the most convenient place. Pulpits were raised up and provided with backboards and sounding boards above, so that an experienced preacher, articulating clearly and projecting his voice, could expect to be heard for 50ft in the direction he was facing and 30ft to each side. However, the shape of this zone of audibility does not match the elongated narrow interior shapes of the new model kirks, which all exceeded 60ft in length. Preachers must, therefore, have learned to swivel their heads to speak to the galleried ends of the kirk alternately, and perhaps repeat important points of their arguments for the benefit of all.

Acknowledgement

Fig. 1. was kindly re-drawn by Neil Roger.

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STENTON: *NOT* THE FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH TO BE BUILT IN SCOTLAND

By Jane Geddes

This enquiry was prompted by the author's work on the new edition of *Buildings of Scotland: Lothian*, published by Yale University Press (Geddes et al, 2024). While creating a summary of church architecture in the county, the available published date for Stenton stood out: 1561, a year after the Scottish Reformation was declared. Was this the first church to be designed under the new Protestant regime? Such a claim would be momentarily significant, but the evidence did not quite stack up. This article proposes that Stenton church was, in origin, a pre-Reformation church, correctly oriented east-west, with its altar at the east end. The west loft or gallery with its surviving under-loft window, and the belltower in the south-west corner were later additions.

The Documentary Evidence

In 1915 Hew Scott outlined the history of the parish in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*: 'Previous to the Reformation, Pitcocks or Hanus was a prebend of the collegiate church of Dunbar. The church was removed to its present position in the village of Stenton about 1561. The Rood Well is in the neighbourhood' (Scott, 1915: vol. I, 420). This date was rapidly solidified by the Royal Commission in 1924: 'The parish church was transferred to its present position in 1561' (RCAHMS 1924, 111, No.180, fig.158). Its reference was back to the *Fasti*. Easson (1939: 107) then wrote that, 'the chapel [at Pitcox] was replaced by a parish church built at Stenton in 1561', referencing the Royal Commission. The date received its ultimate seal of approval in Cowan's definitive *Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (1967: 165) writing about Pitcox: 'this was but a chapel within the parish of Dunbar before the Reformation, the revenues of the township of which, formed a prebend within the collegiate church of Dunbar, and not until 1561 was a parish church erected at nearby Stenton.' The early post-Reformation date for parish transfer and building construction was by now firmly established.

A re-examination of the contemporary documents produced a more complex story. Pitcox is a hamlet about 3.2 miles south-west of Dunbar. It lies in a somewhat dank hollow, with the apparent church site at NT641 752. Stenton is a further mile south-west, a more favoured site on open ground at NT621 742. To clarify what follows, a *prebend* is the wealth (provender) set aside

for an ecclesiastical officer (*prebendary*) who serves in a collegiate church or cathedral. A *canon* is someone who is part of the chapter of a cathedral or collegiate church but does not hold a designated prebend. At Pitcox, the two titles are run together. The earliest reference is the foundation charter for Dunbar collegiate church from 1342 (Easson, 1939: 84, 99). This details the revenue of the collegiate church. Its income was to be augmented by the five townships of Dunbar, Pinkerton, Spott, Belton and Pitcox: '*item canonico prebendario de Petcokkys totam villam de Petcokkys com pertinentiis singulis tamen istorum his exceptis que archipresbytero quomodolibet assignantur* / to the canon prebendary of Pitcox the whole township of Pitcox with its pertinents except those in any wise assigned to the archpriest'. In that same document, Stenton was more significant: 'the revenue of the parish church [Dunbar] and its annexed chapels of Whittinghame, Spott, Stenton [Stantoun], Penshiel and Hedderwick are large and through the Lord's generosity are likely to increase' (Easson, 1939: 90, 98). So in the fourteenth century there was an ecclesiastical township (*totam villam*) at Pitcox but already a chapel at Stenton. Thereafter, there are several references to prebendaries of Pitcox: Thomas Lauder in 1432, George Lydel in 1462, William Borthwick in 1491 and Sir John White in 1524, are all officials enjoying the revenue of that property.

We first hear of a church at Pitcox in 1511. A charter of August that year refers to '*terra de Pitcokkis cum ecclesia et prebendal* / the land of Pitcox with church and prebend' (Easson, 1939: 107). A key figure is Patrick Cockburn, the prebendary of Pitcox whose life and career straddled the Reformation. He was a significant religious scholar trained at St Andrews who worked in Paris before the Reformation. He witnessed a charter in Kelso as rector of Pitcox in 1539 (Anderson, 1899: Charter 434) but, furnished with a pension of £50 per annum from the rents of Leuchars in 1552, he had little need to interest himself in the country parish. Such was his status that he attended the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin in Paris in 1558 (ODNB, sn). He next appears as a Protestant commissioner attending the Third General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in June 1562 (Peterkin, 1839: 8). It is claimed that he became the first Protestant minister of Haddington in 1562 (Scott, 1915: vol.1, 368). George Barclay (1792: 68) writes that Patrick Cockburn returning home from France 'embraced the reformed religion and officiated as minister in Haddington until his death in 1568.' Dempster gives him the character of being 'a most learned and moderate of all the Scots reformers.' The parish minister writing the *New Statistical Account* in 1845 seems to have found another source, recalling that 'Mr Cockburn the rector of Petcox was first Protestant minister of Haddington. He does not seem to have been an over-

zealous Protestant however, for in 1564 and 1565 he was complained of for absenting himself from the General Assembly' (NSA, 1845: 59). The final point about Patrick Cockburn is that in his will, registered in the Commissariat of Edinburgh 11th July 1570, he is called Patrick Cockburn, parson of Petcokis (Scott, 1959: VIII, 112). A *parson* is the Protestant clergyman responsible for a parish church.

Pitcox was still recognised in 1581, in the grant from King James VI to Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, 'together with advocacy and donation and the right of patronage of the church called Hauch, the prebend of Linton and the chaplaincy of Markle, the lands of Pitcokis, with their church and prebend' (Scottish Statutes, 1581). The official transition came under Cockburn's successor Thomas Daill, who is titled minister of Stanetoun on his will dated 11th April 1587 (Grant, 1897: XVI, 58, 71). So, the transition from Pitcox to Stenton as primary church in the parish took place after Bothwell's grant in 1581 and before 1587. A placename provides a vivid insight into the old medieval parish with its two churches: the road between Pitcox and Stenton is still known as the Canongate (likewise, part of the road from Spott to Dunbar) (pers comm, Joy Dodd). One can imagine the parish priest trudging the track between his two charges. More pertinently, it indicates that both churches were in use before the collegiate foundation at Dunbar was dissolved.

The documents thus establish that there was a chapel at Stenton in the fourteenth century, before a church is mentioned at Pitcox, but thereafter the prebendial emphasis and title is retained by Pitcox right through the Reformation until Thomas Daill emerges as minister of Stenton subsequently, between 1581 and 1587. Further evidence of Stenton's active medieval existence is the Rood Well, 200m north-east of the church. Its proximity to the ruins of the old church suggests the church was dedicated to the Holy Rood (Scott, 1959: VIII, 112). In 1883 there was still a paved path visible, leading from the church to the well (Walker, 1882-83: 167-70). The retention of the well's name after the Reformation suggests its cult, and hence worship at the nearby church, was active at the time of the Reformation. A similar situation prevailed at nearby Spott church where the Holy Well of St John, just north of the church, was reputedly a site of medieval pilgrimage and its dedication suggesting a pre-Reformation origin (<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/2453329>).

The *Books of Assumption* of the thirds of benefices were the result of a financial survey of the church at the point of the Reformation, carried out in 1561. Here there is reference to 'the prebenderie of Petcokis, Dunbar, perteyning to Mr Patrick Cokburne'. It is valued at £83 6s 8d. Stenton is

only mentioned under the Priory of Haddington which owned husbandland at Steintoun valued at 29s 8d (Kirk, 1995, 175, 162). No mention of a church at Stenton is perhaps puzzling, but within the parish of Pitcox it would have been a subservient chapel, and perhaps all revenues pertaining to both Pitcox and Stenton were assessed together. As both churches would have been served by a vicar or perhaps curate, it can only be guessed where regular congregational worship took place. Stenton has a monumental medieval font (a monolithic circular bowl on a stem, with drain hole) which would not have been required after the Reformation. It is simplest to assume this had been made for parochial use at Stenton, rather than transferred there from Pitcox after the Reformation.

The Structural Evidence



Figure 1. Stenton Church. The original doorway (right) c1500, and the inserted under-loft window (left), with packing all around it.

Bill Dodd suggested in his notes that Stenton church was built *de novo* according to the new Presbyterian rite, with pulpit against the south wall and lofts at east and west ends. His key evidence was the window at the south-west end of the church, which he thought was original and of the same date as the entrance doorway to its east; it would have lit the area below the west gallery or loft.

However, with his overview of the whole of Scotland, Richard Fawcett tips the evidence towards a medieval origin: ‘when a post-medieval church is known to occupy the site of its medieval predecessor, if it is aligned from east to west, and it is significantly longer along that axis than from north to south, the assumption should probably be that there are medieval walls below a later surface finish’(Fawcett, 2011: 399). The structural evidence seems to indicate Stenton was indeed a medieval church which underwent the usual alterations after the change to the Presbyterian liturgy. Macgibbon and Ross got the story more or less correct, dating the whole structure to the sixteenth century, with that little south-west window inserted ‘probably’ in the seventeenth century (Macgibbon & Ross, 1896-7: III, 609). The Royal Commission also dated the window ‘later’ (RCAHMS: 111).



Figure 2. Stenton Church. Back of the doorway and, to its right, under-loft window, showing their different construction.

The church is aligned east-west, and internally 63ft long and 18ft wide; the east end almost completely gone. Such a size would be quite normal for a hierarchical Catholic church. It is built with a mixture of rubble and roughly-dressed rectangular blocks, but where stretches of wall survive intact they are roughly coursed. The stone is predominantly of red sandstone with a few grey nuggets. The round-topped doorway is predominantly worn red and pink stone (Fig. 1). It has a segmental head in two orders, each moulded with a quirked edge roll. The jambs are of a similar section and have splayed stops and impost blocks following the plan of the mouldings below (RCAHMS, 1924: 111). The jambs are neatly coursed in with appropriate long and short stones. The hood mould fits tightly with the surrounding wall. There is no framing lip around the edge of the doorway for receiving a coat of harling, as became common in post-Reformation buildings. On the inside the jambs are well dressed, with a sharp arris on their corner (Fig. 2). Above is a well-cut shallow segmental relieving arch. This design can be most clearly seen on the south door at Tullibardine Church, Perth & Kinross, from about 1500 (Fawcett, 2011: fig. 370). This would also be an appropriate date for the floriated gable finial fragment in Stenton's graveyard. Contrast the doorway with the immediately adjacent under-loft window (Fig. 1). It is in a completely different stone, a smooth weathered grey sandstone. Below the sill and up the sides is a mess of small packing stones. One of the short jambs, intending to tie deeply into the wall, had to be cut back in order to fit around the impost of the doorway. Above the lintel is a short segmental relieving arch. The ashlar window frame has a sharp margin, set back for the harling. On the inside, the contrast with the door technology is even clearer (Fig. 2).

The splayed jambs of the window are of crude hacked-back rubble. There is no relieving arch, but instead flat timber planks support the soffit of the opening. The timber is decaying but it is not original as it is set in modern concrete. This window was indeed inserted later, as Macgibbon & Ross asserted. It lit the under-loft area whose re-set corbel is adjacent to the window.

East of the entrance doorway is a much larger window sill, for one of those two taller windows flanking the post-Reformation pulpit. It is of the same finely dressed grey stone as the south-west window (Fig. 3). It is also probably an insertion although only the sill remains: beneath the sill is a row of small tell-tale packing stones. The inside of its embrasure is made from a shorter re-used external window sill with the required chamfer along its edge. This could have come from a matching under-loft window elsewhere in the church.



Figure 3. Stenton Church. South wall showing large window inserted into the nave.

The tower which is offset on the south-west corner of the church is clearly a later addition also. Even with the rubble, straight joints can be seen where it abuts the SW corner and the centre of the W gable. Although not rigorously consistent, more effort is made to employ properly dressed quoins on the corners. This would be an appropriate enhancement when Stenton's medieval chapel status rose to that of parish church in the later sixteenth century. At North Berwick Kirk, to the church of 1644 a west tower was added to the gable in 1771 (Dodd, 2024: 26). Due to the quality of masonry, the straight joints can be seen, as at Stenton. At Gladsmuir Kirk, a fairly early post-Reformation church dated 1695 on an external lintel, one sees exactly the technology of the Stenton 'under-loft window' (Fig. 4).

Both the south-west window and adjacent doorway have the shallow offset for harling; The door lintel has a relieving stone above; on the back, the south-west window has a flat stone lintel but other small windows in the church use the wooden plank technique (Fig. 5). All the apertures are contemporary with the walls and even with fairly rough rubble, none require the layer of packing around it.

Historical evidence, going back as far as 1342 attests to a church existing at Stenton. The designation of priests shows the elevation of its status from subsidiary to Pitcox to becoming the parish church by 1587. The architecture seems to tell the same story. There was originally a long, narrow Catholic church facing east, whose existing entrance doorway suggests it was constructed in the early sixteenth century date. The path to the Holy Rood well to the east and the street name ‘Canongate’ confirms pre-Reformation activity. After the Reformation, the church was re-oriented, placing the pulpit against the south wall and installing a loft at the west end (and possibly the east end, where the altar was formerly positioned). Although the south-west tower structure does not provide dating evidence as such, this too was an addition, probably added to the church to enhance its parish status after the Reformation.



Figure 4. Gladsmuir Kirk. The under-loft window beside SW doorway, designed from the outset in 1695.



Figure 5. Gladsmuir Kirk. The interior of the south-west window, with wooden lintel.

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THE PRESTONPANS THORNTREE REVISITED

By Arran Johnston



Figure 1. Prestonpans Thorntree as depicted by William Bartlett c.1860.

One hundred years ago, as part of its first season of outings the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society visited the historic battlefield at Prestonpans. On Saturday 27th September 1924, the attending members were guided by the 77-year-old Walter Biggar Blaikie, an eminent Jacobite historian best known for his *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*. Blaikie met the group at Prestonpans railway station and led it on a circular three-mile route which can still be walked today. As part of the tour, the members' attention was particularly drawn to a renowned hawthorn tree (*Transactions*: I.I, 8). The Society returned to Prestonpans in 1929, visiting 'that part of the battlefield on which the thorn tree after referred to is situated' (*Transactions*: I.V, 208).

Between these two visits, a noticeable deterioration had occurred in the state of this tree, and after just a few more years the *Transactions* carried an article by Hugh Hannah announcing its final demise and the subsequent erection of a stone cairn to replace it in February 1932 (*Transactions*: II.II, 154). In 2023, members of the society were able to view a fragment of the Prestonpans Thorntree on their visit to the Battle of Prestonpans Museum in the former town hall building. The present article, marking a century since the Society's first visit to the battlefield, explores how such a humble tree became such an iconic monument to the events of 1745, and how it is still remembered today.

The Battle of Prestonpans was fought on 20th-21st September 1745, with the main engagement occurring early in the morning on the second day. Whilst it is not the purpose of this article to analyse the battle in detail, the main events followed an almost circular pattern around the landscape. Charles Edward Stuart, the Jacobite Prince of Wales and commander of around 2,500 men, arrived on the high ground at Birslie Brae in the early afternoon of 20th September. His enemy, the similarly sized but better equipped army of Lieutenant General Sir John Cope, was just entering the fertile farmland between Preston and Seton. The soft ground below the Jacobite position prevented the Highlanders from launching an immediate assault and obliged them to move eastwards to Tranent in search of a better position. Cope's army re-deployed to face southwards, and after a few incidents of light skirmishing fire the two armies settled down for an uneasy night.



Figure 2. An early 19th century illustration of the battle, dominated by the thorn tree.

In the early hours of the following morning, the Jacobites descended the heights and formed a battleline which faced west. Alerted in the nick of time, the British army deployed to meet them – only to be swiftly routed by the charge of the Highlanders. Whilst most of the infantry were cut down or captured, General Cope and his surviving cavalry escaped up a road which still bears his name, leaving the battlefield at Birslie Brae, where his triumphant foe had first appeared the previous afternoon. The battle had been swift and one-sided: more than sixty-five percent of Cope's men were killed or captured, and the Jacobites took his entire artillery and baggage train. There was no meaningful field force available to challenge Jacobite operations in Scotland after their success, and the Battle of Prestonpans thus assumed a significance out of all proportion to its numerical size. That significance would also come to be reflected in a cultural legacy, and this has long outlasted its immediate military impact.

