

Historical report on Aberlady

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Introduction: assessing the surviving historical evidence

This report was never intended to be a product of a comprehensive research exercise. Instead, the idea was to sample the primary manuscript sources relating to Haddington and Aberlady to determine the depth of the surviving records and hopefully uncover some interesting material relating to the harbour of Aberlady, the common way between Haddington and Aberlady (sometimes called the Sea Wynd), the glebe field of Aberlady, and the so-called smuggler's cave to the west of the village on Aberlady Links (now Kilspindie golf course).

The primary source material concerning Aberlady is fairly extensive but incomplete. There are two main types of relevant documentary evidence. First is what might be termed the 'official' evidence: for example, the records of Haddington Burgh, the Exchequer Rolls, and the records of the Privy Council. Second, is the 'unofficial' evidence, largely consisting of estate papers and private correspondence. As previously indicated there are large gaps in the material, particularly relating to ships entering and leaving the anchorage of Aberlady. There are also a number of historical maps but the vast majority of these relate either to Aberlady train station plans or to the architecture of Luffness House. There is, however, an admiralty chart dating to 1815 which displays an interesting, but unknown, feature located on the links of Kilspindie golf club.¹

This, however, is not the only problem. For example, the records (Haddington treasurer's accounts) in which we might have expected to find material relating to both the upkeep of the port and of the common way between Haddington and Aberlady are substantially incomplete and only a small number of these volumes have survived.² Even so, they contain disturbingly few references to both the anchorage and the common way and there is now a suspicion that separate Aberlady records were once kept but these have been either lost or destroyed. Interestingly, those few Haddington volumes that do contain early Aberlady shipping records have clearly had those records added to them as a discrete gathering, and this might again indicate that yet another block of Aberlady material had once been kept separately from the official Haddington burgh records.

If anything, these problems have been further compounded by the fact that medieval Aberlady belonged to the diocese of Dunkeld. Though once one of the largest dioceses in Scotland, almost all of the medieval Dunkeld records have been lost and what has survived only represents a miniscule fragment of the original archive. This problem is further complicated by the fact that no diocesan cartulary of Dunkeld has survived. Accordingly, though the barony of Aberlady once formed the major component of the lands of Dunkeld south of the River Forth, we have virtually no idea how successive bishops of Dunkeld managed these lands across time.

¹ <http://www.nls.uk/maps/early/scotland.cfm?id=1343>

² NAS, B30/19.

Setting the scene: the historical environment of Aberlady Bay

Writing shortly before 1805, Robert Somerville, a surgeon in Haddington, was in no doubt that the harbour of Aberlady was undergoing extensive changes through natural processes. According to his observations, both sandbanks and islands were fast appearing in the bay, grass had begun to grow along the links, and no sea-going vessel of any size could now approach the foreshore. The final indignity in this sorry tale was that the common way between Haddington and Aberlady was now of so little consequence and worth so little to any person, it was rented out at a mere 5s per annum.³

In fact, the observations made by Somerville at Aberlady appear to have been quite common along the section of East Lothian coast between Musselburgh and North Berwick and demonstrate that natural forces played a large part at that time in shaping the local landscape. One of these natural forces was regular localised flooding and it is clear from the historical records that this had been an on-going problem in Aberlady Bay. The earliest record found so far in relation to this dates to 17 November 1761 when Haddington town council set aside the sum of £2 10s sterling to help pay for the trial construction of a section of bulwark, made 'according to the proper method' from whins, across the mouth of the River Peffer, in the hope that this would solve the flooding problem at high and spring tides. This was an invention of the local minister, Mr David Wark. It was recorded that the inhabitants of Aberlady and farmers living further inland were so anxious that this problem be solved, they had agreed to make a contribution towards the capital expenses of the experiment.⁴

This experiment cannot have been a long-term success since the same problems continued to occur into the nineteenth century. In the 1840s there were a number of proposed new measures to combat flooding in Aberlady Bay.⁵ These included a floodgate, but it is not clear where exactly this was to be sited. To aid in the engineering preliminaries, bore holes were made in various places around the vicinity of the bay and the dimensions of bridges were recorded:

Boring in Aberlady Bay	Before coming to clay (ft.in)	Through clay (ft.in)	Total boring (ft.in)
Grass island at Luffness	3.0	14.6	17.6
North of island	3.0	16.9	19.9
Centre of foot bridge	2.0	14.6	16.6
North side of foot bridge	4.4	20.0	24.4
Aberlady Wynd	9.7	4.0	13.7
Road to Gullane	13.8	4.4	18.0

³ Robert Somerville, *General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian; drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement, from the Papers of the late Robert Somerville, ESQ. Surgeon in Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1805), 301.

⁴ NAS, B30/13/17.

⁵ NAS GD364/1/775.

North side of Gullane Road	10.0	-----	10.0
Well at Luffness mill	5.0	37.0	42.0

Dimensions of bridges	Height from bed of stream (ft.in)	Width (ft.in)
For main stream	6.0	6.6
For stream from Mill Dam	4.0	5.8
For stream coming from Luffness Mains Farm	3.0	6.0
New wooden bridge over stream formed by all three smaller streams	7.0	20.0

The borings demonstrated that the surface of the clay gradually rose towards the east side of the bay and it was simultaneously recorded that the water had previously come to within 6ft 6in of the wooden bridge. On yet another occasion, with a 10ft tide, the water stood only 1ft 3in below the top of the step of new bridge.

Accordingly, it was felt that a partial solution could be found if a new bridge across the Peffer was built, as long as it had a sluice gate. It was stipulated that ‘the bearing timber must be of the best Memel or Petersburg timber’, that the sluice or draw door sill was to be made of oak, that the upper pointing beam of oak was to be twelve feet long, that the sluice gate was made of the best white hearted British wood, and that the stonework be of the best quality from Grange Quarry in Fife.⁶

It was probably felt that this would not solve the flooding problem by itself so, on 5 February 1849, an estimate was drawn up to build an embankment across Aberlady Bay. The reasonable estimated cost of this sea bank, which included diverting the River Peffer, was £416 9s sterling. It was calculated that the quantity of stone required near the warehouse in Aberlady Bay would be 3150 cubic feet of ashlar and 2250 cubic feet of rubble. In order to convey the precise requirements, a transcription of this document can be found in Appendix 1. Unfortunately, there is no indication in the historical record that the project ever got beyond the design stage. More importantly, it is perhaps a little too easy to blame natural forces on these flooding events since there is plenty of evidence in the historical records of Haddington that Aberlady Bay was also extensively altered by man post-1500, both in terms of quarrying and via the extraction of sand and seashells.

An entry in the burgh records from 16 August 1610 indicates that stone had been removed from the shore of Aberlady by William Sinclair, for which the laird of Waughton pursued him. The council, however, was concerned about its own rights, and accordingly agreed to examine the,

⁶ Ibid.

[...] haill gaittis fra this brugh to Aberlady heavin and to vesie [inspect] the grownd quharin the stanis wer won be William Sinclair in Aberlady [...] and efter the sicht thairof to speak [to] the laird of Wauchtoun, seing it may be prejudiciall to the liberties of the town, the stanis being won within the sey mark.⁷

This seems to indicate that Haddington town council felt it possessed a right to quarry stone from within the boundaries of Aberlady Bay

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a further dispute arose concerning rights at the port of Aberlady and this provides more detail. In June 1799 the earl of Wemyss wrote to Mr James Yule expressing his satisfaction that,

[...] Colonel [Henry Hope] has a good right to take stones and sand from the shore of Aberlady within the sea mark as far west as the King's Kist for the purpose of building the intended dykes at Luffness.

He did, however, add that he would be obliged if those employed to remove the said materials were kept, 'within such a distance as not to injure the grass grounds.'⁸ The latter reference is to the links now occupied by Kilspindie golf club.

Following their joint purchase of various rights at the port of Aberlady in 1848-9, Francis Douglas, the earl of Wemyss and March, and Mr George Hope became embroiled in a dispute over their individual rights. A legal investigation into this dispute was begun some years later and a memo, dated September 1875, attempted to clarify the situation. This asserts that before 5 June 1848 the town council of Haddington owned the,

[...] port of Aberlady and the common road leading to the port, and the house or warehouse situated at the port, commonly called the town of Haddington's house, with the anchorage monies and other profits and dues of a free port.

Wemyss and Hope had agreed to purchase these rights, but a dispute arose between them before the conveyance was complete. The crux of the disagreement centred on whether or not the parties had joint rights to the port or, as the solicitors later found to be the case, only rights 'opposite to their respective lands up to the centre of the boundary line'.⁹

A disposition dated August 1849 elucidates the precise geographical demarcation of this boundary line. It states that the earl of Wemyss alienated in favour of Hope,

[...] all and whole the port of Aberlady in the bay of the water of Pepher and the common road leading to the said port, together with the house of the burgh situated at the said port and there commonly called the town of Haddington's house, with the anchorage monies and other profits and dues of a free port lying to

⁷ NAS, GD1/413/2, part i, 93-4.

⁸ NAS, GD364/1/72; GD364/1/125.

⁹ Ibid.

the east of the following boundary line, viz. a line following the centre of the road (a continuation of that called the Sea Wynd of Aberlady) leading to the port from the high water mark northwards to a point, also in the centre of the said road, which is opposite the north east corner of a field belonging to me, situated on the west side of said road and at a little distance westward therefrom, and from thence a line running due north seaward, as far as the right of port extends: together with the whole parts and pertinents and rights, powers and privileges so far as pertaining and belonging to the subjects and others hereby disposed and particularly herein before bounded and described, with entry as at the term of Whitsunday 1848.

A further question arose. Whilst the solicitors found that Wemyss had the right to the port opposite his lands, and the right to draw the legal dues, it remained unclear as to whether he was entitled to exclude the public from the use of this port, which was a public port held in grant from the crown.¹⁰ Unfortunately, no resolution to this particular matter is apparent from this collection of papers.

It was also found by the solicitors that,

[...] Mr Hope has right to quarry stones as far west the shore as the King's Kist rock in terms of a reservation contained in a disposition of the west part of Luffness Sea Greens by Durham of Luffness to a predecessor of Lord Wemyss – but Messers Hope, Mackay and Mann do not know the exact terms of this reservation, and whether it includes the right to remove sea weed, as none of the titles or papers in their possession show this.

As well as the outstanding question over rights to the seaweed, an undated letter from Mr Hope also alludes to the question at issue about the pasturage of the Links by the cattle from Gullane. Hope threatened that if either his own or his tenants' rights were infringed in the future, he would be prepared to initiate legal proceedings. By 1876 the legal battle remained unresolved as a further quarrel erupted concerning Mr Hope landing coals on that part of the port of Aberlady which had been exclusively conveyed to the Earl of Wemyss.¹¹

It is unlikely that the right to quarry stone from the foreshore of Aberlady Bay was something new that had been granted to the burgh of Haddington in the seventeenth century and this right was probably medieval in origin, even if this cannot be proven from the surviving record. More importantly perhaps, the surviving records relating to the quarrying of stone are very useful since mention of the rock called the King's Kist would indicate that this was the western boundary marker of the lands of Aberlady Bay.

Without full quarrying records it is impossible to be precise about the volume of stone that has been removed over time from the foreshore of Aberlady Bay though it was probably considerable since it served as a source of raw building material for

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

Haddington, Aberlady, and the eighteenth and nineteenth century stone walls built upon the Luffness estate.¹² Nevertheless, even without exact records, it seems very likely that the current rocky foreshore west of the bay below the current golf course is artificial and a product of centuries of quarrying activity. This is particularly worth bearing in mind when considering the origins of the so-called Smuggler's Cave.

Stone was not the only material removed from Aberlady Bay. There are frequent references in the Haddington burgh records to the use of sand for building purposes and (more usually) for laying cobbles in both Haddington and Aberlady, and sea-shells for burning to make lime. Occasionally, these references state that these materials were to be taken from Aberlady though they are not always specific. For example, between February and July 1664 108 carts of sand and quarried stone were removed from the same unnamed site to lay and make cobbles in Haddington.¹³ Since Haddington did not seem to possess rights to any other areas that contained both sand and stone in East Lothian, it seems logical to suggest that Aberlady Bay was the usual source of such materials. Indeed, it might also be questioned whether the removal of sand was undertaken strategically (at low tide) in order to keep sailing channels in the bay from silting up.

