

**A Singular Solace:
An Ecclesiastical History of Haddington, 1560-2000**

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This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Stirling for the degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

Division of History and Politics

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Abstract

After a Preamble covering the evolution of the church in Haddington during the medieval period, this dissertation will provide a case-study of how the church in a small, semi-rural burgh evolved from 1560 to 2000 in the context of developments within the Scottish church, Scottish society and the local community. It will show that the wealth of the burgh facilitated the building of an impressive gothic church; the evolution of St Mary's into a collegiate church; and how the building was severely damaged in 1548/9; how it was converted into a parish church after the Reformation. The study will also show that the first Protestant minister was appointed in 1562; that St Mary's was Presbyterian during the religious controversies of the seventeenth century; that during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth Episcopal, Burgher, Antiburgher, Relief, Haldaneite, Independent, Original Secession, and Methodist meeting-houses were planted in the burgh; that because of the dominance of the established church the Disruption had a limited impact in the town; that in 1862 a Roman Catholic Church was opened; and that, after a burst of energy in the post-war period, the churches in the burgh went into numerical decline. This dissertation will also demonstrate that the evolution of the church in Haddington was influenced by a number of factors, that it had several distinctive features; and that the three main characteristics of the church in Haddington were continuity, diversity and being 'a singular solace' for the community.

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I would like to thank those who assisted me in the preparation of this dissertation. In particular my supervisors, Professor David Bebbington and Dr Michael Penman, for their encouragement and guidance; the staff at the National Records of Scotland; Donna Mcguire at the Scottish Catholic Archive; the staff at the John Gray Centre in Haddington; members of churches in Haddington who provided documents and shared their reminiscences; and my wife, Sandra, for her unfailing support and for proof reading the various drafts of my dissertation.

Covid 19

Although I had drafted my dissertation before the start of lockdown on 23 March 2020, the closure of the Historic Search Room at the National Records of Scotland and the John Gray Centre in Haddington restricted my opportunity to carry out further research, particularly in relation to the Minutes of the Presbytery of Haddington. However, I was very grateful to Robin Urquhart at NRS for providing photographs of pages from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Haddington which enabled me to fill gaps in my first draft. Nevertheless, I was only able to ask for photographs of pages I believed to be relevant and there may have been others containing relevant material. While I do not believe this adversely affected the final draft as whole, there may have been items I could have explored. Lockdown also meant that I was not able to have face-to-face meetings with Dr Penman during 2020 and I missed the stimulation these provided.

D.W.D.

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Introduction

Aim of Dissertation

In 2018 I graduated from the University of Wales: Trinity St David with a Master of Theology degree in Church History. As part of my course I wrote a dissertation on the life and work of the Reverend John Brown of Haddington (1722-1787), who is best known as the author of the *Self-Interpreting Bible*. During my research I became aware of the part which dissenters played in the life of Haddington during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and came to appreciate that there was more to the history of the church in the burgh than the story of the ancient parish church of St Mary. This dissertation will provide a case-study of how the church in a small, semi-rural burgh evolved from 1560 to 2000 in the context of developments within the Scottish church, Scottish society and the local community. As well as tracing the history of St Mary's Parish Church, I will trace the histories of the churches which were planted in the burgh during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and show that while during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the forces at work in Haddington led to the diversification of the church in the burgh, during the twentieth century the forces at work in the burgh led to the consolidation of the church into congregations belonging to the three main denominations in Scotland. After completing this survey, I will discuss the impact which secularisation had on the church in Haddington during the closing decades of the twentieth century and show that, while each of the long-established churches suffered numerical decline, the pattern of church life in the burgh did not change significantly.

Literature Search

There have been two previous attempts to provide a comprehensive history of the church in Haddington. In 1844 James Miller, a local publisher and historian, published *The Lamp of the Lothians, Or the History of Haddington in Connection With the Public Affairs of East Lothian and of Scotland from the Earliest Records to the Present*.¹ The second part is entitled *Ecclesiastical Annals* and covers the history of

¹ James Miller, *The Lamp of the Lothians, Or the History of Haddington in Connection With the Public Affairs of East Lothian and of Scotland from the Earliest Records to the Present* (Haddington: William Sinclair, 1844)

the church in Haddington from the time of St Baldred in the eighth century to the eve of the Disruption in the nineteenth. Although Miller does not identify most of his sources, it is clear that he had carried out extensive research and he provides information which does not appear elsewhere. In particular he gives details of the opening of St John's chapel of ease in 1838.

In 1944 the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society published W. Forbes Gray's *A Short History of Haddington*.² It contains a chapter entitled *Catholicism and the Kirk* which covers the history of the church in Haddington from 1139 to 1910. Although Forbes Gray is critical of Miller and accuses him of burying the history of the town 'beneath long-winded disquisitions on the general history of Scotland',³ the modern reader is likely to find Forbes Gray's own approach less congenial. As the title of his chapter suggests, his approach reflects the anti-Catholicism of leading Presbyterians during the inter-war years.⁴ In the opening paragraph of *Catholicism and the Kirk*, Forbes Gray states as axiomatic that on the eve of the Scottish Reformation 'the Catholic Church in Scotland had long been bankrupt in faith and morals, and had justly earned the contempt of good men'.⁵ And in the same vein he ends by saying 'Roman Catholicism, vigorous and influential in Haddington before the Reformation, never recovered the blow it then received ... But in 1862 Catholic Christianity once more raised its head when a chapel, called St Mary's, was erected'.⁶ While Forbes Gray is sympathetic to both branches of the Secession and to the Free Church, he is condescending towards non-Presbyterian Protestant churches. He describes Episcopalianism as having 'a precarious foothold' in the burgh and says that Methodism 'like Independency, was an exotic plant in East Lothian'.⁷ Forbes Gray was writing prior to the pioneering work of historians, like Gordon Donaldson, Historiographer Royal in Scotland, who during the 1960s

² W. Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, (Stevenage: East Lothian Antiquarian Society, 1944)

³ *Ibid*, v

⁴ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London: Penguin, 1999) 498

⁵ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 22

⁶ *Ibid*, 38

⁷ *Ibid*, 37

abandoned the partisanship of earlier generations of Scottish church historians and developed a more measured approach to the history of the church in Scotland.⁸

Forbes Gray sums up his survey of the history of the church in Haddington by stating, ‘Perhaps its chief characteristic is a tendency to veer to extremes. The *via media* has never been attractive.’⁹ I propose to challenge this interpretation of the history of the church in Haddington and show that while the Town Council was quick to adjust to the political realities of the second half of the seventeenth century, ministers in the parish church remained faithful to Presbyterianism and were unwilling to conform even when threatened with deposition; that even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the planting of new churches in the burgh led to diversity, the pre-eminence of the established church meant that the centre of gravity of the church in Haddington did not move significantly; that the founding of a Free Church congregation at the Disruption simply formalised differences that already existed; and that the chief characteristic of the church in Haddington from the Reformation to the Millennium was one of continuity.

As well as James Miller’s *The Lamp of the Lothians* and Forbes Gray’s *A Short History of Haddington*, there is one other general history of Haddington. In 1997 Haddington’s History Society and Haddington Remembered published *Haddington: Royal Burgh and Guide*¹⁰ which contains a long essay by Arthur Reid entitled ‘Haddington in History’. Unlike the other two works it does not contain a separate section on the church in the burgh but deals with ecclesiastical matters, including the ministry of John Brown (1751-1787), as they arise. Although aimed at the general reader ‘Haddington in History’ offers a useful and authoritative account of the history of the burgh from the twelfth century to the end of the twentieth.

There are three entries on Haddington in the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*. As well as providing useful information on the geography, history, population and economy of the burgh and the religious adherence of its inhabitants, each of these

⁸ Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981) 75

⁹ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 38

¹⁰ Arthur Reid, ‘Haddington in History’ in *Haddington: Royal Burgh – A History and a Guide* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997)

entries gives an insight into how a minister within the national church viewed the condition of the town at a particular time. The entry in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was published in 1793,¹¹ was written by George Barclay, who had been minister of the first charge since 1766 and had acquired a detailed knowledge of the parish and its institutions, including the administration of the poor law. From an ecclesiastical perspective, Barclay's account is interesting in that although there had been dissenter meeting-houses in Haddington for half a century, he does not acknowledge their existence. The entry in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was published in 1845,¹² was written by Robert Lorimer, who had been minister of the first charge since 1796, and John Cook, who had been minister of the second charge since 1833. Although published after the Disruption, the entry seems to have been collated in the mid-1830s and contains statistics on the number of families adhering to the established church, the two Secession meeting-houses and the Episcopal chapel. The entry in the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was published in 1953,¹³ was written by Robin Mitchell, who had been minister at Haddington West Parish Church since 1939. While generally optimistic about the prospects for Haddington following the Second World War, Mitchell expresses concern that interest in the church had declined in the first half of the twentieth century. However, he does not spell out how this lack of interest could be observed. In 2003 the East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account Society published the *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*.¹⁴ Unlike the earlier accounts the entry on Haddington was not the work of a minister. Instead it contained contributions from over thirty individuals and included useful information on four new 'churches' which were planted in the burgh in the second half of the twentieth century.

¹¹ George Barclay, 'Haddington' in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI (Edinburgh: 1793) 535-542

¹² Robert Lorimer and John Cook 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. II, (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845) 1-17

¹³ Robin Mitchell, 'The Parish of Haddington' in Snodgrass, P. (ed.) *Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of East Lothian* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953)

¹⁴ 'Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian' on *East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account Society* Available at el4.org.uk
Accessed 7 November 2019

There are three published histories of St Mary's Parish Church. In 1949 James Jamieson published *The Church of St Mary*.¹⁵ It is principally a guide to the church as it had been since a major renovation 1891. In 2001 Rosalind Marshall published *Ruin and Restoration, St Mary's Church, Haddington*.¹⁶ While it is the most authoritative of the three works, as Marshall's title suggests, its primary purpose was to describe the destruction of St Mary's during the 'rough wooing' campaign of 1548/9 and the restoration of the building during the 1970s. In 2017 Gerald Urwin published *A Kirk by the Tyne*.¹⁷ It is a rather simplistic account of the history of St Mary's and lacks the scholarship of his earlier work on the Burgh Records.¹⁸

There are also two other significant works on St Mary's. In 1998 John McVie, published *The Restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*.¹⁹ It not only provides a detailed account of the restoration of the church in the 1970s but an insight into how the great and the good of East Lothian combined to ensure the project was carried through when the Kirk Session baulked at the cost. And in 2008 scholars from St Andrew's University and Stirling University published online *The Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*,²⁰ which brought together detailed research on the history of St Mary's during the medieval period, including evidence of over twenty additional altars.

There are three published accounts of other churches in Haddington which give an insight into how each of these congregations was seen from a denominational perspective. In 1896 R. F. Turnbull published *Haddington West United Presbyterian Church: A Historic Sketch*.²¹ Turnbull had served as session clerk of the West Church

¹⁵ James Jamieson, *The Church of St Mary* (Haddington: D & T Croal, 1949)

¹⁶ Rosalind K. Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration: St Mary's Church, Haddington* (Haddington: East Lothian Library Service, 2001)

¹⁷ Gerald Urwin, *A Kirk by the Tyne* (Columbia: SC, 2017)

¹⁸ Gerald Urwin, *A Phoenix Once More*, (Kinloss: Librario Publishing Ltd. 2013)

¹⁹ John McVie, *The Restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington: Recalled by John McVie, B.L. W.S. Convener of the Restoration Committee* (Haddington: 1998)

²⁰ Richard Fawcett, Julian Luxford, Richard Oram and Tom Turpie 'Haddington Parish Church' on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, Available at [https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/sites.php?&facet\[\]=_deanery:Deanery%20of%20Haddington/Lothian](https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/sites.php?&facet[]=_deanery:Deanery%20of%20Haddington/Lothian)

²¹ R. F. Turnbull, *Haddington West United Presbyterian Church: A Historic Sketch* (Haddington: D & J Croal, 1896)

and he provides interesting insights into the relationship of the two United Presbyterian Churches in Haddington in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. In 1962 to mark the centenary of the opening of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, *The St Andrew Annual* published an informative article on the origins of the Roman Catholic mission in Haddington and the building of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church.²² And in 1970, to mark the 200th anniversary of the opening of Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church, Aileen Fraser-Tytler published a well-researched pamphlet entitled *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity, Haddington; 1770-1970*.²³

There are four reference books which provide information on the Presbyterian churches in Haddington. Hugh Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Vol. I, which was published in 1915,²⁴ gives potted biographies of the ministers at St Mary's from 1562 to 1918, at St Martin's from 1592 to 1602 and at St John's from 1839 to 1909. William Mackelvie's *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, which was published in 1873,²⁵ provides details of the formation of the Burgher, Antiburgher and Relief congregations and potted biographies of their ministers. Robert Small's *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900*, which was published in 1904,²⁶ supplements Mackelvie's account and corrects his version of the founding of the Relief Church. And William Ewing's *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland; 1843-1900*, which was published in 1914,²⁷ provides information on the formation of the Free Church in the burgh.

In the same way W. D. McNaughton's *Scottish Congregational Ministry 1794-1993*,²⁸ which was published in 1993, provides the names of the ministers who served in the Independent Church from 1815 to 1867. (McNaughton also refers to the

²² Anon, *St Andrew Annual for 1961-1962* (Glasgow: John Burns and Sons, 1962)

²³ Aileen Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity, Haddington; 1770-1970* (Haddington: 1970)

²⁴ Hew Scott (ed.) *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Vol. I (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915)

²⁵ William Mackelvie (ed.) *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Oliphant and A. Elliot, 1873)

²⁶ Robert Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900*. (Edinburgh: D. M. Small, 1904)

²⁷ William Ewing (ed.) *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland; 1843-1900* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1914)

²⁸ W. D. McNaughton, (ed.) *Scottish Congregational Ministry 1794-1993* (Glasgow: Congregation Union of Scotland, 1993)

founding of an Evangelical Union congregation but does not provide any details.) And David Bertie's *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000*,²⁹ which was published in 2000, provides biographical details of the priests who served in the Episcopal congregation from 1714 to 2000.

There is also a considerable amount of literature on the life and work of John Brown, much of it written by members of his family. Brown was minister of the Associate (Burgher) Secession Church from 1751 to 1787 and Professor of Divinity under the Associate Synod from 1767. Through his writing Brown became the best-known minister in Haddington in the eighteenth century and the only one to have an international reputation. Memoirs of Brown were inserted into later editions of his *Dictionary of the Bible* (1769) and his *Self-Interpreting Bible* (1778) and in 1918 Robert MacKenzie published a biography entitled *John Brown of Haddington*.³⁰

The Roman Catholic Church, the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Church of Scotland each published directories or year-books which provide statistical and other information on their respective congregations in Haddington. *The Catholic Directory for Scotland* was first published in 1829; *The Scottish Episcopal Church Year-Book and Directory* in 1878; and *The Church of Scotland Year-Book* in 1886.

There are a number of general histories of the Scottish church, which help to place developments in Haddington in context. Professor Jane Dawson's *Scotland Re-formed: 1488-1587*³¹ provides an authoritative guide to the Reformation in Scotland. Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch's trilogy: *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843*; *The Age of the Moderates*,³² *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874*,³³ and *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900*³⁴ covers the development of the Scottish church from the Revolutionary Settlement, through the Disruption to the end

²⁹ David Bertie (ed.), *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 2000)

³⁰ Robert MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918)

³¹ Jane Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed: 1488-1587* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)

³² Andrew L Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates*, (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1973)

³³ Andrew L Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland: 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1975)

³⁴ Andrew L Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland: 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1978)

of the nineteenth century, including the Secessions of 1733 and 1761. Professor Stewart J. Brown has published a number of works both on the origins of the Free Church and the response of the national church to the Disruption, including *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*.³⁵ While all of these works portray the church as making a valuable contribution to the national life of Scotland, Drummond and Bulloch, writing from a twentieth-century, ecumenical stand point, are hostile to dissenters. On a different theme Professor Callum G. Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*³⁶ offers a powerful critique of how the decline in religious belief and practice impacted on the churches in Scotland.

As well as the entry in *The Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches* there are several other websites which provide background information on aspects of the history of Haddington and the church in the burgh, including a number hosted by the John Gray Centre. The centre was opened by the East Lothian Library Service in 2014 and contains an archive and local history section.

Primary Sources

While I will use these secondary sources to inform my dissertation, wherever possible I will use primary sources. The National Records of Scotland holds records from Haddington St Mary's Kirk Session (1569-2006) and St John's chapel of ease (1893-1910); Haddington St John's Free Church and Haddington St John's United Free Church (1841-1932); Haddington Associated (Burgher) Secession Church (1851-1903); Haddington Associated General (Antiburgher) Secession Church (1822-1832); Knox's Free Church (1852-1876); Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (1740-1956), Haddington/Haddington and Dunbar Presbytery Minutes (1587-1925), the General Assembly's Home Mission Committee (1840-1990) and some items related to Haddington Methodist Church. There are also a significant number of references to the church in the Burgh Records (1549-1702) which are held in the archives of the

³⁵ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

³⁶ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001)

John Gray Centre. In 1880 C Bishop W.S. collated these records from their original rolls and in 2013 Gerald Urwin published a ‘translation’ of Bishop’s work.³⁷ In 2002 he had ‘translated’ the ‘Minutes of Council Court’ in Robb, C. *History of a Royal Burgh* for the East Lothian Library Service.³⁸ As the Burgh Records are in Scots, Latin, and French,³⁹ for convenience I will use Unwin’s ‘translation’.

The Scottish Catholic Archive holds Parish Registers, Marriage Registers and Baptismal Registers from St Mary’s Roman Catholic Church dating from 1853 and the John Gray Centre also holds miscellaneous items relating to the church in Haddington, including the first log book of St Mary’s Roman Catholic School. From 1859 to 1974 *The Haddingtonshire Courier* chronicled events in East Lothian before being renamed *The East Lothian Courier*. However, because the paper covered the whole county the space devoted to events in Haddington was limited and taken up largely with agricultural prices. The unpublished diaries of the Reverend Alasdair Macdonnell give an insight into the work of the minister at St Mary’s in the 1980s. I also interviewed four people concerning life in St Mary’s in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and received emails from two others about the Boys’ Brigade and Girls’ Brigade.

In addition St Mary’s Parish Church and Haddington West Parish Church each have small archives containing useful material and Holy Trinity has a collection of registers containing the numbers attending services, including those covering the period from 1960 to 2000. In 1983 Eleonora Jenkinson and Margaret McKinlay brought together material about St Mary’s in a bound folder entitled ‘The Lamp of Lothian, St Mary’s Church, Haddington, 1129 to 1983’.⁴⁰ While the original purpose of the work was to provide information for those showing visitors around the church, it contains a valuable collection of photographs, including one showing the pulpit and

³⁷ Gerald Urwin, *A Phoenix Once More*, (Kinloss: Librario Publishing Ltd. 2013)

³⁸ ‘Minutes of Council Court’ in C. Robb, *History of a Royal Burgh*, translated by Gerald Urwin for East Lothian Library Service, 2002

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Eleonora Jenkinson and Margaret McKinlay (eds.), ‘The Lamp of Lothian, St Mary’s Church, Haddington, 1129 to 1983’ (Archives of St Mary’s Parish Church)

box pews installed in 1810/11 and others showing the church furnishing and organ installed in 1891.

Title of Dissertation

I have entitled my dissertation ‘A Singular Solace: An Ecclesiastical History of Haddington, 1560-2000’. The phrase ‘singular solace’ comes from the writings of the fifteenth century chronicler, John of Fordun. After Edward III destroyed the town’s Franciscan friary in 1356, Fordun famously described it as ‘the Lamp of the Lothians and the singular solace of the people of that place’.⁴¹ While the phrase ‘Lamp of the Lothians’ has been used frequently to describe the church in Haddington, the term ‘a singular solace’ is less well known. It came to the fore in the 1970s when it was adopted by the Friends of St Mary’s to express the aspirations of those who were working to restore the building.⁴² The phrase was intended to convey the medieval concept of a parish church as the focal point of its community and a place where everyone can find inspiration and support. Today, tiles marking the line of the curtain wall, which separated the post-Reformation parish church from the ruined east end, carry the inscription ‘For the glory of God and the solace of the whole community’.

Arrangement of Dissertation

For convenience I will divide my dissertation into five sections. A Preamble will place the post-Reformation history of the church in Haddington in context by outlining the main features of the church in the burgh from Anglo-Saxon times to the eve of the Reformation in Scotland. In particular it will cover the ‘Burnt Candlemas Raid’ of 1356 and the building of the gothic church. Chapter one will identify the factors which moulded the church in the burgh between the Reformation of 1560 and the Revolutionary Settlement of 1690. It will cover the impact of the religious and political disputes of the seventeenth century on the town. Chapter two will identify the factors which moulded the church in the burgh between the Revolutionary Settlement and the eve of the ‘Ten Years Conflict’ in 1833. It will cover the diversification of the church in Haddington which followed the founding of Episcopalian, Burgher, Antiburgher, Relief, Haldaneite, Independent and Methodist

⁴¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 7

⁴² Information board at the entrance to St Mary’s Parish Church.

meeting-houses. Chapter three will identify the factors which moulded the church in the burgh between the start of the 'Ten Years Conflict' and the Union of 1929. It will cover the erection of the *quoad sacra* parish of St John's, the impact of the Disruption, the founding of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church and the attrition of Presbyterian churches in the town. Chapter four will identify the factors which moulded the church in the burgh between the Union of 1929 and the Millennium. It will cover the energy displayed by the churches in the post-war period, the planting of new lay-led churches and the impact of secularisation in the final decades of the twentieth century. While this arrangement uses major developments within the Scottish church to provide a structure to the dissertation, there was considerable continuity from one phase to the next.

While stressing the continuity of the church in Haddington and the dominant role played by St Mary's Parish Church, this dissertation will also show that there was diversity in the late medieval church and again from the eighteenth century onwards and that almost all the main movements in the Scottish church were represented in the burgh and that these two elements combined to give the history of the church in Haddington its distinctive character.

David Dutton

Preamble

The origins of the church in Haddington

In order to set the post-Reformation history of the church in Haddington in context, this preamble will outline the main features of the church in the burgh from Anglo-Saxon times to the eve of the Reformation. Because the town was on the main east coast route into Scotland, it suffered during the Anglo-Scottish wars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. King John sacked the town in 1216, Henry III in 1241, and Edward III in 1333 and 1356.⁴³ This led the nineteenth-century historian, James Miller, to remark ‘Of the origins of [this] ancient town, situated on contending frontiers, little can be known; for the torch of war has destroyed what piety and learning might have preserved’.⁴⁴ In the absence of documentary evidence, Miller turned to etymology in the hope of finding a clue to the origins of the burgh and discovered that an expert had stated that the name Haddington is derived from two Anglo-Saxon words: ‘Hading’ meaning a place of ordination and ‘tun’ meaning a dwelling or hamlet. This led Miller to suggest that Haddington had been founded in Anglo-Saxon times in the vicinity of an abbey.⁴⁵

While modern etymologists give the origin of the name Haddington as ‘Hadda’s tun or village’,⁴⁶ current scholarship supports the view that Haddington was an important ecclesiastical centre in Anglo-Saxon times serving an administrative district or a shire in the northern province of the Kingdom of Northumbria and that it continued in this role after the Lothians were absorbed into the Kingdom of Scotland during the tenth century.⁴⁷ St Mary’s is one of only two churches in the Lothians which scholars believe to have been founded in Anglo-Saxon times. The other is St Cuthbert’s, Edinburgh.⁴⁸ Haddington was also one of a small number of ecclesiastical

⁴³ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 7

⁴⁴ Miller, *The Lamp of the Lothians* 1

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 2

⁴⁶ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 1

⁴⁷ ‘Haddington Parish Church’ on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*

Accessed 22 October 2019

⁴⁸ Richard Fawcett, Julian Luxford, Richard Oram and Tom Turpie ‘Edinburgh: St Cuthbert’s Parish Church’ on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*.