The highest-ranking fatality of the engagement was Colonel James Gardiner of the British army's 13th Regiment of Dragoons, a career soldier who also happened to live in Prestonpans. Gardiner, originally from Carriden, was from a determinedly military family: his father, brother and uncle had all died on campaign. A veteran of many of Marlborough's great battles, and of the Jacobite rising in 1715, Gardiner had been in poor health when conflict broke out in 1745. His performance whilst screening Edinburgh during the Jacobite advance had been uninspiring given the size of the mounted force at his disposal, and at Dunbar Gardiner had confessed to a young Alexander Carlyle that he did not trust more than ten of his troopers would stand firm if they were to face battle (Carlyle, 1860: 132). A few days later at Prestonpans, Gardiner's regiment was amongst the first to break. He himself spurned flight, however, and was struck down with several wounds whilst trying to stem the tide of the rout (Doddridge, 1770: 178-9). Mortally wounded, Gardiner was taken by a servant to Tranent manse, where he died later in the morning. His home, Bankton House on the south side of Preston village, was used as the main field hospital for the wounded of both sides.

A long-standing tradition associates Gardiner's death with a hawthorn tree, near which he was supposedly found after the fighting. The thorn tree became an important landmark within an otherwise open field. The hugely successful biography of Gardiner by his friend Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), first published in 1748, makes no references to the tree however. The book was an international hit, going through edition after edition, including in America, and it remains the most important source both for understanding Gardiner's life and for interpreting his posthumous importance. Doddridge's book certainly influenced Sir Walter Scott, who describes Gardiner's death in his first great novel *Waverley*. Scott knew the battlefield at Prestonpans first hand, but he also makes no reference to the thorn tree. If these most obvious sources for a cultural association between Gardiner and the thorn tree are not the origin of the tradition, then, where does it come from?

Early on the afternoon of 21st September 1745, when the smoke of battle had barely cleared, Adam Skirving (1719-1803) visited the scene of the engagement. Skirving, a farmer at Garleton whose grave can still be seen at Athelstaneford and whose portrait by his son Archibald was once in the care of the Society (see p. 8), subsequently wrote two songs inspired by the Battle of Prestonpans. The most famous is the scathing *Hey, Johnnie Cope*, but *Tranent Muir* is more interesting to the historian as it provides an insight into local perceptions of the battle and some of the personalities involved in it. As well as lamenting that Skirving had his pockets picked at Seton Sands, the poem contains the following lines:

*At the thorn tree, which you may see
bewest the meadow-mill, man,
there mony slain lay on the plain,
the clans pursuing still, man.*

Skirving, since he visited the field, is an eyewitness to the battle's aftermath if not the event itself. Perhaps this is why the thorn tree caught his attention whilst evading that of most other witnesses whose testimony remains to hand: most were understandably distracted. Nor does the tree feature in the various maps and plans which were produced in the battle's aftermath.

It would appear, then, that it is Skirving's poem *Tranent Muir* which first identifies the distinctive hawthorn tree which stood on the battlefield as being a landmark of significance, and that he did so from his own observations. Skirving associates the thorn tree with the fallen, identifying its location as an area in which numerous lives were lost. This makes sense as he places it west of the line of Meadowmill (a location corroborated by later mapping evidence), which would have been some distance to the rear of Cope's final battleline and between his army and its main route of escape. Once the line was broken, the natural instincts of many fugitives would be to follow the dragoons in cutting across the open fields towards Preston village, where they would either have become trapped by the walls of Preston House parks or funnelled down the road past Bankton. But although *Tranent Muir* includes a laudatory verse dedicated to the death of Colonel Gardiner, it does not link this with the thorn tree.

Another contemporary poetical work, however, does. The *History of the Rebellion in Britain in the Years 1745 & 1746* by Dougal Graham (c.1725-1779) is a remarkable narrative of the conflict written entirely in doggerel verse. Graham followed the Jacobite army on campaign as a non-combatant, although perhaps more out of excited interest than ideological partisanship. This not only makes him a witness to much of the war, but also a deliberate and potentially disinterested observer.

In his account of the Battle of Prestonpans, Graham does not make any mention of the thorn tree, but in the diagram which accompanies it 'the Thorn tree where Gardner (sic) fell' is prominently labelled (Fig. 2). Although it was first published in 1746, no first editions of Graham's book are known to have survived. This makes it impossible to state for certain that the thorn tree was thus identified in the original publication; but it is certainly there by the 1774 edition now held at the Battle of Prestonpans Museum. Graham's doggerel *History* was hugely popular, which surely contributed to the evolution of the thorn tree from simply a landmark

associated with the redcoat fallen, to one connected specifically to Colonel Gardiner.

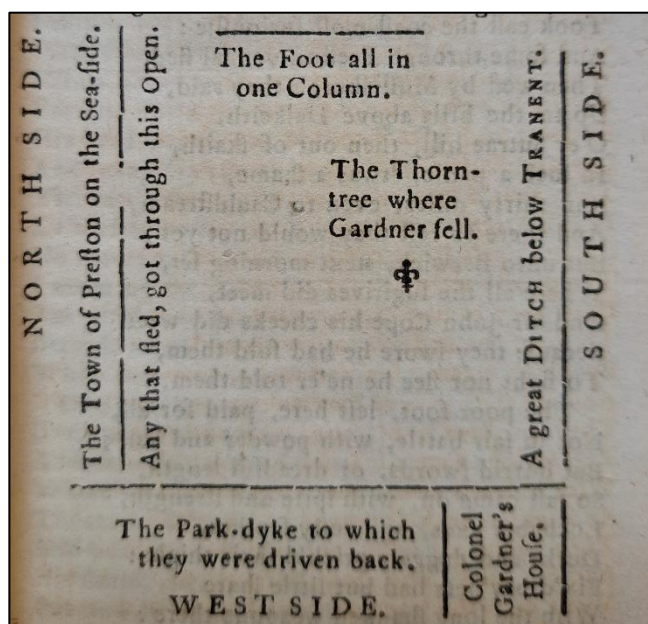


Figure 3. Detail of the plan of the Battle of Prestonpans in the third edition of Graham's verse history of the Rising.

This association certainly continued. The Ordnance Survey Name Book entry for Gardiner's Bridge – a later (and no longer extant) bridge over the railway line near Meadowmill – states that although the name of the bridge is presumed to reflect a proximity to the location of Gardiner's death, 'the current of local tradition' favours the thorn tree standing 'a few chains to the west' (OS1/15/38/48). The location of the thorn tree is noted separately as 'supposed by some persons to be the place where Colonel Gardiner was killed' (OS1/15/37/30). In the collection of the National Museum of Scotland there is a small wooden snuffbox of uncertain date, bearing a metal plate inscribed 'part of the thorn tree near which Col Gardiner was killed'.

Whether specifically associated with Gardiner or more generally regarded as a landmark of the battlefield, the thorn tree certainly gained widespread fame. When Andrew Bigelow of Massachusetts visited the battlefield in 1817, he recognised and commented upon the thorn tree but did not connect it to Gardiner, whose resting place was the object of Bigelow's visit. In 1835, the engineer Robert Stevenson was presented with a 'much admired and esteemed Quaich made of the Thorn Tree' by H F Cadell of Cockenzie.

The thorn tree is very prominently marked on William Forrest's 1799 map of Haddingtonshire (Fig. 4), and again in Thomson's map of 1822 by which time it has helped to drift the crossed-swords marker towards its own location to the west of where the lines really engaged. As implied by the interest shown by the Name Book compilers quoted above, the Ordnance Survey also located and labelled the thorn tree from their first edition of 1853, and it is still clearly marked in the 1892 edition.



Figure 4. Detail of Forrest's 1799 survey, clearly identifying the thorn tree.

Into the twentieth century, as the tree's health declines it stops being specifically labelled; instead its location adopts the label 'Battle 1745'. Since its construction in the later eighteenth century, a farm sited just to the north of the tree was known as Thorn tree Mains until its clearance in the late twentieth century following the development of the Cockenzie Power Station. As a result of this mapping evidence, it is possible to locate where the thorn tree stood with relative precision. In 1998, a stone pillar was erected in the close vicinity to celebrate the spot, designed by Michelle de Bruin. Set within a children's playpark, it is perhaps the least well-known of the various memorials around the battlefield. It proclaims that 'Colonel Gardiner of Bankton was fatally wounded beneath a hawthorn tree in this area,' setting that long association in stone.

It is worth noting that, strictly speaking, the thorn tree was a cluster of trees rather than a single entity. Most commonly it is described as being a clump of three trunks, which is the appearance given by surviving photographs and

illustrations, although the OS Name Book describes it as ‘four or five small thorn bushes forming one close clump like one large bush’ (OS1/15/37/30). The later eighteenth century saw the division of much of the battlefield into smaller farms, including Thorntree Mains where human remains were found during drainage works. By the 1850s, when the thorn tree was recorded by the Ordnance Survey and photographed by Sir Robert Cadell, a small and apparently short-lived colliery was sited beyond the wall adjacent to the thorn tree, which was by then at the edge of a footpath.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the thorn tree required the assistance of ‘iron rods and bands’ to keep it upright, and on 18th October 1899 the largest trunk was blown down (*Transactions*: II.II, 154). By the time of the Society’s first visit in 1924, only one of the limbs remained and the tree was considered dead; running alongside it was now a service railway feeding Preston Links colliery. At the Society’s 1932 visit, all that remained was a ‘dead and blackened stump’ (*Transactions*: II.II, 154). The mineral railway had diminished the appeal of the thorn tree’s original location as a spot on which to contemplate the battle, and the stone cairn which was erected as a form of replacement was therefore sited in a more visible location beside the main road, close to where Gardiner’s bridge once carried the wagonway over the mainline. A casket is built into the cairn, preserving for future generations details of the thorn tree’s significance and location.

Apart from simple antiquarian interest, however, why is the Prestonpans Thorn tree significant? Firstly, it provides a fixed point within the battlefield’s evolving landscape which can be reliably tracked across the generations. Furthermore, if the tree’s association with the bodies of the fallen, identified immediately by Skirving, is correct, then there is a moral significance to the thorn tree area. This is probably the reason why two men who took their own lives in Seton in 1773 and Tranent in 1774, were buried in the thorn tree field: it was a place already hallowed by blood and burial. Culturally, the thorn tree gained its potency not from formal written histories but from popular tradition and folk memory. Finally, the thorn tree’s fame contributed to a westward drift which is reflected in the distribution of monuments on the battlefield even to this day: all the battlefield’s monuments are either on or west of the waggonway path, even though the battlelines faced each other to the east of it. The memorialisation of the battle is therefore focused not on the triumph of the Highland army but on the aftermath of Cope’s defeat; on the story of self-sacrifice embodied by Colonel Gardiner, represented for nearly two centuries by the Prestonpans Thorn tree.

By the time its remains were finally cleared, the Prestonpans Thorntree was owned by the Earl of Wemyss. Several pieces were deliberately preserved for posterity, the largest of which was donated to what is now the National War Museum, part of National Museums Scotland, in whose collection it remains. Another piece has since come into possession of the Battle of Prestonpans (1745) Heritage Trust, who now display it proudly at their museum (Fig. 5). Two smaller fragments can be found in the collection of East Lothian Council Museum Service. A small piece of wood in the West Highland Museum at Fort William is also believed by the author to be part of the thorn tree.

After its clearance, wood from the thorn tree was used to create working tools for Prestonpans' masonic lodge, Lodge Thorn tree No 1038. The tree also gave its name to a golf club instituted in 1856 at Preston Links (their course included a "Johnnie Cope's Hole" near Thorn tree Mains) and to the Thorn tree Inn in Cockenzie. There are a number of photographs and illustrations of the tree from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (two are included in *Transactions*, II.II, pp.156-7); its distinctive shape appears several times in the *Prestonpans Tapestry*, a 105m embroidery work completed in 2010; and it has been the emblem of the Battle of Prestonpans (1745) Heritage Trust since its foundation in 2006.

Today the western area of the battlefield boasts many hawthorn trees, including an avenue flanking part of the waggonway path which leads past the new memorial tables. Even if they are not direct descendants of the original, they are surely tributes. Although the Prestonpans Thorn tree is long gone, it is far from forgotten.



Figure 5. The Thorn tree fragment in the Battle of Prestonpans Museum.

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PAPPLE: HISTORY OF AN EAST LoTHIAN FARM

By Joy Dodd and Eric Glendinning



Figure 1. Papple farm, cottages, and mill, 1819 (Crown Copyright. NRS RHP2518).

Introduction: James Balfour at Papple

In June 1820, James Balfour (c.1776 to 1845) completed the purchase of Papple Estate from Robert Walter, Lord Blantyre, amounting to 697 acres (282 hectares) for £63,000 (around £4million today). The price included £10,340 paid for the lands of Papple called Lauder's Lands and Haitlie's lands, the Mill of Papple and the Mill lands thereof (GD433/1/250). The transaction, agreed earlier, had been delayed because an Act of Parliament was required to break the entail on the property. Payment was made in yearly instalments of £20,000. Balfour was no doubt delighted to find in 1824 on more accurate measurement, including braes and fencing, that his new purchase was in fact 27 acres larger than thought (GD433/1/332).

Balfour had purchased the neighbouring estate of Whittingehame from William Hay of Drumelzier in 1817. The asking price was £127,250 (around £8million today) (GD433/1/323). He had money to spend. His contemporaries would call him a *nabob*, a Mughal title applied mockingly to those who had made huge fortunes in India. His wealth came from trade at a

time of war. He and his partner Joseph Baker were successful merchants in Madras. In 1806 the contract to provision the Royal Navy in the East Indies Station was transferred to them when Basil Cochrane, one of the wealthiest *nabobs*, returned to Britain on health grounds.

The East Indies Station was vast, covering the oceans from the Cape of Good Hope to the South China Sea. A large fleet was maintained to counter any French threat in the area. The costs involved were considerable. In 1809 the Admiralty spent £209,969 (around £10.7million today) on provisioning vessels on the East Indies Station (Wilcox, 2011: Table 8.1). Although expensive, the contract system suited the Navy because they could obtain provisions at agreed prices reliably from one supplier instead of ships' pursers negotiating with different merchants in different ports.

From their warehouses Balfour and Baker supplied casks of biscuits, wheat, rum and arrack, sugar, raisins, and much else including tea and gallons of wine. English salt beef was preferred, meaning it was at least six months old by the time it reached Madras, but locally cured beef later was accepted. (Wilcox, 2011).

By 1830 Balfour had changed the landscape. A drive from the west was cut through the glen alongside Whittingehame Water to his new mansion, and the braes above the glen were planted with trees. Papple Mill was 'let down' and the mill houses cleared to make way for the drive.



Figure 2. Papple Mill above Biel by T. Lauder Dick, showing the mill site in 1814 before its destruction.



Figure 3. Whittingehame village 1759, by Lewis Gordon (Crown Copyright. NRS RHP2515).

Whittingehame village (Fig. 3), which had a population of 141 in 1792, was cleared. Lang, whose book is dedicated to Lord Balfour and Miss Balfour, states that ‘we may be quite sure that he dealt kindly with the dispossessed villagers’ (Lang, 1929: 110). Three dwelling houses, a school and smithy were built at Luggate: no model village. Whittingehame church was rebuilt and only the more interesting stones were retained in the graveyard. The others were used to line a field drain (pers. comm. David Connolly). Balfour had also changed the tenantry. Blantyre-era leases were not renewed for the tenants of Papple West or Mrs Henderson, a widow, at Bogend in 1825. Bogend was re-let after Henderson’s eviction in 1825 but by 1849 most of the buildings were in ruins. The tenant at Papple Mill, William Hay of Drumelzier, and his sub-tenants William Black and William Penreath/Pendrigh, were evicted in 1825. Hay appeared not to have a lease. Black protested that Balfour was not his landlord. A worse fate awaited the Walker family, tenants of Papple. Before relating their tale, however, it is worth reflecting on what is known of the early history of the Papple estate.

Early Papple

The Balfour family held Papple for almost 200 years, but the history of Papple is far longer. The earliest mention comes in the cartulary of Melrose Abbey in agreements between the monks and Robert of Stenton. These are dated to between 1182 and 1232 (Poms: 4986 & 4226). For this study, the witnesses are of more interest than the agreements. Some have Anglo-Saxon names; others Norman. The former include Aldred of Papple, Aldred of Windyshiels, Edwin (forester) and Eadwulf (smith) of Whittingehame, and Waltheof, a person of Whittingehame. The Norman names include Hugh, monk of Kelso, Hugh de Mortimer, prior of May, Robert son of Robert of Stenton, and Peter of Whittingehame. Here are reminders both that Papple was on the edge of the old kingdom of Northumbria and of David I of Scotland’s policy of introducing Norman families into his realm. The name Papple is itself older than both Anglo-Saxons and Normans. It may, like Peebles, indicate a place of tents, a campsite. The haughs beside Whittingehame Water would make an ideal site.