Finally, there are also indications that the onshore links of Aberlady were carefully managed because there are occasional references to people being seasonally employed to pull weeds out of the sands.¹⁴ Unfortunately, none of the sources consulted for this exercise specified precisely which weeds were being removed and why they were considered harmful but there must be a strong suspicion that it may have been a plant harmful to livestock. The onshore links were also managed for another reason. A parliamentary ratification to Patrick Douglas in 1612 provides a good description of some lands in Aberlady and clearly states that a rabbit warren was located on the links of Aberlady, on the ground to the west of Kilspindie Castle which is now occupied by Kilspindie golf club.¹⁵ There must be a strong possibility that this warren was medieval in date and, whether it was of artificial construction or not, this food and fur resources from it would have been carefully husbanded.¹⁶ If it was of artificial construction, this should be taken into account in terms of the local archaeology.

One final point to make in this section is that a plan was concocted during the latter half of the eighteenth century to create a canal ten miles in length that linked the two mouths of the River Peffer between Aberlady Bay and Tynninghame Sands. It was admitted, however, that such a project would bring no real economic benefits to either the local landowners or to the merchants, even though the canal would be expected to enhance the aesthetic qualities of the estates through which it ran.¹⁷

¹² NAS, GD364/1/125; B30/19/1.

¹³ NAS, B30/19/1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007), 1612/10/58. Date accessed: 11 April 2008.

¹⁶ Mark Bailey, 'The Rabbit and the Medieval East Anglian Economy', in *Agricultural History Review*, 36, I, 1988, 1-20.

¹⁷ Somerville, *General View*, 223.

Medieval Aberlady and Dunkeld

There are very few historical records relating to medieval Aberlady and we know virtually nothing about the detailed processes by which Lothian was eventually absorbed into the kingdom of Alba post-900AD. Nevertheless, the attachment of parishes south of the Forth to the dioceses of St Andrews and Dunkeld must date to this period. As part of this process, Aberlady, together with Prestoun, Bonkill, Cramond, and Abercorn, were brought together into an administrative unit later known as the barony of Aberlady for the bishops of Dunkeld.¹⁸ It may just be a coincidence that two of these sites, Abercorn and Aberlady, each possess a richness of Northumbrian archaeological remains in the form of high cross fragments and other artefacts since there is no known connection between them from the pre-900 Northumbrian period.

We are also not entirely sure about the origins of the place-name Aberlady itself: since Aber- is the Brittonic word for the mouth of a river, logically the village now known as Aberlady should have been called Aberpeffer. Here, the suffix is clearly Brittonic and related to the modern Welsh word *pefr* (radiant, beautiful).¹⁹ Problems, however, have arisen with regard to this place-name because of the twelfth century hagiographic Life of St Kentigern which mentions a place-name *Aberlessic*, thought by some to be Aberlady (the suffix -lessig deriving from Cornish *lesic* or Welsh *llusog*, meaning herbacious or bushy). W.J. Watson has demonstrated that this cannot have been the case and suggested that the -lady suffix might instead derive from a Brittonic formation of a base word form seen in Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic *lobh* (rot, putrefy).²⁰ Watson, however, was clearly influenced in this interpretation by the Kentigern hagiography which explained *Aberlessic* as *ostium fetoris* (mouth of the stench), from rotting fish left upon the beach by fishermen. To make matter worse, Watson also noted that the suffix -lessic cannot have meant 'stench'. In the end, Watson's solution to the problem was to suggest that *Aberlessic* was probably the old name for the Gosford burn to the south-east of Aberlady, leaving Aberlady as *ostium fetoris*.²¹ Perhaps it is time to again consider whether the suffix -lady could have been derived from the simple fact that there was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the grounds of Aberlady church.

Although the records of the diocese of Dunkeld have been lost, the names of some of the medieval priests of Aberlady have been preserved in other documents. The earliest of these occurred c.1221 when Bishop Hugh of Dunkeld (1214-30) confirmed the lands of the abthen of *Madirnyrn* to the monks of Inchaffray. This document was witnessed by Gilbert, chaplain of Aberlady.²² The same bishop also issued a charter to a canon of St Andrews, witnessed by a person only referred to as J., vicar of Aberlady.²³ In contrast, only one Dunkeld charter relating to Aberlady from this time has survived when Bishop

¹⁸ Robert Kerr Hannay, *Rentale Dunkeldense* (Edinburgh, 1915), xix and at 330.

¹⁹ W.J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 452.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 460-61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 461.

²² William Alexander Lindsay, John Dowden and John Maitland Thomson (editors), *Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, chiefly from the originals in the charter chest of the earl of Kinnoul* (Edinburgh, 1908), no.49.

²³ Thomas Thomson (editor), *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1841), p. 297.

Richard (1170-78) granted a toft in the village to the Premonstratensian monks of Dryburgh, sometime between 1170 and 1174.²⁴

The names of priests associated with Aberlady do not appear again in the published historical records until the early fifteenth century when Michael de Stauntoun is on record as possessing the vicarage. Between 1418 and 1428 two separate individuals, Philip Clark and John de Rettre, petitioned the Pope to ask for his benefice of Aberlady as soon as it became void.²⁵ Unfortunately, there is no indication whether either of these requests was successful. It is a shame that we know nothing more about these earlier priests of Aberlady since the lack of general information makes their post-Reformation successors infinitely more colourful.

On 31 May 1683 a new minister, the Reverend William McGie, was appointed to the parish of Aberlady. McGie's successor in office was John Gray. On 12 September 1689 Gray was deprived of his benefice at the kirk of Aberlady after a petition was given in to the privy council by Agnes Birnie (for herself and in the name of several others) stating that Mr John Gray had not read the proclamation emitted by the estates requiring public prayers for King William and Queen Mary. Gray was deprived of his office after failing to answer the complaint.²⁶

The following year, on 29 July 1690, John Gray challenged his deprivation on the grounds that the original petition was given in out of spite, and that the rest of the parishioners and heritors knew nothing of the charges. Moreover, Gray insisted that he had incurred considerable expenses repairing the church and manse, so was not prepared to leave until he had been compensated.²⁷ The council duly ordered an investigation into his expenses, which found that Gray had spent the following:

for stables, loft and roof	£280 1s 10d
for sclaits to the stiple	£120
for repairing the roof and windows of the kirk, and building and repairing the barn and byre of the manse	£188
for building and repairing the brew house, cellar and loft	£131 12s 4d
to the sclaitter for sclaitting of the stiple and foug [shelter] thereto	£76 13s 4d
for nails to the said steeple	£66 13s 4d
for unspecified reparations to the said kirk and manse	£24

²⁴ G.W.S. Barrow (editor) with W.W. Scott, *Regesta Regum Scottorum ii: The Acts of William I* (Edinburgh, 1971), no.122.

²⁵ E.R. Lindsay and A.I. Cameron (editors), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-22* (Edinburgh, 1934), 213; A.I. Dunlop (editor), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-28* (Edinburgh, 1956), 87.

²⁶ J.H. Burton and others, (editors), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1877-), 3rd ser., xiv, 258-59, [hereafter: *RPS*].

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xv, 338.

TOTAL = £895 10s Scots

The council ordered the heritors and others liable to make payment to Gray, and suspended all letters against him until such time as this was done.²⁸ Though serious, these charges came nowhere near matching the ferocity of those levelled at one of Gray's successors in Aberlady church.

In 1712 a pamphlet was published in London whose subject was the former minister at Aberlady, Mr Adam Glass, who had recently left the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and been re-ordained by the Bishop of London.²⁹ The anonymous author of this pamphlet was clearly appalled by this decision, but claimed that Glass's conversion was not a complete surprise to those 'who knew his character and circumstances'. The pamphlet goes on to outline that Glass had allegedly attacked and insulted the Church of Scotland, and denied ever having taken the Confession of Faith, despite having apparently done so in front of hundreds of witnesses at Aberlady. If this were not bad enough, the pamphlet then alleges that Glass had a scandalous relationship with one woman while betrothed to another, played dice and cards, and frequented the houses of Catholics. He apparently neglected his ministerial duties: he seldom visited families or the sick in his parish; he rarely catechised; he only celebrated communion three times in seven years; and he absented himself from synod and presbytery meetings.

In fact, according to the author, Glass also led an extravagant life which saw him 'running in arrears to merchants for cloth, muslin, Holland, Camrick, and even for spiceries and sweet-meats; to butchers, for flesh; and inn-keepers, for wines; yea, to taylors and gardeners, and a great many such poor people.' The pamphlet describes how, having run-up debts of £500, Glass was denounced at the horn at the mercat cross. Thereafter he apparently hid out in the abbey of Holyroodhouse to evade capture, but sometimes returned to Aberlady to preach on a Sunday. The pamphlet then suggests that there was one remaining way for Glass's creditors to be paid: 'which is to affect what is due to him, as his wife's portion, out of a little estate in the parish of Aberlady, called Red-House.' The author questioned, however, if that alone would cover what Glass owed. Even if it did, three-quarters of the estate was life-rented to a widow and thus could not be touched while she remained alive. In any event, it is unfortunate that we have no record of these events from the Rev. Glass's perspective.

Ecclesiastic Taxations

Most of the information relating to Dunkeld's income from Aberlady derives from a sixteenth century source known as *Rentale Dunkeldense*. From this we learn that the inhabitants of the town then paid both *caín* and teinds. The first of these was a tax or tribute paid to a superior lord and it is referred to in Irish Gaelic sources as early as the eighth century AD. The teind, in comparison, was an ecclesiastic tax that consisted of a

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 387-8.

²⁹ *A letter to a gentleman at London, concerning Mr. Adam Glass, late minister of the establish'd church in Scotland, at the parish of Aberlady, who hath now conformed to the church of England and received orders from the Bishop of London*, (London, 1712).

tenth of everything renewable each year, like lambs, calves, and crops. According to *Rentale Dunkeldense* the tenants of Aberlady paid their *caín* in poultry, as was often the case throughout Scotland, and their teinds in wheat, barley and oats. In 1561 these latter three amounted to four chalders of wheat, seven chalders of barley, and ten chalders nine bolls of oats (each chalder comprised sixteen bolls).³⁰

It is fortunate that the testament of one of the sixteenth century tacksmen of these churchlands has survived (see Appendix 6). Upon the death of John Sinclair in 1568, his heirs listed his inventory of goods and these listings give an indication of the use he was making of the vicarage lands, which may have included the glebe field, at that time. In terms of livestock we can see that Sinclair kept oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and was growing wheat, rye, oats, barley, and peas upon his lands. Both of these lists are fairly typical of that time and show nothing too unusual.

By the post-Reformation period, however, it is clear that the ecclesiastic taxation had been greatly reduced. In the 1640s Aberlady's contribution to the minister's stipend (which came from the lands of Ballencrieff, Luffness, Redhouse, Aberlady, Gosford and Coats) amounted to just four bolls:

1648 portion from Aberlady =	1 boll of wheat 1 boll of beir 2 bolls of oats
1649 portion from Aberlady =	1 boll, 3 firlots, 2 pecks, 1 part of wheat 3 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck, 1 part of beir 2 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck, 1 part of meal 1 firlot of oats. ³¹

The harbour

The earliest mention of a port belonging to the burgh of Haddington dates to the reign of King Robert II (1371-90) though it unfortunately does not specifically name Aberlady as being the port of that burgh.³² Nevertheless, unless Haddington once possessed a completely different port, all record of which has been lost, it seems logical that this reference was indeed to Aberlady. It is also noticeable that in the next earliest charter of Haddington's privileges, issued during the reign of King Robert I (1306-29), there was no record of any port attached to the burgh.³³ This leaves three options. First, that in 1318 it had not yet been recognised that Aberlady possessed a natural harbour, though this is unlikely. Second, that somebody else (possibly the bishop of Dunkeld) possessed the anchorage in 1318 and it was only later granted to Haddington. Third, that the anchorage did not then exist but was created post-1318 as a result of the movement of sediment

³⁰ Hannay, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 344.