Available at <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158552>

Accessed 7 May 2019

sites to evolve into a burgh.⁴⁹ St Mary's is also unusual in being outside the medieval settlement. Confirmation that the medieval church had been built on the site of an earlier building came in 1891, when the floor of the nave was lowered and a large quantity of human bones were discovered.⁵⁰ It is thought that they came from a graveyard which stood to the west of an earlier church. While Forbes Gray suggests this church was 'a small Norman building',⁵¹ given the origins of the church, it is more likely to have been a Saxon minster, which survived into the fourteenth century.

Royal grants to the church in Haddington

At some point early in his reign, David I issued a charter making Haddington a 'royal burgh' and granting its burgesses privileges, including the right to trade.⁵² Like other early royal burghs,⁵³ Haddington was on land belonging to the Crown and under William I was a royal residence.⁵⁴ The first tranche of burgesses were probably drawn from settlements along the east coast of northern England and Scotland⁵⁵ and may have been given incentives to induce them to come, including receiving their 'burgage' plots rent free for up to three years.⁵⁶ The weekly market, held on a Saturday,⁵⁷ became the focus of the life of the burgh and, as in other burghs, Haddington had two annual fairs at which there were also religious processions and revelry.⁵⁸ However, the burgh was unusual in having both its fairs within a week of one another: on the feasts of John the Baptist (24 June) and St Peter (29 June).⁵⁹ In 1319 Robert I issued a charter confirming the rights of Haddington.⁶⁰

The fact that Haddington was an important ecclesiastical centre led David I to grant St Mary's with its chapels, lands and privileges to the recently formed Priory of

⁴⁹ J. M. Houston in *The Town Planning Review* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Jul., 1954) 117

⁵⁰ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 33

⁵¹ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 24

⁵² Reid, 'Haddington in History', 1

⁵³ G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981) 87

⁵⁴ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 2

⁵⁵ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 93

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 99

⁵⁷ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 24

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 92

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 92

⁶⁰ 'The Bruce Charter: a translation' on *John Gray Centre*

Available at <https://www.johngraycentre.org>.

Accessed 14 August 2020

Augustinian Canons in St Andrew's.⁶¹ The order took its name from Augustine of Hippo. In the fourth century he founded a monastery in North Africa and set down a 'rule' by which its priests were to live.⁶² While some Augustinians, like those on the island of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth,⁶³ lived in a monastic setting, others, like those in Haddington, served as parochial clergy. Their duties included celebrating Mass, visiting the sick, providing alms for the poor, and organising processions on feast days. G. W. S. Barrow says it is not anachronistic to see Augustinian houses, at least in the twelfth century, as 'group ministries'.⁶⁴ In 1140 David I confirmed the status of St Mary's by granting the canons the lands of Clerkington, a mile west of the town, with its mill from which revenues were derived.⁶⁵

In 1139 David's eldest son and heir, Henry of Scotland, married Ada de Warenne, the youngest child of William II, Earl of Surrey, and Elizabeth Vermandois, granddaughter of Henry I of France. The marriage had been agreed in the second Treaty of Durham⁶⁶ which granted Henry the earldom of Northumberland and allowed him to retain the Honours of Huntingdon.⁶⁷ As part of the marriage settlement David granted Ada, who was still in her teens, the lands of Haddington. Ada has been called 'the Mother of Scotland's Kings' as she went on to produce two future monarchs: Malcolm IV and William I.⁶⁸ After Henry's death, in 1152, Ada seems to have devoted herself to good works and founded a Cistercian convent a mile east of Haddington.⁶⁹ Like all Cistercian foundations it was dedicated to the Virgin⁷⁰ and it is possible the nuns joined the processions in Haddington on the feasts associated with Mary.⁷¹ On the day he dedicated the nun's cemetery, Bishop Richard of St Andrews,

⁶¹ Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Records Society, 1967) 79

⁶² Henry Chadwick, *Augustine of Hippo: a Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 52

⁶³ Historic Environment Scotland 'Inchcolm Abbey'

<https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/inchcolm-abbey/history/>

Accessed 31 October 2019

⁶⁴ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 79

⁶⁵ G. W. S. Barrow (ed.) *Charters of King David I* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999)

⁶⁶ Victoria Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, Queen Mother of Scotland (c. 1123 – 1178)' in *The Scottish Historical Review, Volume LX 2: No 170, October 1981*, 119-139

⁶⁷ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 39

⁶⁸ Chandler, 'Ada de Warenne, Queen Mother of Scotland'

⁶⁹ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 1-2

⁷⁰ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 29

⁷¹ See below

transferred part of the revenues of St Mary's to the abbey.⁷² Although the convent enjoyed royal patronage, it was not a major Cistercian foundation and at its dissolution it had annual revenues of £308.17s.6d.⁷³ Ada also granted land on the east bank of the Tyne to Alexander de St Martin who in turn gifted it to the Cistercians to enable the nuns to build a chapel on the site. In recognition of Alexander's benefaction the chapel was named St Martin's.⁷⁴ As the road linking the chapel to the convent was known as 'Nungate', when a community grew up around the chapel it took that name. Although St Martin's was not a parish church, it fulfilled many of the functions of one.⁷⁵

In 1242 the success of the burgh led the Order of Friars Minor to build a friary three hundred yards downstream from St Mary's. The site was probably chosen because it was next to a pool in the river which provided a good supply of fish. In 1284 Sir James Cockburn of Clerkington granted the Franciscans a piece of land known as the 'King's Yard' on which to grow grain, in exchange for saying masses for the repose of his soul.⁷⁶ The friary also benefitted from royal patronage. Robert I granted the friars twenty merks annually from the Castlewards of the Bailwick of Haddington and James IV three bolls of wheat from the Privy Purse.⁷⁷ Walter Bower, the historian and Abbott of Inchcolm, who was born in Haddington around 1385, was fulsome in his praise for the friary. He was captivated by the quality of its stained glass windows, which led the friary to be known as 'the Lamp of the Lothians'.⁷⁸ However, John Mair or Major, the theologian and philosopher, who attended the grammar school in Haddington in the 1470s, complained that the friary was too 'sumptuous'.⁷⁹

⁷² 'Haddington Parish Church' on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*

⁷³ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 29

⁷⁴ 'St Martin's Kirk, Haddington' on *Historic Environment Scotland*

Available at <https://www.historicenvironment.scot>.

Accessed 23 October 2019

⁷⁵ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Vol.1, 374

⁷⁶ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 27

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 27

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 27

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 27

While there are references to a Dominican friary having been founded in Haddington some time before 1471, little is known about it and it appears to have become extinct by 1500.⁸⁰ The presence of Augustinians, Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans in Haddington and its environs, meant that during the late medieval period the church in the burgh displayed a diversity that was not matched until the founding of dissenting meeting-houses in the eighteenth century. Each of these orders would have been under the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Lothian who acted on behalf of the Bishop of St Andrew's.⁸¹ Miller says the Deanery of Lothian was also known as the Deanery of Haddington;⁸² so it is possible the Archdeacon resided in the burgh.

The later medieval church

At the beginning of February 1356 an English Army led by Edward III sacked Haddington in what came to be known as the 'Burnt Candlemas Raid'.⁸³ In the same operation Edward's sailors desecrated the shrine of Our Lady at Whitekirk.⁸⁴ Although it is not known what happened to St Mary's, the chronicler John of Fordun wrote that Edward III 'bent his steps through Lothian, wasting everything all around, and saving nothing.'⁸⁵ So it is reasonable to assume that St Mary's was destroyed along with the Cistercian Convent and the Franciscan Friary.⁸⁶ What can be said is that within a generation work had begun on building a church of cathedral proportions.⁸⁷ While Marshall ascribes this to a desire to have a parish church large enough to meet the needs of the community,⁸⁸ it was an enormous, long-term

⁸⁰ 'Haddington, Dominican Friary' on *Canmore*
Available at <https://canmore.org.uk/site/56496/haddington-dominican-friary>
Accessed 23 October 2019

⁸¹ Miller, *Lamp of the Lothians*, 375

⁸² *Ibid*, 375

⁸³ 'Haddington Parish Church' on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*.
Accessed 4 January 2020

⁸⁴ William V. Skene, (ed.) *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872) 364

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 364

⁸⁶ 'Haddington Parish Church' on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*
Accessed 28 October 2019

⁸⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration: St Mary's Church*, 7

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 7

undertaking which displayed a remarkable confidence in the future prospects of the burgh.

Haddington's location both inhibited and assisted its development. While the burgh was constrained by the threat of invasion, its merchants benefitted from East Lothian having an abundant supply of natural resources and the town having access to the Firth of Forth. They were able to trade with the Baltic, the Low Countries and France in commodities such as fish and hides.⁸⁹ In 1149 David I granted a charter to Aberlady⁹⁰ which allowed it to develop into an anchorage for Haddington.⁹¹ However, only the town's merchants were allowed to trade overseas.⁹² While craftsmen also enjoyed extensive privileges, their rights were confined to Haddington's 'liberty' as the hinterland around a royal burgh was known.⁹³ Haddington came to have nine Trades Incorporations: the Baxters, Cordiners, Fleshers, Hammermen, Masons, Skinners, Tailors, Weavers and Wrights. The Hammermen were the largest by virtue of including not only metal workers but trades, such as saddlers, which had insufficient craftsmen in the town to have their own incorporation.⁹⁴ The principal function of these incorporations was to maintain the monopolies granted by royal charter.⁹⁵ They did this by excluding the 'unprivileged' from trading in the burgh and its liberty; controlling entry into each craft; and regulating matters such as weights and measures. Haddington became one of the most important Royal Burghs in Scotland and played its full part in the Convention of Royal Burghs.⁹⁶ One of the signs of the importance

⁸⁹ T. C Smout, 'The Trade of East Lothian at the end of the Seventeenth Century' in *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society* Vol. 9, 1963, 69.

⁹⁰ Although the present spelling of Aberlady suggests a link to the Virgin, earlier spellings suggest the name relates to the village's position at the mouth of the Peffer Burn.

'Aberlady – a Short History' on *Aberlady Pages*

Available at <http://www.aberlady.net/history.php>

Accessed 1 January 2020

⁹¹ Ibid

Accessed 1 January 2020

⁹² T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830* (London: Collins, 1969) 158

⁹³ Ibid, 158

⁹⁴ G. Murray, 'Inventory of the Records of the Crafts of Haddington' in *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society* Vol. 9, 1963, 41.

⁹⁵ 'Haddington's Incorporations' on *John Gray Centre Archive*

Available at <https://www.johngraycentre.org/>

Accessed 2 January 2020

⁹⁶ 'Minutes of Council Court' in C. Robb, *History of a Royal Burgh*, 'translated' by Gerald Urwin, for East Lothian Library Service, 2002, 34

of the burgh was that by 1378 it had a grammar school,⁹⁷ whose principal function was to teach Latin to those seeking a career in the church. By 1520 it also had a choir school attached to St Mary's where choristers were taught to read and sing the psalms.⁹⁸

During the medieval period there was a close relationship between the incorporations and the church in Haddington. Each trade took part in processions through the streets of the town on feasts which were a regular feature of life in the burgh. The place which an incorporation occupied in these processions was a sign of its prestige. In the Corpus Christi procession the Hammermen and Wrights marched immediately in front of the priest carrying the Host.⁹⁹

On completion of the choir, around 1400, the parish church was dedicated to St Mary, the Virgin.¹⁰⁰ The dedication was of economic as well as religious significance. If, like Dunblane Cathedral, the church had been dedicated to a local saint, it would have had only one patronal festival at which to attract pilgrims. However, there were seven feasts associated with the Virgin conveniently spread throughout the year: Mother of God [1 January], Purification [2 February], Annunciation [25 March] Visitation [31 May], Assumption [15 August], Birthday [8 September], and Immaculate Conception [8 December].¹⁰¹ By 1457 work on building the new church had progressed to the point where the bailies were required to maintain the building and the furnishings of the high altar.¹⁰² Although Haddington was not on one of the main pilgrimage routes, there is a scallop shell carved on a pillar in the nave of St Mary's.¹⁰³ Marshall interprets it as evidence that pilgrims may have gone from Haddington to the shrine of St James of Compostella in northwest Spain. However, the scallop could also symbolise the church's dedication to the Virgin or its possession

⁹⁷ The Exchequer Roll for 1378 contains a payment of £3.15s.2d to the school master. Cited in Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 128

⁹⁸ Jane Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015) 15

⁹⁹ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 23

¹⁰⁰ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 8

¹⁰¹ J. Connelly, 'Mariological Feasts' in J. G. Davies (ed.) *Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 1976) 253

¹⁰² 'Haddington Parish Church' in *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*

Accessed 29 October 2019

¹⁰³ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 10

by the Augustinians.¹⁰⁴ The town would certainly have benefitted from its close proximity to Whitekirk where James IV was a regular visitor.¹⁰⁵ The wealth of the burgh combined with the gifts of pilgrims facilitated the building of one of the great medieval churches in Scotland. St Mary's was cruciform in shape, 64 metres long and 19 metres wide with a tower rising to 27 metres.¹⁰⁶ The choir was built of red sandstone from Garval, four miles to the east of Haddington and the nave from yellowish-white sandstone from Seggarsdean on the opposite bank of the Tyne.¹⁰⁷ There would have been an elaborately carved rood screen separating the choir from the nave, where the congregation stood or sat on stools, while mass was being celebrated out of sight at the high altar.¹⁰⁸ Despite its size St Mary's was completed in the relatively short period of eighty years and was, thereby, built to a homogeneous design.

As well as St Mary's there were six chapels in various parts of the town¹⁰⁹ and in adjacent Nungate. They were dedicated to St Ann, St John the Baptist, St Martin, St Lawrence, St Katherine, and St Ninian. Their saint's days would have been marked with processions: John the Baptist (24 June), St Ann (26 July), St Laurence (10 August) St Katherine (25 November) St Ninian (16 September) and St Martin (12 November]. As these feasts were in addition to those associated with the Virgin¹¹⁰ and St Augustine (28 August) and the moveable feasts of Easter, Whitson, Trinity, Corpus Christi and Christmas, there would have been a succession of processions throughout the year which would have set the rhythm to life in the medieval burgh.

Even before St Mary's was completed additional altars began to appear. In 1442 Cockburn of Skirling established an altar dedicated to St Blaise and in 1477 Alexander Barcare or Baker, vicar of Pettinain in Lanarkshire, granted rents totalling

¹⁰⁴ 'Shell' in *Catholic Dictionary*

Available at <https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/dictionary/index.cfm?id=36454>

Accessed 25 June 2020

¹⁰⁵ 'Whitekirk/Hamer Parish Church' on *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*

Accessed 1 January 2020

¹⁰⁶ Marshall says that the tower was probably surmounted by a crown steeple.

¹⁰⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 8

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 8

¹⁰⁹ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 26

¹¹⁰ See above

66s 8d to found a perpetual chaplaincy at the altar to enable prayers to be said for the souls of James III, his consort, Margaret, and their ancestors and successors, and for Baker's own family.¹¹¹ As well as wealthy individuals the incorporations also endowed altars. The masons and wrights were associated with the altar of St John the Evangelist and the shoe-makers with three altars: those to St Michael the Archangel, St Ninian and their own patron saints, St Crispin and St Crispinianus.¹¹² The recognition of these other saints would have provided further occasions to hold processions.

While the first tranche of additional altars were dedicated either to one of the universal saints of the Roman Catholic Church or to a saint associated with a particular trade, there is evidence that towards the end of the fifteenth century more 'exotic' cults were beginning to appear, including St Salvator or the 'Holy Saviour' and the 'Holy Blood'. The appearance of these cults indicates that during the late medieval period St Mary's was in the mainstream of developments in the Roman Catholic Church. During the 1520s and 1530s the number of chaplains and clerks serving at these additional altars increased, and, in 1537, St Mary's was referred to as a 'college kirk'.¹¹³ While there are no existing documents to indicate the number of prebendaries and chaplains,¹¹⁴ the number of altars suggests that the 'college' may have numbered over two dozen. The evolution of St. Mary's into a collegiate church was assisted by the fact that it was the only parish church in the burgh. This enabled the Town Council to bring the clergy together to provide high quality liturgy.¹¹⁵ The choir in St Mary's would have sung settings composed for individual saints days.¹¹⁶ At a time when churches competed with one another for the custom of pilgrims having a choir capable of performing fine music was an important attribute.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ 'Haddington Parish Church' in *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*
Accessed 30 October 2019

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Helen Brown, 'Secular Colleges in Late Medieval Scotland' in Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (eds.) *The Late Medieval English College and Its Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008) 64

¹¹⁶ Stephen M. Holmes, 'Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments in Scotland before 1560' in *Innes Review* Volume 62 Issue 2, 2011, 127-212

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth J. Swarbrick, 'The medieval art and architecture of Scottish collegiate churches' (St Andrews's University PhD thesis, 2017)

‘Rough wooing’ campaigns

However, St Mary’s did not enjoy its new status for long. In 1544/5 Henry VIII sent an army into Scotland to ‘persuade’ the court to agree to the Treaty of Greenwich and allow the infant Mary, Queen of Scots, to be betrothed to Edward, Prince of Wales.¹¹⁸ In 1548, after the death of Henry, Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England, continued this ‘rough wooing’ and sent Lord Grey to occupy Haddington.¹¹⁹ As St Mary’s was outside the town walls, Grey was ordered to dismantle the church so that it could not be used to threaten the town’s defences. However, he seems to have only got as far as dismantling the roof and the vaultings before a Franco-Scottish force drove his men into the town.¹²⁰ The queen mother, Mary of Guise, had secured the support of Henry II of France on condition that her daughter was sent to France to be betrothed to his eldest son, Francis. On 7 July 1548 representatives of the Scottish Parliament and the King of France met in the grounds of the Cistercian Convent and confirmed a treaty allowing the Queen to be betrothed to the Dauphin and a month later Mary departed for France.¹²¹ Nevertheless, further damage was done to St Mary’s during the subsequent siege of Haddington as the English artillery attempted to prevent their attackers using the tower as a vantage point. On 18 July 1548 Mary of Guise was almost killed when an English gunner spotted figures on top of the tower and fired off a volley.¹²² In September 1549, after a siege lasting eighteen months, the English army, depleted by plague, withdrew taking with them three bronze bells they had removed from the tower of St. Mary’s.¹²³

Although there is some evidence that attempts were made to re-roof St Mary’s in 1554,¹²⁴ the Town Council was pre-occupied with repairing the town and was not in a position to carry out a major restoration. In 1555 it attempted to enlist the assistance of Lord James Stewart, who as Commendator Prior of St Andrew’s was

¹¹⁸ Jenny Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost* (London: Turis Parke, 2001) 59

¹¹⁹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 14

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 16

¹²¹ Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, 62

¹²² Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 16-17

¹²³ ‘Haddington Parish Church’ in *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*

Accessed 31 October 2019

¹²⁴ *Ibid*

responsible for the upkeep of the choir.¹²⁵ However, despite these efforts the church in Haddington was in a parlous state on the eve of the Reformation. While it had taken a century and half to turn St Mary's into one of the great churches of the Lothians, it had taken only eighteen months to reduce it to a ruin.

Summary

The development of the church in Haddington during the late medieval period began from a strong base. It was already an important ecclesiastical centre when David I granted St Mary's and its lands to the Priory of Augustinian Canons in St Andrew's and Ada de Warenne founded a Cistercian convent east of the town. The wealth and prestige of the burgh led the Franciscans to build a friary in the town. While this development was interrupted by the 'Burnt Candlemas Raid', the setback was temporary and even as the gothic church was taking shape additional altars began to appear, culminating in St Mary's being described as a collegiate church. However, the church in Haddington suffered a major setback during the 'rough wooing' campaign of 1548/9.

¹²⁵ Ibid

Chapter One

Reformation and Revolution: 1560-1690

This chapter will consider the factors which moulded the church in Haddington between the Reformation of 1560 and the Revolutionary Settlement of 1690. It will show that, under Patrick Cockburn, St Mary's became a reformed church and under James Carmichael it adopted the worship, doctrines and discipline of Presbyterianism and maintained these during the religious controversies of the seventeenth century and it was not until late in the reign of Charles II that the first Episcopalian, James Forman, was appointed and not until the eve of the Revolution of 1688 that both charges were filled by Episcopalians. It will also show that during this period the Town Council took a direct interest in the affairs of the 'burgh Kirk' and maintained the fabric of the building and appointed ministers, readers and precentors.

Calls for evangelical reform

John Knox was proud to come from Haddington. In a letter to John Calvin and the Genevan pastors he signed himself *Tinoterious*: the man from the banks of the Tyne.¹²⁶ Knox was born in 1514 or 1515 in Giffordgate on the east bank of the river where his father, William Knox, was a merchant. As a merchant William would have belonged to one of the incorporations which continued to play an important part in the religious life of the burgh. If, as Jane Dawson suggests, Knox was baptised in St Mary's¹²⁷ rather than in the nearby quasi-parish church of St Martin's, it is likely to have been because his father's position required that he be christened in the parish church. While Knox does not provide many details of his early life, it is believed that he attended the choir school in St Mary's and the grammar school in Haddington before going to St Andrew's University where he acquired a smattering of canon law.¹²⁸ As a younger son, John was required to make his own way in the world and on Easter Eve 1536, he was ordained priest by William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane.¹²⁹ However, Knox preferred the law to the cure of souls and by 1540 had

¹²⁶ Dawson, *John Knox*, 13

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 12

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 16-18

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 19

been invested as a notary apostolic, which enabled him to earn his living as the sixteenth-century equivalent of country solicitor.¹³⁰ However, by 1545 Knox had distanced himself from the ecclesiastical system and become tutor to the sons of Hew Douglas of Longniddry and John Cockburn of Ormiston.¹³¹ The two lairds were part of a close knit group, including Alexander Crichton of Brunstane, who supported an English alliance and evangelical reform.¹³² This put them at odds with the pro-French faction at court which included the queen mother, Mary of Guise, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, David Beaton, and, in 1546, Crichton was implicated in the latter's murder.¹³³

In his *History of the Reformation* Knox describes how in December 1545 he accompanied George Wishart on a preaching tour through East Lothian carrying a two-edged sword,¹³⁴ which was probably symbolic rather than for defence. However, when Wishart reached Haddington he discovered that James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, who was the most powerful magnate in the county, had instructed his tenants not to attend when he preached in St Mary's.¹³⁵ Although Knox describes the attendance at Wishart's first sermon as 'reasonable', when he preached his third the audience was said to be 'slender'.¹³⁶

Bothwell's intervention makes it difficult to assess the extent of interest in evangelical reform within Haddington. However, in his preaching tour of Scotland Wishart had had varying degrees of assistance from the local gentry. So it may be significant that whereas at Ayr and Mauchline he had been obliged to preach in the open air,¹³⁷ in Haddington he was given access to the parish church. For almost a generation burghs along the east coast had been conduits for Lutheran ideas coming into Scotland from the continent¹³⁸ and Haddington's merchants would have been

¹³⁰ Ibid, 20

¹³¹ Ibid, 24

¹³² Ibid, 24

¹³³ Ibid, 39

¹³⁴ John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* edited by Cuthbert Lennox (London: Andrew Melrose, 1905) Book 1, 60

¹³⁵ Ibid, Book 1,60

¹³⁶ Ibid, Book 1,60

¹³⁷ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 165

¹³⁸ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 107

aware of the new faith that had taken hold in Germany. It is, therefore, possible that one of them used his influence to ensure that Wishart was given a hearing in St Mary's. Knox makes the interesting observation that William Maitland of Lethington, with whom Wishart stayed, 'was ever civil, albeit not persuaded in religion'.¹³⁹ It is possible that the lairds of Longniddry and Ormiston and their circle were simply ahead of their time and that more cautious individuals, like Maitland, were not yet ready to commit themselves.