The Convent that Wasn’t

One early mention of Papple, which led to much confusion in later years, is the grant by Patrick, son of Roger of Papple, of ‘a toft and garden with eleven acres in the territory of Papple’ to the Abbey of St Mary, a Cistercian convent, in Haddington. It appears in a charter of 1458 re-confirming the holdings of the abbey as detailed in an earlier charter of 1359. This earlier charter in turn re-confirmed charters destroyed by English incursions, probably the Burnt Candlemas of 1356, a campaign during the Second War

of Independence which caused widespread destruction in the south of Scotland. This modest addition to the 600 or so acres of the nuns' estate in East Lothian could date from any time between the convent's foundation in 1178 and 1356. The 1458 charter was included in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland* (Barclay, 1785: 110). A misreading of this charter may explain how the Rev John Lumsden, author of the 'Parish of Whittingehame' in the *New Statistical Account*, claimed that a wall fragment at Papple was part of a convent belonging to the Abbey (Lumsden, 1845: 66). His account was cited in the Ordnance Survey Name Book for the 1853 map and 'Papple Convent (Remains of)' duly appeared on this and subsequent OS maps. Rev Marshall B Lang included a photograph of the wall fragment with the caption '*Ruins of Nunnery at Papple*' in his history of Whittingehame parish (Lang, 1929: 64). One source has further muddled the waters by claiming the nuns of Bothans held lands at Papple. This arises from confusion with the nuns of Abbey St Bathans who appear to have been granted a few acres at Papple. There were no nuns at Bothans.



Figure 4. The remains of Papple Hall. A window embrasure can be seen at the top facing with the c1855 water-supply tanks behind.

The Lauders

Two names in the sasines for Balfour's purchase relate to early owners or tenants of parts of Papple: Haitlie's Lands and Lauder's Lands. Amongst his other holdings, *Willelmi Hatele in villa de Popil* paid 6 shillings annually to the crown in 1461 (RSS: v.7, 97). Of greater importance were the Lauders.

The Lauders of the Bass, an Anglo-Norman family, held Papple from the Earls of March from the thirteenth century. Thomas Dick Lauder in his notes of a walk through Whittingehame Glen, refers to Papple as 'an estate in the possession of the Lauders... of which we have a charter of the thirteenth century' (GD41/624). This may be a reference to a charter of 1270 which mentions Alexander of Lauder of Papple. How much land the Lauders held is unclear. A charter of 1318 refers to a grant to Robert of Lauder of 'a carucate of land with toft and croft within the town and tenement of Papple' (GD86/4). Scots medieval land measurements are notoriously difficult to equate with current terms. A carucate is as much land as can be ploughed by 8 oxen in one year, possibly 40 hectares depending on the land.

Lauder ownership continued to 1624 when James VI granted the lands of Papple, formerly property of George Lauder, called Lauderslands and Haitleislands (alias Whitelawlands) with Auld Haddington, to Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose (RGS: 696, 22nd Sept 1624). Hamilton was a Lord of Session, Secretary of State and adviser to James VI, who referred to him as 'Tam o' the Cowgate'. His relationship with Charles I was less familiar and the Hamilton ownership of Papple brief. Hamilton later exchanged the Melrose title for that of Earl of Haddington. Roy's Map of 1747/55 has 'Old Herington' (presumably Auld Haddington) north-west of 'Toderlin' (Tanderlane). Old Haddington was let with Papple West Mains in the 1820s.

The Ogills

The Ogill family (several variant spellings can be found) had a long relationship with Papple, some of it overlapping with the Lauders. The nature of the relationship between Ogills and Lauders is not clear. Were the Ogills tenants of the Lauders, or holders of areas of Papple in their own right, with the Lauders retaining feudal privileges over their lands? Much of their property appears to be in the foothills of the Lammermuirs. In a charter of 1370 given by George of Dunbar, Earl of March, Henry of Ogill is granted 'his lands of Lowcaschell within the parts of Lambyrmure' (Milne-Home, 1902: 79). A Retour of Special Service dated July 1437 to Henry de Ogill as heir of his father Alexander de Ogill, records that the lands Henry inherits include one carucate of land in the town of Papple with two

husbandlands called the Hyndhauch and further holdings at Hartramwood and Lowchastell. The annual values of each property are given. Papple is worth 6 merks, ‘in time of peace... but now on account of the common war are waste’ (Milne-Home, 1902: 79). War in this case was not an English incursion but baronial conflict within Scotland. In 1546 William Ogill has a 32-year feu from the crown by manner of ward of the lands of Papple called St Maurislands. He is confirmed at the same date as feuar of Lucaschelis where he is referred to as William Ogill, ‘whose grandfather died under the banner of the supreme lord our King James Fourth... at the battle of Flodden’ (RSS: v.18, 396).

Some of the places mentioned above can be identified. *Lambyrmure* is presumably Lammermuir. *Hyndhauch* may be a transcription error for *Hyndheugh*, a form which occurs in later documents; the only *heugh* at Papple is Blaikie Heugh. Gordon’s plan of 1759 has ‘*Hertram wood*’ (322 Scots acres, 164 hectares) just south of Nunraw with a structure also labelled *Hertram Wood* to the east (RHP 2515). Just possibly this is Hyndheugh mansion. *Lucaschelis/Lowcaschell* cannot be traced but there are several ‘*shiel*’ names, denoting shielings, in the Lammermuirs.

The land donation to St Mary’s Abbey, Haddington, may account for the term ‘the lands of Papple called St Maurislands’. It could be read as ‘St Mary’s Lands’ – all Cistercian monasteries are dedicated to the Virgin Mary – or St Maurice’s Lands. One of several St Maurices was a Cistercian abbot. The name does not appear on surviving maps, nor does it match current field names which have remained unchanged for at least a century. On the basis that a water supply would be required, it is possible that the donation to the nuns lay on the south side of the braes near the Whittingehame Water but there is no evidence either way.

In 1710 David Ogill sold ‘the lands of Papple Hall with the mill and mill lands and the lands of Hyndheugh mansion house, which are part of the ten pound land of old extent of Harham wood’, to William Begbie of ‘Sunniesyd’ for £11,500 Scots (£1,917 sterling, around £220,000 today). Ogill owed £3,783 Scots on heritable bonds, in effect a mortgage on the property. Begbie, his largest creditor, paid off the other bond holders as part of the purchase price (SIG1/15/41).

One link with the Ogills remains. The wall fragment (Fig. 4) is likely to be a remnant of their home, Papple Hall. It survives because it supported cisterns fed at one time by a force pump from the Whittingehame Water, possibly installed in 1855. A resistivity survey by Edinburgh Archaeological Field Society in 2023, with assistance from Haddington’s History Society, detected foundation walls 1.3m in width behind the wall remnant. The

evidence suggests a tower house, but excavation would be required to confirm this. Papple Hall would have been substantial. ‘The Lady of Poplaw’ was recorded in the Hearth Tax of 1692 as paying for 8 hearths (E69/9/1/15). From here in 1679, Margaret, the widow of George Ogill, wrote to an Edinburgh friend asking support for her son David’s candidacy as reader in Bolton Kirk (GD150/3521/f25). He was not appointed.

In October 1717 ‘the presbytery (of Haddington) being informed of the distressed condition of Jean Lockhart, relict of the deceased David Ogle late of Poppel-Hall and her four small children, appoints the several brethren to bring in a collection for her to their next meeting’ (CH2/185/11 p14); a sad ending to almost 300 years of Ogills at Papple.



Figure 5. Extract from a map c1780, showing the ruins of Papple Hall. Courtesy of John Kinnaird.

The Blantyres, their tenants and dues

Robert, Lord Blantyre, purchased the lands of Papple, Papple Hall and others, in 1721. They remained with the family until Balfour completed his purchase in 1820 from Robert Walter, Lord Blantyre. Gilbert Burns, brother of the poet, was factor of Lennoxlove from 1804 at a time when Papple formed part of the Lennoxlove estate. Those who worked the land are of more importance to our account than those who owned it but may have had very little presence there.

We know little of tenants of the Blantyre era apart from references in church records and payments for taxes. John Burn is named in the Kirk Session Minutes as tenant in Papple in April 1721 (CH2/372/3 p9). He remained there until after 1740. He was succeeded by William Brown, who was born in Stenton in 1731. He was tenant in Papple by 1759 when he was allowed seats 35-7 in the kirk for a payment to the poor (CH2/372/6 p3). He died in 1792, having farmed at Papple over 33 years. The Window Tax of 1781/82 records William as paying for eleven windows, an indication of the size of the original farmhouse (E326/1/41/ p4). Following his death, his wife continued to farm Papple until her own death in 1801.

Leases from the Blantyre era which ran into Balfour's ownership, such as the lease for Papple Lawhead and Clints, included 'kain and carriage'. These dues were feudal hangovers from a period when rents were part-paid in crops and services to the landlord. *Kain* was payment in livestock. In East Lothian, this was usually in the form of hens. In 1716 at Yester 92 dozen and 3 hens were received as kain. They required the services of a hen wife, Barbara Hay, and an account book detailing their fate; some 'was worried by foxes and dead other ways' (NLS 14603, f49). *Carriage* meant the use of the tenant's waggons and drivers for the landlord's business for a number of days each year. This was much resented as the waggons may be used for moving stones or, as at Yester, coal for the big house. On the Papple Estate by the 1820's kain and carriage had been equated to money payments: kain hens were valued at 1/6 each and carriages at 3/6 each. Payment for 60 kain hens and 20 carriages added £8 to the rent of Papple Lawhead and Clints. William Black, a sub-tenant of Papple Mill, was pursued for kain and carriage in 1822 in addition to back rent (GD433/1/329/14).

Robert Walker and the sequestration of 1830

Robert Walker was one of a large family of East Lothian farmers: ‘the Walkers were a numerous clan in East Lothian at one time, all farmers... there is now not one tenant farmer of the name of Walker in the county’ (Martine, 1890: 79).

The year 1822 was a desperate one for British farmers and farm workers. The Napoleonic Wars had meant high prices for farm produce. These declined following the peace of 1815, reaching their lowest point in 1822. Wheat which had sold at 14s 5d per bushel in 1812, just fetched 5s 8d in 1822. Oats fell from 5s 5d to 2s 2d, prices last seen thirty years previously (Clark, 2003: 50). Farmers had difficulty meeting their rents.

Letters threatening sequestration were sent by Allan Purves from Cairnbank, the Duns home of David Ainslie, Balfour’s factor, to James Wright of Papple Mains and Robert Walker of Papple on account of them being behind with their rent. Wright’s brother intervened: ‘I cannot think Mr Balfour would venture to do a thing so very cruel as to sequester a man with a wife and eleven helpless children.’ Walker asked for more time: ‘times are so bad at present it is all most (sic) impossible to make back our rent. I am sorry it has been so long due but you must not be so hard in these bad times’ (GD433/1/330). At Yester the factor William Gilbertson argued successfully for rent reductions of 10-15% (NLS 14458, f25). Balfour, while not unsympathetic to Wright’s situation, was unconvinced: ‘when you begin to reduce then there is no end of it as all the farm tenantry expect the same indulgence’ (GD433/1/329). Four days after this letter was written, Balfour’s son, aged 5, was tragically killed in a house fire.

Wright was evicted in 1825 when his lease expired (SC40/20/124/15). Walker limped on. By a new agreement in July 1824, for 345 acres at Papple he paid £3 per acre with an additional payment based on the price of wheat, which brought his annual rent to £1,035. He died in 1829, a year behind with his rent. He left a pregnant wife and two children, the eldest being aged eight and also called Robert. As the law at that time allowed, this child was held responsible for his father’s debts. The estate moved on 7th January 1830 to sequester the farm stock to cover the first half-year’s rent. At the public roup of the stock on 30th April 1830 Balfour bought seven of the work horses (Bell, Sharp, Star, Baldy, Dick, Rosy, Kate and her foal) as well as a riding horse. His other purchases included an old wooden plough for a shilling, perhaps as a curio. The family were then pressed for the remaining half year’s rent, with David Lawson, farm steward at Whittingehame, appointed to be ‘judicial manager’ to maximise the return from crops in the field and those already harvested. Their sale failed to

cover the remaining debt and the household effects were inventoried and sold, including the nursery contents – two beds and a crib. A child, Hay Francis, was born on 2nd February 1830. In the end £24 9s 2 1/2d remained outstanding (SC40/11/7/9/1). The Walker family were evicted. We have been unable to trace their subsequent history. Warrant sales in Scotland were abolished in 2001.

Item	Seller	Price
54 Mare - Bell	Mr Balfour	121 9 7
55 White Horse - Sharp	D ^o	205 1
56 Black D ^o - Star	Mr Balfour	32 32
57 D ^o - Bally	D ^o	27 10 -
58 Brown Horse - Dick	D ^o	29 - -
59 Mare - Rosy	D ^o	35 - -
60 White Mare - Water - Leah	D ^o	34 10 -
1 White Cow	Mr Johnston Haddo	5 2 6
2 An ass	Geo. Alexander Farm	12 -
3 Water Spinney & Wheel	Mr Balfour	1 3 -
		35 12 1

Figure 6. Some of Balfour's purchases at the roup of 1830 (Crown Copyright. NRS SC40/11/7/9/1).

For historians, a positive factor in this sorry tale is the inventory of farm stock and household effects. They show the livestock and implements of an East Lothian farm in 1830, and something of the lifestyle of a once-prosperous farmer. Walker had twelve work horses, the backbone of his operation. Their lifestyle was comfortably middle-class. Miller, describing the effects of the 2,000 troops stationed at Haddington from 1802 to 1814, wrote that 'the farmer, in place of his keg of aqua or cask of country-brewed ale, could now treat himself to a pipe of wine; and the merchant could introduce the piano into his drawing room as a substitute for his grandmother's spinning wheel' (Miller, 1844: 342). Four wine decanters and a pianoforte were listed in the Walkers' effects.

George Peacock

George Peacock farmed Papple from 1832 to 1870. George was born on 28th April 1795 in Westruther, Berwickshire, the son of Robert Peacock of Thorniedyke. In 1820, George Peacock, schoolmaster of the parish of Edrom, married Mary Gilkie, daughter of the late Captain James Gilkie of the Honourable East India Company's Service (OPR 738: 220). He was a

man of independent means due to this marriage settlement, and had served as schoolmaster and parish clerk of Edrom from 1820 to 1828.

Peacock's rent, at £910, was £125 lower than Walker's and his acreage, at 413, higher. It included Papple, Papple Lawhead and part of Papple Mill land. Papple Lawhead is absorbed into Papple from this point. It stood at the east side of Lawhead Hill. Peacock seems to have been successful, and his lease was renewed in 1849 then extended for a further year in 1869, possibly at the estate's request. He retired to Stenton in 1870, where he died the following year at the age of 76.

Richard Turnbull and son, the steading construction

The lease was advertised in *The Scotsman*, *North British Agriculturalist*, *Haddingtonshire Courier*, and elsewhere in December 1869 (GD433/1/21). Peacock was presented with a book valued at 18s for providing refreshments for the nine applicants, the successful one being Richard Turnbull. Turnbull had not made the highest offer, as two well-known farmers had offered higher rents. Papple was the first farm to be let by A J Balfour (1848-1930). There were risks involved in setting the rent too high and the factor, Charles Smith, advised Balfour to think the matter over. 'He at once said that he did not wish too high rents, but just fair rents, and that he was quite disposed to accept the offer that was nearest to what I thought the rent should be' (Smith, 1887: 535).

Richard Turnbull was born in Eyemouth on 30th December 1796, making him 74 when the lease was signed. The lease was for nineteen years, until Martinmas 1889, at a rent of £500 plus the value of 200 quarters of wheat at 2nd fiars at a minimum of 40s a quarter. The acreage was 385. Under the terms of the lease, the landlord would construct a new steading and two cottages as well as laying out £500 in improving the dwelling house and on fencing and drain tiles (GD433/1/21).