³¹ NAS, TE5/239.

³² J.M. Thomson (editor) and others, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum in Archivis Publicis Asservatum* (Edinburgh, 1814-1914), i, no.751 [hereafter: *RMS*].

³³ A.A.M. Duncan (editor), *Regesta Regum Scotorum v: The Acts of Robert I* (Edinburgh, 1988), no.142.

along the East Lothian coast. For this latter suggestion to work, it would mean accepting that the same natural forces that altered the coastline in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were also present in the fourteenth century.

Whatever the case, it is unfortunate that there are no detailed records relating to the port of Aberlady until the sixteenth century. On 22 December 1535 Haddington burgh council ordained that their common good fund should be used for the construction of a harbour at Aberlady: ‘the counsell and communitie delyveris that the commoun gudis that may be gottyn by feis and other necessaris salbe warit on the bigin of the haiffin of Abirlady’. By 19 December 1536 the kirk master apparently had £20 in hand to buy timber for the haven of Aberlady,³⁴ and at least one beacon, made out of a ‘great joist’ of wood had been erected in the bay by 27 September, 1576.³⁵

By 24 February 1606 parts of the harbour were evidently in need of some urgent repair, as one of the bailies, Daniel Cockburn, was charged by the council to:

[...] mak, set up and fastin thre gude and sufficient bekins of aiken tymmer in the heavin of Aberlady in the partis and plaices the bekinis of the said heavin stude of before.

These beacons were to be of sufficient great height to stand above sea level at high spring tide. Cockburn was given just a short time to complete his task (until an unspecified day in March 1606), and was commanded to begin work without further delay. For his efforts, and the burden of maintaining the beacons at his own expense in the future, Cockburn was paid £26 Scots.³⁶

There is a further reference to the repairing or mending of the harbour in June 1614 but, around the same time, Haddington also contributed £20 Scots towards the repair of the harbour at Arbroath (July 1613) and £40 Scots towards the restoration of Musselburgh harbour (July 1617). It was not until 1630 that Haddington was gifted 600 merks by the Convention of Royal Burghs to help repair their ‘decayed’ harbour of Aberlady.³⁷

It is recorded in the treasurers’ accounts that, on 24 August 1661, £29 15s was paid for erecting three beacons at Aberlady harbour. These beacons were made of wood and were placed upon quarried stone platforms with the stipulation that they had to be above the spring tide flood level. Again, it did not specify whether these beacons were situated on dry land or in the actual bay, so their stone platforms may normally have been under water during high tide.³⁸

³⁴ NAS, GD1/413/1, part i, 36 and at 41.

³⁵ NAS, E82/27/5/2.

³⁶ NAS, GD1/413/2, part i, 36-37.

³⁷ *Ibid*, part ii, 5. It has not been possible to identify the original source of this transcription, but there is no reason to doubt its authenticity; *Ibid*, part i, 125 and part ii, 30; NAS, GD/1/413/8, 121.

³⁸ NAS, B30/19/1.

On 27 August 1672 Haddington council ordered the treasurer to provide ‘ane bing and ane beacone for Aberlady shore’, a bing being an artificial platform made of either earth or wood, or an artificial piece of land which jutted out into the sea.³⁹ This order came just three days after the riding of the marches, for which payment was made at Aberlady. Presumably the council became aware of the need for these additions to the harbour during this tour of the burgh.⁴⁰ It is not immediately clear whether this new beacon was meant to replace those built in 1661 or whether it meant that there was now four beacons in the harbour.

The final reference to harbour beacons found in this sampling survey occurred in 1779 when the cooper in Aberlady was paid one shilling by Haddington burgh council for two small barrels (presumably to contain pitch) which might be set upon the two beacons situated upon the shore of Aberlady Bay.⁴¹

According to the historical evidence consulted for this survey, it may be that the building of a harbour at Aberlady never amounted to any more than these beacons and the wooden pier. To date, there are no records relating to the deepening of the harbour in order to allow larger vessels to berth, nor that a permanent stone structure, like that found at Acheson’s Haven to the west, was ever contemplated. This may be why visitors to the area seem to have been underwhelmed by what they saw in the bay and described Aberlady harbour as, ‘[...] a creek for barks in the summer time’.⁴²

The Town of Haddington’s House

On 17 November 1536 John of Burn, John of Douglas and Robert Wolsoun, masons, were charged by the bailies, council and community of Haddington to build a house at Aberlady, for which they were to be paid £60 Scots. Robert Wolsoun agreed to be responsible for supplying forty chalders of lime and, if this proved insufficient, the remainder was to be furnished by all of the men. The said Robert would also provide the stones for building the house, both wall and hewn stones, for which he was to receive 41 merks 6s 8d from the original sum. Something must have happened to endanger the project because on 24 April 1537 Philip Gibson, the treasurer of Haddington, warned the masons to honour their side of the contract and 'offerit the halfe of the mone in hand' as a further incentive for them to do so.⁴³

Thereafter, there is a complete lack of evidence relating to the upkeep of this building in the Haddington burgh records. At the very least, it might be expected that repairs would have been carried out every few years yet there is no evidence of any payments for this in the treasurer's accounts. Given the regularity of building repairs carried out on structures

³⁹ NAS, B30/13/7, f.34v.

⁴⁰ NAS, B30/19/1.

⁴¹ NAS, B30/19/3.

⁴² Arthur Mitchell (editor), *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1906), iii, 111.

⁴³ NAS, GD1/413/1, part i, 40-41 and at 44.

during this period and later, this again suggests that perhaps these accounts had been kept in a separate book to those containing the other Haddington treasury accounts.

In fact, it is nearly 300 years before Haddington's House at Aberlady reappears in the historical record when, in July 1832, Haddington burgh council decided to 'expose' (rent out) the old house belonging to the town on the shore at Aberlady for such a number of years as the magistrates may agree upon.⁴⁴ This eventually resulted in the house, along with other rights, being sold by the burgh in 1848 to two private parties, the earl of Wemyss and Mr George Hope. The two men appear to have quickly fallen out over the proposed demolition of Haddington's House.

As we already know a legal dispute later arose between the sons of these men in 1875 and the house again became the subject of some debate. The solicitors charged with clarifying the legal position were requested to look into a part of the contract (referring to demolition work) which had apparently not been carried out. The response from the solicitors, Messers Hope, Mackay and Mann, indicated that they did not know to what that request referred, 'unless it be to the pulling down of the warehouse at the port.' However, they understood that the actual agreement had been to lower the warehouse by one storey, and that this had already been done some time previously. The contention over the house evidently arose because one of the parties perceived it to be an 'eyesore' and wanted to have the building lowered so as to restore the natural skyline and eliminate the unsightly view from his garden.⁴⁵

This is an exciting discovery since it means that the house, which currently stands at two-storeys, could once have been three-storeys high. The only alternative is that an original two-storey structure was reduced to one-storey at some point between 1848 and 1875 but has since had a new second storey added to it. A recent cursory examination of the current structure clearly demonstrates that extensive alterations have been carried out on the building fabric but it should be examined by an expert in building architecture to determine if this fabric could once have supported a three-storey high structure.

Customs of the port

It was determined in a previous report that summarised customs accounts for the port date back to the mid-fourteenth century so that material does not need to be rehashed at length here. The fact that there is no evidence earlier than this date might again point to a fourteenth century date for the creation of a customs port related to Haddington. What is remarkable, however, is that the pre-1500 customs records in relation to Haddington and Aberlady are probably in better overall condition than the post-1500 records which, though occasionally detailed, appear to be fragmentary.

On 19 October 1565 Patrick Hepburn of Waughton was appointed keeper of the haven of Aberlady as part of a wider attempt to secure the coasts of the Lothians, Fife and Angus. Those appointed were ordered to keep watch and diligently search and take inquisition of

⁴⁴ NAS, B30/13/25, 111v.

⁴⁵ NAS, GD364/1/72.

the ships and boats which departed from or came to the said areas of their charge. Further, they were required to note the names of those on board the vessels and some of the results of this can perhaps be seen in Appendices 2 and 3.⁴⁶

On 27 April 1602 masters, merchants and skippers were banned from loading or unloading their ships at various unfree ports, or at ports where no customer was employed. Loading was forbidden at various ports, including Aberlady, of all merchandise except salt and coal. Unloading also forbidden at the said ports, except of victual and timber. It was further ordered that customs were to be paid on entire loads, as it had hitherto been found that merchants would declare only part of their cargo to officials.⁴⁷

The existing situation was unsatisfactory for the authorities, who were evidently concerned about losing out on customs dues when people either failed to officially record their imports and exports, or wilfully underestimated the quantity and quality of their cargo. In remedy thereof, on 8 July 1616, George Hepburn, treasurer of Haddington, was elected 'collector for collecting and gadding of the impost of the merchandice going furth and coming in the heavin of Aberlady in schipps or crears'.⁴⁸

Each November, Haddington council set the patrimonies of the burgh for the following year. This including setting the customs of the ports (being the gateways into the burgh) and anchorage of Aberlady. In 1692-93 the customs of the ports were divided into the following groupings: the west port and anchorage of Aberlady; the north and north east ports; and the south and south east ports. For subsequent years, the sum noted in the table below is for the customs of the west port and anchorage of Aberlady. By 1766 it is apparent that the patrimony had been further sub-divided, with the customs of the west port being separated from the anchorage of Aberlady. By 7 November 1771 it had become necessary for the burgh council to formally record that it agreed 'to support and protect the tacksmen of the anchorage of Aberlady in recovering the fees and customs thereof from those liable therein agreeable to the Table of Regulation'.⁴⁹

Because of this arrangement it is impossible to accurately estimate just how much customs money Aberlady brought into Haddington. Nevertheless, as a rough rule-of-thumb, it looks as though the Aberlady customs amounted to about one tenth of the customs money for the West Port of the burgh during the sixteenth century but this percentage declines as we progress through time and as Haddington turned more to Leith and Dunbar for imports and exports.

Although they are by no means complete, the figures in Appendix 4 demonstrate that the port experienced tough trading conditions during the latter half of the eighteenth century and reached a nadir in 1796 when the tacksman of the port, James Winton, defaulted on his annual rent of six shillings (see Appendix 4). Thereafter, the port seems to have made

⁴⁶ *RPC*, 1st ser., i, 381.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vi, 373.

⁴⁸ NAS, B30/13/4, f.5r.

⁴⁹ NAS, B30/12/17.

a small financial recovery and this can probably be attributed to the Napoleonic Wars when trading impositions were imposed by the British government and there was increased demand for basic commodities throughout Britain. Even so, by the 1830s the port income was clearly once again on the decline as this was probably what prompted Haddington to firstly put its customs house up for rent and then to sell its rights in Aberlady Bay in 1848 to the earl of Wemyss and Mr George Hope.

Smuggling

In all of the records consulted for this survey there was only one reference to smuggling and customs evasion. This occurred on 2 May 1565 when a St Monans captain called Thomas Ramsay confessed to breaking the law a year earlier,

[...] Thomas Ramsay in Sanct Monans comperit in presens of the preist and counsall of this burgh [Haddington] and confessit that quhair he arrivit with his schip on the havin Ebarlady the xxvi day of May last & brak bouk of the customar without entering of the samyn quhairfor he come in [...] quhilk cryme the counsall of thair awin benevolence remittit quitclaimit & dischargit and thair efter the said Thomas enterit his said schip contenand xxx aikin Jestis iii^{xx} ruf spar of aik iii duson daillis ii dusoun garrans and i^c sparris of fyre ii^c staigis the custom thairof extending to xiiiiis.⁵⁰

While the use of the Aberlady priest in this affair is very interesting (presumably Ramsay was forced to swear upon the bible), it is equally remarkable that more similar occurrences have not emerged and, unless further smuggling offences have been recorded elsewhere, this may indicate that the local customs officers were efficient.