Although by the time Knox made a private visit to Scotland in 1555/6 there was a network of 'privy kirks' meeting in the homes of lairds and merchants at which those who had embraced the new faith received communion from Protestant ministers, when Knox urged those involved to cease attending their parish church, most of his hearers regarded his suggestion as a step too far.¹⁴⁰ The desire for reform was not confined to Protestants. During the 1550s John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, held a series of councils designed to improve the morals and education of the clergy, to suppress heresy and to ensure that the laity received proper instruction in the essentials of the Roman Catholic faith.¹⁴¹ In 1557 the Town Council called the prebendaries of the collegiate church to the Tolbooth for a consultation on 'the augmentation of the Divine Service'.¹⁴² It is possible that this meeting was prompted by a similar desire to reform the church from within.

Reformation by the Sword

What Jane Dawson calls 'Reformation by the Sword' occurred relatively quickly in Scotland following John Knox's return from Geneva. In May 1559 he preached a fiery sermon in St John's Kirk, Perth, on the theme of Christ cleansing the Temple, and a riot ensued. Mary of Guise, who had been regent since 1554, saw this as insurrection and acted swiftly to restore order. However, she overplayed her hand and provoked a group of Protestant lords, known as the Lords of the Congregation, to rebel. In June 1560 Mary of Guise died and in August the Convention of Estates,

¹³⁹ Knox, *The History of the Reformation*, Book 1, 60

¹⁴⁰ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 189

¹⁴¹ W. Stamford Reid, 'The Scottish Counter Reformation before 1560' in *Church History* Vol. 14, No. 2. 104-125

¹⁴² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 29 April 1557 (John Gray Centre, HAD2)

packed with representatives from the burghs, ended papal jurisdiction in Scotland, abolished the celebration of the Mass and ratified the *Scots Confession of Faith*.¹⁴³ However, the Estates held back from endorsing the changes envisaged in *The First Book of Discipline*, which had been drafted by a committee chaired by Knox.¹⁴⁴ Its proposals would have allowed the wealth of the old church, a great deal of which was under the control of laymen, to be used to fund the new Protestant ministry and to provide a school in every parish and a more generous system of poor relief.¹⁴⁵ Because of the contact which Knox and others had had with the church in Geneva and the experience of the ‘privy kirks’, the Reformers were keen to place the congregation at the heart of church life.¹⁴⁶ To this end they gave the pre-Reformation parish system a renewed significance. Because Scotland was an extensive, rural kingdom, much of the burden of promoting the Reformation fell on the shoulders of burghs like Haddington.¹⁴⁷

In Haddington the authorities not only faced the challenge of adjusting to the new order but of repairing St Mary’s, which was still in a dilapidated condition following the damage done in the ‘rough wooing’ campaign of 1548/1549. At the beginning of 1562 it was decided, possibly at the suggestion of John Knox, to erect a curtain wall to separate the nave from the choir, transepts and tower, and to turn the west end of the church into a preaching auditorium with a pulpit in the south aisle.¹⁴⁸ For the incorporations this change not only meant the loss of their altars but made it more difficult for an individual to be buried inside the church.¹⁴⁹ Although stone from the ruined choir was used, the cost of the repairs was considerable and Lord James Stewart, who remained Commendator Prior of St Andrew’s, was called upon to provide financial assistance. In February 1563 the Town Council dispatched James Oliphant and Bernard Thomson to Edinburgh to obtain a surety from Lord James for

¹⁴³ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 204-213

¹⁴⁴ Dawson, *John Knox*, 192

¹⁴⁵ ‘Concerning the Provision for the Ministers, and for the Distribution of the Rents and Possessions. Justly Appertaining to the Kirk’ in *First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1972)

¹⁴⁶ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 217

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 217

¹⁴⁸ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 24

¹⁴⁹ Maureen M. Meikle, *The Scottish People, 1490-1625* (Lulu.Com 2013) 445

the moneys that were still outstanding for the repairs,¹⁵⁰ and, in March, he promised to pay the burgh 600 merks.¹⁵¹

In 1562 the Town Council, probably on the recommendation of Lord James, appointed Patrick Cockburn, who had been Lord James' tutor, to be the burgh's first Protestant minister.¹⁵² At this point the notion that a congregation should call a minister had still to be established and something of the pre-Reformation relationship between the Council and the Commendator seems to have continued. Given the shortage of suitably qualified men to serve as ministers in the reformed church, the appointment of Cockburn was something of a coup. He was a distinguished scholar, who had served as Professor of Oriental Languages in Paris before joining the retinue of Lord James on a trip to France to attend the wedding of Mary, Queen of Scots and the Dauphin.¹⁵³ In 1558 Cockburn published a second edition of *De vulgari sacrae scripturae phrasi* and the following year joined the Protestant party.¹⁵⁴ In 1562 the General Assembly sent Cockburn to preach in vacant churches in the Merse in Berwickshire and he appears to have been considered for the superintendency of Jedburgh.¹⁵⁵ Although the question of how to pay for the Protestant ministry had still to be resolved, the Town Council was able to grant Cockburn the chaplaincy of Trinity and its privileges.¹⁵⁶ He was known for his humanity and moderation¹⁵⁷ and this helped to ensure that the transition from the old faith to the new went smoothly in Haddington.

Reformation by the Word

The worship which Cockburn conducted in St Mary's was very different from that of the medieval church. In 1564 the General Assembly approved *The Book of Common Order* which provided an order for worship for use throughout the Church

¹⁵⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 12 February 1563

¹⁵¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 24

¹⁵² Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 368

¹⁵³ Anthony Esposito, 'Cockburn, Patrick (d. 1558)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008)

Available at <https://doi-org.ezproxy-s1.stir.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/46678>

Accessed 19 March 2020

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 19 September 1662

¹⁵⁷ Esposito, 'Cockburn, Patrick (d. 1558)'

of Scotland.¹⁵⁸ Out of the plethora of feasts and holy days only Sunday survived.¹⁵⁹ Each week the citizens were summoned by the bells of the Tollbooth to the parish church¹⁶⁰ where they sat on benches facing each other across a central aisle.¹⁶¹ In accordance with the *Scots Confession* (1560), which stated that the first mark of the church is ‘the true preaching of the word of God’,¹⁶² the sermon was the main element in the service and it is likely that Cockburn followed the Genevan practice of preaching his way through a book of the Bible expounding each verse in turn. Underpinning such preaching would have been the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as set out by John Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. However, as Luther had described the doctrine of double predestination as ‘very strong wine’,¹⁶³ Cockburn may have had little to say about Calvin’s insistence that God chooses some for salvation and others for damnation.¹⁶⁴ Since in reformed theology the principal function of worship was to place a congregation ‘under the Word’, the psalms were translated into English and put into metrical form so that they could be sung unaccompanied by the congregation led by a precentor.¹⁶⁵

Within the Reformed Church the frequency of communion had often been a matter of heated debate with the clergy preferring more frequent celebrations than the laity.¹⁶⁶ In Haddington it was decided that the Lord’s Supper should be celebrated four times a year. While care was taken to avoid the dates of the ‘old festivals’ of Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas, these quarterly communions helped to give the year something of the structure the previous festivals had provided. Boards covered with

¹⁵⁸ Henry R Sefton, ‘Book of Common Order’ in Nigel M. de S Cameron, (ed.) *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1993) 85

¹⁵⁹ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 226

¹⁶⁰ In 1548 the English army had seized the church bells.

¹⁶¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 25

¹⁶² *Scots Confession of Faith*, chapter 19,

Available to

<https://freechurch.org/assets/documents/2014/The%20Scottish%20Confession%20of%20Faith%201560.pdf>

Accessed 13 March 2020

¹⁶³ Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformation* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1988) 77

¹⁶⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, translated by Henry Beveridge.

Available at

<http://www.ntslibrary.com/PDF%20Books/Calvin%20Institutes%20of%20Christian%20Religion.pdf>.

Accessed 13 March 2020

¹⁶⁵ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 March 1566

¹⁶⁶ Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin 1964) 88

linen clothes were placed in the aisles and members of the congregation took it in turns to sit at these 'tables' and receive the elements from the minister.¹⁶⁷ Since the Town Council retained a significant role in the affairs of St Mary's, it met the cost of both the communion elements and the table linen.¹⁶⁸ As the populace was required to attend worship at a prescribed hour, good time keeping came to be important and, in 1567, the Town Council appointed Matthew Bowe to repair and maintain the town clock.¹⁶⁹

The transition from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism

The transition from the pre-Reformation collegiate church to the new Protestant kirk seems to have been conducted amicably and certain aspects of the old church continued into the new. In 1559 the Treasurer had been instructed to pay Friar John Congilton, Warden of Friars, £5.16s¹⁷⁰ and in 1573 his successor was instructed to pay Friar Patrick Allen six merks for alms.¹⁷¹ In the same way when James Mauchlin, chaplain of the Altar of St James, resigned, the Town Council awarded him an *ex gratia* payment of £4 and a life pension of £6 per year.¹⁷² By October 1571 all outstanding obligations to the previous clergy seem to have been met and, in a nod in the direction of the *First Book of Discipline*, the Town Council ordered all annuities belonging to the chaplains and altars in the burgh be allocated to paying the salaries of the schoolmaster and an exhorter who was to be appointed to assist the minister.¹⁷³ In 1564 Thomas Cumming had been elected schoolmaster for life with a salary of 70 merks per year and had been required to teach grammar, Latin and morals.¹⁷⁴ While there is no evidence that the Town Council pursued another Knoxian reform and allocated the resources of the pre-Reformation church to the relief of the poor, it stipulated that if the person appointed to collect alms at the church door failed to appear they must pay the deacons the same sum as had been collected the previous Sunday.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 25

¹⁶⁸ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 July 1573

¹⁶⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 7 November 1567

¹⁷⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 13 November 1559

¹⁷¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 27 November 1573

¹⁷² Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 23

¹⁷³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 29 November 1571

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁵ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 February 1564

Despite the relatively smooth transition to the post-Reformation church, the case of William Wilson shows that not everyone in Haddington had been convinced of the need for ecclesiastical reform. Wilson had been parish clerk from 1525 to 1559 and in 1566 he petitioned the Town Council to be restored to his position and allowed to collect 12d per year from certain houses in the burgh.¹⁷⁶ Although, while presenting his case Wilson referred to the new faith as ‘the Imitation of Religion’,¹⁷⁷ he was reinstated on condition he conformed and carry out all his duties, including acting as precentor. Even as late as 1608 the Town Council sought a dispensation from James VI in order to elect Sir David Seton, who was suspected of ‘Papisty’, as Provost.¹⁷⁸

The coming of the Reformation seems to have had little impact on the economic life of Haddington. The Incorporated Trades continued to function as they had done during the late medieval period and the Town Council continued to superintend commercial activity in the burgh. In 1565 the Council decreed that the Fleshmarket and the Saltmarket should be relocated to the east end of the town alongside the Friars’ Wall;¹⁷⁹ the following year it fixed the times at which certain items, such as butter, cheese and eggs, could be sold in the market;¹⁸⁰ it regulated the price and quality of bread and the price of a pint of ale,¹⁸¹ and it tried to reassure the townsfolk that the measures employed in the market were accurate.¹⁸²

The Reformation also left the social hierarchy in Haddington intact. In 1617 the bakers and woodworkers were granted permission to erect a pew at the west end of the church in which their members could sit during the Sunday service and another pew, probably against the curtain wall, was erected for the use of the Town Council.¹⁸³ And, in 1657, the Council took action to prevent ‘unauthorised persons’ occupying its pew.¹⁸⁴ The erection of these ‘lofts’ and the disputes which occurred regarding their use, were signs that the incorporations, who had lost their altars at the Reformation,

¹⁷⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 March 1566

¹⁷⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 24

¹⁷⁸ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 11 October 1608

¹⁷⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 January 1565

¹⁸⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 March 1566

¹⁸¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 12 October 1570

¹⁸² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 October 1574

¹⁸³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 4 June 1617

¹⁸⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 21 March 1657

had found another means of asserting their place not only within the parish church but in the community as whole. Although, in 1581, the General Assembly forbid burial inside churches, prominent families, like the Bruins of Colstoun and the Sinclairs of Stevenson got round the restriction by burying their dead in the ruined choir and James VI allowed his chancellor, James Maitland, to acquire the former sacristy as a mortuary aisle.¹⁸⁵

Developments in the church in Haddington in the post-Reformation period took place against a background of growing political tension in Scotland as leading Protestants began to suspect that Mary, Queen of Scots was planning to re-introduce Roman Catholicism. In August 1565 Lord James Stewart, now Earl of Moray, and other leading figures rose up against the Queen and there were a number of skirmishes known as the ‘Chaseabout Raid’.¹⁸⁶ In August 1566 the Town Council had to pay a fee of £100 to their majesties to avoid taking part in a raid on Edinburgh. Developments in the church in Haddington also took place against the constant threat of plague. In 1568 the Town Council passed a set of regulations aimed at preventing its onset.¹⁸⁷ They included appointing six watchmen to prevent outsiders entering the burgh during the night; removing all beggars and vagabonds from the town as soon as possible; and cancelling all markets and fairs.

Given the shortage of Protestant ministers and the uncertainty over the finances of the Kirk, the speed with which the Town Council adjusted to the new era was impressive. Within two years of the Reformation Parliament, St. Mary’s had been turned into a preaching auditorium and Patrick Cockburn had been appointed minister of the parish. While this seems to have reflected genuine support for the new faith among the town’s elite, it also reflected the ongoing influence of Lord James Stewart. Without his active support neither development would have been possible.

A shortage of ministers meant that when Patrick Cockburn died, in 1568, the Town Council struggled to find a successor and Andrew Simpson, vicar and exhorter

¹⁸⁵ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 27

¹⁸⁶ Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots* 157

¹⁸⁷ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 September 1568

at Bolton, provided supply.¹⁸⁸ However, in August 1570 James Carmichael was appointed.¹⁸⁹ He had studied at St. Leonard's College, St Andrew's and been schoolmaster in the town's grammar school.¹⁹⁰ Within two years of his appointment the Town Council made him the schoolmaster in Haddington.¹⁹¹ However, in 1574 Carmichael was placed in charge of Bolton, Athelstaneford and St Martin's as well as Haddington¹⁹² and in November 1576 the Town Council decided his work load was such that he should be relieved of his duties as schoolmaster.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, it required him to remain in post until 'a qualified man, free from fault, papacy or idolatry' could be found and it was another six months before James Panton was appointed.¹⁹⁴ While there seems to have been some disquiet in the town over the state of the grammar school during Carmichael's stewardship, the Town Council accepted responsibility for failing to provide him with an assistant and, in 1578, it appointed Lucas Wilson to serve as assistant schoolmaster for six months and to be 'Reader of the Common Prayers' in St. Mary's.¹⁹⁵

One of the features of the new Kirk was the enforcement of both a strict moral code and attendance at worship. In the *First Book of Discipline* Knox had written 'As that no commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good laws ... so neither can the church of God be brought to purity ... without the order of ecclesiastical discipline'.¹⁹⁶ And Andrew Melville had described discipline as the third mark of the true church.¹⁹⁷ Ecclesiastical discipline was exercised in the first instance by the kirk session, which was drawn from the ranks of the local elite. By supervising the community closely, the kirk session was able to exercise a significant measure of

¹⁸⁸ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

¹⁸⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 August 1570

¹⁹⁰ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

¹⁹¹ James K. Cameron, 'Carmichael, James (1542/3-1628) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Available at <https://doi-org.ezproxy-s1.stir.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4701>

Accessed 20 March 2020

¹⁹² Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

¹⁹³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 November 1576

¹⁹⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 15 April 1577

¹⁹⁵ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 April 1578

¹⁹⁶ 'Of Ecclesiastical Discipline' in *First Book of Discipline*

¹⁹⁷ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 218

social control and deliver a high level of conformity.¹⁹⁸ When the kirk session judged someone to have committed a moral offence, such as antenuptial fornication or adultery, the offender was required to show penitence by sitting on what in St Mary's was called the 'Pillar of Repentance'¹⁹⁹ for an appropriate number of Sundays and be rebuked by the minister. The pillar in St Mary's seems to have been well used and, in 1576, as part of the refurbishment of the north and west sides of the church, the existing pillar was demolished and rebuilt in wood.²⁰⁰ This suggests that it was a considerably larger structure than the three legged stool used elsewhere.²⁰¹

In line with Calvin's teaching that it was the role of the civil magistrate to prevent 'idolatry, sacrilege against God's name, blasphemies against his truth, and other public offenses against religion from arising',²⁰² the civil and ecclesiastical courts in Haddington co-operated with one another.²⁰³ When, in 1579, John Kerr, minstrel, confessed to having had two children by Katherine Gray, the Town Council ordered him to appear before the kirk session, failing which he would be banished from the burgh.²⁰⁴ In the same way it enforced the right of the kirk session to require parishioners to attend public worship by requiring at least one person in a household of three or more to attend or face a fine of 12d for the first offence and double for any repeat offences.²⁰⁵ The Council also reinforced the kirk session's right to regulate religious practice and belief²⁰⁶ by paying towards the cost of producing 'communion tokens' which were issued to those who were deemed worthy to receive the sacrament.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 219

¹⁹⁹ In most churches it was known as 'the stool of repentance'.

²⁰⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 4 April 1576

²⁰¹ In the 'Black Stool', painted in 1795, David Allan shows a youth standing, cap in hand, on a structure the height of the adjacent gallery.

National Galleries Scotland, Accession No. D 4373

²⁰² John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 4, chapter 20, paragraph 3

Available at : <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.html>

Accessed 28 January 2020

²⁰³ Harriet J. Cornell, 'Gender, Sex and Social Control: East Lothian, 1610-1640' (Edinburgh University PhD thesis, 2012) 43

²⁰⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 6 February 1579

²⁰⁵ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 18 October 1598

²⁰⁶ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 219

²⁰⁷ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 6 September 1576

During the 1570s the Town Council was concerned with extracting coal from the moor between Haddington and Tranent. In 1572 it granted the right to extract coal at Gladsmuir to four men who were to build houses and yards for the coalminers.²⁰⁸ Had the project succeeded it would probably have transformed both the economy of the burgh and its social composition. In nearby Tranent coalminers were indentured labour who had very few rights and lived in abject poverty.²⁰⁹ During the same period the Town Council was engaged in the demolition of the former Franciscan Friary.²¹⁰ The east gable of the church was given to Thomas Cockburn of Clerkington²¹¹ and the council passed regulations to ensure that any benefits accruing from the sale of friary lands were retained within the burgh. In 1577 Haddington seems to have been suffering an economic recession and the Treasurer was instructed to take 200 merks out of the Common Purse to meet the needs of the growing number of poor.²¹²

In 1574 James Carmichael was one of a committee of four who prepared the *Acts of the Kirk* for general use and assisted in the revision of the *Second Book of Discipline*.²¹³ However, a decade later he was obliged to seek shelter in England, along with Andrew Melville who had been charged with sedition.²¹⁴ Scott says Carmichael had shown sympathy for the Ruthven Raid,²¹⁵ in which a group of anti-Catholic, pro-English nobles, led by the Earl of Gowrie, captured James VI and held him in Ruthven Castle.²¹⁶ Carmichael was not the only churchman to sympathise with the attempt of the Ruthven Raiders to change the pro-French policies of the earls of Lennox and Arran. The General Assembly saw the raid as the latest episode in the Reformation.²¹⁷ However, in 1583 James escaped the clutches of Gowrie, and in 1584 Arran threatened to decapitate ministers in Edinburgh.²¹⁸ During Carmichael's absence John Kerr, who

²⁰⁸ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 March 1572

²⁰⁹ Cunningham, H. 'Tranent' in *Statistical Account* Volume X, 60 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794)

²¹⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 13 November 1572

²¹¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 4 December 1572

²¹² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 October 1577

²¹³ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²¹⁴ Cameron, 'Carmichael, James (1542/3-1628) *Dictionary of Nation Biography* (2004) Accessed 25 January 2020

²¹⁵ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²¹⁶ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 219

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, 219

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, 220

had been appointed schoolmaster in 1579 conducted worship in St Mary's and, on Carmichael's return in 1587, was rewarded by being made minister at Aberlady.²¹⁹

By 1607 presbyteries were an established part of the Church of Scotland and Carmichael was appointed the 'constant moderator' of the Presbytery of Haddington.²²⁰ As the office had been created to increase the crown's control of the church, Carmichael's acceptance of the post may have been a sign he had toned-down his presbyterian stance.²²¹ Towards the end of his life Carmichael's relations with the Town Council deteriorated and in 1620 it considered not paying his rent of £20 because it was alleged he had stopped visiting the sick.²²² As Carmichael was in his late seventies, he may have been having difficulty fulfilling his pastoral responsibilities. In 1621 the presbytery visited the parish and found that while the congregation was generally content, there were concerns that, due to his old age and poor health, Carmichael was unable to preach on some Sundays and Tuesdays.²²³

Despite Carmichael's sympathy for the Ruthven Raid, he went on to co-operate with James VI in writing the king's treatise on witchcraft, *Daemonalogue* (1597).²²⁴ Carmichael had interviewed a number of the women who were accused of witchcraft in North Berwick in 1590/1591 and, in 1591, published a pamphlet entitled *Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer who was burned at Edinburgh in January last*.²²⁵ In a contemporary print, Fian is portrayed writing down a sermon being preached by the Devil to witches in North Berwick.²²⁶ However, despite Carmichael's interest in witchcraft there were no trials of alleged witches in Haddington during his ministry. However, his successor, Alexander Hamilton, seems to have been more inclined to denounce those he

²¹⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²²⁰ Minutes of the Presbytery of Haddington 1596-1608 (CH2/185/2)

²²¹ Cameron, 'Carmichael, James (1542/3-1628) *Dictionary of Nation Biography* (2004) Accessed 25 January 2020

²²² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 10 November 1620

²²³ Cornell, 'Gender, Sex and Social Control: East Lothian, 1610-1640' 65

²²⁴ Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI and I* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003) 128

²²⁵ Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman, 'The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft',

Available at <http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/witches/>

Accessed 27 January 2020

²²⁶ Ibid

suspected of witchcraft. In 1630 Alesoun Carrick, Bessie Duncan and Katherine Lawder were tried and acquitted²²⁷ and in 1635 Anna Tait was arrested after trying to kill herself and, when asked why she had attempted to take her life, confessed to having murdered her first husband and daughter and to have turned to the Devil. She was tried before the minister and the bailies, found guilty and executed.²²⁸ Nevertheless, the fact that these were the only trials for witchcraft in the burgh during the seventeenth century suggests that the authorities were reluctant to prosecute alleged witches even when, as happened at Samuelston in 1661, there was a public outcry.²²⁹ Indeed, although there were a total of twelve trials within the bounds of the Presbytery of Haddington, Anna Tait was the only person to be convicted.²³⁰

In 1588 the Town Council seems to have experienced a moral panic and accused 'sundry unmarried and licentious young women' of setting up a brothel in the town, which would 'make the townsfolk odious and detestable to all'. It ordered all unmarried women to enter into service.²³¹ However, in 1603, the Council complained of 'the filthy and damnable vices of streetwalking, playing at cards and dice ... to the dishonour of God and the slander of the whole burgh.'²³² It decided that the remedy was to require taverns to close at 9.00 p.m. in the winter and 10.00 p.m. in the summer and to ban the sale of ale, beer and wine on a Sunday.