It is tempting to link A J Balfour's coming of age, and hence taking on full responsibility for the estate after his father died in 1856, with the decision to build the new steading. It was built between 1871 and 1874, designed and constructed by the architect and builder Francis Farquharson of Haddington with local tradesmen: John Gullan, carpenter; James Broomfield, mason; and John Rennie, slater. Farquharson was also responsible for the new cottages and considerable improvements to the farmhouse. Farquharson came to Haddington around 1833/34 to serve as clerk of works on the new County Buildings, and played the same role in the construction of Monkrigg House. He died at his home in Hilton Lodge in 1878, and his obituary in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* of 20th December quotes him as hating 'anything cheap and nasty'. His professional fees for the work on the steading,

farmhouse and cottages at Papple amounted to £2,738 16s 6d (around £189,000 today) (GD433/1/23). The carpentry alone for the steading and steward's house cost more than £1,000 (£69,000 today).

This large-scale and expensive project came late in the age of improvement. The high age of Victorian farming had peaked twenty years earlier. New farmhouses had been built, separate from the steading, and smaller farms combined to attract gentlemen farmers with the capital to invest in improvements. The 1851 census shows half the working population of Scotland were involved in farming and farming-related occupations. The numbers fell steadily thereafter.

The choice of Richard Turnbull was not a happy decision: 'the tenant shortly after died and was succeeded by one his sons, who, it was afterwards seen, had not the sufficient capital, and consequently was burdened by heavy interest' (Smith, 1887). Turnbull died in April 1870 and was succeeded by his younger son, also Richard. Disruption and delays in the steading construction were exacerbated by a series of bad seasons. These marked the start of a long decline in British agriculture, apart from a brief improvement due to the First World War, culminating in the slump of the 1930s. External factors were much to blame: cheap wheat from North America; cheap meat from Argentina due to refrigerated shipping; cheap wool from Australia.

A J Balfour gave generous rent reductions to all tenants for the bad seasons of 1872, 1877 and 1879. In addition, a reduction of £500 was allowed in 1873 for the Papple rent in consideration of damage caused by heavy carriages in connection with new access roads, and for want of proper accommodation for the tenants. It was not enough for Turnbull. He gave up the lease in 1879/80. In 1889 he emigrated to Australia where his brother was living. In 1903 he was farming at Nive Downs, Augathella in Queensland; he died the following year.

Was A J Balfour an agricultural improver? He spent a great deal in improving infrastructure on his estates. In a letter to *The North British Agriculturalist* of 1887, Charles Smith, factor since 1852, states that 'in my time there has been laid out in buildings and improvements on Mr Balfour's estates... upwards of £130,000' (around £9.5 million today). The same journal reports prizes for the Balfour estate for turnips in 1879, 1883 and 1889, for 'the best animal in the Shorthorn breed, the Whittingehame bull', as well as for a Leicester ram and greyfaced lambs in 1883, and for yearling ewes in 1892. These successes may however owe more to the tenants, and perhaps factor, than to the landlord.

Balfour's numerous biographies focus on his successful political career. There is no mention of agriculture. His involvement in politics began when he became MP for Hatfield in 1874 with the support of his uncle Robert, Lord Salisbury, the local landlord. His appointment as Minister for Ireland when Lord Salisbury was serving as Prime Minister may be the source of the expression 'Bob's your uncle'. There is very little evidence in Hansard of any contribution by Balfour to debates on agricultural matters, whereas Ireland and foreign affairs feature highly.

Balfour was not an improver in the sense of Cockburn or Rennie. There are no particular innovations associated with his name, but perhaps he was a landlord who encouraged rather than initiated improvement. He put his trust in experienced factors and was generous at difficult times, to his own detriment. He gave rent abatements of 20 to 25% in 1881 with a reduction of 15% in 1882, 1883 and 1884 and a promise of further reductions in 1885 to 1888 should circumstances not improve (Smith). In this he was a very different man from his grandfather.

Estate managers

From 1880 to 1916 Papple was managed by the estate. David Wilson, grieve, was in the farmhouse in 1885. Robert Patterson was farming Papple in the 1891 census. He was born in 1849 at Coldingham, the son of farmer John Paterson and his spouse Mary Learmouth. Patterson had previously farmed at Baro and moved on to Chesters in Garvald by 1893.

Adam Clark is recorded as manager in the Valuation Roll of 1895. Born on 9th January 1851 at Westruther, Berwickshire, he was the son of William Clark, tenant of Harelaw, and Helen Thomson. By the 1861 census the whole family had moved to Oldhamstocks farmhouse where his older brother James, a farmer, is listed as the head of the household. Clark's family remained at Oldhamstocks for the next 20 years. He was still farm manager in 1901, living in Papple farmhouse. He died a few weeks later on 5th May 1901, aged 49, and was buried in Whittingehame Kirkyard.

Andrew F Gilchrist is recorded as farm manager in the 1905 Valuation Roll. Alexander Ford was farm manager at Papple in 1911, having previously been farm steward at East Fortune farm. He was born on 26th April 1869 in the parish of Bunkle and Preston, son of shepherd Peter Ford and Elizabeth Whitson.

Frederick George Mercer is recorded as farm manager in the 1915 Valuation Roll. He was born on 27th September 1875 at Whittingehame, where his father George Mercer was farm steward for Whittingehame House Farm. By 1911 Frederick had succeeded his father as farm grieve. His only daughter

was born at Papple in 1914. During the First World War he served with the Royal Garrison Artillery. The 1921 census records Mercer as farm manager to the Duke of Grafton in Aberdeenshire.

The Whittingehame factor, Edwin Hedley Smith, was managing Papple in 1916. This may have been a contingency arrangement after Mercer's enlistment. His father, Charles Smith, had been factor at Whittingehame from 1852 to 1902. Edwin succeeded him in this role in 1902 and continued as factor until 1922. He had practical experience as a tenant farmer for 19 years. In 1921 Edwin was living at Redcliffe, the factor's house on the Whittingehame estate. He died in 1924 and was succeeded as factor by John Hunter.

James Crichton

A new tenant, James Crichton, took on the lease from Martinmas 1916 at a rent of £450 with a mutual break in 1923. James Crichton was born on 17th September 1861 in Court St, Haddington. His father was William Crichton, a cattle agent. In 1881, at the age of 19, he was still living with his parents at 16 Court Street as an agricultural student. By 1896, when his daughter was born, he was an auctioneer.

Crichton purchased the stock left by the outgoing manager. An inventory was made by arbiters, local farmers, of horses, sheep, implements, crops in the field or stacked, and dung, in order to determine the value (GD433/3/7/5). The sum of £1,742 7s was agreed. Comparison with the Walker inventory of 1830 does not show major differences. The implements, barrows and waggons would have been familiar to Robert Walker, although no doubt they were improved versions.

This was still a farm largely dependent on horse-power. There are numerous items of horse gear, such as swingle trees (in ploughing, 'a cross-bar pivoted at the middle, to which the traces are fastened, giving freedom of movement to the shoulders of the horse', SOED). There are two self-binders, some evidence of mechanisation. The tall chimney at the steading shows steam power would be used in threshing. The harvest would be stacked, as in Walker's time, with the grain intact to be threshed and milled later. There are iron and wooden stathels to keep the stacks off the ground. Crichton gave up the lease at the break point in 1923 and emigrated to Canada.

'The short and simple annals of the poor'

The Balfour Papers, purchased by the NRS in 2022, are a major source for the history of Papple up to the early 1930s. However, there is scarcely a mention of the many farm workers and their families who lived there. One exception comes from the meticulous accounts kept by David Lawson, who

managed Papple during the sequestration in 1830. Amongst the day labourers is Augustus Affleck, paid 9d per day for duties unspecified. Margaret Freel was paid 8 shillings for a month's work clearing the blood and dung from the fleshmarket. She also had an allowance of 1 shilling for a new besom for the purpose; she signed the receipt for her wages with a cross.

Census returns and valuation rolls list the names and occupations of those living at Papple. In 1851, in addition to the farmer's family, there were 47 residents including John McGowan, 27, an agricultural labourer from County Clare who 'slept in the byre'. Large families were common, an example being agricultural labourer Andrew Black, his wife Helen, and their eight children in 1861. There were three families of Dicksons in 1871, seventeen of them in total.; none appear in subsequent censuses. That same year the outworkers include three women from Durnish (Duirinish), Dunvegan: Mary McSpaoul, 30; Christiana Purves, 20; and Anne Bruce, 18. The farm steward's wife is also from Durnish, which would explain their presence.

A gravestone, number 97 in Whittingehame Kirkyard, records John Hardie, a joiner at Papple who died on 14th June 1854 at the age of 101, and his son Arthur. Arthur was living in the joiner's house at Papple in 1861.

There are occasional further references in Haddington Sheriff Court records. A paternity action of 1857 is brought by Elizabeth Sanderson, residing with her father John, hynd at Papple, against David Bartleman, rabbit-catcher. The child was then aged 3. Bartleman denied paternity but a letter was produced from him written in 1856 offering to pay £1 with a further £5 when he had his wages and advising her not to expect more. He was found due for seven years' of maintenance plus interest and lying-in expenses. Elizabeth could apply for further maintenance after seven years. The incriminating letter is included in the court records (SC40/20/222/20).

Sins of the flesh are often recorded in Kirk Session minutes too. The Whittingehame minutes for 30th April 1721 record that Margaret Steil admitted fornication with George Henderson in 'John Burn's byar in Pople at night after the milking of the kine' (CH2/372/3: 9). Henderson denied the charge. Action was postponed until a case against Steil at Morham was resolved. The outcome is not known, but usually in these cases the woman would lose her position.

Kinnairds

The Kinnairds have had a presence in East Lothian for over 150 years, celebrating their centenary at Papple in 2023. When John Kinnaird took

over the lease of Papple Farm from James Crichton in 1923, the wider Kinnaird family were already well-established on the Whittingehame estate as tenants of New Mains (near Stenton), Overfield, Garvald Mains, and Yarrow, as well as owning Garvald Grange.

The lease for the 370 acres of Papple was for 14 years from Martinmas 1923 at a rent of £550 (GD433/3/7/5). In 1935 John negotiated a ten year extension at a much reduced rent of £370, £1 per acre. He was now paying a third of Rober Walker's rent of almost a century earlier. How do we explain this? The depression of the 1930s marked one of the lowest points for British agriculture; both arable and livestock prices collapsed. Little could be spent on drainage, new equipment and farm buildings. The estate would simply be glad to have someone work the land at a nominal rent in order to prevent its deterioration.

Whittingehame estate was itself in some difficulty. A J Balfour died in 1930. He had lost a great deal of money from poor investments and had been living above his income. One biographer estimates Balfour and his brother lost £250,000 on plans to use peat as an industrial fuel (Young, 1963: 321). The 60,000 acre Strathconon estate purchased by his grandfather had been sold off. Balfour's heir faced high death duties and moved out of Whittingehame House in 1935. Papple also suffered: the 1935 Valuation Roll lists the grieve's house as 'uninhabitable'; the 1940 Roll has the farmhouse as 'uninhabitable' too.

John Kinnaird died in 1937. His wife, Andrina, took on the lease and farmed with her eldest son and with help from family in Garvald Mains. When she died in 1957, her son James Clapperton Kinnaird took on the lease. It was a difficult time, as the estate was managed by trustees who gave little encouragement for innovation. On James' death in 1989, John Kinnaird, the present owner, became tenant of Papple. Under the Tenancy Act of 1948, as heir the transition was smooth and he had a fully-secured tenancy at minimal cost.

The 4th Lord Balfour succeeded in breaking the trust, enabling his nephew Michael Brander to inherit Whittingehame Estate on his death in 2003. Three years later John Kinnaird, now farming in partnership with his son Andrew, relinquished the tenancy in agreement with Michael Brander and purchased the land of Papple farm where he built a new steading and two houses. In 2019 he added a further 200 acres, formerly part of Whittingehame Mains. His son is Director of KT Farming Ltd, contract farmers. John continues to play an active role.

The scientific and technical revolution

In the latter half of the twentieth century British agriculture underwent a scientific and technical revolution involving mechanisation, land use, improved varieties and breeds, and chemical use. This continues today at an accelerated pace. These national trends are reflected in changes at Papple.

Mechanisation

Amongst Walker's farm implements sequestered in 1830 was a threshing machine. This is probably the first sign of mechanisation to appear at Papple. East Lothian was well ahead of the rest of the country in the introduction of these machines. Rev J Ewan in his contribution to the Old Statistical Account of 1792 states that 'a threshing machine was lately invented and is now used by some of the great farmers in this neighbourhood' (OSA, II, 353). Andrew Meikle, mill-wright at Houston Mill, was the inventor.

Thomas Lauder Dick had an eye for agricultural improvements. On one of his walks in 1814/15, he noted at East Barns 'numerous threshing machines and the smoke of lime kilns were everywhere' (GD41/624). Walker's machine was sold by public roup at the George Inn, Haddington, where it fetched £26 5s on market day. The time and place of the sale were proclaimed by handbells (SC40/11/7/9/1).

The 6" OS map of 1853 (Haddingtonshire, Sheet 11) shows a semi-circular structure attached to the north-east wall of the steading at Papple. This would be a horse-gang, the next step in the mechanisation of threshing. As has been noted, the 1870s steading had a tall chimney stack, a sign that steam power was now used for threshing. Fenton points out that for a full stackyard, a travelling mill was often used (Fenton, 1999: 92). At Papple this was supplied by contractor Robert Wylie & Sons of Haddington.

The 1891 census has a steam engine plough driver and steam engine driver resident at Papple. It is possible these workers were housed at Papple but the traction engines kept at Whittingehame, where the steading was adapted for their use.

By the early twentieth century the steading was equipped with a static petrol/paraffin engine which could be used for milling. It was broken up for scrap in the late 1960s.

Tractors meant the end of the long era of working horses at Papple. Mrs Brown paid 13s 6d tax on six horses in 1797 (E326/10/9/9). Crichton had seven horses in 1916 compared to Walker's twelve in 1830. John Kinnaird

remembers his father ploughing with the last pair of draught horses, which went off in the mid-1950s.

John Kinnaird's father had the first tractors at Papple, a Fordson with spiked wheels, and a Massey Ferguson of 20 HP. By the 1960s Papple had four tractors: 35 HP; 45 HP; 50 HP; and 60HP. In addition, a two-furrow reversible plough, rotovator, and cultivators 4-6ft (1.5-2m) wide. There were three trailers of up to six-tonne capacity. Currently Papple has three tractors – 200 HP, 230 HP, and 250 HP – a five-furrow reversible plough, now much less used, cultivators 10-16.5ft (3-5m) wide, and three trailers of 10-16 tonne capacity. Walker's wagons may have carried one tonne.

The first combine in Scotland, a Clayton, came to Whittingehame Mains in 1932 (Fenton, 1999: 92). The first at Papple, in the early 1960s, was a Massey Harris with an 8ft cut. The current combine cuts 35ft (9.5m), capable of 100 acres per day. Although machinery is larger, engines are also more efficient and modern tyres spread the load better and produce less soil compaction than earlier models.

Mechanisation meant fewer workers, although the reduction had started much earlier. Turnbull in 1851 employed eight male and thirteen female farm servants. Crichton in 1921 had three ploughmen, one cattleman, and two farmworkers (one male and one female). These figures exclude members of the family and casual workers. In Lowland Scotland the number of regular female workers in particular fell steadily (Anthony, 1997: 64 et seq). Crichton had the help of Bertram Muirsmith, 23, a farm student who boarded with the family. This was one of the few ways to gain a farming education.

On Papple in the 1960s, with 365 acres, James Clapperton Kinnaird employed a grieve, two tractor men, a shepherd, and a cattleman. Tractor men replaced the ploughmen of earlier times. Farmer and grieve met weekly to discuss the following week, with the grieve organising the work. Today Papple, now 590 acres, plus 900 acres of contract farming (all arable), and with around 1,000 cattle finished each year, is worked by Andrew Kinnaird, his father John, one highly skilled man, and one further person at harvest.

A consequence of fewer workers was less call for accommodation. The bothy was last used by Irish seasonal workers employed for the potato lifting. The farm cottages were semi-ruinous by the 1960s.

Land use

On the basis of the judicial manager's accounts, Walker's principal crops by value in 1830 were: oats; wheat; barley; and beans. Swedes, white turnips and potatoes were also grown. Much of the oats would fuel the horses. The

principal crops by acreage grown in Papple in the 1960s were: pasture; spring barley; winter wheat; swedes; oats; potatoes. Today they are: winter wheat; winter barley; oil seed rape; spring barley; and spring oats. Much of the winter wheat and barley is grown for seed. In cultivation, soil is the first priority. The plough is used as little as possible; 'min-till' (minimum tillage) is the rule. Cover crops are sown with the aim of having no bare land over winter. Unlike earlier times, no root crops are grown, as autumn or winter harvesting causes soil compaction. Direct drilling, sowing the seed uniformly into the stubble of the previous crop without ploughing, is practised as this preserves soil structure. Computer-controlled drilling allows seed to be sown in the right place at the right rate to ensure more-even crops and efficient use of fertiliser.