Miscellaneous trading material

It is clear from the historical records that Aberlady was not just a trading port. In 1532-33, for example, the inhabitants of Aberlady (together with other burghs) were ordered to send two horses with fish each 'fish day' to the Scottish army in the Borders:

Item to William Mure messenger to pas with ane letter to charge the inhabitants of Dunbar, North Berwick, Abirlady and Dirloutoun, ilk ane of thai tounis to furnis ii hors with fische ilk fische day, to pas to the lieutenant of the bordouris sa lang as he bydis thair with his army, 20s.⁵¹

Some of these fishing boats may have been quite substantial as the 'boat men' of Aberlady were ordered to help transport French troops back to France in 1550.⁵²

⁵⁰ NAS, B30/13/1.

⁵¹ NAS, GD1/413/8, 121; T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul (editors), *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877-1916), vi, 122, [hereafter: *TA*].

⁵² *TA*, ix, 429.

But fish only formed a small part of the goods, both raw and manufactured, that moved through Aberlady Bay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, there are numerous entries in Haddington burgh records concerning items like trees and slate being brought into Haddington from Aberlady, presumably first having been imported into the harbour there.⁵³ Full listings of these goods can be found in Appendices 2, 3 and 5 but they included tar, lint, iron, kid skins, sheep skins, yarn, stockings, coal, salt, wheat, oats, peas, cod, ling, skate, firewood, and hemp and the favoured trading destinations on record were Flanders, England and Norway. It is not immediately clear why some of these boats were taking fish into Aberlady and how this affected the local fishermen, though these cargoes may have consisted of fish that had already undergone secondary processing like salting or drying.

Haddington Common Good Fund accounts are also clear that much of the timber taken into Aberlady was destined for building purposes in Haddington. For example, during the latter half of the sixteenth century Haddington's mills, the new town school, and the new church were built from timber taken into Aberlady. Clearly, this was not always processed timber since whole tree trunks were also occasionally included amongst the cargoes of various ships. It is also very interesting to note on a number of occasions that assemblage of some of these different timber products took place on site in Aberlady Bay (presumably on the links?) before they were carted onwards to Haddington. No reason is ever provided for this type of activity and it is a mystery why the assemblage of some timbers took place in the bay rather than on the actual building site some miles away.

The Common Good Fund accounts also provide another window through which to view the harbour facilities in the bay. On at least two occasions the treasurer of Haddington paid the sailors drink silver because they had sailed their craft up the full limit of the high tide before anchoring their boats and unloading their cargoes.⁵⁴ This seems perfectly logical since some of these cargoes, like whole tree trunks, would have been very awkward to offload and handle across the bay at low tide, even if the boats were beached in front of the customs house. It is also worth noting that it may have been this very awkwardness in handling heavier and bulkier cargoes that contributed to the decline of shipping entering the bay, in conjunction with the reluctance of the Haddington council to invest in and improve the facility.

Aberlady Loan

The road between the west Port of Haddington burgh and Aberlady (which was forty feet in breadth), variously referred to as the 'common road', 'Aberlady Loan', or the 'sea wynd', always seems to have been at the centres of disputes between the council of Haddington and local landowners. In the mid-sixteenth century, for example, the burgh magistrates had brought an action against Alexander Gourlaw of Kincaig, his mother Dame Jane Forman and Andrew Wood of Largo, her husband, Alexander Yule of Garmilton, Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Frances Borthwick of Ballinreif, Andrew Murray of Blackbarony, Richard Richardson in Ballinreif, John Logan in the Canongate

⁵³ NAS, B30/19/2.

⁵⁴ NAS, E82/27/5/2; E82/27/5/3; B30/21/82.

and Alexander Hamilton in Salt Preston who had been preventing them from using the right of way to the harbour. Problems had continued and when workmen were trying to repair it, insert dips and mark it with march stones, they had had their spades violently taken off them by Alexander Yule.⁵⁵

Any work undertaken on the road was paid for by Haddington's Common Good Fund and the fund accounts show that repair work was undertaken on a fairly regular basis. Between 23-26 December 1576, for example, Johne Tempill, Matho Arth, James Hog, Johne Wyther, Robert Andersoun, and Thomas Gothray worked four days in repairing the road after a flood for which they were each paid eight shillings in total. Less than one year later, between 10 and 15 October 1577, James Tempill, James Storie, Johne Wyther, Thomas Gothray, James Gray, and Johne Wilsoun were each paid the same amount of two shillings *per diem* for working on the Aberlady Gait.⁵⁶

Certainly by the seventeenth century Haddington burgh council employed a road mender for this highway: on 31 May 1624 Haddington burgh council paid £20 to Alexander Smyth in Ballencreiff,

[...] for mending the gait hedand fra this burg to Aberlady and for uphalding of the samen during his abode and residence at Ballencreiff yeerlie.⁵⁷

By the time of the second half of the eighteenth century considerable efforts were still being made by the burgh councillors to ensure no encroachments were made onto the road. When the council heard that an individual was in the process of enclosing his grounds, an investigation was invariably ordered to ensure the road remained intact. In 1761 it was found that markers previously positioned at places where encroachments had been spotted had been wrongfully removed. The ground in question was generally 'ploughed up', but William Dick, a mill master in Haddington, had actually built a stone dyke on the east side of the road which had removed about six feet from its width. The council strongly objected to such arbitrary behaviour on the grounds that it was not even,

[...] in the power of the councill to allow such procedure or to so any thing to straiten or impair that loaning in any shape, as the law directs that the road from our royall burgh to the west sea port shall be fourty foot wide.⁵⁸

On 4 August 1762 Haddington burgh council also forced Dick to register the following agreement, which affected Aberlady loan, in the council minutes,

[...] As also I by these presents hereby declare and bind and oblidge me and my foresaids That the foot road along the northside of the townwall from the towns loan commonly called Aberlady loan Eastward to the North port commonly called the Newtonport and the styles leading thereto of the east and west sides of the said

⁵⁵ NAS, B30/21/16.

⁵⁶ NAS, E82/27/5/2.

⁵⁷ NAS, B30/13/4, f.63r.

⁵⁸ NAS, B30/13/17.

road shall always remain open and patent and in all time coming for the use of the Inhabitants of the said burgh As also I bind and oblidge me and my foresaids betwixt and the first day of September next upon my own expenses to repair the small bridges over the highway called Lidgate and to carry the run of water which used to pass by that bridge into my Park or Inclosure lying at the Newton Port and on the Northside of the Town wall and through the said inclosure southward to the said Newton port as it used to run formerly And lykewayes to cut down the westend of the said Lidgate road and to make it of a sufficient breadth and lay it with small stones so as to make the access thereto from Aberlady loan sloping easie and good.⁵⁹

It would appear that at this time the burgh council were constantly vigilant about any type of behaviour that might affect their asset. On 24 October 1765 the council recommended that a committee re-visit the road, this time ‘to see if any attempt is made to bring down the run of water from the higher grounds down the loan’. This seems to indicate that perhaps farmers had been cutting drainage channels into the road. Whatever the case, the council was determined to retain the original dimensions of the road whenever possible. On 28 July 1770 a detailed report was presented to the council naming all those areas between Haddington and Aberlady where the road fell short of the required width of forty feet. It began in Aberlady moving south to Haddington, and clearly shows that the current A6317 (or close to it) was the path of the older road,

[...] Att the upper end of Patrick Forrests dyke the road or highway was only thirty two foot broad then from Aberlady muir southwards to the bridge between twenty four and twenty eight foot broad & from the bridge southwards to Andrew Pringles entery to his house the road in some places was thirty eight feet in breadth Item a little to the north of George Yules the road was only thirty two feet in breadth Item Lord Elibanks ground to the south of [Ballencreiff?] there is a row of trees planted at the distance of thirty two feet Item a little to the south of Caldra farm at the hedges the road is twenty nine foot in breadth Item a little to the south of that between Garleton and Byres the road is only twenty eight feet in breadth and a little below Garleton house thirty three feet Item opposite to Garelton house there are holes digged within the fourty foot allowed to this burgh Item in some parts of the towns highway of Harmenflatt the same is only nintein foot broad & some parts twenty foot Item there some parts of the Towns road, measures only fourty foot includeing ditches.⁶⁰

When it was proposed in 1778 to straighten, and thus shorten, the road between Haddington and Aberlady, through Lord Elibank’s lands, it was only consented unto on the grounds that the road remain forty feet wide according to ‘ancient charters and decreets’.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ NAS, B30/13/18.

Legislative problems were also encountered. On 1 October 1792 it was recorded by the burgh council that a bill was to be presented to the next session of parliament for the erection of tollbars on turnpike roads. This led to fears that Haddington might be materially injured,

[...] because by the charter from the crown in favour of this burgh we have an undoubted right to a road of forty feet wide from the port of Haddington to the shore of Aberlady, without any obstruction which may eventually prove of the greatest consequence to this burgh owing to the privileges it contains with regard to Aberlady, by opening a channel for trade &c. in favour of this town.⁶²

Unfortunately, the burgh response to this crisis was not found during the course of this historical survey. The position the burgh was taking on this matter is, however, very interesting, particularly at a time when the tacksmen of Aberlady anchorage were defaulting on their annual rents and being chased as debtors. If the income of the port had declined so much during this period it very much looks as though continued interest in this road between Haddington and Aberlady was the burgh defending its ancient rights as a matter of principle.

The fort at Aberlady

On 27 January 1552 the privy council ordered that ‘the fort of Aberlady at Lufness’ be destroyed. This fort had been built, manned and strengthened with munitions by the ‘maist Cristin King of France’ during the ‘rough wooing’, but had become an unnecessary expense now that Scotland was at peace. The accounts of the lord high treasurer indicate that the fort had originally been built in 1549 and that English forces had been sent to try to prevent its construction.⁶³ Clearly Aberlady played a significant role in the strategic defence of Scotland during the 1540s, despite Haddington being the headquarters for the English military command. Michael Lynch notes that there were over twenty fortresses built on the east coast, between Berwick and Dundee, during the second phase of the ‘rough wooing’, after 1547.⁶⁴ It would seem most likely that the fort at Aberlady formed part of this defensive measure.

In 1552 was ordained by the council that ‘the said fort of Aberlady [was] to be randerit and deliverit to Patrik Hepburne of Wauchtoun’ so that it could be destroyed. The houses and mansion were not to be pulled down, and were instead to remain in Hepburn’s hands in the same manner as his forbears had held the same. Hepburn was charged with delivering the artillery and munitions which were in the fort to Dunbar.⁶⁵ The exact location of the fort is not clear from the privy council entry, but it seems likely that it once surrounded the site of the house of Luffness since a 1792 survey recorded that the

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *TA*, ix, 317-25.

⁶⁴ Michael Lynch, *Scotland A New History* (London, 1992), 206.

⁶⁵ *RPS*, 1st ser., i, 119.

house was surrounded by an irregular four-sided figure, some of the ditches of which were full of water.⁶⁶

The addenda volume of this series of the privy council records includes an entry from June 1548 which commands one John Arnott to take at least twenty-four boats to Leith for carrying victuals ‘furthe of the schipis to Aberlady for furnishing the French armie’.⁶⁷ In 1550 the tenants of Aberlady who possessed boats (along with others in East Lothian, were commanded to take the French army back to France and the same year all those in Aberlady who owned carts and oxen were ordered to unload the goods and money from the French galleys in Aberlady Bay and transport those goods to Edinburgh (the galleys could not sail up the Forth because of the prevailing winds).⁶⁸

Recommendations for further research

Haddington burgh records have proven to be a good source of information about Aberlady. However, in terms of the Haddington material, Aberlady-related documentation probably amounts to under 1% of the whole surviving record. The possibility that there was once a separate record for Aberlady affairs (which is now either missing or destroyed) has already been raised and this suggestion cannot be wholly dismissed. Nevertheless, there is also a sense that the town council of Haddington did not really care too much about their port and were more often than not unwilling to make much of a financial investment in the upkeep of the port-related facilities other than maintaining the beacons, ensuring that the port road remained forty feet in width, and generally making sure that nobody encroached on the burgh rights.