In 1612 the Town Council paid for a Bible for the church. While it is possible that it was a copy of the 'King James Bible', which had been produced the previous year, it is more likely to have been the 'Geneva Bible' of 1560 which remained popular and had been produced by scholars in John Knox's congregation in Geneva.²³³ In 1622 James Lowrie was appointed to teach men and children to sing and to participate in worship in St Mary's.²³⁴ Although in later centuries psalm singing could be turgid,

²²⁷ Ibid

²²⁸ Ibid

²²⁹ Reid, 'Haddington in History' 30

²³⁰ 'The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft'

Accessed 11 March 2020

²³¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 February 1588

²³² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 2 March 1603

²³³ Adam Nicolson, *Power and Glory: Jacobean England and the Making of the King James Bible* (London: Harper Collins, 2003) 58

²³⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 8 May 1622.

in the post-Reformation period it was often lively and uplifting. A former monk, John Wode or Wood, produced a collection of psalm tunes, many by David Peebles, to be sung in four parts.²³⁵ The fact that burghs, like Haddington, continued the pre-Reformation practice of having song schools helped to make the unaccompanied singing of metrical psalms a distinctive feature of post-Reformation worship in Scotland. Although it is likely that St Mary's had an organ in medieval times, after the Reformation they were dismissed as 'a kist o' whistles with the devil in every pipe',²³⁶ and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that another organ was installed in St. Mary's.²³⁷

The ministry of James Carmichael was unusual both for its length and for the role he played in the wider church. He was minister at St Mary's for 59 years during which he ensured that the congregation adopted the worship, doctrine and discipline of Presbyterianism. He was also a close associate of Andrew Melville and made it his life's work to collate the Acts of the General Assembly so that they could be used to guide the decisions of the lower courts.²³⁸ His ministry can be said to exemplify the way on which the burden of promoting the Reformation fell on the shoulders of burghs like Haddington.

In 1629 Alexander Henderson succeeded Carmichael and,²³⁹ in 1635, a second charge was created to which William Trent was appointed.²⁴⁰ There is some doubt about the churchmanship of the two. Jenkinson and McKinlay state that Henderson was presented by the Bishop of Edinburgh and that both men were Episcopalians.²⁴¹ However, Charles I did not create the Diocese of Edinburgh until 1633,²⁴² by which time Henderson had been in post for four years. Jenkinson and McKinlay seem to have assumed that, because Henderson and Trent were appointed during the personal rule

²³⁵ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 227

²³⁶ David Stewart and Alan Buchan, *Organs in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Federation of Organists, 2018)

²³⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 62

²³⁸ Cameron, 'Carmichael, James (1542/3-1628)'

²³⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 272

²⁴¹ Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 86

²⁴² 'History of the Diocese' on the *Diocese of Edinburgh*

Available at <https://edinburgh.anglican.org/history-of-the-diocese/>

Accessed 22 March 2020

of Charles I, they must have been Episcopalians. However, the King's influence did not extend to the appointment of ministers to parishes.

Religious and Political Conflict

The *Second Book of Discipline*²⁴³ which Carmichael helped to revise was the work of an ultra-Presbyterian faction in the General Assembly. It restated the claim that the Kirk should receive all the wealth of the medieval church. This would have gone down well in Haddington, which, as a major burgh, was struggling to implement the Knoxian vision of an educated Protestant ministry, a school in every parish and an enhanced poor law. *The Second Book of Discipline* also claimed that the church should be run by a hierarchy of courts rather than by bishops and that it should be free from State intrusion.²⁴⁴ In 1596 Andrew Melville went further and told the Assembly that there were two kingdoms in Scotland - a temporal and a spiritual - and that 'those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, have power and authority from Him ... which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge.'²⁴⁵ Although in *The True Laws of Free Monarchies* and his treatise on kinship, *Basilikon Doron*, James VI refuted Melville's claims²⁴⁶ and was sufficiently astute to weather attempts by the General Assembly and Parliament to abolish episcopacy,²⁴⁷ when his son, Charles, attempted to introduce a new *Book of Canons* and a modified version of the *Book of Common Prayer*, without consulting either the Estates or the General Assembly, there was a riot in St. Giles, Edinburgh led by the city's 'matrons'.²⁴⁸

At his Scottish coronation, in 1633, Charles had earned the gratitude of the citizens of Haddington by ratifying a new charter for the burgh confirming their possession of all lands, annual rents, houses, yards, acres and wastes lying within the

²⁴³ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²⁴⁴ James Kirk (ed.) *Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1980)

²⁴⁵ David B. Patterson, 'Andrew Melville's Two Kingdome Speech'
Available at <http://www.thisday.pcahistory.org/2014/09/september-2/>
Accessed 29 January 2020

²⁴⁶ Stewart, *The Cradle King*, 146

²⁴⁷ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 129

²⁴⁸ Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714*, (London and New York: Longman, 1994)
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town along with other lands outside the burgh.²⁴⁹ However, his religious reforms seem to have undermined his popularity in East Lothian. In 1637 the Presbytery of Haddington sent a petition to the General Assembly protesting against the ‘great evil and hurt’ which the introduction of the new prayer book was causing.²⁵⁰ After expressing concern that because the book had come from ‘the highest authority’ some pastors and people might be persuaded to use it, the petition asserted that the reception of a book purporting to provide ‘a settled form of divine worship’ required the concurrence of the General Assembly and to be ratified by Parliament.²⁵¹ Although it is clear that the Presbytery did not like the new service book, the petition’s main complaint was that Charles I had introduced it without consulting the church. While in 1562 the General Assembly had approved *The Book of Common Order* without consulting Parliament,²⁵² the notion that a new service book should be ‘ratified by Parliament’ was probably seen as a double lock on the power of the crown to introduce liturgical reforms.

The petition from the Presbytery of Haddington was part of a movement which, in 1638, culminated in the publication of the National Covenant, which had been drawn up by Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, and a young and fervent lawyer, Archibald Johnston of Warriston.²⁵³ It was a rather dry and legalistic document which offered a closely argued case for adhering to the so called ‘King’s Confession’, which James VI had signed in 1581, and for opposing ‘innovations’ which had not been approved by the General Assembly. Alasdair Raff has shown that ‘swearing of collective religious covenants was a distinctive characteristic of post-Reformation Scotland’.²⁵⁴ The Covenant used the language of federal theology, which held that the church was the new Israel and as such was heir to the covenant God had made with the old Israel. Its subscribers affirmed that they had entered an unconditional

²⁴⁹ Cited by Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 42

²⁵⁰ Cited by Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 34

²⁵¹ Ibid

²⁵² Sefton, ‘Book of Common Order’

²⁵³ D. Plant, ‘The Scottish National Covenant’

Available at <http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/crisis-in-scotland/scottish-national-covenant>
Accessed 14 February 2020

²⁵⁴ Alasdair Raff, ‘Confessions, Covenants and Continuous Reformation in Early Modern Scotland’ in *Etudes Episteme* [Online], 32 | 2017,

relationship with God and that they were committed to defending his true church and that this commitment was everlasting and unbreakable.²⁵⁵

In February 1638 a ceremony was held in Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh at which a large number of the nobility, gentry, clergy and burgesses signed the National Covenant. At least two of the signatories were from the parish of Haddington: Sir Archibald Sydsarf and John Wemyss, 1st Earl of Wemyss.²⁵⁶ Copies of the National Covenant were then circulated for signing in each parish. Although it is not known where and when it was signed in Haddington, it is reasonable to assume it would have been signed with enthusiasm. Emboldened by the support for the National Covenant, the General Assembly met in Glasgow in November and annulled six ‘pretended assemblies’; condemned the Service Book and the Book of Canons; and went further than the Covenant and abolished episcopacy.²⁵⁷ Both the Covenanters and Charles I raised armies and there were a series of confrontations which came to be known as the ‘Bishops’ Wars’. The first ended with the pacification of Berwick in June 1639²⁵⁸ and the second with a Scottish army occupying Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1640.²⁵⁹ However, neither encounter was sufficient to persuade Charles to abandon his reforms.

The importance which the General Assembly attached to the National Covenant meant that when the English Parliament sought military assistance in its conflict with Charles I, the Scots insisted on a Covenant rather than a simple military alliance. They wished any agreement to be binding, unconditional and eternal.²⁶⁰ After protracted negotiations, both Parliaments approved the Solemn League and Covenant and undertook ‘the preservation of reformed religion in the Church of

²⁵⁵ Jamie McDougall, ‘The Reception of the Solemn League and Covenant’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XLV, 2016, 51

²⁵⁶ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 34

²⁵⁷ ‘Acts: 1638’, in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, (Edinburgh, 1843) 1-35

²⁵⁸ D Plant, ‘The First Bishops’ War’

Available at <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/world-history/the-first-bishops-war>

Accessed 9 February 2020

²⁵⁹ D. Plant, ‘The Second Bishops’ War’

Available at <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/world-history/the-second-bishops-war>

Accessed 9 February 2020

²⁶⁰ McDougall, ‘The Reception of the Solemn League and Covenant’, 52

Scotland ... the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland ... according to the word of God, and example of the best reformed Churches'.²⁶¹ Like the National Covenant the Solemn League and Covenant was sent to parishes for signing. No doubt the civil authorities in Haddington hoped that the Covenant's commitment to 'preserve ... the liberties of the kingdoms'²⁶² would extend to preserving the rights and privileges of burghs like their own. The process of signing the Covent reinforced existing social hierarchies. It is known that in Aberlady the 'minister, gentlemen, and people'²⁶³ signed in that order and that it was one of the places where women were allowed to sign.²⁶⁴ In 1648 the Presbytery of Haddington described both covenants as the best guide to the nature of the true church.²⁶⁵

However, the Solemn League and Covenant not only failed to produce 'the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland', it had the unintended consequence of allowing the English Parliament to put Charles I on trial. The Scots were outraged when he was executed on 30 June 1649 and six days later the Scottish Parliament had his son, Charles II, proclaimed King of Scots. However, it had not given up on the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant and insisted that Charles sign both before offering him military assistance.²⁶⁶ Although, as both Covenants had been used to bring about the downfall of his father, it is unlikely that Charles intended to honour his commitments, when he arrived in Scotland he did his best to placate his hosts.²⁶⁷

The recognition of Charles II placed the Scots at odds with the English Parliament and, in August 1650, Oliver Cromwell wrote to the General Assembly, 'I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken' and went on to claim that in opposing Charles II he was the true custodian of the Solemn League and Covenant.²⁶⁸ When his appeal failed Cromwell resorted to military action. The

²⁶¹ *The Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), paragraph 1

²⁶² *Ibid*, paragraph 3

²⁶³ McDougall, 'The Reception of the Solemn League and Covenant', 56

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 67

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 63

²⁶⁶ Christopher Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972) 41

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 42

²⁶⁸ 'Cromwell's Letter to the General Assembly from Musselburgh, 3 August 1650' on *Oliver Cromwell*

General Assembly responded by purging the army of ‘malignants’ and replacing them with those who had been ‘sanctified’ even if they had no military experience.²⁶⁹ However, the Scottish commander, David Leslie, prevented Cromwell from capturing the port of Leith and, with his supply lines stretched, he was forced to retreat to Dunbar, 12 miles east of Haddington, where he planned to embark for England. Leslie shadowed Cromwell as he made his way along the coast. Then, on 3 September 1650, possibly at the behest of representatives of the General Assembly, the Scottish army descended from Doon Hill in pouring rain and attacked the English troops below. It was a fatal mistake. Cromwell was able to seize the initiative and win a decisive victory. He described his success as ‘one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people’.²⁷⁰

By 1650 Robert Ker had succeeded Alexander Hamilton. He was and would remain a staunch Presbyterian.²⁷¹ Nevertheless, following the occupation of Scotland, Ker had to face the reality that the hopes which he and others had invested in the Solemn League and Covenant would not be realised and that Presbyterians would have to live with a degree of religious toleration that was anathema to them. Haddington, like burghs throughout Scotland, was obliged to make the best of the military occupation which followed the defeat at the Battle of Dunbar. The cost of the ‘Usurpation’, as the occupation came to be known, placed a considerable burden on the Town Council and to meet the cost of taxes imposed on the burgh,²⁷² it was obliged to introduce a levy on carcasses sold at the Fleshmarket.²⁷³ By 1657 troops had been quartered in the town and households affected received a payment for ‘coal and candle’.²⁷⁴ In 1657 these payments came to £386²⁷⁵ and each resident was required to pay 5s towards the cost.²⁷⁶ Despite the cost of the ‘Usurpation’ and the inconvenience

Available at http://www.olivercromwell.org/Letters_and_speeches/letters/Letter_129.pdf
Accessed 9 February 2020

²⁶⁹ Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II*, 42

²⁷⁰ S. C. Lomas, (ed.) *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle* (London: Methuen and Co., 1904) Vol. 2, 102

²⁷¹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

²⁷² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 24 May 1558

²⁷³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 10 November 1656

²⁷⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 11 June 1657

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*

²⁷⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 19 November 1657

of having to quarter troops, there was relief that after twelve years of conflict peace had returned. The Cromwellian troops were well behaved and ensured a greater measure of law and order than had been the case under the Stuarts.²⁷⁷

In 1657 Captain Robert Legg took over Lady Bearford's house and, as a gesture of goodwill, the Treasurer was instructed to buy linen for a table cloth and one dozen napkins, plus a bed with cushions.²⁷⁸ And in a more significant gesture, the council made General George Monck, Cromwell's military governor in Scotland, a burgess, along with his Quartermaster, Daniel Dalton,²⁷⁹ and, rather than requiring them to pay the usual fee, the Treasurer and Magistrates met the costs.²⁸⁰ In 1657 Captain Legg provided trumpeters when the Council, Deacons and Magistrates gathered in full regalia to hear a proclamation from General Monck.²⁸¹

It is possible that the Town Council judged the advantages of the 'Usurpation' outweighed the disadvantages. It was able to carry out its traditional duties;²⁸² play its full part in the Convention of Burghs;²⁸³ and had sufficient resources to reduce the fees charged to pupils attending the Grammar School from 12s per quarter to 2s and at the same time increase the schoolmaster's salary from 200 to 300 merks.²⁸⁴ The Town Council certainly acquiesced in Cromwell's decision to unite England and Scotland. George Brown was sent to declare the burgh's 'free and willing acceptance and consent ... that Scotland be Incorporated into and made one Commonwealth with England.'²⁸⁵ However, possibly because of the low regard in which Scottish M.P.s were held at Westminster, Haddington was unable to find someone willing to represent it and the Provost was sent to seek the advice of General Monck.²⁸⁶ Monck recommended his brother-in-law, Thomas Clarges, and he was duly elected.²⁸⁷ The

²⁷⁷ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 30

²⁷⁸ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 27 May 1657

²⁷⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 19 November 1657

²⁸⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 21 November 1657

²⁸¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 22 July 1657

²⁸² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 13 November 1658

²⁸³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 14 October 1657

²⁸⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 10 November 1656

²⁸⁵ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 29

²⁸⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 29 February 1659.

²⁸⁷ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 24 January 1659.

election of Clarges seems to have been more than mere acquiescence and to have been a genuine attempt to make the Commonwealth work.

While Cromwell's policy of religious tolerance was anathema to Robert Ker, minister of the first charge, who wished to see Presbyterianism recognised as the *de jure devino* religion of Scotland, life in the church in Haddington seems to have carried on more or less as normal and there is no evidence of an independent congregation or 'sectary' of the kind favoured by the Lord Protector, being formed in the burgh. The Church of Scotland's ability to resist Cromwell's policy of toleration was severely weakened by a schism between 'Protesters', who demanded personal and national repentance, and 'Resolutioners', who favoured an inclusive approach to public life. Cromwell dismissed both factions.²⁸⁸

The Restoration of Charles II

When Oliver Cromwell died in 1658 his son, Richard, succeeded him as Lord Protector. However, he lacked his father's qualities as a leader and George Monck sent his brother-in-law, Thomas Clarges, M.P. for Haddington, as part of a delegation to invite Charles II to return to England.²⁸⁹ While the Town Council would be quick to display collective amnesia regarding its co-operation with the Cromwellian regime, it is not clear how much it regretted the end of the Commonwealth. Although the burgh had had to pay additional taxes, and while there had been the occasional dispute over the quartering of troops,²⁹⁰ on the whole its relations with General Monck and his subordinates had been cordial and the town had benefited from a decade of peace. The possible end of the Commonwealth also had implications for Robert Ker, minister of the first charge. He had refused to conform during the reign of Charles I,²⁹¹ and it was not clear whether he would be required to conform after the Restoration of Charles II.

Despite Thomas Clarges being part of the delegation that negotiated with Charles II, Scotland was not involved in his recall. In the absence of a separate parliament in Edinburgh all key decisions were taken in London. The process began

²⁸⁸ Louise Yoeman, 'Presbyterian Church and Factions' in Lynch, M. (ed.) *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 83

²⁸⁹ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 32

²⁹⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 13 June 1659

²⁹¹ Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 88

on 1 January 1660 when General Monck assembled around 7,000 troops in Coldstream and marched south. Parliament had invited Monck to intervene as it was concerned by the breakdown of law and order under Richard Cromwell.²⁹² The Burgh Council minutes contain two tantalising references from 1559. The first is to a meeting between the Provost, William Seton, and General Monck on 12 December²⁹³ and the second to Seton going to Edinburgh on 31 December to discuss with representatives from other burghs ‘applications and petition’ to be made to the parliament in London.²⁹⁴ While the attitude of the Town Council at this critical juncture is not known, it is likely to have been anxious that the stability of the last decade was about to be disturbed.

On arriving in London, Monck re-instated the ‘Long Parliament’ which confirmed him as commander-in-chief; agreed to establish a national Presbyterian church with toleration for separatist groups; and resolved to dissolve itself and call for fresh elections.²⁹⁵ Monck then called what came to be known as the ‘Convention Parliament’²⁹⁶ which implemented the conditions under which Charles II was to be allowed to return.²⁹⁷ In the ‘Declaration of Breda’ he had given a number of assurances, including ‘liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom’.²⁹⁸

During the summer of 1660 Charles wrote a letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the contents of which were communicated to other presbyteries. In it he appeared to satisfy the hopes of those who wished to see a ‘Covenanted King’ on the throne of Scotland. Charles wrote, ‘We do also resolve to protect the Government of

²⁹² ‘The Rump Parliament Recalled’ on *British Civil War Project*
Available at <http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/the-restoration/the-rump-recalled>
Accessed 12 February

²⁹³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 7 January 1660

²⁹⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 23 January 1660

²⁹⁵ ‘The Rump Parliament Recalled’ on *British Civil War Project*

²⁹⁶ Also known as the ‘English Convention’ because it was called by Monck rather than the King.

²⁹⁷ ‘Restoration Settlement’ on *British Civil War Project*

Available at <http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/the-restoration/restoration-settlement>
Accessed 12 February 2020

²⁹⁸ ‘Declaration of Breda’ on *Constitution.org*

Available at <https://www.constitution.org/eng/conpur105.htm>

Accessed 11 February 2020

the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation'.²⁹⁹ Most Scottish churchmen accepted this carefully crafted sentence at its face value and assumed that Charles would respect the Presbyterian polity of the Kirk and not seek to re-introduce Episcopacy.

When news of Charles' imminent return to England reached Haddington the Treasurer was instructed to go to Edinburgh to have a silver cup made bearing the burgh's coat of arms, to be presented to the winner of a horse race to be run on the King's birthday on 29 May.³⁰⁰ On the day itself the Town Council ordered all households to light a bonfire and to follow the Magistrates and Council in a procession through the burgh.³⁰¹ In 1661 the celebrations were even more elaborate. A stage was erected at the market cross and the Magistrates and their guests were provided with sweetmeats, figs, raisins and a large barrel of wine³⁰² and, in November, the Town Council ordered each household to light a bonfire in commemoration of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, or incur a fine of £5.³⁰³ While these gestures were described as 'testimony' to the joy which the citizens of Haddington felt on the return of Charles II, the Town Council no doubt hoped they would help to expunge the memory of the burgh's collaboration with the Commonwealth.

By 1661 the Scottish Parliament had been restored and was under the control of the reinstated 'Lords of the Articles'.³⁰⁴ In six months the Estates passed a number of measures culminating with a 'Rescissory Act' which rendered null and void all actions in church and state since 1633.³⁰⁵ The effect of the Act was to make 'the Government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law', Episcopalian rather

²⁹⁹ *'His Majesties gracious letter, directed to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and by them to be communicated to the rest of the presbyteries of this kirk.'* (Edinburgh: Charles Calvert, 1660)
Available at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A79214.0001.001?view=toc>
Accessed 11 February 2020

³⁰⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 9 April 1660

³⁰¹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 29 May 1660

³⁰² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 May 1661

³⁰³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 6 November 1661

³⁰⁴ The 'Lords of the Articles' was a committee chosen by the Estates to draft legislation which was then presented to the full assembly to be confirmed.