Fertilisers and treatments

Prior to the Second World War animal manure and crop rotation were used to maintain soil fertility. Crichton paid £128 in 1916 for the dung heaps at Papple, priced at 50% their value. Fertiliser use soared after the War and yields rose accordingly. At Papple a yield of two tonnes per acre in the 1960s has become four tonnes in 2023. Herbicides, pesticides, and fungicides, not without controversy, keep weeds, insect damage and plant disease under control. New treatments mean better animal health.

Improved varieties and breeds

Plant breeding has produced better varieties but selecting one to suit local conditions and end use requires considerable judgement and some luck. Concerning livestock, in the 1960s around 300 breeding sheep were kept. Sixty cattle were overwintered then finished off on grass over the summer. Sheep are no longer kept at Papple although the Kinnairds had a reputation in breeding. A Border Leicester ram was sold for 600 guineas in 1919. The Scottish Chamber of Agriculture's annual tour in 1930 planned a stop at Papple 'to view some of Mr John Kinnaird's widely known Border Leicesters' (Dundee Courier, 12/06/1930: 10). A half-bred ewe and twin lambs entered in the commercial class at the Highland Show in 1999 was the first, and as yet only, commercial class overall winner.

What of the future? Leaving the European Union has created some uncertainty and in a rapidly changing world there are many challenges for farmers. But Papple is in good heart. Tenants have become owners. The farm cottages are now private homes. George Mackintosh purchased the steading in 2017 and later the farmhouse too. The griever's house and farmhouse have been restored to the highest standards, and A J Balfour's steading is being restored and repurposed. Its new uses may include a museum of agriculture; a fitting conclusion to this account.

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OLD LOCHEND HOUSE: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

By Arran Johnston and James Lewis



Figure 1. The east-face of the standing remains within Lochend Woods, Dunbar.

Introduction

In March 2020, the authors undertook a small research and archaeological investigation into the fragmentary remains of Old Lochend House, sited in woodland beside Kellie Road in Dunbar, East Lothian. The investigation formed part of the Dunbar 1650 Project, an ongoing initiative by the Scottish Battlefields Trust aimed at understanding and interpreting the landscape of the second Battle of Dunbar and the area's experience of the British Civil Wars (1639-52). The main objective of the investigation was to confirm that the surviving ruin was from the seventeenth century (or earlier) property and not its nineteenth century successor, and to consider the potential for further archaeological work at the site. The project involved desk-based analysis, a resistivity survey conducted by volunteers from the Edinburgh Archaeological Field School led by Neil Simpson and Ian Hawkins, and the excavation of a small test pit. The work was undertaken with the consent of the landowner, the Dunbar Community Development Company, the county archaeologist Andrew Robertson, and the Dunbar Community Woodland Group (DCWG).

The Standing Remains

Today the surviving fragment of Old Lochend House stands within an area of around 80 acres of woodland, in the belt of land between the East Coast Main Line railway to the north and the A1 dual carriageway to the south. Bisected by roads and pathways, the woods are surrounded by late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century housing developments, as well as the Hallhill sports complex and Dunbar Primary School's Lochend campus. The woodland is managed by DCWG and serves as a valuable natural haven in the heart of an expanding residential neighbourhood.



Figure 2. The two-storey octagonal bay, viewed from the interior (west).

The standing remains of a former dwelling can be seen amongst the trees on the north side of Kellie Road to the east of Baillie Court (NGR NT 367760 677967). Although partially obscured by the growth of foliage around and within the ruins, the remains of the structure are clearly discernible (Fig. 1). They take the form of a U-shape, with its base formed of an east-facing window bay of semi-octagonal shape extending west from this are two banks of rubble. This bay, the most prominent part of the structure, retains two storeys of height (Fig. 2). Stonework surrounding the window apertures shows decorative mouldings of different styles on the upper and lower levels. Another wall extends northwards from this bay. There are further

fragments of carved stone amongst the debris on the ground around these structures. There are three large wooden beams visible above the upper window, and several small fragments of what appears to be internal plaster. Immediately east of the window bay is a trough of lower ground and then a higher bank. There are also low banks to the south and west, where the woodland borders roads and which were presumably raised during or after their construction.

Although the investigation was focused on this area of the standing remains, there are other structures and features within Lochend Woods which have the potential to inform our understanding development of the former estate. To the north of the ruin, a group of modern houses sit within the enclosure of a former walled garden. Long stretches of stone walls appear to constrain or influence the layout of roads and footpaths around the Lochend area, including an obvious entrance onto a carriage-drive on the south side. Within Lochend Woods and its immediate environs there are a number of historical structures, including gate lodges, an estate farm and workers' cottages, as well as a ruinous wash-house or laundry to the south-west of the standing remains of the house. Collectively these structures place the standing ruins at the centre of a substantial estate. The obvious feature which is absent, is the great house itself.

The Site History

The early history of Lochend remains unknown. The lands of Lochend appear to have been given to one John Boig by King James V, and Queen Mary granted rent from the estate to the Earl of Bothwell. A 1606 parliamentary ratification of George Home's elevation as Earl of Dunbar makes reference to the lands and meadows of Lochend, although there is no mention of a specific dwelling there (RPS 1605/6/49). Lochend was then purchased in 1614 by Sir James Baillie, a privy councillor and receiver for King James VI & I, and Baillie probably built or upgraded a property here as his seat. A 1924 report on the visible ruin reported that an heraldic panel could be seen carved with the Baillie arms of a shield with nine stars, the motto *Sedes Dent Fata Quietas* (May the Fates grant a quiet seat), and the initials I B (RCAHMS, 1924). Although the report attributes this to the James Baillie who inherited the estate in 1640, it seems far more likely that it was installed by his grandfather of the same name at the time of his acquisition or construction of the house. As well as Lochend itself, the Baillies' barony included lands stretching from West Barns to Wester Broomhouse, making them one of the area's most important landowners.

As to the appearance of Sir James Baillie's quiet seat, the evidence is sadly lacking. The family was apparently on its way up, and it seems likely that

their home reflected this status. When Sir James' son Gideon was killed in a terrible accident, the renowned plasterer John White was amongst those in his presence. White had recently worked on Winton Castle (near Pencaitland) and The Hirsell (Coldstream), and even if there is no direct evidence to connect him to Lochend they were clearly in the same circle so it is at least possible to suggest the family had access to architects and craftsmen of White's calibre. In 1639, the Baillie's home was considered to be of sufficient quality to house senior dignitaries.



Figure 3. Blaeu's Atlas, published in 1654, shows the house in relation to the great loch. (National Library of Scotland).

The setting of the house might have been influenced by its relationship with the Great Loch of Dunbar, of which there is now no meaningful trace. Certainly, the Baillie seat – or, just possibly, a predecessor – coexisted with the loch, as they are both shown on the earliest maps of the area. The house is indicated as being towards the south-eastern end of the oval or slightly-kidney-shaped loch (Fig. 3). A 1961 Soil Survey of Scotland shows a large kidney-shaped pocket of alluvium reaching as far north as the railway line, giving us our best indication as to the extent of the great loch (1966: sheets 33, 34 & Part 41). It remains, however, difficult to assess to what extent the loch might have influenced the alignment and setting of Lochend House itself. It is unclear exactly when the loch is drained, but it does not appear in Fisher's plan of the Battle of Dunbar and it has clearly gone by the time of Adair's 1682 map, which shows Lochend House within a walled park adjacent to a large area enclosed by dotted lines. This probably indicates the

reclamation of this ground following its drainage, perhaps not quite completed by the time of the survey.

The Adair map clearly shows the main entrance to the estate grounds to be on their eastern side. This is corroborated in much greater detail in Roy's military survey of the mid-18th century (Fig. 4), which gives the first detailed plan of the estate. The house is shown at the western terminus of an approach avenue, within square estate bounded by tree-lined walls. The area within is divided into what appears to be a mix of parkland, farmland and small woods, with two garden plots immediately to the west of the house itself. A lesser avenue runs northwards from the house's northern end, and outside the south-west corner of the estate is a property named Parkend. The road up the estate's eastern side leads from the main highway from the south into Dunbar in the north, corresponding to today's Spott Road. Although far more detailed, Roy's map correlates closely enough to Adair's more indicative plan to give us some confidence that the late-17th and mid-18th century layouts of the estate were approximately the same even if the appearance of the house may have been altered after it left possession of the Baillies. In terms of appearance, all the maps can do is indicate a north-south alignment, with the main access from the east.



Figure 4. Lochend's mid-18th century layout as it appears on Roy's Military Survey of Scotland: a square estate accessed along a drive from the east. (National Library of Scotland).

Sir James Baillie died in 1636 and the barony passed to his son Gideon. Three years later, civil war broke out in Scotland after the signing of the National Covenant in response to the religious policies of King Charles I. The stakes were raised when the king led an army to the Scottish border to reassert his authority; the Covenanters raised substantial and well-motivated forces to oppose him. The king had a two-pronged strategy which involved both a land invasion in the south-east and a seaborne attack up the Firth of Forth. East Lothian was exposed to both these thrusts, and as the Covenanters weighed which was the greater threat they concentrated a field army around Dunbar. Alexander Leslie, future Earl of Leven and a highly regarded veteran of the Thirty Years War, was given command of the Covenanter forces.

On 28th May 1639, Leslie wrote to the Covenanter government urging men to rise in arms: 'let none stay at home when strangers are hyred for three shillings a week to make us all slaves,' he wrote (Johnston, 1896: 44-5). Leslie's note, which was to be sent out to all the counties of Scotland, was written at Lochend House. For a short time therefore, the Baillie's hosted the great general at their home, which became the military headquarters of the Covenanters until the army began to move towards the border to confront the king. The estate and the surrounding landscape would have been filled with mustering and training soldiers, and the house itself will have bustled with messengers, clerks, and high-ranking visitors. During his stay, Leslie attended Dunbar parish church.

General Leslie's strategy in 1639 was to keep the worst of the campaigning out of Scotland. He took his army to Duns in a show of strength which successfully deterred the king from crossing the Tweed. The conflict thus ended in a stalemate, only to resume the following year. Leslie then led a pre-emptive strike into Northumberland and took Newcastle. Not until much later in the war would East Lothian experience the real horrors of the war, when Oliver Cromwell made Dunbar the supply base for his invading army in 1650 before winning a devastating victory outside the town on 3 September. But by then, the Baillie's fortunes at Lochend were already in steep decline. On 30th August 1640, the gunpowder magazine at Dunglass Castle had exploded, either by accident or sabotage. The blast destroyed much of the castle, and amongst the casualties were the Earl of Haddington, master plasterer John Wright, and the 25-year-old Sir Gideon Baillie. Lochend passed to his son James, just four at the time, in whose name an

application was made for his father to be treated as a casualty of war (RCP A1641/7/33).

Sadly, the young Sir James Baillie never reached maturity. He died in his early teens, making it highly unlikely that he could have been responsible for mounting the Baillie armorial panel at Lochend as the RCAHMS record of 1924 supposed. The estate passed to his sisters. Margaret Baillie married Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, a royalist who continued to fight the cause long into the 1650s and was also reprimanded by Cromwell over a dispute with the burgh council of Dunbar. The family's link with Lochend was finally extinguished when Margaret approved its sale to Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus.

Sir Robert's son, Sir John Sinclair, may have remodelled Lochend House in the years after his inheritance. An impressive new archway of Palladian style was erected, with doric columns at its flanks and the date 1684 carved into the pediment. It is possible that this was part of a wider recasting of the house to reflect the changing tastes between the reigns of kings James VI and James VII. The Hearth Tax record gives us a rare indication of the house's size: 'the mannour (sic) place of Lochend' is listed for nineteen hearths, more than the fourteen at nearby Belton but fewer than the thirty at Broxmouth (E69/9/1/27). The Sinclairs do not seem to have enjoyed their property for long as it was sold in 1708 to Sir George Warrender. As yet there is nothing to suggest that the Warrenders re-worked the property at this stage, which may indicate that its comforts were considered sufficient for the new century. By the nineteenth century, however, that had changed.

In 1826 another Sir George Warrender completely renovated the estate and constructed an entirely new house at its heart. The landscape was reoriented, with the main carriage drive entering from the south, before arcing around the site of the old Baillie house, passing a new walled garden and reaching the grand new house which lay on an east-west axis. This new Lochend House, designed by William Burn, was built in a Jacobean style which may have permitted the reuse of some of the original house's more decorative architectural features. The cartographic evidence is clear however: the new house was not a remodelling of the old one, as it sat on a different axis and in a different location.

The wooded areas of the estate were considerably expanded, creating a naturalistic landscape of woods and parks. One of the few strictly linear features was a woodland belt which followed the line of the original approach avenue from the east (Fig. 5). The Ordnance Survey of 1853 shows a roughly d-shaped structure labelled as 'ruin' amongst the woodland west of the new house. This is all that remained of what must now be

referred to as Old Lochend House. An estate plan of 1832, drawn before the OS map, shows no standing remains at this location, however. Perhaps that plan reflected an intention to clear the entire building away, which was only partially carried through.



Figure 5. Lochend as it appears on the 1853 OS map, showing the New Lochend House standing east-west, with the remnant of the old house marked as 'Ruin' (centre). The shape and location of the ruin correspond with the remains visible today. (National Library of Scotland).

On 10th March 1859, New Lochend House suffered a devastating fire which left only the eastern end standing. The Warrenders chose not to rebuild their ill-fated home, although the surviving portion of it remained standing for another five decades before it was demolished. Ordnance Survey maps show this story in stages, during which the fragment of Old Lochend House becomes incorporated into a boundary around the Warrender ruin on the 1893 edition. By 1963, with the new house completely gone, the ruin is helpfully labelled as 'Old Lochend House (remains of)'. The Warrenders had sold the land in 1947, and fifty years later work began on housing developments at Lochend. The woodland, much of which had been replanted post-war, was largely retained. So too were many of the houses, cottages, and boundary walls relating to the Warrenders' re-landscaping.

Previous Archaeology at Lochend

Several archaeological investigations and recorded finds have occurred within the area of Lochend Wood. To the southwest of the ruin site,

archaeological work in the area of a new housing development revealed a square enclosure, two pits, and a concentration of features of medieval date (Mitchell & Anderson, 2011). Further work on the enclosure revealed fourteen features including linear, pits and postholes and associated pottery dated to the medieval period (Kleman & Alsop, 2014). In 1773 a hoard of 290 silver coins dating to the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) was found to the west of the manor (Lindsey, 1845). Nearby, the remains of two prehistoric pots have been located, fragments of a type E beaker (Clarke, 1970) and a tripartite food vessel (PSAS, 1952-52). At Hallhill Farm, west of the ruin, an archaeological evaluation uncovered a long cist cemetery and associated enclosure (Savory, 2014). In the early 1960s, to the southeast of the site, a stone cist was found containing 21 individuals dating from the 1st century AD (Brothwell & Powers, 1967). This date was however based on the dating of one brooch (Dennison et al, 2006: 11). Collectively, these archaeological investigations within the area of Lochend Wood demonstrate that there has been activity in the area of the estate from the Iron Age, Medieval and Post-Medieval periods.

Old Lochend House Test Pit



Figure 6. East Facing section of test pit, showing the underlying stratigraphy.

In March 2020 a single test pit was excavated by Jamie Lewis to the west of the standing remains, to examine the archaeological potential of the area ahead of a planned resistivity survey and to inform any further archaeological

investigations on this site. A single 1m x 1m test pit was excavated to a depth of 0.47m where the underlying natural geology was encountered (Fig. 6). This was located to the west of the bay window and therefore possibly within the structure of the building.

Four layers were recorded: the top layer was black loam clay, 0.11m thick, and this overlay a brown sandy clay, 0.10m. Layer three was a dark brown sandy clay with occasional small angular stone inclusions, 0.08m thick. Four was a mid-brown sandy clay with significant small angular stone inclusions, 0.17m. At the base of the test pit was a compact stony layer and this was the underlying natural geology of red sandstone and marl (GS 1860). No datable finds were found in the test pit.