While some of the boats entering Aberlady Bay had come there directly from Norway, the vast majority clearly came from the Fife ports of St Monans, St Andrews, Crail, and Pittenweem. It would be a very worthwhile exercise to check the shipping records of those ports for the same boats and captains to try and determine where exactly their Aberlady-bound cargoes had originated.

It would also be a worthwhile exercise to create an inventory of all the Aberlady wills and testaments that have survived. While not many of these have survived for the sixteenth century, their numbers increase as we progress through time and they can be valuable sources of local information. Electronic images of these testaments are freely available online in Register House in Edinburgh, though there is a cost involved in printing them off, should that be required.

In contrast to many structures during this period nothing has been found that relates to the upkeep of the Customs house at the port. This is very unusual since such structures needed constant maintenance and there is a suspicion that these particular records may be hidden away in a section of the Haddington burgh records that has not yet been surveyed. Another part of the reason for this neglect of Aberlady may have been Haddington's

⁶⁶ Neil Roy, ‘Topographical Description of the Parish of Aberlady’, in *Archaeologia Scotica*, i, 1792, 519.

⁶⁷ *RPS*, 1st ser., xiv, 5.

⁶⁸ *TA*, ix, 429, 439.

constant use of larger competing ports like Dunbar and (more usually) Leith. It is therefore recommended that the remaining unsurveyed sections of Haddington burgh records also be surveyed to determine if any stray Aberlady material has been inserted into those volumes. It might also be worthwhile making a formal approach through the National Archives to the earl of Wemyss and attempt to gain access to Aberlady material that is currently held privately. This latter process would need to be planned in advance since such approaches can take up to two years to negotiate.

APPENDIX 1: engineering instructions

The sea bank to be executed according to the accompanying drawings and specification and to the satisfaction of the engineer appointed to superintend the same.

The sea bank is proposed to commence at the point F on the plan and continued in the direction of the red line across the bay to the point E on the said plan, in length 36 chains. The top of the new sea bank along the whole length when completed is to be two feet above the level of high water mark. The bank to be of the following dimensions: that is to say, it is to have a slope or batter on the sea side of three feet horizontal to one foot perpendicular. The top of the bank at the termination of the sea slope to be three feet wide and to have a slope or batter on the land side of one foot six inches horizontal to one foot perpendicular.

The whole of the earth deposited in the different parts of the bank (excepting what is required for the clay facing) is to be dug from the sea side of the same and to be carted or wheeled into the same and laid to the form required, all the best of the soil that is most impervious to water being carefully selected during the execution of the work and laid on the sea slope, care being taken that it is well chopped and trodden together. All the earthwork in the bank is to be kept in a well formed and solid state as the nature of the material will allow, and one man is to be employed in forming the work to every four or five men that are excavating soil for the same.

The whole of the sea slope is to be covered with good tough clay or loam, well chopped and trodden or crammed together.

The sea slope, to the distance of three chains in each side of the new sluice, is also to [be] faced with hammer dressed stone one foot in depth, measured at right angles to the slope; this facing is to be bedded in broken stone, or coarse gravel, the sand, loose mud &c. to be carefully removed from the foot of the bank on the sea side; down to the firm bottom and benching made in the solid earth to receive the foot of the bank, with slopes to the same, the clay and stone facings being carried to the bottom of the said slopes.

The pits from whence the earth is taken on the sea side of the bank are not to be excavated nearer than 25 feet from the sea side slope unless otherwise directed by the engineer, and the slopes of the said pits next [to] the new bank not to be less than three feet horizontal on one foot perpendicular.

The contractor for forming the bank is likewise to undertake to excavate the pit required for the new sluice, which is to be excavated to the length, width and depth required, and the earth laid round the same, and to form dams; he must cut a channel to allow the drainage water to escape during the time that the sluice is building, and when the sluice is completed he is to remove the dams from the head and tail of the sluice to open the channel to allow the water to flow through the same, to fill up the channel made for the drainage before described, and to make his bank solid and perfect over the same. He is likewise to bench back upon the solid earth and form a pun at the back of the walls of the tunnel and wings and back the same in regular layers, as the work is built in regular planning causes. He is to wheel in clay and form a puddle under the aprons of the sluice and when the arch of the sluice is formed he is regularly to back up the same; to form his embankment in a solid and workmanlike manner over the same, and join with it the other

parts of the bank, so that the earthwork and every thing else may be made as perfect round the sluice, and wind walls as at all other parts of the work, and to remove all slips of earth from the sluice pit that may fall in during the execution of the work.

The contractor is to cut a new channel for the Peffer in the direction of the dotted lines on the plan for a length of 37 chains commencing at the sill of the sluice and continuing upwards with a bottom eight feet wide, gradually rising from the level of the said sill, at the rate of one inch in every five chains and a slope or batter of two feet on each side horizontal to one foot perpendicular, unless otherwise directed by the engineer, where the soil is sufficiently firm to stand with shorter slopes. All the soil that is excavated from the cutting to be cessed back four feet on each side from the edges of the channel; and formed to the same slope on the sides next to the channel.

The contractor to remove all water from the pits that may be necessary, to take up all stanks, cradges and dams; to find all materials, planks, barrows, carts, horses and men; and all tools, implements and every thing else that may be necessary to form the bank in question, and to make it perfect in all its parts, to take the risk of all accidents that may arise to the same, and to deliver it up perfect in all its parts to the proprietors at the termination of the contract.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ NAS, GD364/1/775.

APPENDIX 2: 1620 customs

Prestoun and Abirladie 1620

The custome Ressauitt be Mark Achesoune Fra his enterie quhilk was the xxvi day of Januar boun for Londoin 1620 to, [missing]

In primis enterrit the *Prouidence* of Prestoun, William Thomsoun merchand, xvi of xxiiii chalderis salt ressauvit custome thairoff xiiis

Estimat the enterie ane fadell of yarne contening thre scoir pund weghtt customitt be Patrik Morys the customer of Edinburgh, Margaret Monkeir ane hundreth weght. Johne Craw merchand in Edinburgh Ane hundreth weight all coustimett be Patrik Moryse customer of Edinburgh

Boun for Flanderis ii Februarii 1620

Item enteritt be Robert Clerk in Fischeraw maister and merchand of the bark callit the *Grace off God* fyftene chalder coillis the custome extending to £7 10s

Boun for Flanderis xvi of Februarii

Item enteritt George Fall in Leith enteritt the *Moyse* of Leyth baith being maister and merchant, tuelff chalder coillis, custome extending to £6

xxv of Februarii 1620

Item enteritt the schip of Leith callit the [blank] quhairroff Adam Gairne and Hairy Seytoun wes merchandis and Johne Luikos maister with tuentie chalders quheitt the custome thairoff extending £6 4s 4d, boun for France.

Boun for London, iii March 1620

Enterit the *Salamander* of Prestoun be John Wilsoun maister and merchand sextene chalders salt the custome thairoff extending to £6 8s

Boun for Flanders, xxiiii of Marche 1620

Enteritt be Cornelius Johstoun maister and merchand of ane bark callit the *Fortoun* with tuentie chalderis coillis and ressauitt custome thairfor extending to £12

Item mair twa last of leid vre without onypayment and haiffand Jon Fairlie his warrand thairfor

Londoun, xxv Marche 1620

Enteritt the *Barbara* of Prestoun be Ninian Henrysoun maister and merchand with tuentie chalderiss salt Ressauit of customes extending to £9 12s

Schippit in the said bark and enteritt be him twa fardellis Yairne pertening to Andro Andersoun ilk fardell containand ane hundreth thre scoir pund weght. To James Kirkland twa fardellis of Yairne contening twa hundreth weght Ane fardell of hardn claith pertening to the said James contenand ane hundreth ells. To Johne Scott ane litill fardell of yairne contening ane half hundreth weght all pertening to the merchandis of Edinburgh and customitt be Patrick Moryss

Londoun xxvi Marche 1620

Enteritt the *Jonas* of Prestoun Be John Broun maister and merchand thairoff with tuentie four chalderis salt and ressaunt custome thairfor extending to £9 12s

Mair schippitt in the said bark twa tross of Yairne pertening to Margaret Maileir, the ane contening thre quarteris of ane hundreth weght and the uyer ane hundreth weght. Ane fardell pertening to John Craw contening ane hundreth weght customitt with the said Patrik Moryss as his tikkitt beirs.

Londoun, xxvi of Aprile 1620

Enteritt the *Prouidence* of Prestoun Be John Thomsoun maister and merchand thairoff with tuentie chalderis salt and ressaunt custome thairfor extending to £8

Mair schippitt in the said bark pertening to Andro Andersoun in Edinburgh fyve hundreth weght and thre scoir of yairne. To James Crall merchand in Edinburgh ane hundreth thre scoir pound weght of yairne. To John Craw merchand in Edinburgh twa hundreth weght of yairne. To Margaret Monteir ane hundreth weght. To Alexander Bailye veir ane fardell of Scots wollin hoiss contening ane hundreth and twentie pair all customitt be the customes of Edinburgh as his warrandis thairvpoune beiris.

Flanderis, vi Maii 1620

Resaunt custome be George Fall the *Moyses* of Leith with tuelff chalder coillis Ressauit custome thairfor extending to £6

Londoun, xxii Maii 1620

Enteritt the *Williame* of Prestoun be William Hammiltoun maister and merchand thairoff with tuentie four chalders salt and ressaunt custome thairof extending to £9 12s

Mair tuelff bollis peis ressaunt customes thairfor 5s

Flanders, xxvi day of Maii 1620

Enteritt Cornelius Johnsoun in the bark callit the *Fortoun* quhairoff he is baith maister and merchand with tuentie aucht chalders coillis and ressaunt custome thairfor extending to £14

Londoun, the iiiii of Junii

Past ane Cokat to Johne Wilson maister and merchand of the bark callit the *Salamander* Customer thairof extending to £6 8s

Londoun xi Junii 1620

Enteritt the *Barbara* of Prestoun quhairoff John Wood is maister and merchand with xxiiii chalderis salt Ressauit the custome thairoff £9 12s

Schippitt in the said schip ane tross of yairne pertening to Margaret Monteir and customit be the customeris of Edinburgh as his warrand schewit

Flanders, xix Junii 1620

Enteritt the schip callit the *Issibell* quhairoff John Mairtine is maister and merchand with xx chalderis coillis Ressauit custome thairfor extending to £10

Londoun, xxx Junii 1620

Enteritt the *Jonas* of Prestoun quhairoff Johne Broun is maister and merchand with xxiiii chalderis salt Ressauit custome thairfor £9 12s

Schippitt in the said schip the said day ane hundreth Hid skinns and and [sic] customitt be the customeris of Edinburgh as thair warrant beris

Flanders, iiii Julie 1620

Enteritt the *Mary* of Leith quhair John Symmerwaill id maister and merchand with xviii chalderis coillis ressauit custome thairfor £9

Flander x Julii 1620

Enteritt the bark of Middilburgh callit the *Fortoun* quhairoff Cornelius Jonstoun is maister and merchand with xxviii chalderis coillis ressauit custome thairfor £14

Londoun, xi August 1620

Enteritt the *Salamander* quhairoff John Wilsoun is maister and merchand with xv chalderis salt ressauit custome thairfor £6

Londoun, xix off August 1620

Enteritt the *Provideur* off Prestoun quhairoff Jhone Thous is maister and merchand with ix chalderis ressauit custome thairfor £3

Londoun xx Julii 1620

Enteritt the *William* of Prestoun quhairoff William Hammiltoun is maister and merchand with xvi chalderis aitis ressauit custome thairfor £5 6s 8d

Flanders, xv August 1620

Enteritt Andro Gray his schip callit the *Grace* quhairoff the said Andro is maister and merchand with xx chalderis coillis ressauit custome thairfor £10

Flanders, Last of August

Enteritt the *Moses* of Leith quhairoff George Fall is maister and merchand with xii chalderis coillis ressauit custome thairfor £6