³⁰⁵ 'Rescissory Act 1661' on *Oxford Index*

Available at

[https://oxfordindex.oup.com/oi/viewoverview/10.1093\\$002foi\\$002fauthority.20110803100415233](https://oxfordindex.oup.com/oi/viewoverview/10.1093$002foi$002fauthority.20110803100415233)

Accessed 11 February 2020

than Presbyterian. In 1662 Charles reinstated the bishops' former powers and required ministers to have the approval of a bishop to remain in their charge. While it is estimated that around 270 ministers refused to accept this requirement and were ejected in 1663,³⁰⁶ Thomas Kirkaldie, minister at Tranent and Seton, was the only minister from the Presbytery of Haddington to be deposed.³⁰⁷

In Haddington Robert Ker, who had been presented to the first charge in 1646 by John Hamilton, 4th Earl of Haddington, continued to refuse to conform.³⁰⁸ Hew Scott states that he was allowed to remain 'through the influence of John, Duke of Lauderdale'.³⁰⁹ At first sight this appears to be an odd statement. John Maitland, 2nd Earl of Lauderdale, had been with Charles II in the Netherlands and, at the Restoration, the King had made him Secretary of State for Scotland, and later created him 1st Duke of Lauderdale.³¹⁰ So the Earl might have been expected to have little sympathy with someone who refused to conform. However, earlier in his career, Maitland had been a member of the delegation which had carried the Solemn League and Covenant to London and a lay member of the Westminster Assembly.³¹¹ And Maitland's seat at Lethington, a mile south of Haddington, was within Ker's parish. Also in his *History of the Suffering of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* Robert Wodrow describes how when William Cunningham, 9th Earl of Glencairn, who was Chancellor of Scotland, was dying in his home in Bolton, he summoned Ker to his bedside.³¹² It is, therefore, possible that these two East Lothian grandees held Ker in sufficient esteem to ensure that he was not ejected in 1663.

During Ker's ministry the now traditional form of worship was continued morning and afternoon. In 1665 Robert Watson, Precentor of the Tron Kirk in Edinburgh, was appointed Precentor of St. Mary's³¹³ and Master of the Music

³⁰⁶ J. D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964) 235

³⁰⁷ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticana*, Vol. 1, 396

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 369

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 369

³¹⁰ 'John Maitland, 2nd Earl of Lauderdale, 1616-1682' on *British Civil War Project*

Available at <http://bcw-project.org/biography/john-maitland-earl-of-lauderdale>

Accessed 12 February 2020

³¹¹ Ibid

³¹² Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Suffering of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullerton and Co. 1825) Vol. 1, 417

³¹³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 25 January 1665

School.³¹⁴ As well as teaching men and children to sing and play musical instruments, Watson seems to have been responsible for conducting Sunday worship up to the sermon, including leading the singing of the psalms, and reading the ‘short prayer’ and the appointed passage of scripture. At that point Ker would have appeared and preached the sermon and read the ‘long prayer’.

In 1672 a dispute arose between the Town Council and Alexander Young, the Bishop of Edinburgh, over the appointment of a schoolmaster. The Council had dismissed Edward Jamieson for refusing to sign a document affirming that he had sworn an oath of allegiance to Charles II.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, Young ordered his reinstatement.³¹⁶ However, the Town Council refused to comply with the Bishop’s instruction and proceeded to appoint William Skein.³¹⁷ It seems that the Council’s acceptance of Charles II did not extend to the Bishop of Edinburgh.

In 1675 William Trent, minister of the second charge, died, and James Forman, an Episcopalian, was appointed to replace him and, on Robert Ker’s death in 1677, Forman was translated to the first charge.³¹⁸ However, it is not clear that Forman was chosen because he was an Episcopalian. Other factors may have led to his appointment. He came from Inveresk, 12 miles west of Haddington, he was an experienced minister, who had served in the Presbytery of Annan for ten years,³¹⁹ and he had married William Trent’s daughter, Agnes. Jenkinson and McKinlay claim that around the time of the ‘glorious revolution’ Forman conformed to Presbyterianism.³²⁰ In 1685 Thomas Hamilton, 6th Earl of Haddington, nominated George Dunbar, who was also an Episcopalian, to the second charge.³²¹ The Earl had close links with the Crown and would have found it natural to appoint an Episcopalian.³²² The Town

³¹⁴ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 4 February 1665

³¹⁵ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 23 July 1672

³¹⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 3 December 1672

³¹⁷ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 22 February 1678.

³¹⁸ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 1, 369

³¹⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 2, 253

³²⁰ Jenkinson and McKinlay, *Lamp of Lothian*, 88

³²¹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 1, 372

³²² In 1691 Hamilton was appointed Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood Park.

‘Papers of the Earls of Haddington (1563-1986)’ on *Archives Hub*

Available at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/13a103c4-50dc-3891-99d5-cdcc570c1398>

Accessed 9 July 2020

Council would also have regarded the appointment of Dunbar as in its political and economic interests. By 1685 the Presbytery was working harmoniously with the Bishop of Edinburgh,³²³ and, in November, on his instructions, sent Dunbar on a visitation to Morham.³²⁴

Reign of James VII and II

In 1685 James VII and II succeeded Charles II. By then he had experience of Scottish politics. As Duke of York he had visited Scotland in 1679; in 1680, Charles had appointed him Lord High Commissioner; and in 1681 he had taken up residence in Edinburgh.³²⁵ James carried out Charles' policy of trying to separate those who had conscientious reasons for refusing to conform from those who posed a political threat. In 1669 and 1672 Charles issued 'Letters of Indulgence' in the hope of getting moderate Covenanters to conform.³²⁶ However, in May 1679, two Covenanters assassinated James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrew's, on Magnus Muir, and in the subsequent uprising a Covenanting Army was initially successful before being crushed by the Duke of Monmouth at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge.³²⁷ Monmouth favoured conciliation rather than confrontation and obtained an Act of Indemnity and a third 'Letter of Indulgence'. Thereafter Covenanter resistance was confined to the south-west of Scotland and, in 1680, a group known as the Society People pinned a declaration to the market cross in Sanquhar disowning 'Charles Stuart ... as having any right, title to, or interest in the said crown of Scotland'.³²⁸ While Highland troops under John Graham of Claverhouse took the lead in the violent suppression of the remaining Covenanters,³²⁹ there is evidence that troops from Haddington were also involved. In 1687 those who were described as having served in 'the West country' were required to hand in their arms.³³⁰ In 1681, the government made a further attempt to isolate hard-line Covenanters by passing a Test Act, which required the holder of a public office to declare that 'the king's majesty is the only supreme governor of this

³²³ Presbytery of Haddington: Minutes, 1662-1686 (CH2/185/7)

³²⁴ Ibid

³²⁵ Jock Haswell, *James II, Soldier and Sailor*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972) 216

³²⁶ Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, 237

³²⁷ Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II*, 181

³²⁸ Wodrow, *The History of the Suffering of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. 3, 212

³²⁹ Ibid, 195

³³⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 19 December 1687

realm, over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil'.³³¹ During his own reign James, as a Roman Catholic, was eager to further the interests of his co-religionists and, in 1687, combined toleration of Roman Catholics with freedom of worship for Presbyterians.³³²

The Test Act had a drastic impact on the Presbytery of Haddington. Out of sixteen ministers eight refused to conform.³³³ John Makgie, minister at Dirleton, did not conform but was tolerated; William Paterson, minister at Bolton, and George Stephen, minister at Yester, demitted rather than sign the act; and William Carmichael, minister at Athelstaneford, Robert Meldrum, minister at Garval and Bara, James Gray, minister of the second charge at Haddington, James Graeme, minister at Saltoun, and James Craig, minister at Tranent and Seton were deposed.³³⁴ Several members of Haddington Town Council also refused to take the oath.³³⁵ In 1683, William Douglas, 1st Duke of Queensberry and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, wrote to the Town Council requiring them to prepare a list of ecclesiastical offences.³³⁶ Although the Provost complied with the request, the extent of non-compliance is not known.

In 1683 William Denune succeeded James Gray in the second charge. He seems to have conformed and as minister at Pencaitland survived the purges in the Presbytery of Haddington that followed the Revolutionary Settlement of 1690.³³⁷ During his ministry he was involved in a dispute with the Town Council over the amount which it was due to pay for the repair of the church and building a second manse.³³⁸

Just as the Town Council had bonfires lit to celebrate the birthdays of Charles II, on 14 October 1688 it had a bonfire built at the Market Cross and bells rung to celebrate the birthday of 'Our Present Sovereign Lord, James VII, King of Scotland

³³¹ 'Act anent religion and the Test' in Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707

Available at <https://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1681/7/29>

Accessed 13 February 2020

³³² Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, 242

³³³ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 1 351-401

³³⁴ Robert Meldrum seems to have had second thoughts and was admitted to Yester in 1682.

³³⁵ Miller, *Lamp of the Lothians*, 185

³³⁶ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 14 April 1683

³³⁷ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 1, 386

³³⁸ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 17 April 1688

England, France and Ireland'.³³⁹ However, the Magistrates do not seem to have indulged in the lavish entertaining that was a feature of Charles II's birthday celebrations. Earlier in the year the Council was told that the Privy Council had ordered the Magistrates of Edinburgh to light bonfires to celebrate the news that the Queen, Mary of Modena, was expecting a child and the bailies decided it was expedient to follow the capital's example.³⁴⁰ Given the widespread opposition that had been shown to the Test Act, the Council had to tread a fine line between displaying the required degree of loyalty to James and not alienating those who were opposed to his ecclesiastical policies.

In June 1688 Mary of Modena gave birth to a son. Until then James's eldest daughter, Mary, who was married to William of Orange, had been first in line to the thrones of England and Scotland. The prospect of unlimited Roman Catholic rule united Anglicans and dissenters in England. Seven leading Protestants, both Whig and Tory, wrote to William of Orange, pledging their support if he brought a force to England.³⁴¹ William had his own reasons for contemplating an invasion. He was opposed to French expansion in Europe and did not wish to see an alliance between Louis XIV and James II.³⁴² On 5 November 1688 William landed at Torbay. At first James was prepared to confront the Dutch invaders. However, after the defection of his youngest daughter, Anne, and John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, he fled to France.³⁴³

The Revolutionary Settlement

In April 1689, the Scottish Parliament declared the throne of Scotland vacant.³⁴⁴ It then produced the 'Claim of Right' which set out the terms on which the throne was to be offered to William and Mary.³⁴⁵ While, like the English Declaration of Rights, it condemned popery and arbitrary rule, it went further and made the

³³⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 13 October

³⁴⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 28 January 1688

³⁴¹ Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 341

³⁴² *Ibid*, 342

³⁴³ *Ibid*, 344

³⁴⁴ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, 4

³⁴⁵ Tim Harris, *Revolution: the Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2006) 395

dubious claim that prelacy ‘has been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the reformation ... and therefore ought to be abolished’.³⁴⁶

Although William would probably have preferred a moderate episcopal system,³⁴⁷ most Episcopalians refused to co-operate with the new regime, and during the spring and summer of 1690 the Estates abolished the royal supremacy; reinstated ministers who had been expelled in 1663; approved the *Westminster Confession of Faith*; restored the Presbyterian system of 1592; and abolished lay patronage.³⁴⁸

In March 1689 William of Orange had written to the Town Council informing them of the meeting of the Estates and requesting them to send a Commissioner.³⁴⁹ The Council appointed the Provost, John Sleich. Although initially the Council gave Sleich powers to vote on all matters coming before the Estates, on reflection it instructed him to vote for the preservation of the Protestant religion.³⁵⁰ Although the Council’s instruction was probably unnecessary, it was a sign of how far James had alienated opinion in Scotland by using his northern kingdom as a test bed for his policy of granting toleration to Roman Catholics.³⁵¹

Just as the Council had co-operated with the Cromwellian regime and welcomed the return of Charles II, it approved a document asserting its loyalty to William and Mary. It declared them to be ‘the only lawful, undoubted Sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, in law and in fact’.³⁵² However, the Council combined support for the new monarchs with loyalty to their two ministers. When, in 1694, the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar issued a libel against James Forman and cited him to appear before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, the Town Council instructed the Provost, William McCall, and two bailies to accompany him in a show

³⁴⁶ University of St Andrews, *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*
Available at <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1689/3/108>
Accessed 19 February 2020

³⁴⁷ Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) 50

³⁴⁸ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, 4

³⁴⁹ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 5 March 1689

³⁵⁰ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 12 March 1689

³⁵¹ Harris, *Revolution*, 180-181

³⁵² Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 6 August 1689

of solidarity.³⁵³ By then Forman had been minister of the first charge for 16 years and seems to have been accepted by the community.

Summary

This chapter has shown that although the Reformation led to radical changes in the worship of the church in Haddington, it did not represent, as Forbes Gray claims, a veering from one extreme to another. Instead there was a considerable degree of continuity. In particular the rhythm which the old feast days had provided was carried on in the practice of holding four communions a year; the custom of singing the psalms was continued and the former song school revived; the laity continued the practice of burying their dead within the ruined choir of St Mary's; and the elite used the kirk session to enforce a measure of social control.

This chapter has also shown that after adjusting to the changes brought about by the Reformation, the church in the burgh became staunchly Presbyterian and that the Presbytery of Haddington was in the forefront of opposition to the ecclesiastical reforms of Charles I. However, by the end of Charles II's reign it had become expedient to appoint Episcopalians. In contrast the Town Council was more inclined to adjust to political circumstances. After the defeat of the Scottish army at the Battle of Dunbar it co-operated with the Commonwealth; welcomed the return of Charles II; and even celebrated the news that Mary of Modena was pregnant. That said, throughout this period the Town Council supported the church in Haddington. It appointed ministers, readers, precentors and masters of music; enforced the kirk session's right to censure those deemed guilty of moral offences; and required parishioners to attend worship.

³⁵³ Haddington Burgh Council Records: Minute of 5 November 1694

Chapter Two

Diversity and Continuity: 1691 - 1833

This chapter will consider the factors which moulded the church in Haddington between the Revolutionary Settlement of 1690 and the eve of the ‘Ten Years Conflict’ in 1833. It will show that while the church in the burgh became more diverse during this period, the ongoing primacy of St Mary’s meant that there was also a strong degree of continuity. Between 1714 and 1818 eight new congregations were planted in the burgh. While this proliferation was, in part, due to divisions within existing congregations, Haddington’s position as the economic, administrative and social hub of the county made it the natural location for Episcopalians and dissenters from throughout East Lothian to meet for worship. During the eighteenth century, landlords in the county ‘improved’ their estates by creating larger farms with longer tenancies and this ‘revolution’ meant that small-farmers, merchants and tradesmen became more prosperous.³⁵⁴ While most of this ‘middle class’ continued to adhere to the Church of Scotland, those who left the established church had sufficient disposable incomes to build meeting-houses and pay the stipends of their ministers.

Improvements in agricultural production

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Haddington’s greatest asset was its hinterland of rich arable land, which was ideally suited for the production of grain.³⁵⁵ As farmers increased grain production through better crop rotation, drainage and the use of new manures,³⁵⁶ the wealth of the burgh increased, and by 1820 Haddington had one of the largest grain markets in Scotland.³⁵⁷ The growth of the market was aided by the upgrading of the Great North Road by the local Turnpike Trust,³⁵⁸ which made it easier for carters to come from Edinburgh to purchase grain at the weekly market. The success of the grain market acted as a catalyst for the developments of other businesses in the town. In the sixteenth century merchants had erected booths

³⁵⁴ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 293

³⁵⁵ Barclay, ‘Haddington’, *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 537

³⁵⁶ Lorimer and Cook, ‘Haddington’ *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 9-10

³⁵⁷ J. Wood, *Descriptive Account of the Principal Towns in Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1828)

³⁵⁸ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 61

on market days in the colonnaded area in front of their houses, from which they sold a variety of items, including luxury goods imported from the continent.³⁵⁹ In the eighteenth century they turned these booths into shops to supply both the inhabitants of the town and farmers and their wives who came in from the country on market days. In the nineteenth century an annual ‘hiring fair’ was held in Haddington each February at which farmers recruited workers, including farm servants, ploughmen, dairy maids, shepherds and domestic servants to work for a period of six months or a year.³⁶⁰

The upgrading of the Great North Road also turned Haddington into an important coaching centre. It had two coaching-inns, where horses were changed and travellers fed. The George Inn at the east end of High Street catered for the mail coach and the Blue Bell on the south side of High Street catered for the ‘Highflyer’ and the ‘Telegraph’ which came together to form the ‘Union’.³⁶¹ In addition there were numerous inns and public houses catering for both townsfolk and visitors. As the wealth and prestige of the burgh increased, in 1748 the Town Council erected an elegant Town House designed by William Adam to accommodate their meetings, the Sheriff Court and the town jail. In the 1770s, the local gentry, led by Francis Charteris of Amisfield, extended the building to include assembly rooms where they gathered for balls and musical entertainments.³⁶² It was a sign that Haddington was now the social, as well as the administrative and commercial centre for the county.

Impact of the Revolutionary Settlement

Unlike elsewhere in East Lothian, the Revolutionary Settlement took time to impact on the burgh. In the decade after the accession of William and Mary five of the sixteen ministers in the Presbytery of Haddington either demitted or were deposed. James Gartshore, minister at Tranent, demitted rather than pray for the new monarchs,³⁶³ and the Privy Council removed John Gray, minister at Aberlady³⁶⁴ and

³⁵⁹ Ibid 20

³⁶⁰ John Gray Centre, ‘Haddington Hiring Fair on *Johngraycentre.org*

Available at <https://www.johngraycentre.org>

Accessed 17 August 2020

³⁶¹ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 63

³⁶² Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 140

³⁶³ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 396

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 352

William Guild, minister at North Berwick,³⁶⁵ for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates and refusing to pray for William and Mary by name. During the same period Robert Ramsay, minister at Prestonpans³⁶⁶ and James Cooper, minister at Humbie,³⁶⁷ were also deprived of their livings. Like Gray and Guild they were staunch Episcopalians. Ramsay was the son of James Ramsay, Bishop of Dunblane,³⁶⁸ and Cooper was the son of William Cooper, master of Aberdeen Grammar School.³⁶⁹

However, George Dunbar, minister of the second charge in Haddington,³⁷⁰ survived and remained in post for the remainder of his life.³⁷¹ Indeed it was probably unnecessary for him to conform as there were now sufficient Episcopalians among the local gentry to ensure his survival. When Forman died, in 1702, the lairds of Alderston, Clerkington and Letham told a minister, who had been sent by the presbytery, ‘there is no vacancy here’.³⁷² It is possible that Dunbar was sympathetic to the ongoing desire of the gentry to be buried in the ruined choir of St Mary’s.³⁷³

In 1701 the Town Council had more immediate concerns than the affairs of the parish church. It had invested £400 sterling in the *Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*,³⁷⁴ which had attempted to establish a colony on the Gulf of Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. However, the venture had failed and the Town Council had lost the money it had invested.³⁷⁵ It was not alone. A large swathe of the Scottish aristocracy, gentry and mercantile class had invested heavily in the scheme.³⁷⁶ To compound matters Haddington had also suffered during the Nine Years War against France.³⁷⁷ In 1701 the Town Council sent a memorial to the Convention of Estates complaining that the ending of a ‘long and expensive war’ had not led to the

³⁶⁵ Ibid, 352

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 389

³⁶⁷ Ibid, 375

³⁶⁸ Ibid, 389

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 375

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 372

³⁷¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 27

³⁷² Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 7

³⁷³ There are gravestones in the choir of St Mary’s dating from this period.

³⁷⁴ Haddington Borough Council Records: Minute of 30 March 1697

³⁷⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 6

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 6

³⁷⁷ One of the reason William III had accepted the crowns of England and Scotland was that he wanted Britain as an ally in his campaign against Louis XIV.

re-establishment of foreign trade, an improvement in home manufacturing, nor a reduction in unemployment.³⁷⁸ Haddington's plight can be attributed, in part, to the difficulties inherent in a regal union between England and Scotland in which the former was much more powerful than the latter. William III found it expedient to respond to the demands of the English parliament to use the navy to enforce the Navigation Acts which required merchants to use English vessels to transport goods to and from English colonies.³⁷⁹ The Town Council, like most of Scottish society, blamed the English for the decay of foreign trade in general and for the failure of the Darien Scheme in particular.³⁸⁰

Ministry of John Currie

While, in 1702, the Town Council and sections of the local gentry remained Episcopalian, twelve years after the Revolutionary Settlement the congregation was ready to call a Presbyterian. It chose John Currie, minister at Oldhamstocks, fifteen miles east of Haddington. During his nine years in the ministry Currie had acquired a reputation as a powerful preacher.³⁸¹ In the decade following the establishment of Presbyterianism, the General Assembly had been dominated by so called 'antediluvians', ministers who had been readmitted to the Church of Scotland after being ejected in 1663 for refusing to recognise the restoration of episcopacy, and who were determined to see Presbyterianism triumph.³⁸² While Currie came from Ochiltree, in the heart of the Covenanting county of Ayrshire, and while his father-in-law, Archibald Riddell, minister at Kirkcaldy, had spent three years on the Bass Rock for his Covenanting activities,³⁸³ Currie belonged to a new generation of ministers who had not been involved in the fight for Presbyterianism and who did not have the same antagonism towards Episcopalians.³⁸⁴ Although it would be going too far to characterise the choice of Currie as conciliatory, it suggests that the Presbyterian

³⁷⁸ Haddington Borough Council Records: Minute of 8 May 1701

³⁷⁹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 5

³⁸⁰ Haddington Borough Council Records: Minute of 8 May 1701

³⁸¹ John Warrick, *Moderators of the Church of Scotland from 1690 to 1740*, (Edinburgh: Anderson and Ferrier, 1913) 215

³⁸² Harris, *Revolution*, 415

³⁸³ Warrick, *Moderators of the Church of Scotland*, 217

³⁸⁴ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 20

faction in Haddington were seeking an incremental change rather than a radical transformation.

At first the Presbytery of Dunbar refused to translate Currie. However, it relented and on 29 June 1704 he was inducted into the first charge. However, while his supporters had secured a unanimous Call, they had not won over the Episcopalians in the burgh³⁸⁵ and the settlement did not go smoothly. The congregation was divided between those who supported the new minister and those who were loyal to George Dunbar. This split reflected a wider division within the Scottish church between Presbyterians who recognised Queen Anne, who had ascended the thrones of England and Scotland in 1702, as the legitimate sovereign and Episcopalians who recognised her exiled half-brother, James Francis Edward Stuart.³⁸⁶ By 1710 relations between Dunbar and Currie had deteriorated to the point where the General Assembly was obliged to consider the latter's future.³⁸⁷ However, as Currie had been elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1709, the commissioners were sympathetic and gave him their wholehearted support. Warrick says the Commission of Assembly went further and recommended that Currie be given an assistant 'because the Episcopal party was very small in numbers, and the work of the double charge fell wholly on Currie'.³⁸⁸

Currie's election to the moderatorial chair was an impressive achievement for someone who had been in the ministry for only fourteen years. Although the Assembly was dominated by ministers from the Lothians, who found it easier to attend than those from more distant presbyteries, and although they had a tendency to elect one of their number to be Moderator, the fact that Currie was still a young man suggests that he had qualities that singled him out from his contemporaries.³⁸⁹ His election was also a sign that the era of the 'antediluvians' was over and that those of a moderate theological outlook were beginning to gain ascendancy in the General

³⁸⁵ Warrick, *Moderators of the Church of Scotland*, 217

³⁸⁶ Gerald Stranraer-Mull, *A Church for Scotland, The Story of the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh: Scottish Episcopal Church, 2000) 17

³⁸⁷ Warrick, *Moderators of the Church of Scotland*, 217

³⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 217

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 213

Assembly. While it would be anachronistic to call Currie a ‘Moderate’, he had some of the characteristics of those who would dominate the Assembly in the second-half of the eighteenth century.