Resistivity survey

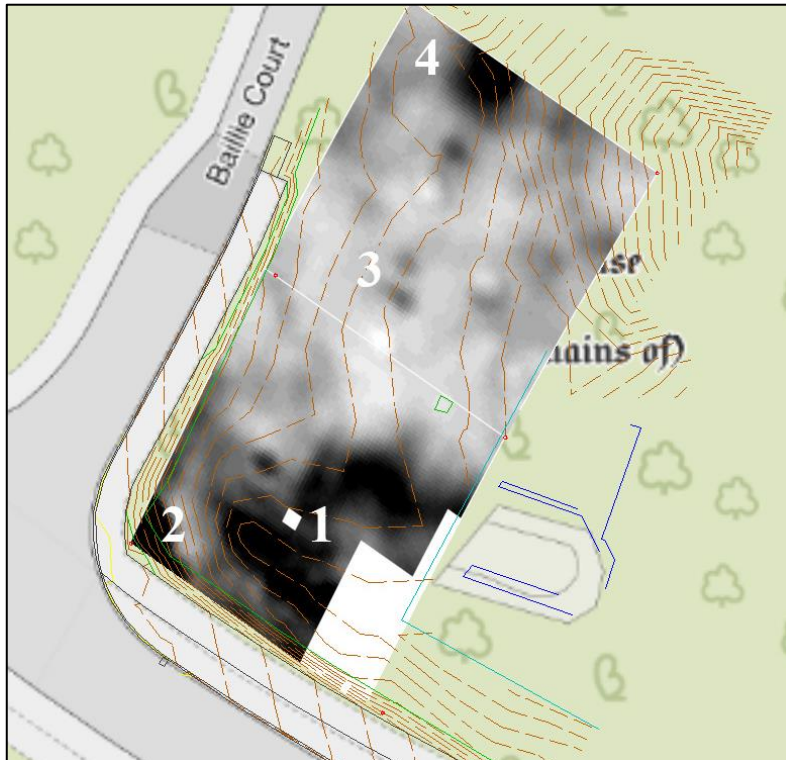


Figure 7. Resistivity results shown in relation to the standing remains (mapped in blue). The small green square near the centre marks the test pit location.

Subsequently, a resistivity survey was undertaken by volunteers from the Edinburgh Archaeological Field School led by Neil Simpson and Ian Hawkins (Hawkins, 2020). Two 20m x 20m grids were surveyed to the west and north-west of the standing remains, including the area where the test pit is and presumed to be within the interior area of the building. The survey revealed several areas of high resistance (Fig. 7). Anomaly 1 extends west before curving back east and adjoining the south side of the upstanding gable. This U-shaped anomaly is probably the remains of collapsed masonry which might cover the remains of an upstanding wall. Anomaly 2 is in the southwest corner of the survey area and extends beyond the survey boundary, and this area of high resistance could either be associated with the Old Lochend House or with construction of the adjacent road. Anomaly 3 comprises of three aligned small areas of high resistance. Anomaly 4 extends off the northern edge of the survey, and as its cause is uncertain this could be another potential area of interest.

Future Potential

The resistivity survey identified several areas of potential for future investigation. Anomaly 1 is very likely to be related to the present-day upstanding remains. This probably represents collapse, and may cover remains of surviving walls or other structural features. Anomalies 2, 3 and 4 may be related to the Old Lochend House and may also cover surviving construction. Alternately, they might represent later activity; 2 might be related to the modern road, or earlier undocumented activity. The test pit demonstrated the depth of the soil above the natural underlying geology, which is useful in planning possible future excavations in relation to timing and the underlying stratigraphy of the area. The next step should be a small-scale excavation to investigate the anomalies and confirm their possible relationship to the standing remains.

The resistivity survey demonstrated the potential of the site for this method of survey, despite the challenges of the woodland setting. The survey area should therefore be extended to the east to investigate possible sub-surface anomalies in this area.

A proper visual record of the standing remains is clearly advisable, and a survey of the loose material, which includes visible pieces of carved stonework, would be a valuable addendum to this. An architectural specialist was informally consulted during this preliminary investigation, but a written architectural evaluation of the standing remains would now be of clear benefit.

Confirming the ruin's identity

It is quite clear from the cartographic evidence that the standing ruin relates to the Baillie-Sinclair property of the seventeenth century, not the Warrender house of the nineteenth century. The appearance of the ruin also argues for a seventeenth century date, for although the style of the later house deliberately echoed earlier styles, the surviving upper window shows fittings for iron yetts rather than the sashes to be expected from a later structure. Desk-based research has not, however, provided detailed understanding of the size or appearance of the house, which further examination of the remains and their environs might yet remedy.



Figure 8. Volunteers from the Edinburgh Archaeological Field School undertaking the resistivity survey, with the standing remains beyond.

Why this small fragment of the older property was retained by the Warrenders is unclear, although it seems plausible that it was kept as a curiosity in the wooded gardens of the new house. The appeal of the folly would have been considerably enhanced by the quality of the Palladian archway of 1684, which remained in-situ at the northern terminus of the wall which connects to the surviving window bay. This is confirmed by the RCAHMS report of 1924 as well as photographic evidence, showing that the arch was preserved by the Warrenders but neither incorporated into the new house nor kept in use as a gateway (it was bypassed by the main drive to the house). Controversially, this arch was removed in 1992, sold, and

rebuilt at Leithen Lodge, Innerleithen, which was undergoing a major renovation at that time. The sundial head and the Baillie armorial panel, both apparently still visible in 1962 when RCAHMS inspectors confirmed there was no change since 1924, have also been lost.

The loss of the Sinclair's archway and the Baillies' armorial panel removed any obvious physical identification of the remains with the seventeenth century house. The survival of cottages, walls, and the laundry building associated with the Warrender period, and lingering community memories of the remains of the new house standing into the twentieth century, have since contributed to a common confusion of the two Lochend mansions. The result is that the surviving remains are sometimes attributed to the later house, and they attract little interest from the hundreds of school children, residents and commuters who pass them each day. In 2013, Historic Scotland removed the listed status which protected the standing ruins on the basis that, shorn of the Palladian archway, the remains were 'too fragmentary and ruinous to merit listing as a building of special architectural or historic interest' (*East Lothian Courier*, 04/02/2013). There was talk then of potential demolition, to avoid the risks and liabilities of retaining what remained. If properly understood, however, the case for the ruin's historic interest remains strong.

Conclusion

The impetus for this investigation came from the Scottish Battlefields Trust's interest in Old Lochend House's connection to the events of the British Civil Wars. Alexander Leslie's presence there in 1639 provides a counterpoint to the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, which allows Dunbar to connect to both ends of that seismic series of conflicts. The Baillies provide an affecting illustration of the destructive social impacts of that conflict, giving additional interest to what remains of their property. The investigation has raised important wider questions about the landscape of seventeenth century Dunbar, not least regarding when and how the great loch was drained, and the earlier history of the Lochend area.

Whilst most of the visible historic features of Lochend Woods, including the woodland itself, owe most to the Warrender period of the estate's history, not a trace of that family's great mansion survives. Today, Kellie Road runs straight over the top of where it once stood. A portion of Old Lochend House does survive however, and the first small steps have now been taken to explore the archaeological potential of its site. What remains above ground could be a surviving portion of the original early seventeenth century Baillie manor, or a later seventeenth century remodelling by the Sinclairs, or it might reveal evidence of both. Given the potential for further

deterioration of the ruins, it is hoped this investigation will continue to provide information on the date and layout of Old Lochend House.

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CELEBRATING THE FOURTH STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF EAST LOTHIAN

By David Dutton



Figure 1. Sir John Sinclair, 1st Bt, after Sir Henry Raeburn. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Introduction

In 1997 the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society brought together eleven local history societies to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, the fiftieth anniversary of the *Third Statistical Account of East Lothian*, and the coming of a new millennium. The group formed the East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account Society and, with the support of the East Lothian Library Service, set about recording developments in the county between 1945 and 2000. The group received financial assistance from the National Lottery Fund, who awarded it a grant of £30,000 which enabled the Society to employ Sonia Baker to edit the project. In 2010 the *Fourth Statistical Account* was awarded the Alan Ball Local History Award which was administered by the

Library Service Trust. In the foreword, Rosalind Mitchison, Emeritus Professor of Social History at the University of Edinburgh, wrote that ‘historians and general readers in the future will be grateful to the contributors.’

This article will celebrate the centenary of East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society by tracing the origins of the *Fourth Statistical Account*; showing that, whilst it built on the work of its predecessors, it had its own distinctive characteristics; and describing how it recorded developments in the county during the second half of the twentieth century. For convenience, the article references the digital version of the *Fourth Statistical Account* (available online at EL4.org.uk), which is both more accessible and more comprehensive than the original printed version published between 2005 and 2009. The relevant chapter headings are provided in brackets.

Origins of the Fourth Statistical Account

In 1790 Sir John Sinclair (Fig. 1) set about recording the geography, history, economy, people, and customs of Scotland. It was the time of the Enlightenment, in which philosophers adopted an empirical approach to determining the truth. In 1774 Adam Smith had published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. As a Commissioner to the General Assembly, Sir John believed that Church of Scotland ministers had a unique knowledge of their parishes, and as a Member of Parliament he was able to send a questionnaire to over 900 ministers inviting them to summarise their findings in an article on their parish. The quality of these offerings varied: while the entry on Whittinghame was fifteen pages long and covered sixteen topics, the one on the adjoining parish of Stenton was only two pages and covered only four topics (OSA, Volume II). In 1791, Sir John published the first volume of his *Statistical Account of Scotland* (now known as the Old Statistical Account, or OSA), which covered fifty parishes in different parts of Scotland. William Nesbit, writing in the *Medical Observer*, praised its empiricism and use of parish ministers (Nesbit, 1808).

To encourage ministers to complete his questionnaire, Sir John Sinclair promised he would donate any profits from the sale of his *Statistical Account* to the Society for the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy and there was controversy when its publisher, William Creech, revealed that the enterprise had incurred a loss. Nevertheless, in 1831 William Jardine, president of the Society for the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, persuaded the Society that there had been sufficient changes in Scottish society since the publication of the *Statistical Account* to justify a new survey. The

Society appointed a civil servant, John Gordon, to edit the work. Like Sir John Sinclair, Gordon prepared a questionnaire for ministers to complete, and, like Sir John, he encountered widespread resistance. Many ministers recalled the time and effort they had had to spend on the previous survey, and it took a deliverance from the General Assembly to get them to comply.

Many of the ministers who contributed to the *New Statistical Account* ‘came out’ of the Church of Scotland at the Disruption of 1843, and thereafter there was neither the interest nor the resources within the church to embark on a further survey. It was not until 1947 that the Register General for Scotland, J G Kyd, outlined plans for a third statistical account (*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1947). The organisers received financial assistance from the Nuffield Foundation, who provided a grant of £8,000. Although, the *Third Statistical Account* continued the practice of employing ministers to write articles about their locality, the contributors were not exclusively clerical. In East Lothian, seven of the twenty-four articles were written by laymen (Snodgrass, 1953). However, the use of ministers had unintended consequences. Some allowed their preconceptions to intrude into their work. In his article on Haddington, the Reverend Robin Mitchell, minister at Haddington West Parish Church, observed that in the town ‘a certain amount of “class hatred”...still exists, especially in the ranks of the Labour Party’.

Difficulties with finance meant that there was a delay of over a decade between the publication of the volume on Edinburgh in 1966 and the volume on Angus in 1977; and the final volume, on the County of Roxburgh, was not published until 1992. Although the *Third Statistical Account* was more comprehensive than its predecessors, and covered industry, transport, culture, and demographics, the fact that it took over four decades to produce meant that it did not achieve the status of the earlier works.

Characteristics of Fourth Statistical Account

The organisers of the *Third Statistical Account* had introduced two new developments which the organisers of the *Fourth Statistical Account* adopted. In the first place, instead of following the example of the *New Statistical Account* and arranging parishes by presbyteries, each volume was based on a local authority. However, in 1975 local government in Scotland had been reorganised. One change involved moving the former royal burgh of Musselburgh and its hinterland out of Midlothian and placing it into East Lothian (County, Politics, Local Government). As a result, the parishes of Inveresk and Inveresk: Musselburgh, which had not been included in the

Third Statistical Account of East Lothian, were included in the *Fourth Statistical Account*.

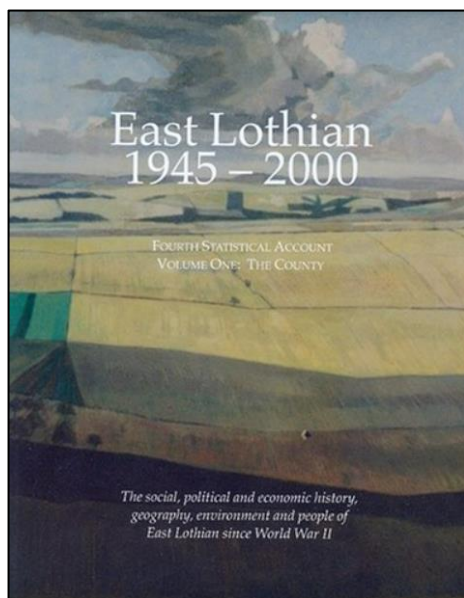


Figure 2. Cover design for the volume one of the Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian.

Secondly, the first part of the *Third Statistical Account* consisted of a series of articles on the whole county. The *Fourth Statistical Account* followed this practice and included articles on a wide range of topics, including ‘People and Population’, ‘Belief in the County’, ‘Homes’, ‘Economy’ ‘Transport’ and ‘Government and Politics’. As well as being valuable in themselves, these articles provide a useful starting point in tracing changes in the economic, political, and social life of the county in the second half of the twentieth century.

While the members of the Fourth Statistical Account Society believed that local people were best placed to collect information about their communities, the Society did not use ministers to collate information about their parishes. Instead it recruited twenty-seven Parish Representatives, who in turn commissioned others to write short papers on a range of topics. The shift away from using ministers reflected both the ethos of the Society, which was rooted in the work of local history societies, and the decline of the national church in the county. In 1997 the Church of Scotland no longer enjoyed the dominance it had enjoyed even half a century earlier, and due to the formation of linkages, seven parishes no longer had a resident minister (Church of Scotland: Charges and Congregations).

The impact of this change was to increase greatly the number of people involved in the survey. Whereas the article on Haddington in the *Third Statistical Account* had been written by one person, thirty-three people contributed to the article in the *Fourth Statistical Account* (Haddington: Miscellany) and others shared their reminiscences. This combination of factual reporting and individual insights gave the *Fourth Statistical Account* an immediacy which its predecessors lacked. Alice Nisbet contributed a particularly poignant piece in which she described moving from a cottage in Longformacus in the Lammermuir Hills, which had no gas or electricity, to a new council house in Herdmanflat, north of Haddington town centre, where she enjoyed the luxury of a Hoover, a washing machine, and a radiogram (Haddington: Homes).

How the *Fourth Statistical Account* recorded developments in East Lothian

Ian Brown says that in 1945 there was considerable optimism in East Lothian due to the ending of the Second World War, the election of a Labour government, the prospect of a National Health Service, and the promise that the coal industry would be nationalised (County in 1945). While some of this optimism was dissipated as key industries went into decline, East Lothian was spared the worst effects of the de-industrialisation that affected other parts of Scotland in the 1980s (Philips et al, 2021) and was relatively successful in adapting to change.

Developments in the Economy

As the economy played a formative role in most aspects of life in East Lothian between 1945 and 2000, it is helpful to begin by looking at how it developed in this period.

Between 1945 and 2000 agriculture remained the county's principal industry, with intensive arable farming, including vegetable production, along the coastal plain, and less intensive mixed farming on the higher inland areas to the south (Arable and Mixed Farming). However, the post-war period saw significant changes to food production, including increased mechanisation, the amalgamation of farms into larger units, and a steady decline in the workforce. While the United Kingdom's entry into the European Economic Community and the development of the Common Agricultural Policy created stability, by the 1990s the price of grain had fallen in real terms and farmers used the EU's Set Aside Scheme to diversify.

When the coal mining industry was nationalised in 1947, the National Coal Board assumed mining in East Lothian had a long-term future. It upgraded existing mines and opened two new ones at Bellyford and Meadowmill. However, during the 1950s demand for coal decreased as industries, including British Railways, shifted from coal to other fuels. By 1964 all the mines in the county had closed (Recent Mining Industry). While the worst effects of these closures were mitigated by transferring miners to pits in Midlothian, the old mining communities, with their distinctive ways of life, became dormitory villages. Although a vast open cast mine was opened at Blindwells, north of Tranent, to supply coal to Cockenzie Power Station, by 2000 that too had closed.

East Lothian's position on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth led to the development of fishing ports at Fisherrow, Cockenzie, Port Seton, North Berwick, and Dunbar. The closure of the sea fishery during the Second World War increased stocks and there was a boom in sea fishing in the post-war period. As late as the 1970s there were fifty boats operating out of Cockenzie and Port Seton, employing 240 men (Cockenzie and Port Seton: Fishing). In the same period prawns, which had been discarded previously, became popular and several firms were founded in Dunbar to process prawns along with crabs and winkles (Dunbar: Fishing). However by the 1990s, stocks of most species had been depleted and the government introduced measures to reduce the fishing fleet by a third. In 2000 there were only ten boats, employing around forty men, operating out of Cockenzie and Port Seton (Cockenzie and Port Seton: Fishing).