Londoun, ii Septembris 1620

Enteritt the *Barbara* of Prestoun quhairoff Jon Wood is maister and merchand with xxiiii chalderis salt ressauit custome thairfore £9 12s

Schippitt in the said schip ane tross of yairne pertening to [blank] contenand [blank] pund weght. Item ane tross of yairne pertening to Richard Williamsone contenand ane hundreth pund weght all customitt be the customeris of Edinburgh as thair tickettis beiris

Londoun, xii Septembris 1620

Enteritt the *William* of Prestoun quhairoff William Hammiltoun is maister and merchand with xxiiii chalderis salt ressauit custome thairfor £9 12s

Flanders xix Septembris 1620

Enteritt the *Mary* of Leith quhairoff Gilbert Weddell is maister and merchand with xviii chalderis of coillis reauit custome thairfor £9

Flanders, xxii Septembris 1620

Enteritt the *Fortoun* of Middilburgh quhairoff Cornelius Jonstoun is aister and merchand with xxviii chalderis coilis ressaut custome thairfor £14

Flanders, xxix Septembris 1620

Enteritt the *Wyndberrie* of Leith quhairoff John Symmerwaill is maister and merchand with xviii chalderis coillis ressaut custome thairfor £9

Flanders, iii Octobris 1620

Enteritt the *Pillicant* of Leith quhairoff John Braid is maister and merchand with xx chalderis coillis ressaut custome thairfor £9

Londoun, vi Octobris 1620

Enteritt the *Jonas* of Prestoun quhairoff John Broun is maister and merchand with xxiiii chalderis salt ressaut custome thairfor £9 12s

Londoun, viii Octobris 1620

Enteritt the *Salamander* of Prestoun quhairoff John Wilsoun is maister and merchand with xv chalderis salt ressaut custome thairfor £6

Flander, xii Octobris 1620

Enteritt the *Grace of God* of Leith quhairoff James Halyburtoun is maister and merchand with xx chalderis coilis ressaut custome thairfor £10.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ NAS, E71/24/1.

APPENDIX 3: 1620 customs

Prestoun and Abirladie 1620

Compte of Mark Achesone customar at Prestoune and Abirladie of all manar of guidis customabill inbrocht at the saidis portis and hevinis fra the 26 day of Januar 1620 to the first of November 1620

Enteritt the 26 day of Januarii 1620 in the *Providence* of Prestoun bound for Londoun

William Thomsone merchand and maister salt xxii chalders £8 16s

Item eftir the foirsaid entrie thair was producit to me ane ticket subscrivit be vmquhill Jack Morris customer of Edinburgh of the resait be him of the customeris of the merchandrie following, to wit of ane fardell of yairne contening weght Lx pund Margaret Monteir Li^c weicht John Crow i^{ct} weicht

Enterit 12 Februarii 1620 said Robert Clerkis boit Fischerraw callit the *Grace* boun to Flanders, Robert Clark maister and merchand coilis xv chalderis £7 10s

Enterit 16 Februarii the *Moses* of Leyth boun to Flanders, George Fall maister and merchand, coilis xii chalderis, £6

Enterit 25 Februarii ane schip of Leyth callit the *Lark* boun to France John Lucop maister, Adame Garrine & Herrie Seytoun merchantis, quheit xx chalderis, £6 13s 4d

Enterit 3 Merch 1620 the *Salamander* of Prestoun boun to Landon, John Wilsane maister and merchant, salt xvi chalderis, £6 8s

Item thair wes ane fardell of yairne contenit i^c wecht quhair of the said Patrik Moreis resaut the custom as his bill schawis

Enterit 24 Merche 1620 ane bark callit the *Firtoun* boun for Flanders, Cornelius Joytoun maister & merchant coilis 21 chalderis, £12

Of leid ore ii last of custom and resaut fairlie his ticket thair of

Enterit 25 Merche the *Barbara* of Prestoun boun for London, Niniane Henrisone maister and merchant salt 24 chalderis £19 12s

Johne Christiand schippit in the said bark perteing to Andro Andersoun yairne 2 fardellis each fardell contenand i^c Lx wecht

James Kirkland yairne 2 fardellis ii^c wecht [rubbed and missing] i^c elns

John Scott yairne ane litill fardell contenand Lx wecht all perteing to the merchandis of Edinburgh and customit be the said Patrik Moreis

Enterit 30 Merche 1620 the *Jonas* of Prestoun John Broun maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt 24 chalderis, £9 12s

Item schippit in the said bark tua truss of yairne Margaret Monteir the ane contenand thre quarteris of ane hundreth the vyer I^{ct} wecht

John Crow i fardell i^{ct} wecht custumat be the said vmquhill Patrik as his tickit beris

Enterit 26 Aprile 1620 the *Providens* of Prestoun John Thomsoun maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt xx chalderis, £8
Item schippit the said bark pertening to Andro Achersoun in Edinburgh
Andro Achesoun yairne v^{ct} lx wecht
James Small yairne i^{ct} lx wecht
John Crow yairne ii^{ct} wecht
Margaret Monteir yairne ii^{ct} wecht
Alexander Tailyeor Off soccis wowin has i^c xx pair all customit be the customaris of Edinburgh as the varrand beris

Enterit 6 Maii 1620 the *Moses* of Leyth boun to Flanderis George Fall coilis xii chalderis £6

Enterit 22 Maii the *William* of Prestoun William Hamiltoun maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt 24 chalderis £9 12s; pis 12lb 5s

Enterit 26 Maii the bark callit the *Fortoun* Cornelius Jonstoun maister and merchant boun to Flanderis Coilis xxviii chalderis £14

Enterit 4 Junii 1620 the bark callit the *Salamander* boun to Londoun John Wilsoun maister and merchant xvi chalderis salt £6 8s

Enterit xi Junii the *Barbara* of Prestoun boun to Londoun John Wod maister and merchant salt xxiii chalderis £9 12s
Schippit in the said schip ane truss of yairne pertening to Margaret Monteir customit be the customer of Edinburgh as his warrand schawis

Enterit xix Junii the schip callit the *Isebell* boun to Flanderis John Mertine maister and merchant coilis 20 chalderis £10

Enterit 30Junii the *Jonas* of Prestoun boun to Londoun John Broun maister and merchant salt 24 chalderis £9 12s
Schippit in the said schip the said day kid skinnis i^c the custoum payit to the customer of Edinburgh as the varrand beris

Enterit 4 Julii 1620 the *Maria* of Leyth boun to Flanders John Somervell maister and merchant coilis xviii chalderis £9

Enterit 10 Julii in ane bark of Midilburgh callit the *Fortoun* Cornelius Jonstoun maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xxviii chalderis £14

Enterit xi August 1620 the *Salamander* boun to Londoun John Wilsoun maister and merchant salt xv chalderis £6

Enterit xix August in the *Providence* of Prestoun boun to Londoun John Thomsoun maister and merchant Aites ix chalderis £3

Enterit 20 Julii 1620 the *William* of Prestoun William Hamiltoun maister and merchant boun to Londoun Aites xvi chalderis £5 6s 8d

Enterit xv August 1620 the schip callit *Grace* Andro Gray maister and merchant boun to Flanderis coilis xx chalderis £6

Enterit the last of August the *Moyses* of Leyth George Fall maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xii chalderis £6

Enterit iii September 1620 the *Barbara* of Prestoun John Wod maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt 24 chalderis £9 12s

Schippit in the said schip ane tros Of yairne perteing to [blank] pund wecht
Item ane tross of yairne pertening to Richert Williamsone contenant i^c wecht all customit be the customes of Edinburgh as thair ticketis beris

Enterit the 12 of September the *William* of Prestoun William Hamiltoun maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt 24 chalderis £9 12s

Enterit 19 September the *Maria* of Leyth Gilbert Woddell maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xviii chalderis £9

Enterit 22 September the *Fortoun* of Middilburgh Cornelius Jonstoun maister and merchant boun to Flanderis coilis 28 chalderis £14

Enterit 29 September the *Wyne berrie* of Leyth Johane Somarvell maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xviii chalderis £9

Enterit 3 October 1620 the *Pellicane* of Leyth John Brand maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis 20 chalderis £10

Enterit 6 October *Jonas* of Prestoun Jon Broun maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt 24 chalderis £9 12s

Enterit viii October the *Salamander* of Prestoun John Wilsone maister and merchant boun to Londoun salt xv chalderis £6

Enterit 12 October the *Grace of God* of Leyth James Halyburtoun maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis 20 chalderis £10

Enterit 13 October the *Lauris* of Leyth Andro Broun maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xx chalderis £10

Enterit the 16 October the *Nobill* of Middilburgh Henrie Patersoun maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xiii chalderis £6 10s

Enterit the xix October the *Canno* of Fluting Laurence Pantoun maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xv chalderis £7 10s

Enterit the 21 October 1620 the bark of Middilburgh callit the *Lyff*, Adriane Mussilman maister and merchant boun to Flanders coilis xii chalderis £6

Apud Edinburgh xx die mensis Novembris 1620 Comperit pesonallie Mark Achesone and maid faith that this compt producit be him wes richt & trew & nothing omitted quhairby his master may be defraudit of his bullion

The compt within wryttin of the goddis schippit at the port of Prestoun Hevin betuix the x day of Nouember 1619 and the first daye of Nouember 1620 extendis to Tua Hundreth vxxii chalderis of salt, of coillis thrie hundreth threttie chalderis, Of quheit tuentie chalderis, of peis tuelff bollis, of Aittis xxv chalderis, Quhilk extendis to paye of bullion Ane stane fyve pund xiii ounces. The compt of the yairne is present in the compt of Leith.

The Inwart custum

Enterit Apryll 1620

Ane boat of Pettinweym called the *Grace of God* fra Norway Robert Smyth maister and merchant 700 daillis £7

Item ane thowsand stingis L merkis, four faddome burnwode 4s

Enterit xiii Junii

Ane bark of Fischeraw called the *Grace of God* – daillis - £5

Robert Clerk maister – daillis – 500; singill timber 20s; stingis 1000; burnwode ii faddome, 2s

Enterit xx Julii

The *Blissing* of Pettinweym Alexander Adamesone maister and merchand 400 daillis £4; singill ruif spar 300, £4; burnwode 3 faddome, 3s; girthstaigis 500, vd

Enterit xxvii Julii 1620 frome the toun Of Hipsla whairof Dauid Andersone is maister and merchand: daillis 700, £7; Tymber 400, £4; Stingis 2000, 20s; burnwode 6 faddome, 6s

Enterit 28 Julii 1620

The *Grace of God* of Fischarraw Gavin Fall maister Robert Clerk merchand 500 daillis £5; 300 small timber £3; 1000 stingis 10s; burnwode 4 faddome 4s

Enterit to Junii 1620 the *Grace of God* of Pettinveme James Lundy maister and merchant 500 timmer £5; 200 dailis 40s; 1000 stingis 10s

Cornelius Johnstoun of pees 30 barrell 30s

Entress outward & Inward £52 10s

Outward 1620

Salt 302 chalderis

Coalls 310 chalderis

Quheit 20 chalderis

Peis 19 bollis

Aittis 25 chalders

Inward 1620

Daillis 3000

Stingis 6500

Tymber 1600

Burnwod 19 fadome.⁷¹

⁷¹ NAS, E71/24/2.