During Currie’s ministry the kirk session of St Mary’s transacted four main types of business. The first was to approve the date chosen by the minister for the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. By the start of the eighteenth century St Mary’s had moved from celebrating communion four times a year to just once. In part this was because of the need to examine members on their way of life and knowledge of the *Shorter Catechism* before issuing them with a token admitting them to the sacrament.³⁹⁰ In June 1711 the kirk session approved Currie’s proposal to celebrate communion on Sunday 15 July with a fast on the preceding Thursday.³⁹¹ Unlike many parishes, where lack of space meant that the Lord’s Supper was celebrated at long tables in the graveyard, in St Mary’s the sacrament was celebrated inside the church where boards were placed in the aisles. It is not clear from the kirk session minutes whether Currie invited other ministers to preach during the communion season.

The second type of business was to appoint an elder to sit in the Presbytery of Haddington and the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Since the presbytery was responsible for supervising the charges within its bounds, and the synod for hearing appeals against decisions of its constituent presbyteries, the elders who sat in these courts played a key role in the government of the Kirk. In March 1711 the kirk session appointed Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenson,³⁹² and, in November, Charles Bruin of Colstoun.³⁹³ It is unlikely to have been a coincidence that Sinclair and Bruin were both men of substance. Each owned an estate in the vicinity of Haddington and, despite the disapproval of the General Assembly,³⁹⁴ both families had sufficient prestige to bury their dead in the ruins of the choir.³⁹⁵ The appointments of Charles Bruin and Sir

³⁹⁰ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 49

³⁹¹ Haddington Kirk Session, Minutes 1711-1726 (CH2/799/5) 4

³⁹² *Ibid*, 6

³⁹³ *Ibid*, 8

³⁹⁴ Meikle, *The Scottish People*, 445

³⁹⁵ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 27

Robert Sinclair illustrates that although St Mary's remained the 'burgh kirk', the local gentry played an important role in its affairs.

The third type of business was to disburse small sums of money to parishioners in need. Since the Reformation collections taken at the door had gone to the poor.³⁹⁶ In March 1711 the kirk session made payments ranging from 10s to £3 to fifteen recipients, most of whom were women.³⁹⁷ During this period the established church was also responsible for the administration of the Poor Law and these occasional payments were in addition to the weekly pensions given to those in long term need.³⁹⁸ As elsewhere in Scotland, a strict residential qualification was applied, and only those who lived in the parish received help.³⁹⁹ Because the Kirk had not received the wealth of the medieval church, the resources at its disposal were limited and in times of high unemployment the Town Council had to intervene.⁴⁰⁰ In 1711 the role of the heritors, who met a third of the cost of the Poor Law in Haddington,⁴⁰¹ was about to be reduced. Under the Revolutionary Settlement they were responsible, along with the elders, for nominating a minister in a vacancy.⁴⁰² However, the 1712 Patronage Act returned the right to nominate to lay patrons.

And the fourth business carried out by the kirk session during Currie's ministry was the exercise of discipline. Andrew Melville had insisted that the exercise of godly discipline as one of the marks of the true church and, even as Enlightenment ideas began to transform the Kirk, discipline remained one of the main responsibilities of kirk sessions.⁴⁰³ Like most kirk sessions at this time, the kirk session at St Mary's regarded extra-marital relations among the lower classes as particularly worthy of censure. On 6 March 1715 Mary Wood and Richard Rylie were publicly rebuked for

³⁹⁶ Haddington Borough Council Records: Minute of 11 November 1563

³⁹⁷ Haddington Kirk Session: Minutes 1711-1726, (CH2/799/5) 4

³⁹⁸ Barclay, 'Haddington' in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 571

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 571

⁴⁰⁰ Haddington Borough Council Records: Minute of 8 May 1701

⁴⁰¹ Barclay, 'Haddington' in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 571

⁴⁰² K. R. Ross, 'Patron, Patronage, Patronage Acts' in Nigel M. de S. Cameron, (ed.) *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 649

⁴⁰³ M. F. Graham, *Uses of Reform: Godly Discipline and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden, New York, Koln: E. J. Brill. 1996) 150

fornication.⁴⁰⁴ However, the kirk session seems to have regarded public censure as a sufficient punishment and did not impose additional fines.

The last two types of business show that during the eighteenth century the role of the kirk session extended beyond running the affairs of the congregation and embraced other aspects of the life of the burgh. In the absence of state or municipal support for those who had fallen into poverty, the kirk session continued to provide a measure of assistance as the church in Haddington had done in medieval times. The kirk session also saw it as part of its remit to regulate the morals of the community. However, in Haddington, as elsewhere in Scotland, morality tended to be equated with sexual behaviour.

Re-introduction of Patronage

Although lay patronage had been abolished as part of the Revolutionary Settlement, there were those in Scotland who hankered for its return. In 1711 the House of Commons, which was controlled by high church Tories, passed *An Act to restore the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting Ministers in the Churches vacant in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland*.⁴⁰⁵ Although the re-introduction of patronage led to the planting of Secession and Relief churches in Haddington, the 1712 Act had an indirect rather than a direct impact on the burgh. None of those who left the Church of Scotland did so because of a disputed presentation in St Mary's and the planting of dissenter meeting-houses had more to do with developments within the Scottish church than developments within the church in Haddington.

Prior to the abolition of patronage the Earls of Haddington had been patrons of St Mary's.⁴⁰⁶ However, following its restoration, Charles Hope, 1st Earl of Hopetown, assumed the role and was succeeded by his son, John Hope, 2nd Earl of Hopetown who was also patron of the adjoining parish of Gladsmuir⁴⁰⁷ and, after purchasing the estate of John Cockburn, patron of Ormiston.⁴⁰⁸ The Hope Family owned land in West

⁴⁰⁴ Haddington Kirk Session: Minutes 1711-1726, (CH2/799/5) 23

⁴⁰⁵ Archibald J. Stephens, *Acts relating to Ecclesiastical and Eleemosynary Institutions* (London: J. P. Parker, 1845) 702

⁴⁰⁶ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 369

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 366

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 348

Lothian, East Lothian and Lanarkshire, and both Charles and John Hope served as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland: Charles in 1723 and John in 1754.⁴⁰⁹

In 1714 John Hope presented Patrick Wilkie to the second charge in St Mary's. Wilkie came from an established Edinburgh family, had graduated from the city's university, and after being licensed by the Presbytery of Dunfermline, had served as chaplain to Charles Stuart of Dunearn.⁴¹⁰ He enjoyed the support of John Currie, who urged elders to sign his Call.⁴¹¹ On the death of John Currie, in 1721, Charles Hope presented Wilkie to the first charge where he remained until his death in 1771. During the fifty years of Wilkie's ministry in the first charge the Hope family presented four ministers to the second charge: Robert Paton who went on to be minister at Renfrew;⁴¹² Edward Steedman or Stedman, who is said to have played a leading role in the Presbytery of Haddington and who married Wilkie's daughter, Janet;⁴¹³ David Wark, who was interested in Natural Philosophy and who published a work on *Methods of Determining the Strength and Duration of Earthquakes*;⁴¹⁴ and George Barclay who was the son of George Barclay of Middleton, minister at Ormiston⁴¹⁵ and who succeeded Wilkie. The fact that none of these presentations was disputed is testimony both to the sensitivity shown by the Hope family in choosing ministers who would be acceptable to the congregation of St Mary's and the willingness of the congregation to defer to their aristocratic patrons. However, there was not the same cordial relations between patron and parish throughout East Lothian. In 1740 in nearby Tranent the Crown's nomination of Charles Cunningham led to a dispute in which the majority of heads of households refused to sign his call.⁴¹⁶ The success of the Earls of Hopetoun in having their presentees accepted demonstrates that the issue of patronage was more

⁴⁰⁹ 'Hopetoun, Earl of' on *Cracroft's Peerage*
Available at <http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk>
Accessed 11 March 2019

⁴¹⁰ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 370

⁴¹¹ Haddington, Kirk Session: Minutes 1711-1726 (CH2/799/5) 20

⁴¹² Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 372

⁴¹³ *Ibid*, 372

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid*, 372

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid*, 372

⁴¹⁶ Small, *History of the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 513.

nuanced than its critics allowed and that there were parishes with enlightened patrons who were able to make the system work to the benefit of parishioners.

Poor Law

In the eighteenth century the Poor Law in Haddington was administered by a committee of eleven, consisting of the two ministers and three representatives of the heritors, three of the Town Council and three of the kirk session.⁴¹⁷ During Wilkie's ministry the cost of maintaining the poor, which was shared between the heritors, the burgh and the kirk session, began to rise, in part, due to changes in agricultural practices.⁴¹⁸ Following the ending of the traditional run-rig system, where a whole community lived in a farmtoun with access to unenclosed land, farmers ceased to accommodate those who were old or infirm and they were obliged to seek a 'legal maintenance' in Haddington.⁴¹⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century George Barclay castigated farmers for using Highlanders to bring in the harvest and declared they 'will feel the baneful effects of this economy, when it is too late'.⁴²⁰ By then Barclay had been involved in the administration of the Poor Law for over quarter of a century and was in a position to judge its effectiveness. His criticism shows that while ministers obtained their positions through the patronage of the landed classes,⁴²¹ they were not always subservient to them. It is clear that Barclay not only believed that the 'revolution' in agricultural production was leading to injustice, he also felt able to express his concerns.

A more Evangelical ministry

In 1796 John, 2nd Earl of Hopetown, presented Robert Lorimer to the first charge. Lorimer's background was that of a typical Moderator. His family were connected to the Grants of Rothiemurchus and he had served as a chaplain to the Southern Regiment of Fencibles⁴²² before becoming a parish minister.⁴²³ However,

⁴¹⁷ Barclay, 'Haddington' in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 571

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 571

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 271

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 571

⁴²¹ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 233

⁴²² Fencibles were local regiments raised for the defence of Britain. The Southern Fencibles were raised, in 1793, by Colonel Hope-Johnston of Hopetown.

⁴²³ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 370

Lorimer belonged to a new generation of ministers who were more evangelical in outlook. In the first decade of the nineteenth century he saw attendance at the June communion rise to over one thousand⁴²⁴ and, in 1810/11, he oversaw a major reconstruction of St Mary's. The axis of the church was restored to its pre-Reformation east/west orientation; the aisles were raised by six feet; the old lofts were replaced by galleries; box pews were installed; and a new pulpit with a desk for the precentor was erected against the east wall.⁴²⁵ What is surprising is that while the work was being carried out the established church hired the Antiburgher meeting-house for £50 per annum. Gilbert Burns, the younger brother of Robert Burns, was one of those who signed the agreement on behalf of St. Mary's.⁴²⁶ Nevertheless, room in St Mary's remained scarce. It could seat 1,129 out of a population of just under 6,000.⁴²⁷ Lorimer lamented that 'not a few in the town and its vicinity, warmly attached to the Establishment, are forced from the parish church, through want of accommodation.'⁴²⁸

The new spirit in St Mary's was reflected in another important development. In the *New Statistical Account* Lorimer recorded 'there are several Sabbath schools taught by the elders of the Established church, each taking charge, as far as practical, of the young people in his own allocated district.'⁴²⁹ It is possible that Lorimer was influenced by the work of Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, where education, provided in each elder's district, was a key element in his attempt to create a Godly Commonwealth in the parish of St John's.⁴³⁰ In stressing the role of elders in the provision of Christian education, Lorimer makes it clear that Sabbath schools were not simply an adjunct to the life of the congregation but central to its work. The founding of Sabbath schools seems to have been part of a concerted effort by the church to provide education. In 1818 two-thirds of children in Scotland attended schools outside the control of the Church of Scotland and, in the 1820s, Thomas Chalmers began a

⁴²⁴ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 31

⁴²⁵ *Ibid*, 32.

There is a photography of the post-1811 church in Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 11

⁴²⁶ Turnbull, *Haddington West United Presbyterian Church: A Historic Sketch*

⁴²⁷ Lorimer and Cook 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 14

⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, 14

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, 15

⁴³⁰ Stewart J. Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland' in T. C. Smout, (ed.) *Victorian Values* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) 65

campaign to provide more church schools.⁴³¹ By the mid-1830s the landward heritors were supporting a parochial school⁴³² to supplement the grammar school and the burgh school maintained by the Town Council.⁴³³ However, Lorimer was unhappy that ‘voluntary’ contributions, which heritors had made to maintain the Poor Law had been replaced by a legal assessment and that collections at the door in aid of the poor were only between £50 and £60 per annum: most of which was taken up in paying the salaries of the session clerk, precentor and beadle.⁴³⁴ It was a sign that the Poor Law was no longer fit for purpose.

An Episcopalian meeting-house

With the death of George Dunbar and the appointment of Patrick Wilkie, Episcopalians in Haddington no longer felt comfortable worshipping in St Mary’s and, in 1714, John Gray, who had been deposed as minister at Aberlady for refusing to pray for William and Mary, began to officiate in a ‘humble’ Episcopalian meeting-house in Poldrate.⁴³⁵ He was followed by John Wilson,⁴³⁶ who, after being deposed as minister of the first charge in Kirkwall, had moved to Edinburgh.⁴³⁷ Gray and Wilson were men of standing. In 1702 Wilson published *An Essay wherein National Love and Unity is Recommended*⁴³⁸ which he dedicated to Queen Anne. On the title page, he described himself as ‘A Lover of God, Love, Peace, Unity and Church and the Kingdom of Scotland and the Islands of Orkney.’⁴³⁹ And on his death, in 1717, Gray bequeathed his extensive library to the people of Haddington.⁴⁴⁰ Although Episcopalians felt it necessary to withdraw from the parish church, they retained a presence in the town.

In 1715 John Erskine, 11th Earl of Mar led a Jacobite rebellion against George I which was supported by many Episcopal clergy. When it failed, the government took action against those involved and, in 1719, parliament passed a Penal Act, which made

⁴³¹ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560 to 1830*, 213

⁴³² Lorimer and Cook, ‘Haddington’ in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 15

⁴³³ Barclay, ‘Haddington’ in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 571

⁴³⁴ Lorimer and Cook, ‘Haddington’ in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 16

⁴³⁵ Miller, *The Lamp of Lothian*, 468

⁴³⁶ *Ibid*, 468

⁴³⁷ Bertie, D. (ed.) *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000) 149

⁴³⁸ John Wilson, *An essay wherein national love and unity is recommended* (Edinburgh: 1702)

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*

⁴⁴⁰ Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 54

it illegal for an Episcopalian priest, who had not taken an oath renouncing the Stuarts and promising to pray for George I, to officiate at a service at which more than eight people were present.⁴⁴¹ To avoid its provisions Episcopalians in Haddington made use of the 1711 Toleration Act to turn their meeting-house into a ‘qualified chapel’.⁴⁴² That is to say, they acknowledged the Hanoverian monarchy; did not accept the authority of the Scottish bishops; appointed clergy who had been ordained in England; and used the *Book of Common Prayer*. They were not alone. As the fortunes of non-jurors declined, due to their links with Jacobitism, the number of qualified chapels increased.⁴⁴³

The use of the *Book of Common Prayer* had two effects. The first was to distinguish Episcopalian worship from Presbyterian worship. During the period when Currie and Dunbar shared the pulpit in St Mary’s there would have been little difference in how they conducted services. However, with the adoption of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the principal services in the Episcopalian meeting-house would have been Matins and Evensong. Also, unlike the practice in the Church of Scotland in this period, the Episcopalian community came to keep the main festivals of the Christian year. By 1814 this practice was well established and the Easter collection was £7.1s, Whitsuntide £3.3s., and Christmas £6.1s.⁴⁴⁴ The second effect of using the *Book of Common Prayer* was to add to the perception that the Episcopalian community was an English enclave. By 1767 the meeting-house in Poldrate was being referred to as ‘a chapel of the English congregation’.⁴⁴⁵

In 1764 the congregation set about collecting funds to build ‘a Decent and Commodious Chapel’.⁴⁴⁶ The site chosen was that of the former Franciscan friary, which had been demolished in 1572. As the site was divided among several owners, legal proceedings over the title of one piece of land delayed the start of work and the new chapel was not completed until 1770, when it was given the name ‘Holy

⁴⁴¹ Stranraer-Mull, *Church for Scotland*, 17

⁴⁴² Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 6

⁴⁴³ Stranraer-Mull, *A Church for Scotland*, 18

⁴⁴⁴ Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Haddington: Treasurer’s Book and Minutes of Managers, 1714-1748 (CH12/2)

⁴⁴⁵ Letter cited by Fraser-Tytler in *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 8

⁴⁴⁶ Circular cited by Fraser-Tytler in *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 5

Trinity'.⁴⁴⁷ Francis Wemyss Charteris contributed around half of the cost of just over £800, members subscribed around £300 and Simon Sawers, a pewterer, provided a loan to make up the balance, which was not repaid until 1807.⁴⁴⁸ Charteris was the second son of James Wemyss, 5th Earl of Wemyss. Although he styled himself '6th Earl of Wemyss', the title had been forfeited due to his brother, David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, serving as *aide-de-camp* to Charles Edward Stuart during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.⁴⁴⁹ Francis Wemyss had inherited the estate of Amisfield on the outskirts of Haddington from his maternal grandfather, Colonel Charteris, and taken the name Charteris. He had also gained possession of his brother's Elcho estates in Fife. He could, therefore, afford to subsidise the building of Holy Trinity. The family continued to be involved in Holy Trinity into the nineteenth century. From 1828 to 1832 a number of the minutes of the managers are signed 'Elcho'.⁴⁵⁰ The fact that Holy Trinity had such an important benefactor is evidence of ongoing aristocratic support for Episcopalianism in East Lothian.

In the *Statistical Account of Scotland* George Barclay gives an interesting insight into ecclesiastical relationships in Haddington at the end of the eighteenth century. He says the town has 'a very elegant chapel, for those of the Episcopal communion.'⁴⁵¹ Barclay's praise is all the more significant as he does not mention the existence of three dissenting meeting-houses in the burgh. It would appear that at the end of the eighteenth century the fault line in the church in Haddington was no longer between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but between Presbyterians who had remained in the established church and those who had seceded. In contrast Hugh Cunningham, minister at Tranent, attempted to have good relations with the

⁴⁴⁷ Fraser-Tyler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 8

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 8

⁴⁴⁹ 'James [Wemyss] 5th Earl of Wemyss' on *Cracroft's Peerage*
Available at <http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/>
Accessed 20 March, 2019

⁴⁵⁰ Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Haddington: Treasurer's Book and Minutes of Managers, 1714-1748

⁴⁵¹ Barclay, 'Haddington' in *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, 451

Episcopalian priest in Musselburgh⁴⁵² and the minister of the Burgher Church in Tranent.⁴⁵³

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginnings of the nineteenth, the clergy of Holy Trinity ministered to English troops billeted in Haddington. Mr Buchanan acted as chaplain to the Prince of Wales' Dragoons during the Napoleonic Wars and William Terrot 'regularised' marriages which soldiers had contracted while serving in Ireland.⁴⁵⁴ The abolition of the Penal Laws, in 1792, paved the way for the two strands of Episcopalianism in Scotland to be reconciled and, in 1815, the managers gave their consent to Holy Trinity becoming part of the Scottish Episcopal Church.⁴⁵⁵ Lorimer and Cook estimated that in the 1830s there were 26 families living in Haddington attached to Holy Trinity.⁴⁵⁶ While this is a comparatively small number compared with the estimated 830 families attached to St Mary's or the 186 families attached to dissenting meeting-houses, it probably represents only the core of the congregation and does not include those who were scattered in other parishes throughout the county.⁴⁵⁷ Until the coming of the railway transformed North Berwick into a prosperous resort and led to the opening of St Baldred's Church in 1861,⁴⁵⁸ Holy Trinity was the only Scottish Episcopal Church in the eastern half of East Lothian.

The survival of the Episcopalian community in Haddington can be attributed to a combination of factors. In the testing years following the death of George Dunbar, it was served by two able priests: John Gray and John Wilson. It made use of the 1711 Toleration Act to become a qualified chapel, thereby avoiding the rigors of the Penal Laws and the liturgical disputes among non-jurors. And, having survived, the community was fortunate in having, in Francis Wemyss Charteris, a wealthy

⁴⁵² K. T. Angus, 'The life and ministry of the Rev Hugh Cunningham of Tranent' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XV, 1965, 54

⁴⁵³ *Ibid*, 55

⁴⁵⁴ Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 16

⁴⁵⁵ Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Haddington: Treasurer's Book and Minutes of Managers, 1714-1748

⁴⁵⁶ Lorimer and Cook 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 13

⁴⁵⁷ Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 13

⁴⁵⁸ 'St Baldred's Church, North Berwick' on *Scotland's Churches Trust*

Available at <https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk>

Accessed 20 March 2019

benefactor to sponsor the building of Holy Trinity Church. While it was not able to compete with the established church or, in the short term, with the dissenting meeting-houses, it was able to carve out a niche within the county.

The Secession Church

In 1737 a number of praying societies came together as the ‘Correspondence of East Lothian’ and were recognised as a congregation in connection with the Associate Presbytery,⁴⁵⁹ which had been formed in 1733 by Ebenezer Erskine and others in protest against patronage and the decline of doctrine and discipline within the Church of Scotland.⁴⁶⁰ The origins of these praying societies can be traced to two separate movements: the *collegia pietas* which Philip Jakob Spener founded in Frankfurt in the 1680s as a way of revitalising German Lutheranism⁴⁶¹ and small cottage meetings that emerged in Scotland during the Covenanting period as a way of providing mutual support in times of persecution.⁴⁶² There was, therefore, an element of both piety and politics in the makeup of these groups and they found themselves drawn into the religious controversies of the 1820s and 1830s.

In 1722 the General Assembly rebuked twelve ministers, including Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, for remonstrating against its decision to condemn *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, which was popular among evangelicals.⁴⁶³ In 1729 evangelicals were outraged when the Assembly refused to depose John Simpson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, whom they had accused of rationalism.⁴⁶⁴ In 1732 Ebenezer Erskine used his moderatorial sermon to the Synod of Perth and Stirling to condemn patronage and maladministration in the Church of Scotland and, when he refused to be rebuked, the Commission of Assembly suspended him and three others.⁴⁶⁵ In

⁴⁵⁹ Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, 216

⁴⁶⁰ David W. Bebbington, ‘Protestant sects and disestablishment’ in Lynch, M. (ed.) *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 494

⁴⁶¹ W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 57

⁴⁶² Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971) 64

⁴⁶³ ‘Acts 1722’ in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Co., 1843) 543-560.