While tourism had a long history in East Lothian, with resorts at Port Seton, North Berwick, and Dunbar each having an open-air swimming pool, its nature changed between 1945 and 2000. In the immediate post-war period, an increase in disposable incomes, more free time and mandatory paid holidays led to a boom that lasted until the 1960s (Tourism). However, as people became more mobile, East Lothian had to compete with other resorts both in the British Isles and on the continent. The industry was far from united in responding to these challenges. There were conflicting interests both within the sector and between the sector and local communities. Hoteliers regarded caravan sites as lowering the tone of the area, and the middle-class inhabitants of North Berwick opposed the opening of amusement arcades. Seton Sands Holiday Camp exemplified the growth of a new kind of tourism. It had begun life in the 1920s as a collection of tents, caravans, and huts. In the 1960s, at the insistence of the local authority, the huts were replaced with static caravans and in 1974 the site was purchased

by Bourne Leisure, who built new shops, a bar, an indoor heated swimming pool, and an entertainment centre (Cockenzie and Port Seton: Tourism)

Brunton's Wire Works in Musselburgh exemplifies the fortunes of many firms in East Lothian during the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1950s the firm benefits from the construction of suspension bridges, including the Forth Road Bridge, and by the 1960s it had over 1,000 employees (Inveresk Musselburgh: Economy). However, Brunton's went into decline during the recession of the 1980s and eventually closed in 1997. The decline in firms like Brunton's, which had been vital to the East Lothian economy, led the County Council to build industrial estates in the hope of attracting modern light industries. In 1980 Mitsubishi Electronic opened a factory on the outskirts of Haddington producing television sets. While it prospered for two decades, Mitsubishi transferred production to Turkey and Mexico with a loss of 500 jobs in 1999 (Haddington: Economy).

Arts

In the post-war period the main musical activity in East Lothian was singing in choirs, many of whom were supported by the Co-operative movement. There were also four well-established pipe bands and three brass bands associated with the mining industry. Dalkeith and Monktonhall Silver Band completed in the first division of the brass band championship (The Arts). Although there were several festivals featuring amateur choirs and musicians, it was only with the restoration of St Mary's, Haddington in 1973 that East Lothian had a venue large enough to host major concerts.

East Lothian's long tradition of painting received support from the Edinburgh School of Art where two local artists, James Fairgrieve and John Bellany, were trained. Although East Lothian did not yet have a county art gallery there were private galleries in Dirleton, Haddington and North Berwick, and the Lamp of the Lothian Collegiate Trust staged exhibitions.

Belief

Belief is the most comprehensive category covered by the *Fourth Statistical Account*. As well as essays on the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic community and the Scottish Episcopal Church (Belief), there are also entries under each of the parishes. Together they reveal that the Church of Scotland contracted, with some parishes being united and others linked (Church of Scotland); that there was a significant fall in the membership of each of the three Methodist congregations (Methodist); that the Scottish Episcopal Church also contracted, until it had six congregations (Scottish Episcopal); that while the Roman Catholic Church was more stable, the age of its priests and congregations gradually

increased (Roman Catholic Community); other churches showed a more mixed trajectory. While the Churches of Christ in Haddington and Tranent peaked in the 1960s and then went into decline (Haddington: Belief), and while there was a fall in the membership of the three Brethren congregations in Cockenzie and Port Seton (Cockenzie and Port Seton: Belief), the Baptist Church and independent 'houses church' gradually increased their presence (Inveresk Musselburgh: Belief). However, the *Fourth Statistical Account* does not offer any evidence of a shift away from traditional denominations towards newer expressions of Christianity.

Crime and Policing

Although the nature of crime changed between 1945 and 2000 as the population became more prosperous and the use of credit cards and digital banking made it easier to commit fraud, there is no evidence that East Lothian became less law abiding (Crime). The one area of concern was the increase in the consumption of illegal drugs which began in the 1980s. However, there were significant changes in policing, which saw the demise of the village police house and the concentration of resources into larger, urban based units. In 1950 the separate county police forces of East Lothian, Midlothian, Peebles and West Lothian were amalgamated to form the Lothian and Peebles Constabulary; and in 1975, as part of regionalisation, this was amalgamated with the Berwick, Roxburgh and Selkirk Constabulary and the City of Edinburgh Police to form the new Lothian and Borders Police. This was part of a more general trend that saw decisions being made at a greater distance from local communities.

Education

In the post-war period, as elsewhere in Scotland, East Lothian had a two-tier system of secondary education (Education). Senior Secondary Schools provided academic courses geared towards the Higher Leaving Certificate and Junior Secondary Schools more practical ones geared towards obtaining a recognised skill. While many Junior Secondaries were housed in former public schools and had both primary and secondary departments, most Senior Secondaries were separate institutions. This system was seen as being both educationally and socially divisive, and from 1966 a comprehensive system was gradually introduced into the county's six secondary schools. To a degree, the pace was set by the primary schools, which from 1965 offered a 'child centred education'. Private education was provided at Belhaven Hill School in Dunbar (Dunbar: Education), Compass School in Haddington (Haddington: Education), Loretto School in Musselburgh (Musselburgh: Education), and, until 1973, at the Benedictine priory and school at Carlekemp in North Berwick (Roman Catholic

Community). Because East Lothian had a relatively small and predominantly rural population, students seeking further and higher education were obliged to travel out of the county (Education).

Government and Politics

In 1950 what is now East Lothian consisted of East Lothian County Council and that part of Midlothian covered by Musselburgh and its hinterland. As well as the County Council there were eight separate burghs or town councils and six small district councils (Government and Politics). In 1975 Lothian Regional Council was formed and East Lothian and Musselburgh and its hinterland became one of four District Councils. However, regionalisation was controversial and in 1996 the Regional Council was abolished and the existing East Lothian District Councils became a unitary authority covering every aspect of local government.

The effect of these changes on the involvement of local people was significant. Prior to 1975 the county council had 43 councillors and the burghs and small burghs between eight and twelve each, making a total of 185 posts for a population of around 70,000. While some burgh councillors also served on the county council, there was still a substantial number of local people involved in running the affairs of their community. However, local government reorganisation saw a drastic reduction in the number of councillors serving in East Lothian and in 2000 there were only 23 for a population of over 91,000. Councillor Pat O'Brien of Prestonpans epitomised the new breed of representative. He was elected to the District Council as a Labour councillor in 1977 and was the first provost of East Lothian Council (Pat O'Brien). By 2000 the age of the amateur representative serving his or her community had long since disappeared, and the age of the semi-professional, party politician was well established.

National politics in East Lothian can be divided into three phases: between 1945 and 1964, East Lothian had a series of Unionist MPs; from 1984 to 1999, with a brief gap, it had a series of Labour MPs; and after the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 it had both an MP and MSPs, some of whom represented the Scottish National Party. The dominant figure during the second half of the twentieth century was John P Mackintosh, who combined his duties as the MP for Berwickshire and East Lothian with teaching politics at Edinburgh University. He was a passionate advocate of devolution and Britain's membership of the European Economic Community. His premature death in 1978 was seen as a tragic loss both for his constituency and the wider political community (National Politics in East Lothian).

Health

Following the creation of the National Health Service in 1948, health provision in East Lothian gradually evolved and by 2000 it had changed radically. In 1948 most general practitioners were in single practices operating out of their own premises. However, by 2000 they were operating in larger practices in purpose-built surgeries with auxiliary staff providing additional services. While advances in medicine meant that GPs were able to treat a greater range of conditions, the ageing of the population placed increased demands on their services. (General Practice Overview). The main hospital in East Lothian was the Roodlands General Hospital in Haddington, which prior to the creation of the NHS had been an infectious disease unit. It had both outpatient clinics and a surgical ward, which during the 1960s carried out over one thousand operations each year (The Work of a Small Hospital).

Since 1866 Haddington had also housed the County Asylum which, after the formation of the NHS, was renamed Herdmanflat Hospital. As the emphasis in treating mental health gradually changed from treating patients in hospital to treating them in the community, the number of patients in Herdmanflat gradually reduced (Herdmanflat Hospital and East Lothian Mental Health Services).

Until 1973 maternity services were provided at the Vert Memorial Hospital on the outskirts of Haddington (Hospitals). As people lived longer, the care of the elderly became an important feature of the health service. The first geriatric unit was on the former airfield at East Fortune and was transferred to Roodlands in 1997 (East Fortune Hospital). It was supplemented by Edenhall Hospital, Musselburgh and Belhaven Hospital, Dunbar (Hospitals).

Until 1974 public health was the responsibility of East Lothian County Council. The Medical Officer of Health led a small team which was responsible for: controlling infections and identifying environmental hazards, such as poor housing; providing clinics for pregnant mothers and pre-school children, including immunisation; the school health service; home helps and home visiting; old people's homes; and funding an occupation centre for people with mental health problems. After 1974 there was a separate Environmental Health Department within the District Council and the other public health functions were divided between a range of organizations (Public Health; Hospitals). Because of the county's proximity to Edinburgh, major services were provided at the city's hospitals.

Homes

In the immediate post-war period housing was the responsibility of both the County Council and individual burghs, each of whom had a relatively small housing stock (Homes). The County Council was in a stronger position than

the burghs and, when restrictions on new building were eased in the 1950s, by putting up rates and council house rents it was able to build between 80-100 new homes per year. In 1957-8 the County Planning Officer, Frank Tindall, negotiated a landmarked agreement with Glasgow Corporation which over the next decade enabled 248 'overspill' houses to be built on Artillery Park, Haddington and for 577 Glaswegians to move into the town. However, a similar scheme for Dunbar proved less successful.

At the end of the 1970s two pieces of legislation had a profound effect on public housing in East Lothian, as elsewhere in Scotland (Local Authority Housing). The first was the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977. This placed an obligation on local authorities to provide homes to those in primary need, mainly families with children who were homeless. The second was the Tenants' Rights Etc (Scotland) Act 1980, which, among other provisions granted local authority tenants the right to purchase their homes at a significant discount. The measure led to a fall in the number of houses owned by East Lothian District Council and its successor. In 1980 the local authority owned 16,304 homes, in 1990 it had 12,865, and in 2000 the figure was 10,119. In 1991 the council decided that it could not afford to build houses which it would be obliged to sell at a discount and so ceased future building. From the late 1960s private house building became a significant feature of communities like Haddington (Haddington: Homes). A combination of 'right to buy' and private building meant that by 2000 most housing in East Lothian was owner occupied.

Leisure

The county entry on leisure concentrates on the work the Scottish Women's Rural Institute. It was founded in 1917 by Mrs Catherine Blair, a farmer's wife from Hoprigg, Macmerry. During the 1950s 'the Rural' flourished in East Lothian and had over 1,400 members. Each branch held a monthly meeting at which there were talks and slideshows on a range of subjects, demonstrations on useful skills such as poultry trussing, and a monthly competition (For Home and County). The SWRI's charitable activities included collecting eggs for local hospitals and holding whist drives to raise funds for the RNLA and the district nurses. As the rural population in East Lothian declined, however, so too did the SWRI. During the 1980s and 1990s eight branches closed, and in 2000 the SWRI had only 427 members in the county.

Parish entries supplement the county section by providing information on leisure activities in individual communities. They show that urban communities tended to be self-sufficient in the provision of leisure facilities. In the 1950s Dunbar had two cinemas – the Playhouse and the Empire – the

Victoria Ballroom, and a range of clubs and societies which included the Dunbar and District Choral Society and the Dunbar Lyric Group which performed contemporary pieces including *Fiddler on the Roof* (Dunbar: Leisure).



Figure 3. *The Playhouse Cinema, Dunbar. (John Gray Centre Archive).*

Entertainment did not have to be sophisticated or expensive to be enjoyable. Vi Marshal says that for half a crown (2/6, or 12.5p) she was able to take the bus into Dunbar, attend the Playhouse, and have a poke of chips. While the cinemas and the ballroom had closed by 2000, several of the amateur groups were still thriving.

While in Dunbar the emphasis was on music and drama, in Tranent it was on sport (Tranent: Leisure). In 1973 the town's swimming pool was opened and in 1985 it was expanded into the Loch Sports Centre. In 1980 a sports complex was opened at Meadowmill, consisting of a sports centre, indoor bowling green and floodlit pitches. While the emphasis may have been on sport, Tranent also had a variety of other organisations, many sponsored by the Co-operative movement.

In rural communities the range and extent of leisure activities tended to depend on the facilities available and the enthusiasm of local people. In 1953 the old drill hall in Aberlady was turned into a community hall and in the following years it hosted several organisations including the SWRI and an amateur dramatics club. However, the Community Association failed to maintain the facilities and in 1994 the local authority did not renew its public entertainment licence since the kitchen could no longer comply with food and hygiene regulations. Nonetheless, in 1995 a new and enthusiastic

committee was formed, and it embarked on a successful programme to restore the hall and ensure it had a sufficient rental income to secure its future (Aberlady: Leisure).

Social Care

Between 1945 and 2000 there was a fundamental change in society's approach to social welfare. In 1945 those in financial need were obliged to turn to Inspectors of the Poor Law, who were also responsible for school attendances and admissions to the Poor Law institutions run by East Lothian County Council at Prestonkirk, East Linton, and Midlothian County Council at Wedderburn, Inveresk. However, matters began to change. In 1948 the National Assistance Act transferred responsibility for meeting the financial needs of those with inadequate incomes to central government, and the Children Act required local authorities to appoint a Children's Officer with responsibility for children in care (Social Care). Nevertheless, social care remained haphazard. In 1969, in response to the Kilbrandon Commission, a new Midlothian, East Lothian and Peebles Social Work Department was formed with an office in Haddington. However, the department faced significant challenges from the outset, including inadequate finance, a shortage of trained social workers and a lack of ownership by the councillors on the joint board responsible for the new department. Furthermore, the 1970 Chronic Sick and Disabled Persons (Scotland) Act raised expectations that the department was not equipped to meet.

The reorganisation of local government in 1975 led to the creation of the Lothian Regional Council Social Work Service. Reorganisation coincided with a change of emphasis away from caring for people in institutions to caring for them in the community. However the service was seen as remote, and users found it hard to influence decisions. Parents in Pinkie Brae in Musselburgh struggled to obtain a 'First Step' parent/child centre. (Boundaries: geographical, professional, and organisational). There was also a tendency to place people into boxes, such as 'physically handicapped', rather than treating them as individuals with a variety of needs. To complicate matters, politicians and members of the public were often ambivalent towards social work. Nevertheless, after reviewing the progress of social care in East Lothian between 1945 and 2000, David Affleck, a former Director of Social Work, concluded it 'delivered on a number of significant areas.' Affleck says the biggest change was one of philosophy: by 2000 people were seen as having rights which it was the responsibility of society to meet.

Transport

The railways in East Lothian underwent an enormous transformation between 1945 and 2000. The length of track was reduced by half, the number of passenger stations cut from twelve to seven, private sidings and depots were reduced to a handful, and there was a drastic fall in the number of personnel employed. With the closure of collieries in the 1950s-60s, the associated network of railway lines also disappeared (Railways). However, in 1991 the Edinburgh to London East Coast Service was electrified and by 2000 the journey time from Edinburgh to Dunbar had been reduced to 20 minutes, with the number of services stopping at Dunbar increased from seven to eleven. In 1969 the stations at Prestonpans, Longniddry, Drem and North Berwick were reprieved, and the local service improved. In 1988 a new station was opened at Musselburgh and, in 1994, another at Wallyford. By 2000 the train had become the preferred means of travel for many of those who lived in East Lothian and commuted into Edinburgh.

However, by 2000 freight services were confined to supplying coal to Cockenzie Power Station, nuclear fuel to Turness Nuclear Station and block trains servicing the cement works at Oxwellmains. In 1993 British Rail was privatised and the Great North Eastern Railway began to run the Edinburgh to London service and Scotrail the Edinburgh to North Berwick service. To complicate matters further, a private company, Railtrack, became responsible for the infrastructure. However, in 2000 the latter was in administration and there was doubt over how privatisation would develop.