APPENDIX 4: customars of Aberlady

Date	Small customs of Haddington and anchorage	Anchorage alone	Set to
1571	206 merks		Alexander Thomsoun
1572	189 merks		Thomas Myllar
1573	216 merks		Johne Thomson younger
1575	250 merks		Thomas Cockburn younger
1577	90 merks		Thomas Barnis
1578	262 merks		Patrick Diksoun, burgess
1580	295 merks		Patrick Diksone, burgess
1584	315 merks		Alexander Thomson, George Brown and Philip Gibsoun
1587	295 merks		George Brown
1589	£217		
1596	723 merks		
1597	300 merks		
1662	£540		James Thomson and James Duglase, baxter
1663	£603		
1664	£659		
1665	£678		
1666	£666 13s 4d		
1667	£676 13s 4d		
1669-70	860 merks		John Clerk merchant and James Douglas baxter
1670-1	£560		James Douglas and Robert Smyth
1671-2	£565		
1672-3	£630		
1673-4	£616 13s 4d		
1674-5	£506 13s 4d		
1675-6	£520		
1676-7	£600		
1677-8	£666 13s 4d		
1678-9	£603 6s 8d		

Date	Small customs of Haddington and anchorage	Anchorage alone	Set to
1679-80	£605		John Douglas, William Lillie, James Anderson, Adam Steill
1680-1	£560		John Broun, John Douglas, William Lillie
1681-2	£600		John Sleich, John Broun, John Douglas
1682-3	£580		William Smyth and William McCall
1683-4	£683 6s 8d		Robert Gordon, Thomas Aytoun and Thomas Adamsoun
1684-5	£673 6s 8d		Robert Gordon, Robert Broun and William Lillie
1685-6	£666 13s 4d		Thomas Aytoun
1686-7	£706 13s 4d		John Henderson and John Lamb
1687-8	£715 6s 8d		William McCall and Alexander Smyth
1688-9	£710		William Forsyth, John Howieson and Adam Steill
1689-90	£660		William Smyth and William McCall
1690-1	£683 6s 8d		Alexander Jack, Adam Steill and John Howieson
1691-2	£673 6s 8d		William Mackall, John Howieson, Adam Steill and William Richardson
1692-3	£240		William MacCall
1693-4	£268 13s 4d		Mr John Rotson
1694-5	£221		William McCall and Patrick Ramsay
1695-6	£274		Mr John Robertstone
1696-7	£272		
1714-15	£279 Scots		James Erskine
1715-16	£281 Scots		James Young

Date	Small customs of Haddington and anchorage	Anchorage alone	Set to
1766-7	West port set for £15 – these lower sums probably reflect a change to £ Sterling from £ Scots	£1 1s	Hugh Burns
1767-68		£1	Baillie Sawers
1768-69		£1	Simon Sawers
1769-70		£1	Mr McClarran
1770-71		£1 2s	Mr McClarran
1771-72		£2	Alexander Bower
1772-73		Not set	
1774-75		12s	Joseph Williamson (he refused/could not pay the rent)
1775-76		Not set	
1776-77		Not set	
1777-78		Not set	
1778-79		10s	George Sibbald
1779-80		Not set	
1780-81		10s 6d	James Fairburn (he refused/could not pay the rent)
1781-82		11s	Patrick Gray (he refused/could not pay the rent)
1782-83		7s 6d	
1783-84		Not set	
1784-85		10s 6d	Mr Mill (he only paid 3s in total)
1785-86		15s	Robert Dick
1786-87		£1 1s	Robert Dick
1787-88		£1 1s	Robert Dick
1788-9		£1 1s	Robert Dick
1789-90		£1 1s	Robert Dick
1790-91		£1 1s	Robert Dick (he refused/could not pay the rent)
1791-92		5s	Robert Roughhead
1792-93		5s	John Banks

Date	Small customs of Haddington and anchorage	Anchorage alone	Set to
1793-94		Not set	
1794-95		9s	George Banks
1795-96	West Port of Haddington £22	6s	John Hutcheson
1796-97		6s	James Winton (he refused/could not pay the rent)
1797-98		Not set	
1798-99		Not set	
1799-1800		Not set	
1800-01		5s	Alexander Begbie
1801-02		5s	Alexander Begbie
1802-03		14s	Haddington treasurer
1803-04		15s	George Lawder
1804-05		17s	George Muirhead
1805-06		17s	Provost Banks
1806-07		18s	George Brownhill
1807-08		15s	George Donaldson
1808-09		£1	George Banks
1809-10	West Port of Haddington £109	£5 5s	George Banks and Mr Burns
1810-11		£2 10s	Mr Burns
1811-12		£6	Mr Burns
1812-13		£5	Mr Burns
1813-14		£2 15s	Mr Burns
1814-15		£2	Mr Burns
1815-16		£2	Mr Burns
1816-17		£3 10s	D. Dunlop
1817-18		£2	A. Dunlop
1818-19		£2	A. Dunlop
1819-20		£2	A. Dunlop
1820-21		£2	A. Dunlop
1821-22		£3 10s	A. Dunlop
1822-23		£5 15s	A. Dunlop
1823-24		£6	A. Dunlop
1824-25		£6	A. Dunlop
1825-26		£6	A. Dunlop
1826-27		£5 1s	A. Dunlop
1827-28		£5 1s	A. Dunlop

Date	Small customs of Haddington and anchorage	Anchorage alone	Set to
1828-29		£5 6s	A. Dunlop
1829-30		£5 6s	A. Dunlop
1830-31		£5	Robert Tait
1831-32		£3 15s	Robert Tait
1832-33		£3 7s	James Robertson

⁷²

⁷² NAS B30/13/1; B30/13/7; B30/13/12; B30/13/17; B30/19/1; B30/19/2; B30/19/3; B30/19/4. This is not an exhaustive list because the records were only sampled.

APPENDIX 5: post-1593 shipping list

The entrie of the schippis enterand thaimselfis in the hevin of [Abirlady] beginnand in the yeir of god 1593 [missing]

- 10/5/1593 John Perie 100 oak joists, 100 oak garrows,⁷³ [missing] ruif spar oak, 2000 staiges,⁷⁴ 800 Norway knappis⁷⁵
- 7/6/1593 William Singnour 400 daillis,⁷⁶ 12 corbellis oak,⁷⁷ 2000 girthstaiges
- 23/6/1593 Alexander Gillesbe 6 dozen garrowis twa dosen [missing]
- 6/9/1593 Andro Tod 200 ruif spar, 100 dailles, 1000 staigis
- 2/6/159[missing] Alexander Gillesbie 200 [missing] single ruif spar, 20 double ruif spar
- [missing] Richart Wilsoun [missing]
- [missing] Ewane Cre[missing]
- 23/4/1598 Alexander Gillespie in Sanct Manes called the *Williame* 200 ruif spar of fir, 4 doz double ruif spar of fir, 6 corbellis, 400 girthstaigis - cancelled
- [missing] Williame Sutherland in Sanct Manes the same day 500 daillis, 1500 staigis, 100 knappilds - cancelled
- 24/5/1598 Peter Wallace in Eymouths ship called the *Hart* 800 daillis, 5 doz single ruif spar of fir, 2 doz double ruif spar of fir, 2 doz garronis, 1000 girthstaigis, 150 knappald
- 10/6/1598 James Carnok in Leiths ship called the *James* 300 daillis, 100 ruif spar, 100 knappald, 500 girthstaigs, 5 corbellis of aik, thre faddom burnewod
- 15/5/1598 [missing] Strang in Pittenweems ship 150 single ruif spar of fir, 150 double ruif spar of fir, 150 daillis, 200 vakker Spar,⁷⁸ 20 corbellis, 10 [missing] of aik knappilds, ten faldine fyre wodd
- 16/9/1598 Richard Andreson burgess of Montroses ship 500 daillis, 300 single ruif spar of fir, 2 doz double ruif spar of fir, 300 wokker spar, 800 girthstaigs

⁷³ A squared beam.

⁷⁴ Barrel hoops.

⁷⁵ Clapboard (of split oak), most often used as barrel staves.

⁷⁶ Planks.

⁷⁷ Thick wooden beams.

⁷⁸ Probably derived from wicker, as in bent spars.

- 1/10/1598 [missing] Wilson in Anstruther] [missing] hundreth fiftie killing,⁷⁹ lyng⁸⁰ and futhis
- [missing] 21 dosen killing
- [missing] 40 joists of oak
- [missing] 600 staigs
- 14/9/1599 David Wait in Montroses crair [missing]
- Same day Johne Carnegie in Montroses crair hundreth daills, 200 ruif spar of fir, 400 viker spar, [missing] girthstaigis
- 29/7/1600 John Carnegie in Montroses ship 400 daills, 200 ruif spar, [missing] and 50 garronis of aik, 200 staigis
- 10/10/1600 Johne Carnegie in Montrose's ship 200 daills, 200 single ruif spar, 100 double ruif spar of fir, ane hundreth girth staigis
- 15/5/[missing] Peter Wallace in Elies ship 200 ruif spar of fir, 100 [missing], 12 joists & corbellis
- 3/9/[missing] Henrie Carfra in the Saltpannis ship ruif spars of fir, 1200 staigis
- [missing] William Melville [missing]
- [missing] Johne Myll [missing]
- [missing]
- 22/7/1604 Petir Thom Lechyene of the city of Lubecks ship called *Sanct Petir* 500 dails, 10 doz double ruif spar of fir, 100 wicker spar of fir, 50 fir joists
- 23/7/1604 Johne Thomson in Anstruther Westers ship 200 single ruif spar, 50 double ruif spar, 6 doz. garrowis of aik, 12 corbellis and joists of aik
- 17/9/1604 Harie Thomsoun in Northferries ship called the *Daniell* carrying merchandise belonging to burgesses of Haddington
 - Harie Thomson to James Kirkwode: 42lb schip pund weight of iron, 2.5 last of tar, 1.5 last of lynt, 0.5 last of hemp
 - Harie Thomson to William Wode 35 schip pund weight of iron, 3.5 last of [missing], 1 last of hemp, 1 last of lynt

⁷⁹ Cod.

⁸⁰ Ling.

- Harie Thomson to Richart Spottiswode 34 ship pund weight of iron, 2 last tar, 1 last lynt, quarter last of haidis, half last of hemp
- Harie Thomson to George Young 20lb iron, 1 last tar, [missing] last of hemp, quarter last lynt
- Harie Thomson to Henry Bowie, 3 quaters last lynt, quarter last of [missing]
- 20/7/1605 [missing] Teith in Leith enterit his schip in the heavin of abirlady contenit [missing] 300 stingis, thre faddum Of burne wode for barrell [missing] 100 schuillis⁸¹
- 9/9/1605 [missing] [missing]pper in Leith enterit his schip [missing] following pertaining to the persons [missing] viz.
 - [missing] ane last of lint Item ane [missing]
 - [missing] Item ane last of lynt [missing] Item half ane last [missing]
 - [missing] ane last and ane quarter [missing] half last of lint [missing] hemp
- 12/9/1606 James Binning in Sanct Manes crear twentie <h>ouse Spar of aik, 16 ruf spar of fir, [missing] threttie haly garrowins of cuttit aik, 300 fisch killing, ling and skate
- 21/5/1607 Andro Cuke in Pittenweems ship [missing] daillis, 200 ruf spar, 100 jests of fir, 600 staigis 202 [missing]
- 25/9/1607 Richart Spottiswode, James Kirkcaldie and Johne Coke in a ship [missing] in Leith as skipper
 - James Kirkwode, 36lb iron [missing] quarter last lint, a small last of lint, 1 last of haidis, half a last of [missing] 1 last of pik⁸² small bind, 3 ruig of knappald
 - Richard Spottiswode 2 last of lint, 1 last of [missing], 1.5 last of [missing], [missing] knappald
 - Johne Coke [missing] last of hemp, [missing] iron
 - Alexander Small [missing]

⁸¹ Shovels, made of either wood or metal.

⁸² Timber with pointed ends.