⁴⁶⁴ John Brown, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession* (Edinburgh: Inglis, 1791) 19

⁴⁶⁵ Drummond and Bullock, *The Scottish Church*, 41-42

December 1733 the four declared a secession from the Church of Scotland and founded the Associate Presbytery.⁴⁶⁶ And, in 1737, after the General Assembly acquitted Archibald Campbell, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Andrew's, whom Seceders had accused of heresy, the Associate Presbytery began to supply praying societies with preachers.⁴⁶⁷

The formation of the Secession congregation in East Lothian was marked by a fast, presided over by William Wilson and Thomas Mair.⁴⁶⁸ In 1741 there was a dispute in Tranent and Seton when the Crown presented Charles Cunningham to the vacant charge. Three elders and forty members left the established church and joined the Secession congregation.⁴⁶⁹ As its members were spread throughout East Lothian, the congregation decided to meet in the county-town of Haddington and, after worshipping in the open air in the summer and barns in the winter, in 1742 opened a meeting-house off Newton Port.⁴⁷⁰

Drummond and Bullock describe the Haddington congregation as 'the evangelical and discontented from miles around' and state that they 'had little thought of the unity of the Church and their main bonds were hostility to the National Church and a determination to have their own way'.⁴⁷¹ Although future events would show that there was some truth in these claims, the hostility which Seceders felt towards the Church of Scotland can be explained, in part, by cultural differences between the new generation of ministers in the established church and members of praying societies. Following the reintroduction of patronage, patrons began to nominate ministers from their own social class, who had embraced the polite manners of the Enlightenment,⁴⁷² and who preached eloquent sermons on the usefulness of religion.⁴⁷³ In contrast Seceders were drawn from a more conservative religious tradition, which hung on to the piety of the Covenanters. Drummond and Bullock concede that the Seceders were

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, 42

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 48

⁴⁶⁸ Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, 216

⁴⁶⁹ Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 513

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, 216

⁴⁷¹ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 51

⁴⁷² Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 233

⁴⁷³ John McIntosh, 'Principal William Robertson, the Popular Part and the General Assembly in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. XLIII, 2014, 45

not alone in regretting the passing of the ‘fire and passion of the Covenanting days’ and that older members of the established church often felt uncomfortable with ‘the ethical piety of the new generation of clergy’.⁴⁷⁴

The opening of the meeting-house was a major step forward for the members of the congregation. Most of them had come out of the established church, where the heritors were responsible for providing the minister’s stipend and maintaining the parish church. For most Scots, in the 1730s, the notion of having to pay for the ordinances of religion was a novel concept. However, in order to succeed, the meeting-house needed a regular income. The elders secured this by requiring families to pay seat rent.⁴⁷⁵ The congregation contained a number of well-off families, including the Croumbies of Stenton. They belonged to the Chapmen Guild and supplied goods to pedlars who covered much of southern Scotland.⁴⁷⁶

While there was now a substantial congregation worshipping in a purpose built meeting-house, the congregation struggled to call a minister. Although the Associate Presbytery had appointed William Wilson as its Professor of Theology and created a ‘Theology Hall’ in Perth,⁴⁷⁷ the supply of new ministers failed to keep pace with demand.⁴⁷⁸ In 1742 the congregation attempted to call George Brown and its members were incensed when the presbytery insisted he go to Perth.⁴⁷⁹ It then attempted to call Walter Loch, who had also received a call from Stichill, but he died before the presbytery could adjudicate the matter.⁴⁸⁰ As a result the congregation had to wait until 1744 to call its first minister, Robert Archibald.⁴⁸¹ While Archibald was able to reconstruct the session, which had become depleted during the years waiting for a minister, and provided elders for the districts of Haddington, Dirleton, Dunbar,

⁴⁷⁴ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 39

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 57

⁴⁷⁶ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 163

⁴⁷⁷ Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, 562

⁴⁷⁸ In each of the five years of Wilson’s appointment the number of students under his supervision did not exceed six.

⁴⁷⁹ Small, *History of the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900* 513

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 513

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid*, 513

Stenton, Chesterhill and Samuelston,⁴⁸² three years into his ministry the congregation was plunged into conflict.

By 1744 the Associate Presbytery had grown to forty-five congregations, which enabled it to be reconstructed as the Associate Synod, with three regional presbyteries.⁴⁸³ However, the denomination was divided over what it meant to adhere to the National Covenant.⁴⁸⁴ The Synod spent most of 1745 considering the implications of the Jacobite rebellion. Although Seceders were loyal to the Hanoverian cause and Ebenezer Erskine raised a body of Seceder volunteers in Stirling,⁴⁸⁵ there was controversy over whether Seceders should sign the burgher oath to uphold ‘the true religion professed in this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof’.⁴⁸⁶ The Erskines and James Fisher argued that as the Seceders ‘had never pretended to set up a new religion’,⁴⁸⁷ there was no reason why adherents should not sign the oath. Ebenezer Erskine’s stance may have been influenced by the fact the Seceders were playing a leading role in the municipal affairs of Stirling.⁴⁸⁸ However, Thomas Mair, Alexander Moncrieff and Adam Gib persuaded the Synod that the oath was ‘inconsistent with its testimony and covenant bond’.⁴⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in April 1747, Burghers, as those who saw no difficulty in swearing the oath were now being called, were able to reopen the question, and get the Synod to take no action ‘until the issue had been maturely considered in presbyteries and sessions’.⁴⁹⁰ This decision prompted Mair to claim ‘the Burghers had forfeited all their synodical powers and authority’.⁴⁹¹ The following day he and twenty-two others formed the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod.

⁴⁸² Ibid, 513

⁴⁸³ McKerrow, *History of the Secession Church*, (Glasgow: Fullerton, 1841) 255

⁴⁸⁴ In 1741 Alexander Moncrieff and Thomas Mair had persuaded a poorly attended meeting of the Associate Presbytery to ban fasts and thanksgivings organised by the State but the injunction had been ignored by the majority of ministers.

⁴⁸⁵ Andrew T. N. Muirhead, ‘A Secession congregation in its community; the Stirling congregation of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine 1731-1754’ in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (Edinburgh: 1986) 228

⁴⁸⁶ Brown, *An Historical Account*, 54

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, 54

⁴⁸⁸ Muirhead, ‘A Secession congregation in its community’, 220

⁴⁸⁹ Brown, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, 54

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 56

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 56

Archibald joined the General Associate Synod and, because there were a number of burgesses on the session,⁴⁹² the rift in the Haddington congregation was particularly bitter. At a session meeting, in June 1747, Archibald accused Bailie Caddell and another elder of being the ringleaders of a revolt against his ministry.⁴⁹³ He alleged the group had attempted to seize the meeting house by force, had carried off the session minute book and the 'poor's money' and had withdrawn from 'gospel ordinances'.⁴⁹⁴ Although Archibald had thirteen elders and six deacons suspended, by the end of July the Burgher faction had forced him and his supporters to withdraw.⁴⁹⁵ After worshipping in the minister's garden during the summer and seeking shelter in the winter, in 1752, the Antiburghers opened their own meeting house opposite their Burgher rivals. Nevertheless, the split does not seem to have damaged the Secession cause in East Lothian unduly. At Archibald's death, in 1762, the Antiburgher congregation was said to number around 300.⁴⁹⁶

Ministry of John Brown

After the departure of Robert Archibald and his supporters, the remaining members of the Secession Church petitioned for a fresh 'supply'. However, they had to wait until 1751 to call John Brown. On the title page of his various publications Brown styled himself 'Minister of the Gospel at Haddington' and during his ministry he became closely associated with the town; so much so that Robert MacKenzie felt able to entitle his biography *John Brown of Haddington*. Brown was not only the best known minister in Haddington during the eighteenth century, he was also one of the best known people to live in the town. Indeed during this period, only Samuel Smiles, who was born in the burgh in 1812, achieved greater fame during his lifetime.⁴⁹⁷

John Brown was born in 1722 in the farmtoun of Carpow, on the banks of the River Tay, in the parish of Abernethy, in Perthshire.⁴⁹⁸ He was one of four children

⁴⁹² Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 514

⁴⁹³ Ibid, 514

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, 514

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 514

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, 514

⁴⁹⁷ Reid, 'Haddington In History', 93

⁴⁹⁸ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 1

born to John Brown and Catherine Millie.⁴⁹⁹ His father divided his year between salmon fishing on the Tay in the summer and weaving flax in the winter. Despite receiving limited formal education, by the age of nine John could read ‘the Catechisms by Vincent, Favel, and the Westminster Assembly’ and from the age of twelve, he was tackling theological works, such as Guthrie’s *Trials of a saving interest in Christ* (1663).⁵⁰⁰ Although when he was eleven John’s father died and two years later he lost his mother,⁵⁰¹ he continued to pursue his wish to become a minister in the Secession Church and while employed as a shepherd learnt Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which led the people of Abernethy to allege that he had acquired these skills through a Faustian pact.⁵⁰² When Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, failed to support him, Brown left the parish and became a pedlar in Fife and later served as a school teacher. Eventually he was recognised as a candidate for the ministry and trained under Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher and, in 1750, was licensed by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh.

John Brown’s ministry provides an insight into the relationship between a Secession congregation and its pastor. Because the congregation was responsible for finding the minister’s stipend there was something of the ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’ in the arrangement. Prior to Brown’s arrival the session agreed a memorandum setting out what it expected from the new minister.⁵⁰³ He was required to carry out three main duties. The first duty was to preach. Brown had to give a lecture and a sermon during the four winter months and to preach a second sermon during the remaining eight months of the year.⁵⁰⁴ He was also required to conduct an exercise each Sunday evening. These were held in different locations around the county and involved testing members on their knowledge of the *Shorter Catechism*.⁵⁰⁵

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid,3

⁵⁰⁰ John and Ebenezer Brown, (eds.) *Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, 1910) 10

⁵⁰¹ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington* 11

⁵⁰² Ibid, 32

⁵⁰³ John Croumie Brown, (ed.) *A Centenary Memorial of Rev. John Brown, A Family Record*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Eliot, 1887) 126

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, 126

⁵⁰⁵ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 80-81

Brown's second duty was once a year to visit each member of the congregation, who were scattered in parishes throughout East Lothian.⁵⁰⁶ Having announced from the pulpit the previous Sunday which district he intended to visit that week, Brown, accompanied by an elder, went from house to house questioning each member of the family, and any servants present, 'on matters relating to the doctrines and duties of religion'.⁵⁰⁷

Brown's third duty was to moderate the session, which consisted of twelve elders and six deacons.⁵⁰⁸ The main business of these monthly meetings is said to have been prayer, the singing of psalms and 'spiritual conference with prayer'.⁵⁰⁹ Despite the strict discipline, which was a hallmark of the Secession, Thomas Brown says his father 'met with few trials from the irregular behaviour from members of his congregation'.⁵¹⁰ This was probably because Brown did not look for trouble and preferred to deal with issues privately rather than referring them to the session.⁵¹¹ From its founding, the congregation had collected money to assist its poorer members⁵¹² and Brown himself was said to have been 'an example to others in ... giving to the poor'.⁵¹³ However, despite Brown's interest in educating the young, the congregation did not have its own school.

Despite Brown's humble background he quickly established a reputation as an effective pastor and presbyter. In 1753 he was elected moderator of the Associate Synod and appointed clerk to the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh.⁵¹⁴ In 1758 Brown published a commentary on the *Shorter Catechism* entitled *Help for the Ignorant*⁵¹⁵ and in 1766 *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the*

⁵⁰⁶ Croumbie Brown, *Centenary Memorial*, 126

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 127

⁵⁰⁸ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 85

⁵⁰⁹ Croumbie Brown, *Centenary Memorial*, 126

⁵¹⁰ Thomas Brown, 'A Sketch of the Author' in Brown, J. *A Compendious History of the British Churches in England, Scotland, Ireland and America* (Edinburgh and London: Macauchlan and Stewart, 1823) xv

⁵¹¹ Anon, 'Life of the Reverend John Brown' in the second and subsequent of *The Self-Interpreting Bible* (1791)

⁵¹² Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 514

⁵¹³ 'Life of the Reverend John Brown'

⁵¹⁴ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 88

⁵¹⁵ John Brown, *Help for the Ignorant: An Essay towards an easy, plain, practical, and extensive Explication of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism* (Edinburgh: Davis Gray, 1758)

Secession.⁵¹⁶ These works helped to establish Brown's reputation, and when, in 1767, John Swanson, the Professor of Divinity under the Associate Synod, died suddenly, Brown was elected to take his place. The post was non-stipendiary and each August and September around thirty students came to Haddington to study under Brown.⁵¹⁷ Around the same time Brown was appointed clerk to the Synod.⁵¹⁸

Brown was one of the most prolific religious writers of his age. Between 1758 and 1784 he published twenty-nine works. However, David Wright says that only three have stood the test of time: *A Dictionary of the Bible* (1769), *The Self-Interpreting Bible* (1778) and *A Compendious History of the British Churches in England, Scotland, Ireland and America* (1784).⁵¹⁹ The success of his *Dictionary* led Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, one of the leaders of the Evangelical Revival in England and Wales, to seek Brown's views on justification prior to a 'conference ... with Mr Wesley and his preachers'⁵²⁰ and in due course she requested a copy of Brown's *Systematic Theology* for use in her theological college in Trefecca in mid-Wales.⁵²¹ While in many respects it is a conventional exposition of federal Calvinism, Brown's extensive use of biblical references freed his students from the narrowness of the standard work at the time, Francis Turretin's *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (1688). Although Brown was something of a polymath, he was primarily a New Testament scholar and church historian. As well as contributing to popular piety through his *Self Interpreting Bible*, he also provided the fledgling Secession Church with a corpus of works reflecting its theological stance.

Brown seems to have had the ability to reach out beyond the Secession community. He was said have been 'very assiduous in his visits to the sick and the afflicted, and that not merely of his own congregation, but to all, of every

⁵¹⁶ Brown, *An Historical Account*

⁵¹⁷ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 131

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid*, 89

⁵¹⁹ David F. Wright, 'Brown, John [known as John Brown of Haddington] (1722-1787)' on *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Available at <https://doi-org.ezproxy-s1.stir.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/3622>

Accessed 12 April 2020

⁵²⁰ Anon, 'A Memoir of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington' in fifth and subsequent editions of *Dictionary of the Bible* (1807)

⁵²¹ *Ibid*

denomination, who desired his services'.⁵²² On his death in 1787 his 'remains were followed to their place of repose in Haddington church-yard, by nearly the whole inhabitants of the town'.⁵²³ The affection in which John Brown was held suggests that, in fifty years, the Burgher church in Haddington had moved from being a protest against the deficiencies of the Establishment to a recognised part of the ecclesiastical structure of the burgh.

Planting of new congregations

Between 1790 and 1814 five new congregations were planted in Haddington. Although the formation of the Presbytery of Relief in 1761 is sometimes described as the Second Secession, it was very different in character from the Secession of 1733. Even the statement that it was founded by Thomas Gillespie requires qualification. After being deposed for refusing to take part in the induction of Andrew Richardson to the parish of Inverkeithing,⁵²⁴ Gillespie moved into Dunfermline, where he ministered to a small congregation made up mostly of former parishioners.⁵²⁵ In 1757 Thomas Boston formed an independent congregation in Jedburgh, and, in 1761, Gillespie joined him at the induction of Thomas Colier to a newly formed congregation at Colinsburgh. After the service the three ministers and an elder from each of the congregations met to form the Presbytery of Relief.⁵²⁶ They chose the name because they wanted to provide 'relief' for those parishes which were having ministers imposed upon them. While Gillespie believed that the Relief Church should have a set of doctrinal standards grounded in scripture, he was determined that it should not succumb to a narrow sectarianism but seek communion with other Christians, including Episcopalians.⁵²⁷ This open, evangelical approach proved popular and the Relief Church grew steadily.

It is not clear how the Relief Church in Haddington came to be formed. Mackelvie, who seems to have got his information from a local source, claims that it

⁵²² Ibid

⁵²³ Ibid

⁵²⁴ 'Acts: 1752', in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, 706-715*

⁵²⁵ Kenneth B. E Roxburgh, *Thomas Gillespie and the Origins of the Relief Church in 18th Century Scotland* (Bern: Lang, 1999)

⁵²⁶ Ibid

⁵²⁷ Ibid

arose out of a dispute in the parish church. He says that when, in 1796, the Earl of Hopetoun nominated Robert Lorimer rather than Robert Scott, the minister of the second charge, to succeed George Barclay,⁵²⁸ Scott's supporters left the established church and opened a meeting house at the west end of the town. However, the Relief Church was in existence at least two years before the alleged disputed presentation. In 1794 David Gellatly published a sermon on the causes of the war with France, which he had preached at the general fast on 27 February. On the title page he describes himself as the pastor of the Relief Chapel in Haddington.⁵²⁹ What is more, it is unlikely that Scott, who had been a tutor to the Hope family,⁵³⁰ would have been a party to the formation of a rival congregation. What is certain is that Scott did not join the Relief Church but remained in post until his death in 1807.⁵³¹ There is also uncertainty about when the meeting-house was opened or how its members, who do not seem to have numbered more than one hundred, could have afforded to erect a building seating 580.⁵³² It is possible that members of the Relief Church living in East Lothian decided to have their own place of worship.

Unlike the two branches of the Secession Church, the Relief Church did not have a 'Theology Hall' and had to rely on licensing men who applied to enter its ministry.⁵³³ The weakness of this practice was exposed when the congregation in Haddington called David Gellatly, who had been the schoolmaster at Dron in Perthshire and who had received calls from Waterbeck and Earlston.⁵³⁴ The trajectory of his ministry was set soon after he arrived. Gellatly's behaviour at the second meeting of the Edinburgh Relief Presbytery which he attended, led the Synod to find him guilty of equivocation, disorderliness of conduct and insolence towards his fellow presbyters.⁵³⁵ Matters then went from bad to worse. When his elders and managers petitioned the presbytery to investigate his moral conduct, Gellatly attempted to have

⁵²⁸ Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, 216

⁵²⁹ David Gellatly, *A Sermon shewing the Cause of War preached in the Relief Chapel, Haddington on 27th February 1794 being the General Fast*. (Edinburgh: 1794)

⁵³⁰ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 370

⁵³¹ *Ibid*, 373

⁵³² Small, *History of Congregations in the United Presbyterian Church*, 521

⁵³³ *Ibid*, 373

⁵³⁴ *Ibid*, 521

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, 521

the moderator, clerk and a leading member of the Synod put in prison for not disclosing the evidence against him.⁵³⁶ Nevertheless, the presbytery found him guilty of attempting to alienate the meeting-house from the Relief Church to the Establishment, acts of deception, falsehood and flagrant immorality.⁵³⁷ Even after the Synod confirmed the presbytery's findings and deposed Gellatly, he refused to go quietly and for six months preached to around fifty people in a gallery above a stable.⁵³⁸ He then joined a breakaway body known as the 'First Constituted Presbytery of Relief' and became its spokesman.⁵³⁹ The events in Haddington led the Synod to decide not to license a petitioner before making proper inquiries as to his character.⁵⁴⁰

Although the congregation went on to call William Reid, the damage had been done. When the managers were unable to pay Reid's stipend he resigned and the Synod severed its connections with the congregation. Soon afterwards the managers sold the meeting-house to the Haldanes.⁵⁴¹ It was unfortunate that a congregation, which had the potential to enrich the life of the church in Haddington, was destroyed by the conduct of David Gellatly, whose adventurism was the opposite of the quiet dignity of Thomas Gillespie.

At the end of the eighteenth century those who defected from the Church of Scotland began to form loose associations of independent congregations, sometimes bearing the name of a charismatic leader, such as John Glas.⁵⁴² Among those who were prominent in this development were Robert and James Haldane. In 1799 James was ordained pastor of a newly formed independent congregation, which met in the former Circus building in Edinburgh, before moving to a purpose-built tabernacle at the head of Leith Walk.⁵⁴³ There he was joined by his brother, Robert, who had sold the family's estate of Airthrey, outside Stirling, to finance the creation of preaching

⁵³⁶ Ibid, 521

⁵³⁷ Ibid, 521-522

⁵³⁸ Ibid, 522

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 522

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, 521

⁵⁴¹ Ibid, 523

⁵⁴² Callum G. Brown, *The People in the Pews: Religion and Society since 1780* (Dundee: Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1993) 11

⁵⁴³ Alexander Haldane, *The Lives of Robert and James Haldane* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1990)

centres across Scotland.⁵⁴⁴ In 1802, John Aikman, who had served as an assistant to James Haldane, built a meeting-house in North College Street, Edinburgh, which became known as the Argyll Square Chapel.⁵⁴⁵ As the upgrading of the Great North Road enabled a number of people from East Lothian to travel into Edinburgh to attend worship, when the Relief Church in Haddington was put up for sale, the Haldanes took the opportunity to expand their outreach into the county.⁵⁴⁶ Between 1802 and 1804 James Hill served the Haddington congregation while studying medicine at Edinburgh University.⁵⁴⁷ In 1804 he was succeeded by John Dunn who also served a congregation in Garvald.⁵⁴⁸ However, the experiment was short lived. In 1808 Robert Haldane followed his brother, James, and endorsed the practice of baptising only those who had made a profession of faith.⁵⁴⁹ In the following two years Robert's autocratic style of leadership led to tensions in the tabernacle movement and he⁵⁵⁰ engaged in a vitriolic exchange of pamphlets with Greville Ewing,⁵⁵¹ who had established the Glasgow Theological Academy. These factors seem to have led to a disagreement between the Haldanes and the congregation in Haddington and the Haldanes sold the meeting house to the minority in the Antiburgher congregation, who had remained in the General Associate Synod following the Auld Licht/New Licht controversy.⁵⁵² However, the Haddington congregation survived the withdrawal of the Haldanes' patronage and, in 1815,⁵⁵³ opened an Independent chapel in Hardgate Street seating 300.⁵⁵⁴ The arrival of Independents was a novelty in a town where hitherto only the small Episcopalian community had challenged Presbyterian hegemony.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid

⁵⁴⁵ 'Papers of Reverend John Aikman, Minister of the Gospel Society, and the Aikman Trust' (GD1/1429)

⁵⁴⁶ McNaughton, *Scottish Congregational Ministry 1794-1993* 404

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 65

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 41

⁵⁴⁹ Haldane, *The Lives of Robert and James Haldane*

⁵⁵⁰ Robert Haldane, *Letters to Mr. Ewing, respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow* (Edinburgh: J Richie, 1809)

⁵⁵¹ Granville Ewing, *Facts and Documents respecting the connections which have subsisted between Robert Haldane, Esquire. and Greville Ewing*, (Glasgow: James Hedderwick and Co, 1809)

⁵⁵² Small, *History of Congregations in the United Presbyterian Church*, 522

⁵⁵³ McNaughton, *Scottish Congregational Ministry*, 406

⁵⁵⁴ *Town Plan of Haddington*, Surveyed 1853, Sheet 1

Available at <https://maps.nls.uk>.