Although between 1945 and 2000 the A1 remained the main arterial route though East Lothian, proposed improvements were often delayed (The Story of the A1). While Dunbar, East Linton and Haddington had been bypassed in the 1930s, traffic was still forced to go through Musselburgh and Tranent. During the 1960s Musselburgh Town Council campaigned for a bypass. However, during the 1970s, financial constraints and uncertainty over the route of the Edinburgh Bypass led to further delays and the Musselburgh bypass was not opened until December 1986. While financial constraints and concerns about mining subsidence delayed the Tranent bypass, it managed to pip the Musselburgh bypass to the post and was opened in March 1986. Meanwhile remedial work was carried out to the A1, including replacing the railway bridge at Beltonford and upgrading some sections into three lanes to facilitate overtaking. The creation of the Scottish Parliament created new possibilities and in 2000 plans for a dual-carriageway between Haddington to Thistle Cross were confirmed. Improvements to both the rail service and the A1 increased the attraction of East Lothian as a place to live for those who worked in Edinburgh.

Conclusion

As Rosalind Mitchison predicted in the foreword to *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, it has now become a useful source for historians seeking to trace developments in the county between 1945 and 2000. Its strength lies in the way information provided by experts in their field is supplemented by contributions of people with a knowledge of their local communities. While the picture presented by *The Fourth Statistical Account* is too nuanced to allow for sweeping generalisations, certain features stand out, including: the stability of agriculture as the mainstay of the rural economy; the collapse of the fishing and mining industries; the growth of larger units in health provision, local government and social care; a decline of institutions such as the church and the SWRI; and the transformation of rural villages into commuter suburbs for Edinburgh. However, despite these changes, it is reasonable to say that the county has remained a peaceful and prosperous place in which to live.



Figure 4. Tantallon Castle and the Bass Rock, iconic landmarks of East Lothian.
Photograph by Alastair Dutton.

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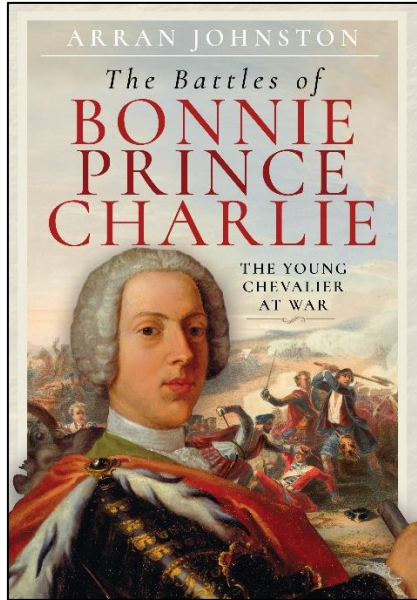
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BOOK REVIEW:

THE BATTLES OF BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE: THE YOUNG CHEVALIER AT WAR



By Arran Johnston

Published by Pen & Sword, 2023

ISBN 978-1399061148, pp.256

This new book by Arran Johnston, founding director of the Scottish Battlefields Trust, and curator of the Jacobite Museum in Prestonpans, is an important one. It is more than just an account of the military engagements themselves. The book shows the problems Charles Edward Stuart faced since his family background. His father considered it important in his son's development that he was involved in martial affairs. At the siege of Gaeta in

1734 Charles, not yet 14, was given permission to be there and saw the role expected of a royal prince.

Soon after, Charles began to identify with Scotland. The Duke of Perth sent him Highland clothes and a state panoply. In 1740 he appeared at a ball in highland dress. He had his portrait painted looking, boyish, regal and Scottish. He was sure of his destiny all that was needed was opportunity. Charles arrived in France hoping to lead a French invasion in 1744. This seemed likely to happen but misfired and the Earl Marischal, George Keith, warned Charles not to go solo. Failure would risk establishing the Hanoverians, he reasoned. Despite this advice, Charles decided to set off for Scotland in the summer of 1745. Prince Charles sailed on a ship called *Du Teillay*. It was supported by the larger ship *L'Elizabeth*, and initially his supporters were largely Irishmen whose details are given. The senior Scot present was Tullibardine (Jacobite Duke of Atholl). On 20th July the prince's ships were challenged at sea. Battle ensued and eventually the *L'Elizabeth* and its opponent both had to withdraw: despite the setback Charles decided to continue to Scotland, after which *Du Teillay* continued to Amsterdam.

When Charles landed in Scotland, Macdonald of Boisdale urged him to go home; but Charles replied "I have come home." So, on 19th August 1745, the Standard was raised and the prince's commission was read out. The prince rallied about 1,200 men under his command, but there was a British garrison at Fort William and General Cope was already marching north. Charles outmarched his opponents and by 17th September he was in Edinburgh. This review will not cover the details of the prince's early success, as it will suffice to say that he was able to establish a court at Holyrood and proclaim his father as King and himself as Regent. On 20th September Charles moved out to prepare for battle with General Sir John Cope. This was the prince's first test as a commander and a full account of the battle is given in the book. The Battle of Prestonpans was a resounding success. In just two months the Young Chevalier had raised his standard, assembled an army, and secured the capital. The decision was made to enter England. The Jacobites captured Carlisle and prepared to fight Marshal Wade, who failed to intercept them.

The fall of Carlisle, however, did not energise the English Jacobites. Some French troops arrived in Scotland, whilst the main army moved on to Penrith, Preston and Manchester in hope that England was on the cusp of a

rising. Adjutant General Sullivan tested opinion and it was agreed to march on to Derby, which it reached on 4th December, and where Lord George Murray made a brutal assessment of the military situation. After a difficult day of disputes the army began to retreat. The book covers the impacts of Charles' relationship with his senior officers, and the battle for control of the army's strategic direction.

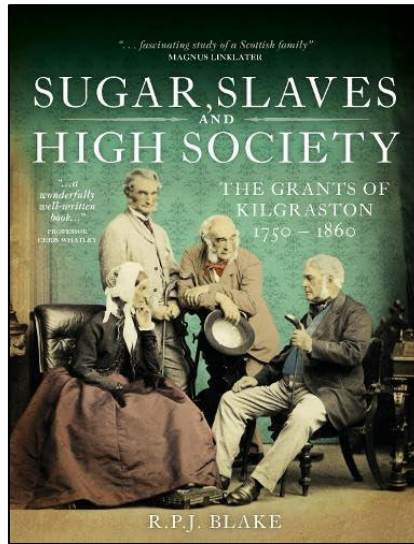
Back in Scotland, the morale of the prince's army was restored and the next battle at Falkirk proved to be another Jacobite success. Murray however refused to stand before the Duke Cumberland and demanded a retreat. Charles recognised that this would ultimately lead to failure but was forced to accept the decision. After an exhausting campaign, the prince prepared to lead his army into its final battle at Culloden on 16th April 1746. Charles recognised that a final fight was inevitable, even as the ground was not ideal and the army not at full strength. There were disputes about precedence and deployment, particularly from Lord George Murray, and the Jacobite army was finally defeated. The prince was persuaded to leave the field of battle only once it was clear the cause was lost.

The book ends with a powerful assessment of Charles and of his capabilities. It focuses throughout on his personal strengths and weaknesses, and his capacity to lead such an ambitious expedition. Charles chose not to go back to his father in Rome, though he subsequently inherited his claims in 1766. Johnston's book is essential reading for anyone who wants an understanding of the Jacobite rising, examined from the perspective of its famous commander.

Stephen Bunyan

BOOK REVIEW:

SUGAR, SLAVES AND HIGH SOCIETY: THE GRANTS OF KILGRASTON 1750-1860



By Richard Blake

Published by Buskin Books, 2023

ISBN 978-1399943529, pp.351

This book holds a fascinating East Lothian connection in that it records the closing chapters of the dazzling legacy of the heiress Mary Nisbet of Dirleton (1778-1855). It was her marriage to the 7th Earl of Elgin that funded the rescue of the so-called Elgin Marbles from the Ottoman Empire. In 1807, her elopement with Robert Fergusson of Raith, whose imposing statue stands on the outskirts of Haddington, scandalised Regency Britain.

Until 1909, Biel House near Dunbar, prior to renovation the longest house in Europe, was the inherited principal home of Mary's granddaughter

Constance Nisbet-Hamilton-Ogilvie. On Constance's death without children in 1920, it was bequeathed, along with the Archerfield estate at Direlton, to her cousin once removed, Lieutenant Colonel John Patrick Grant of Kilgraston.

Inheritance is not always what it might seem. Colonel Grant faced £116,000 of Estate Duty and mortgages of £220,000. To pay these debts he was obliged to sell sixteen farms, the Archerfield estate, and Muirfield. At Biel there was a small summerhouse in which stood a statue of Constance. In recognition of the minimal efforts she had made to avoid passing assets on to her heir-in-entail, this was turned to face the wall.

By 1917, the Kilgraston estate in Perthshire had also been broken up. The mansion house was gifted to the nation and subsequently sold and converted into a school. The Colonel, who had taken up residence at Drumonnie, the Kilgraston Dower House, relocated to Biel. With no children of his own, in 1946 he gifted the estate to Vice-Admiral Basil Brooke, yet another cousin once removed. By 1958, with further death duties, it had become increasingly impossible for the family to maintain the estate and it was sold.

This was a melancholy end to an astonishing saga of enormous wealth which began on one side of the family with the fabulously rich landowning Nisbet-Hamilton family of East Lothian; on the other, created in the late-18th century by the two young Grant brothers John and Francis who had departed their native Glenlochy in the Cromdale hills of Speyside to seek their fortunes in Nova Scotia and Jamaica.

In this forensically researched book, Richard Blake, great-grandson of the 3rd Laird of Kilgraston, has revealed a compelling saga which will have enormous resonance for anyone with an awareness of their own Scottish roots and origins. More to the point, Blake has not held back on confronting the more controversial aspects of his ancestral family's fortunes. When he began his research, Blake says, there was no Black Lives Matter movement. Scotland had been reticent to acknowledge its place in the use of slaves abroad in the period between the 1707 Act of Union and the abolition of slavery almost 130 years later. However, by the time Blake commenced writing all that had changed. Rightly, and belatedly, there was a growing awareness of those thousands of Scots who had been engaged, to whatever extent, in the barbaric trade and use of slaves 'to further the creation of wealth in the Caribbean and elsewhere to meet the surging demand for tobacco and sugar.'

Having become an Assistant Judge, then a Jamaican Assembly Member, Blake's ancestor John Grant became Chief Justice in 1774. In the meantime, his younger brother Francis travelled via Canada to New York, then onward to join up with John in Jamaica. Francis first became an estate manager from his home in Montego Bay and rapidly acquired the funds to purchase the Blackness Estate in Westmorland. It was John who first returned to Scotland, where he purchased the Kilgraston Estate in Perthshire. Having no children, he bequeathed it to his brother on his death in 1793. By then Francis had himself amassed sufficient wealth to return to Scotland, rebuild Kilgraston House, buy the neighbouring Pitkeathly estate, and marry Ann, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, Postmaster General of Scotland.

With the marriage of their son John, named after his uncle, to Lady Lucy Bruce, daughter of the 7th Earl of Elgin & Kincardine and first wife Mary Nisbet, and thirteen children, the future of the dynasty certainly looked assured. Or so it seemed. Furthermore, with the Grants' subsequent connections including the Brooke family of the White Rajahs of Sarawak, and Sir Francis Grant, President of the Royal Academy, one of the finest portrait painters of his age, and Mary Grant, the sculptress, the cast of characters in this well illustrated book is truly captivating.

Roddy Martine

APPENDIX:

Annual Reports of the Council of the Society

ANNUAL REPORT 2022

Due to Covid, the AGM was held online via Zoom on 13th May 2021. It was decided that the existing Council should carry on pro. tem. The meeting was followed by a talk by George Mackintosh on the Papple project.

All proposed events had to be abandoned due to the ongoing pandemic. The President kept in touch with members by email.

The next AGM will be held on Saturday 14th May 2022 at 2.30pm at Prestonkirk stables.

Lectures

We have had three successful lectures on Zoom, that have been attended by some members who would have found physical attendance impossible. I am grateful to the speakers and to Ian Hardie and George Robertson who made them possible.

11 November 2021, a talk entitled ‘Aberlady Bay Nature Reserve, from sea to tree and everything in between’, by John Harrison, warden of Aberlady Bay Nature Reserve.

13 January 2022, ‘East Lothian’s geological journey: from tropical paradise to icy wastes’, by Fiona McGibbon.

3rd March 2022, a talk on Saltcoats Castle and the Livingstones, by David Sowerby.

Membership

Although membership remains steady with 48 family members and 53 individual members, the Council is looking at ways in which to attract new

members, particularly of a younger age group. A trifold leaflet has been developed.

Transactions

The *Transactions* continue to be held in high regard. They are lodged in the Copyright Libraries, East Lothian Libraries and are purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to Queen Margaret University, and East Lothian secondary schools and Belhaven and Loretto schools. Volume XXXIII will be published shortly.

The *Transactions*, (eastlothianantiquarians.org.uk) and the 4th Statistical account (el4.org.uk) and other works are now available on the societies websites. We are grateful to George Robertson and Philip Immirzi, for setting up and maintaining the sites. Members are encouraged to contribute articles for the *Transactions* and website.

Other matters

We have entered into discussion with George Mackintosh about establishing a presence in his heritage centre at Papple. This will give us a base and an opportunity to develop various ideas and projects.

The President represents the Society on the John Muir Park advisory group.

Mr John Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay advisory group and on the Law Advisory group.

Joy Dodd represents the Society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum.

The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscapes.

Stephen Bunyan, President

April 2022

ANNUAL REPORT 2023

The AGM was held on Saturday 14th May 2022 at 2.30pm at Prestonkirk stables.

The following officers were appointed:

President	SA Bunyan
Vice presidents secretary	Joy Dodd, who also agreed to act as interim Jacquie Bell
Treasurer	David Woods
<i>Transactions</i> Editor	Arran Johnston
Council Members	William Dodd (resigned, and thanked for his years of service), Bridgit Ellwood, Vicki Fletcher, Alexander, Duke of Hamilton, Ian Hardie, John Hunt, Gill Wilson, George Robertson, Elaine Whewell.

Kirsty Wilson was thanked for her work as treasurer.

The business of the AGM was followed by a talk on the closing of Whitekirk Church by Thomas Torrance. Concern was expressed about the policy proposing to close other churches.

Obituaries

We remember Bill (William) Dodd, who died on 27th September 2022. Bill became a member of Council in 2007. We are grateful for the contribution he made to our affairs, especially on the cases panel for the care of the historic environment. His funeral was held at Binning Wood on Saturday 8th October.

Sally Wyllie died on 23rd December after a long illness.

Professor Ian Marrian died on the 8th January 2023.

Outings

12th June 2022, an outing was made to Papple Steading. It was hosted by George Macintosh and addressed by Richard Murphy architect.

15th July 2022, an excursion was made to examine the coastal rock outcrops at Whitesands and Barns Ness, led by Fiona McGibbbon.

27th August 2022, a visit was made to Prestongrange Church with a tour of the graveyard, led by Jane Hepburn, session clerk, and Sandra Marshall.

Lectures

8th October 2022, Dennis Cowan gave a talk on the Ancient Sundials of Scotland.

5th November 2022, Lesley Fairweather gave a talk on Woodhall Dean.

3rd December 2022, Gerald Lohan gave a talk on the amazing Strutter project.

25th February 2023, Dr Fraser Hunter gave a Talk on the Roman Treasure from Traprain Law.

18th March 2023, Rob Engl gave a talk entitled 'A home by the sea: life in Mesolithic East Lothian during the late ninth Millennium BC'.

Membership

Membership remains steady and has increased since Covid. The Council is looking at ways in which to attract new members, particularly from a younger age group. A trifold leaflet is now available. We are receiving an encouraging number of enquiries.

Transactions

The *Transactions* continue to be held in high regard. They are lodged in the Copyright Libraries, East Lothian Libraries, and are purchased by academic and other libraries. They are issued to Queen Margaret University, and East

Lothian secondary schools and Belhaven Hill and Loretto schools. Volume XXXIII was published in 2022.

The *Transactions*, Fourth Statistical Account, and other works are now all available on the Society's websites. We are grateful to George Robertson and Philip Immirzi for setting up and maintaining those sites. Members are encouraged to contribute articles for the *Transactions* and the website. The centenary volume is now in preparation.

Other matters

We are in discussion with George Mackintosh about establishing a presence in his heritage centre at Papple. We hope this will be accomplished by 2024. This will give us a base and an opportunity to develop various ideas and projects. It will give an opportunity for more involvement by members.

The President represents the Society on the John Muir Park advisory group. Mr John Hunt represents the society on the Aberlady Bay advisory group and on the Law Advisory group.

Joy Dodd represents the Society on the East Lothian Heritage Forum. The society is vigilant in the face of threats to our heritage of buildings and landscapes.

Stephen Bunyan, President

April 2023

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