- 18/7/1609 Andro Allane sone to Williame Allane in Dyserts ship 100 garronis of aik, 16 small corbellis of aik, 40 ruife spar of aik, 500 stingis, ten aikin joists, 6 falding of [missing] wode
- 6/9/1609 Simon Russell in Pittenweem and James Lundies ship or bark 200 single and 50 double ruif spar of fir, 1 falding of fyre wode, 200 greth stingis & [missing] hundreth ruingis
- 20/9/1609 [missing] Schort in Prestoun panns ship 150 daillis, 80 single ruif spar, [missing] double ruif spar, 600 stingis, 3 fawldome of burnewode
- 23/9/1609 [missing] Gilbert in Arbrothok in Angus ship 180 single ruif spar, 20 double, 300 stingis, 50 knappald, 3 faldomes fyreowde
- 25/5/1610 Alexander Adamesoun in Pittenweems ship 400 daillis, 400 double and single [missing] fyrewode
- 28/6/1610 [missing] Stevinstoun in Pittenweems ship 250 daillis, 200 ruif spar single, [missing] hundreth ruif spar double all of fir, 1500 stingis, 2 fathom firewode
- 12/9/1610 Andro Daa in Carrell ship called the *Hoipwill* laden with [missing] from Danskein conteining merchandice
 - James Kirkwode 30lb iron, 2 last grit band [missing] a last small band tar, half a last small band assis [missing] lynt, 1.5 last hemp, [missing] knappald, 15 wainscott⁸³
 - [missing] [missing] iron, 3 last [missing], [missing] band tar, 2 last lynt, [missing] 200 [missing]
 - Thomas Geddes 12lb schip iron, [missing] last hemp, half a [missing], [missing] [missing] iron
- [missing] [missing] hundreth double and single [missing], [missing] 2 fathoms [missing]
- 12/9/1611 James Lundie in Pittenweem in his ship or bark 150 single and 48 double rufe spar of fir, 50 daillis, 400 girthstingis

⁸³ Good quality boards.

- 27/9/1611 James Thomson in Leiths ship or bark callit the [missing] 400 daillis, 50 double & [missing] hundreth single ruif spar of fir, 1500 girthstingis, 200 knappald
- 5/8/1612 James Binning in Sanct Maness schip 200 daillis, 300 single [missing] stingis
- 29/3/1613 Johne Methven in Sanct Androis schip callit the *Twintie of Sanct Androis* 336 double [missing] 8 single ruif spar, 3000 girthstingis
- 25/6/1613 Williame Hamiltoun in Panniss schip callit the *Williame* 100 daillis, 100 double ruif spar, 100 single ruif spar, 2 faldom burnewode
- 12/7/1613 William Grierson in Pannis in his schip called the *Grace of God* 500 daillis [missing] 2 faldome burne wode
- 10/8/1613 William Hammilton in Pannis schip 200 daillis [missing] 50 dowble ruif spar, 100 harrowballis
- 14/5/16[missing] Robert Lyle in Pannis bark 100 daillis, 54 single [missing] 200 knappalds, 1000 girthstingis
- [missing] James Lundie in Pittenweem 300 daillis, 300 single [missing] 3 faldom fyrewode
- [missing] Alexander Adamsoun [missing] dailis [missing] stingis
- [missing]
- 15/7/1616, [missing] in Pittenweems schip called the *Hoip for Grace* 100 double and 150 single ruif spar, 100 daillis, 200 girthstingis, 2 faldom burnewode
- 23/4/1618 [missing] in Sanct Mannonis schip called *Goddis Gift* 250 daillis, [missing] single and 40 double ruif spar, 4000 girthstingis, 1 faldom burnewode
- 15/6/1618 [missing] in Anstruther Westers schip called *Goddis Gift* 150 double 200 single ruif spar, 100 daillis, 3000 girthstingis, 2 faldom burnewode
- 8/8/1618 [missing] in Anstruther Westers schip called *Goddis Gift* [missing] hundred and a half single and 150 double ruif spar of fir [missing] thousand girthstingis, 2 faldom fyrewode
- 6/7/1619 [missing] entered his schip 100 single and 50 double ruif spar, 150 daillis, 6 ruif spar of aik, 200 girthstaigis

- 28/7/1619 [missing] in Sanct Manes schip called the *Gift of God* 500 daillis, 100 single and 50 double ruif spar [missing] stingis, 600 ruingis, 2 faldom fyrwode, 12 extreis
- 22/4/1620, [missing] in Anstruther's schip or bark called the *Concorde* [missing] hundred daillis, 50 double ruif spar of fir, 100 single [missing] stingis, 3 faldom fyrewode
- 6/6/1620 [missing] schip called the *Upper Grine* [missing] ruif spar, 50 double ruif spar, 100 daillis, 1000 girthstingis
- 21/7/1620 [missing] schip called [missing] hundreth daillis, 100 single ruif spar
- 6/7/1622 [missing] schip called the *Elspit* [missing] double ruif spar
- [missing] schip called *Concord* for baillies of Haddington [missing] 1000 stingis [missing] 100 daillis
- [missing]
- [missing] Thomas Adisone in Carails boat 200 single ruif spar, 2000 stingis, [missing] mastic, 1 faldom of fyrewode, 24 double ruif spar
- 29/5/1624, James Gillespie in Sanct Mennanis crear called *David* [missing] hundreth tymmer, 1000 stingis, 2 faldom burnewode
- 8/6/1624 Robert Siveis of Enster Westers bark called the *James* 300 [missing] 500 daillis, 2000 girthstingis, 2 faldom fyrewode
- 24/6/1624 George Adamesone in Pittenweems bark 400 daillis 80 double and 100 single ruif spar [missing] girthstaigis, 1 faldom burnewode
- 11/5/1625 Johne Pittiloche in Ylies boat [missing] hundreth tymmer 1000 stingis
- 24/6/1625 Johne Pittiloche in Ylies boat 200 daillis 1000 stingis
- 20/7/1625 Umphra Pittiloche in Largo [missing] 200 daillis 200 single and 200 double ruif spar, [missing] burnewode
- 23/7/1625, Symeon Lukla in Largos schip 500 daillis 400 single [missing]
- 17/5/1626 Robert Gray in Largos schip or bark 300 single ruif spar, 300 daillis, 1000 girthstingis
- 9/5/1626 Thomas Adamsoun in Car<ail> 200 daillis, 200 spars
- [missing] William Kaid in Craig[missing] 200 treis
- [missing] Thomas Adam[missing]

- [missing] Bruce [missing]
- 2/5/1627, Umphra Pittiloche in Largos schip called the [missing] 200 double and 100 single ruif spar, 500 daillis
- 6/7/1627 Thomas Adamesone in Crells schip or bark called the *James* 200 daillis, [missing] hundreth tymmer
- 9/7/1627 [missing] Sinklas boat called the *Unicorne* 500 daillis, 400 single ruif spar, 1000 girthstingis
- 14/7/1627 [missing] schip called the *Helein* 200 daillis, 200 single ruif spar, 4 faldom burnewode, 24 axeeis
- 1/9/1627 [missing]sone in Pannis schip called the *Grace of Prestoun* from Norway 500 double and single ruff [missing] 200 daillis
- 6/5/1628 [missing] skipper in Elys schip called the *Gift of God* 600 daillis, 300 single ruff spar, 1000 girthstingis
- 5/6/1628 [missing] schip called the *David* newlie comit from Norway 100 double sparris and 500 girthstaigis
- 18/6/1628 [missing] in Largo schip called the *Unicorne* from Norway, 300 daillis and 300 single [missing]
- [missing] *Unicorne* [missing]
- [missing] the *James* [missing] hundreth daillis
- 8/5/1630 William Burnesyde skipper in Enstruthers schip newly comit from Norway [missing] ane hundreth treis
- 21/6/1630 Alexander Gillesbie skipper and indweller in the Eylie's schip the *Gudefortoun* newly come from Norway [missing] fir treis
- 13/7/1630 Umphra Pittollo skipper in Largos schip from Norway 4 daillis 300 single ruif spar
- 23/7/1630, Robert Small in his schip the *Eylie* from Norway 700 tries 700 daillis
- 27/7/1630 James Pittiloch skipper in Largos schip from Norway 200 treis 200 daillis
- 8/9/1630 William Smith in Peterheids schip the *Grace of God* from Norway 200 single treis, 150 daillis, 500 girthstingis

- 30/5/1631 James Jak skipper in Pittenweems schip from Norway 300 daillis 200 [missing] 800 stingis
- [missing] Symeon Lukla from Norway [missing] stingis
- [missing] Symeon Lukla from Norway [missing] stingis
- [missing] Johne [missing] 200 [missing]
- 13/6/1634 [missing] indweller in Enstruther Westers schip from Norway 450 daillis, 400 single treis
- May 1635 [missing] in Largo, skipper of the *Elspeth* from Norway 200 single treis, 100 double treis, [missing] staigis, 1 faldom burnewode
- 19/6/1635 [missing] indweller in Ely skipper of the *Unicorne* 300 treis, 2000 girthstingis
- 14/7/1635, [missing] skipper and indweller in St Monances ship from Norway 700 daillis, 300 treis 4 faldom burnewode
- 25/6/1636 [missing] skipper burgess of Crail master of the *Swan* 600 dailis, 600 [missing]
- [missing]/7/1636 [missing] 400 [missing]
- [missing] 700 [missing]
- [missing] 500 [missing]
- [missing] daillis

APPENDIX 6: testament of John Sinclair in Aberlady, 1568

The testament dative and Inuentar of the gudis geir soumes of money and dettis pertening to vmquhile Johne Sinclair in Abirlady the tyme of his deceis Quha deceist as intestat in the moneth of December the yeir of god 1568 yeiris faithfullie maid and gevin vp be Williame, Johne, Adame, Johne, and Margaret Sinclair lauchfull bairnis to the said vmquhile Johne and decernit executoris [...]

In the first the said vmquhile Johne had the tyme of his deceis abonewrittin the gudis geir soumes of money and dettis following pertening to him as his awin propir gudis and geir viz.

8 oxin price of the pece £6 13s 4d Summa £53 6s 8d

Item foure ky with the followers price of the pece £5 Summa £20

Item twa meris and ane hors price of thame all £53 6s 8d

Item 34 auld sheip price of the pece 20s Summa £34

Item 8 hoggis⁸⁴ price of the pece 13s 4d

Item 18 bollis quheat and ry sawing estimat to the thrid corne extending to 54 bollis price of the boll overhead 30s Summa £81

Item in his barneyaird 34 bollis of aittis price of the boll with the fodder 30s Summa £51

Item 16 bollis peis price of the boll 40s Summa £32

Item 34 bollis of quheit price of the boll 45s Summa £76 10s

Item 6 bollis of ry price of the boll 40s Summa £12

Item 38 bollis 2 firlottis beir price of the boll £3 Summa £151 10s

Item in vtensiles and domiciles by the airschip estimat to £20

Summa of the Inuentar £554

Followis the dettis awing to the deid

Item thair wes awin to the said vmquhile Johne be Eduard Sinclair £4

Item be Partik Hepburne £10

Item be Williame Tailyeor £6

Item be Andro Lermonth £4

Item be William Arnot £3

Item be Adame Leirmonth 7 bollis beir price of the boll 40s Summa £14

Item awing to him as ane of the takismen of the vicarage of Abirlady for his part of the teindis thair of of yeiris bigane £13 6s 8d

Item to vytheris teindis & parochineris of Abirlady for the teindis of the vicarage thair of preceding his deceis extenden to £26 13s 4d

Summa of the dettis awing to the deid £67 13s 4d

Summa of the Inuentar with the dettis £621 13s 4d

⁸⁴ A young sheep before its first shearing.

Followis the dettis awing be the deid

Item the said vmquhile Johne wes awing the tyme of his deceis foirsaid to James Bannatyne writar for steilbow⁸⁵ oxin £30

Item for ane steilbow wayne⁸⁶ and plewch £3 10s

Item for [blank] bollis steilbow quheit & ry £24

Item for 5 bollis steilbow peis £10

Item 5 bollis steilbow aittis price of the boll 30s Summa £7 10s

Item 9 bollis beir price of the boll £3 Summa £27

Item awing to the said James for the fermes of his landis occupyit be the said vmquhile Johne of the crope & yeir foirsaid 1568 yeiris £53 3s 10d

Item to Archibald Douglas of Kilspindye for his fermes of the crope & yeir foirsaid £40

Item to the syruandis for thair feis £4

Item to Thomas Sinclare of borrowit money £4 8s

Summa of the dettis awing be the deid £204 0s 22d

Restis of the fre geir the dettis deductit £417 11s 6d [...]⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Steilbow: livestock or seed or implements supplied by a superior lord to a tenant which would have to be returned.

⁸⁶ A type of cart, either 2- or 4-wheeled.

⁸⁷ NAS, CC8/8/2/207.

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