Accessed 2 April 2019

During the eighteenth century the terms Old Light and New Light were used in Protestant circles to distinguish between those who adhered to the traditional standpoint of a denomination and those who wished to embrace new ideas. At the end of the century there were those in both branches of the Secession who adhered to every word of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and those who had adopted a more liberal interpretation.⁵⁵⁵ As most of the ‘New Light’ ministers in the Burgher Secession Church had studied under John Brown, it is possible that his practice of appealing directly to scripture allowed them greater freedom in interpreting the *Confession*. However, when the Associate Synod altered the terms of subscription to the *Confession*, it divided into Auld Licht Burghers and New Licht Burghers and when the General Associate Synod followed suit, it divided into Auld Licht Antiburghers and New Licht Antiburghers.⁵⁵⁶

Robert Chalmers, minister of the Antiburgher congregation in Haddington, was one of the Auld Licht party in the General Associate Synod and after separating from the Synod went on to help form the ‘Constitutional Presbytery’, which, in due course, became ‘The Associate Synod of Original Seceders’.⁵⁵⁷ Although twelve of the fourteen elders in the Antiburgher congregation adhered to the General Associate Synod, Chalmers was supported by the majority of his members. However, a court ruled that the minority held the title of the meeting-house in Newton Port and Chalmers and his supporters were obliged to pay them £610 to retain possession of the building.⁵⁵⁸ This enabled the minority to purchase the former Relief Church from the Haldanes.⁵⁵⁹ Nevertheless, as had happened at the ‘breach’ in 1747, the Secession cause in Haddington proved to be remarkably resilient. In 1820 both the New Licht Burgher and the New Licht Antiburgher congregations joined the United Secession Church⁵⁶⁰ and the Original Secession Church went on to join the Free Church and was renamed ‘Knox’s Free Church’.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁵ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, 111

⁵⁵⁶ Brown, *The People in the Pews*, 11

⁵⁵⁷ Mackelvie, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, 218

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 218

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 218

⁵⁶⁰ Lorimer and Cook, ‘Haddington’ in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 14

⁵⁶¹ Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900*

Despite John Wesley making a number of visits to Scotland, he struggled to establish a significant Methodist presence in the country.⁵⁶² Most Presbyterians found his rejection of Calvinism, in favour of his own brand of Arminianism, heretical.⁵⁶³ However, Wesley was able to make some progress in Dunbar. He preached in the town in 1757 and stationed one of his preachers, William Ellis, there in 1766.⁵⁶⁴ Although the Methodist society in Dunbar had fewer than forty members, it opened a chapel in the town in 1771.⁵⁶⁵

In 1806 James McCullagh, a native of Armagh, who was quartered with his regiment, the Fourth Dragoons, or the Royal Irish, in Haddington Barracks formed a Methodist class in Haddington. Initially it was made up of his fellow soldiers but expanded to include some town's people.⁵⁶⁶ In 1817 the Methodist Conference appointed Daniel McAlum to work alongside his elderly father in the Dunbar and Haddington circuit.⁵⁶⁷ McAlum seems to have had an effective ministry in Haddington and was said to have been 'listened to, weekly, by several distinguished members of the Established Church, and of the Dissenting congregations in the town'.⁵⁶⁸ However, there is no evidence that there was a 'revival' in the town. The success of McAlum's preaching led the congregation to build 'a commodious chapel' off Sidegate, seating 300, which was opened in 1818.⁵⁶⁹ However, although the Methodist Conference gave the local society permission 'to make collections for the chapel through all Scotland, except Dumfries', there seems to have been scepticism in

Available at <http://ecclegen.com/congregations>

Accessed 5 April 2019

⁵⁶² B. Dobree, 'John Wesley', 81

Available at <http://www.ntslibrary.com/PDF%20Books/J.Wesley-bio.pdf>

Accessed 5 April 2019

⁵⁶³ Brown, *An Historical Account*, 47

⁵⁶⁴ 'The Oldest Methodist Chapel in Scotland' on *My Methodist History*

Available at <https://www.mymethodisthistory.org.uk>.

Accessed 3 April 2019

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid

⁵⁶⁷ Johnathan Crowther, in *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, January, 1829 reproduced on 'My Methodist History'

Accessed 5 April 2019

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid

⁵⁶⁹ Craig Stratham, *Lost East Lothian* (Edinburgh: Birlion, 2001)

Methodist circles as to how a society of ‘20 members, who were very poor’ could afford such a building.⁵⁷⁰ Such concerns proved to be justified and from the outset the Haddington society struggled with a burden of debt.

The formation of congregations with different forms of church government shows that at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth there was room for diversity in the church in Haddington. The Relief Church might have survived and even prospered had the congregation not made the disastrous mistake of calling David Gellatly. The attempt by the Haldanes to establish a lay-led church in the town survived the withdrawal of their patronage and led to the formation of an Independent congregation. The split in the Antiburgher congregation led to the formation of a viable Original Secession Church without damaging the existing congregation unduly. And had the Methodist society been less ambitious, it might have been able to carve out a more stable niche for itself. It is likely that dissenters supported the East Lothian Bible Society and the Society for Propagating Christianity.⁵⁷¹

While in 1713 there was only one place of worship for a population of around 4,500, in 1835 there were seven places of worship for a population of around 6,000: a ratio per head of population of 1 to 860. However, the diversification this fragmentation produced was limited in scope. All of the new congregations were Protestant; Presbyterianism continued to be the dominant form of church government; and only Holy Trinity had a formal liturgy.

Summary

What is significant about the diversification of the church in Haddington in this period, is that although it led to rivalry, it did not do any obvious damage to the established church in the burgh. At the end of this period St Mary’s retained the allegiance of around eighty percent of families in the parish. Even if there were a

⁵⁷⁰ W. Clegg, *Methodism in Scotland* (Leeds, 1818) cited in ‘The Oldest Methodist Chapel in Scotland’ on *My Methodist History*

⁵⁷¹ Lorimer and Cook, ‘Haddington’ in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 15-16

higher percentage of nominal members in the established church than in the other denominations, the dominance of St Mary's was still considerable.

Chapter Three

Disruption and Reunion: 1834 - 1929

This chapter will consider the factors which moulded the church in Haddington between the start of the 'Ten Years Conflict' in 1834 and the Union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in 1929. While some of these factors were common to the rest of the Scottish church, including the rise of the Evangelical Party, the Disruption of 1843, the outworking of Catholic Emancipation, the recovery of the Auld Kirk, the impact of the First World War and the incremental coalescence of Presbyterian churches; others were specific to Haddington, including the efforts of some remarkable individuals, such as John Cook who stabilised St Mary's after the Disruption, Joseph Mantica who worked among the Roman Catholic community in East Lothian, James Matthews who had a long and effective ministry in St John's Free Church, and Robert Nimmo Smith who established a 'territorial ministry' within the burgh.

Developments in Haddington

As the nineteenth century progressed there were a number of significant developments in Haddington. By 1820 there were several self-help societies, including the Haddington Friendly Society, the Haddington Saving Bank and the Haddington Dispensary.⁵⁷² From the 1830s onwards Whigs and their successors, the Liberals, won all but two of the parliamentary elections. In 1831 there was an outbreak of cholera which took the lives of 57 people and led to pressure to improve the town's water supply and drainage.⁵⁷³ In 1846 a branch line from Longniddry was opened;⁵⁷⁴ the arrival of the railway enabled people to live in Haddington and work in Edinburgh and encouraged the building of impressive villas at the west end of the town in the vicinity of the station. It also helped to compensate for the impact of building the railway line between Edinburgh and Berwick-upon-Tweed along the coast, which ended Haddington's role as a coaching centre.⁵⁷⁵ In 1859 David and James Croal founded

⁵⁷² Forbes Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 125

⁵⁷³ Lorimer and Cook, 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 5

⁵⁷⁴ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 86-87

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 72

the *Haddingtonshire Courier*⁵⁷⁶ and one of Haddington's most famous sons, Samuel Smiles, published *Self Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* in which he set out his view that through the acquisition of knowledge and hard work a person could improve their lot.⁵⁷⁷ In 1860, at the instigation of the Inhabitants Drainage Committee, the Town Council installed a new drainage system with a sewage works in Amisfield Park.⁵⁷⁸ From 1865 Co-operative Societies began to be formed in East Lothian and by 1909 Haddington had its own Society.⁵⁷⁹ In 1879, following the passing of the 1872 Education Act, the old burgh school was replaced by the Knox Institute, which was housed in an impressive building on the western edge of the town.⁵⁸⁰

Church Extension and Territorial Ministry

In the 1830s Haddington was in the forefront of a scheme to plant new churches in Scotland. In 1834 the Evangelical Party, under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers, achieved a majority in the General Assembly and began to implement a series of radical policies.⁵⁸¹ Over the previous eighty years the population of Scotland had almost doubled and most of that growth had been in towns and cities. Evangelicals were concerned that the national church was failing to respond to the rapid expansion of urban communities like Glasgow.⁵⁸² They pointed to the fact that in many districts there was not sufficient 'sittings' to accommodate all of the new urban dwellers and that working-class families were becoming alienated from the church.⁵⁸³ While attempts were made to provide new places of worship, in many instances they were thwarted by the reluctance of heritors to meet the cost of erecting new churches and the refusal of patrons to see their rights diluted.⁵⁸⁴ In 1818 the General Assembly

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid, 85

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, 93

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid, 87

⁵⁷⁹ Bob McArthur and Sonia Baker, 'The Co-operative Society in the county' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*:

Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

⁵⁸⁰ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 92-93

⁵⁸¹ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Scottish Church*, 221

⁵⁸² William G. Enright, 'Urbanization and the Evangelical Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Scotland' in *Church History*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 401

⁵⁸³ Ibid 401

⁵⁸⁴ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 184

appointed a Church Accommodation Committee to address the issue.⁵⁸⁵ However, it faced vociferous opposition from dissenters when it attempted to obtain funds from the government to build new churches in the Lowlands.⁵⁸⁶ By the 1820s most dissenters held to the ‘Voluntary Principle’ which affirmed that a congregation should support its own work rather than rely on contributions from heritors; so dissenters objected to public money being given to the Establishment to build new churches.⁵⁸⁷ An effort was made to get round the dearth of heritor and public funding by using voluntary contributions to build chapels of ease. However, although these new churches were popular, they were outside the existing structures of the Church of Scotland and their ministers did not have the same rights as parish ministers, including a seat in the local presbytery.⁵⁸⁸

To help rectify matters the 1834 General Assembly passed a *Declaration Enactment as to Chapels of Ease*.⁵⁸⁹ The Chapels Act, as it came to be known, had two main provisions. It stated that ministers of chapels of ease shall be ‘constituent members of the Presbyteries and Synods within whose bounds the said chapels are’ and ‘shall enjoy every privilege as fully and freely ... with parish ministers in this Church’.⁵⁹⁰ It also instructed presbyteries to ‘allot and assign to each of the said chapels a territorial district, and to erect such districts into separate parishes *quoad sacra*’.⁵⁹¹ Unlike the existing *quoad omnia* parishes, which were coterminous with civil parishes and played a role in the provision of education and the administration of the poor law, *quoad sacra* parishes had only ecclesiastical responsibilities. The Chapels Act not only brought chapels of ease into the mainstream of the church, it also boosted Thomas Chalmers’ campaign to build new churches.

Haddington was one of the towns to benefit from the Chapels Act. Although the lack of accommodation in the parish church was not as acute as in working-class

⁵⁸⁵ Don Chalmers, ‘The Church of Scotland’s Parochial Extension Scheme and the Scottish Disruption’ in *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 16, 1978, 263-286

⁵⁸⁶ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, 232

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 231

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 185

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Acts: 1834’ in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, 1028-1042

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid*

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid*

districts in Glasgow, in 1831 there were only 1,129 seats in St Mary's for a population of 5,883.⁵⁹² This led Robert Lorimer, minister of the first charge, to allege that shortage of seating was leading families to abandon the established church.⁵⁹³ As Haddington was a prosperous market-town, the Church of Scotland was able to raise the funds necessary to build a chapel of ease. Subscriptions from parishioners and the heritors raised £890, the General Assembly's Church Extension Fund contributed £250 and the Presbytery of Haddington's Church Extension Fund gave two instalments of £100 each.⁵⁹⁴

In May 1838 the Commission of Assembly erected the *quoad sacra* parish of St John's⁵⁹⁵ and in September a new church, costing £1,600, was opened.⁵⁹⁶ As a gas plant had been opened in the town in 1836, St John's was one of the first public buildings in the burgh to be fitted with gas lighting.⁵⁹⁷ In October 1838 Thomas Chalmers spoke in the church and set out the aims of his church extension scheme.⁵⁹⁸ On 18 April 1839 John Wright was ordained and inducted into the new charge. He had been born in Glasgow, educated in Dunblane and at Glasgow University, licensed by the Presbytery of Dunblane and served as an assistant in Ratho.⁵⁹⁹ He was given a stipend of £120, which was guaranteed by a bond.⁶⁰⁰ At the start of Wright's ministry St John's appeared to have a bright future and by 1843 it had over 400 members.⁶⁰¹

However, the honeymoon period did not last long. At the Disruption in 1843 Wright and most of his people came out of the Church of Scotland along with Robert Lorimer and between 60 and 70 members of St Mary's.⁶⁰² Since many of those of an Evangelical disposition had joined St. John's, it is not surprising that Wright was able to take the bulk of his members with him. However, Lorimer probably expected more

⁵⁹² Lorimer and Cook, 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 14

⁵⁹³ *Ibid*, 14

⁵⁹⁴ Miller, *The Lamp of the Lothians*, 465

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 466

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 465

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 227

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 466

⁵⁹⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 374

⁶⁰⁰ Miller, *The Lamp of the Lothians*, 466

⁶⁰¹ 'Haddington – St John's' in William Ewing (ed.) *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland: 1843-1900* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1914)

⁶⁰² *Ibid*

of the congregation of St Mary's to follow him. He had been minister of the first charge for 47 years and had enjoyed considerable success. He had seen attendance at the June communion rise to over one thousand;⁶⁰³ overseen a major reconstruction of St Mary's in 1810/11;⁶⁰⁴ and encouraged the establishment of Sabbath schools.⁶⁰⁵ While it is possible that Lorimer, who was in his late seventies, had been eclipsed by his younger colleague, John Cook, who was a strong and persuasive speaker,⁶⁰⁶ a more charitable explanation is that members of St Mary's were reluctant to sever their links with the parish church, where generations of Haddingtonians had worshipped, to attend services in the less congenial surroundings of St John's.

Although many of the members of the Free Church congregation had contributed to the building of St John's and regarded the chapel as rightfully theirs, its trust deeds stated 'The buildings now erected ... shall be held, used and occupied as a Church inalienably in connection with the Established Church of Scotland'⁶⁰⁷ and, in 1849, the House of Lords ruled that the Free Church must surrender properties belonging to the established church. As if to rub salt into the wounds of those who had 'come out', the established church did not use the building and it remained empty for almost three decades.⁶⁰⁸

However, around 1876 the ministers at St Mary's began to conduct services in St John's.⁶⁰⁹ While it is not clear how often these services were held or how many attended, at some point a Sabbath school was opened in the chapel.⁶¹⁰ By then some ministers in the Church of Scotland were pursuing the kind of territorial ministry which Thomas Chalmers had pioneered in Glasgow earlier in the century.⁶¹¹ Under the energetic leadership of Professor James Robertson of Edinburgh University, the

⁶⁰³ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 31

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 14

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 15

⁶⁰⁶ Alexander Gordon revised by Rosemary Mitchell, 'Cook, John (1807-1874)' in *Oxford Dictionary of Nation Biography* (2004)

Available at <https://www-oxforddnb-com>.

Accessed 16 March 2020

⁶⁰⁷ Haddington, St John's Chapel of Ease: Minutes of Managers (CH/1225/3) 6

⁶⁰⁸ Ewing, 'Haddington – St John's' in *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland*.

⁶⁰⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 374

⁶¹⁰ Haddington, St John's Chapel of Ease: Minutes of Managers, 2

⁶¹¹ Stewart J. Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland' 75

General Assembly's Endowment Committee raised £400,000 to endow existing churches and added sixty new *quoad sacra* parishes.⁶¹² However, the recovery of St John's did not take off until the 1890s. On 22 September 1893 a notice was placed in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* stating 'A meeting of those favourable to having regular Services in St John's Church will be held in that church on Tuesday evening the 26th September'.⁶¹³ The notice was signed by the Reverend W. R. Turnbull, Convener of the Presbytery Committee on St John's. The meeting seems to have been a success and a committee consisting of William Gilbert, cabinetmaker, John Nesbit, smith, Charles Wilson, family grocer, and Andrew Wood, solicitor, was elected to manage the affairs of St John's, with Wood as convener.⁶¹⁴ The social composition of the committee supports the view that the established church in Haddington had retained the adherence of a significant number of middle class families and that they had not defected en masse to the Free Church.

At the first meeting of the managers, on 26 October, it was noted that attendance at the Sunday service was 'fully 100' and it was agreed to apply to the Home Mission Fund of the Church of Scotland for either a grant or the appointment of a probationer or a missionary.⁶¹⁵ While the Home Mission Committee was sympathetic and gave an initial grant of £40 and agreed to the appointment of a probationer, it expressed reservations about placing a third minister in Haddington.⁶¹⁶ In April 1894 the managers noted that 208 'sittings' had been allocated. While the pew rent was generally 2s.6d per annum, the best seats cost £1.⁶¹⁷ On 7 June 1895 the *Haddingtonshire Courier* reported that the General Assembly had approved a revised constitution for St John's on the same terms as the 1838 constitution.⁶¹⁸ After the Presbytery agreed to allow the congregation to proceed to the appointment of a probationer, a leet of three preached in St John's and on 13 December 1896 William Dempster was unanimously elected minister of the *quoad sacra* parish.⁶¹⁹ He had

⁶¹² Ibid, 75

⁶¹³ Haddington, St John's Chapel of Ease: Minutes of Managers, 1

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, 2

⁶¹⁵ Ibid, 3

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, 5

⁶¹⁷ Ibid, 22

⁶¹⁸ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 7 June 1895.

⁶¹⁹ Haddington, St John's Chapel of Ease: Minutes of Managers, 66

previously served as an assistant in St Ninian's, Stirling. Dempster was followed by two more probationers: William Conn between 1901 and 1902 and John McLean between 1905 and 1909.⁶²⁰ McLean seems to have had an effective ministry and to have been sympathetic to the wishes of those who were associated with St John's. Although he had his own child baptised in church, he baptised other children at home.⁶²¹

Nevertheless, the end of St John's came suddenly. While in July 1908 the Convener's Committee upon Applications for Grant-in-Aid reported that 180 members of St John's had communicated at least once in the last year; that John McLean had a salary of £130 per annum; and the committee had awarded a grant of £40,⁶²² the report of the Convener's Committee for 1909 does not mention St John's. It is not clear what happened when John McLean completed his four year probationary period in May 1909.⁶²³ However, in 1906 Robert Nimmo Smith, minister of the first charge, had demitted due to ill health and the congregation had called George Donald,⁶²⁴ who was said to be 'a man of deep convictions and strong views'.⁶²⁵ The demission of Nimmo Smith meant that an era had come to an end and it is possible that, without his commitment to territorial ministry, local parties decided not to seek another probationer. However, it is also possible that the Home Mission Committee could no longer justify keeping a third minister in Haddington. In 1909 the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church entered into discussions about a possible union⁶²⁶ and, with co-operation beginning to replace rivalry, it was difficult to justify having three Church of Scotland and two United Free Church ministers in the town, especially as the population had fallen to 5,125.⁶²⁷ What is known is that the 1910 General Assembly rescinded the constitution of St John's and the building became the parish

⁶²⁰ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol 1, 375

⁶²¹ Haddington, St Johns Kirk Session: Baptismal Register 1899-1909 (CH2/1225/4)

⁶²² 'Report by Convener's Committee upon Applications for Grant-in-Aid' in Minutes of the Home Mission Committee, 1908 (CH1/16/10) 105

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, 375

⁶²⁴ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol 1, 371

⁶²⁵ Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 98

⁶²⁶ Douglas M. Murray, *Freedom to Reform – The 'Articles Declaratory' of the Church of Scotland 1921* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1993)

⁶²⁷ 'Haddington' on GENUKI

Available at <https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/sct/ELN/Haddington>

Accessed 16 March 2020

hall.⁶²⁸ As the seating problem in St Mary's had been alleviated,⁶²⁹ there was probably more need for a hall than a second church.

The Disruption

The 1834 General Assembly also approved *An Overture and Interim Act on the Calling of Ministers*.⁶³⁰ The Veto Act, as it came to be known, stated that if a majority 'of male heads of households, who were members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with this church' disapproved a patron's nominee, that disapproval was sufficient in itself to disqualify the person.⁶³¹ In other words the Veto Act attempted to end the practice of the previous eighty years whereby the General Assembly had required a presbytery to induct a patron's nominee against the wishes of a congregation. However, the Court of Session not only declared the Veto Act *ultra vires*, it also declared the Chapels Act to be incompetent.⁶³² In response the 1842 General Assembly approved a *Claim, Declaration, and Protest, anent the Encroachments of the Court of Session*⁶³³ which listed a number of cases in which the court was said to have infringed the spiritual freedom of the Church of Scotland set out in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and confirmed by various acts of parliament, including the Treaty of Union. The *Claim of Right*, as it came to be known, also insisted that the Kirk was willing to endure hardship to defend its spiritual independence. Professor Alex Cheyne says that when the Prime Minister, Robert Peel, rejected the *Claim of Right*, the leaders of the Evangelical Party realised that their best hope was a pre-emptive strike.⁶³⁴ When the General Assembly met on 18 May the retiring moderator, David Welsh, read a Protest and led 190 ministers out of St Andrew's Church to the Tanfield Hall where they signed an *Act of Separation and Deed of Demission* and formed the Church of Scotland - Free.⁶³⁵ However, it was not the decisive victory the leaders of the Evangelical Party had intended. Eventually

⁶²⁸ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 374

⁶²⁹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 34

⁶³⁰ 'Acts: 1834' in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, 1028-1042

⁶³¹ *Ibid*

⁶³² Alex C. Cheyne, *The Ten Years Conflict and the Disruption an Overview* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993) 10

⁶³³ 'Acts: 1842' in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, 1112-1149

⁶³⁴ Cheyne, *The Ten Years Conflict*, 10

⁶³⁵ *Ibid*, 11

around a third of ministers in the established church and nearly half the membership joined the Free Church, leaving the established church battered and bruised but not broken.

Despite the defection of two of the three Church of Scotland ministers in Haddington, the Disruption had a limited impact in the burgh. It could be said that there had been a disruption in Haddington in 1838 when most of those of an Evangelical disposition joined St John's and that the Disruption of 1843 was simply a working out of that process. Nevertheless, both Lorimer and Wright made a substantial sacrifice. For Lorimer it was the end of half a century of ministry in the established church⁶³⁶ and for Wright a step into an uncertain future. Both men had to give up their stipend and manse. Although Ewing states that both ministers served as joint pastors of the renamed 'St John's Free Church',⁶³⁷ the minutes of the session are signed by Wright as moderator and do not refer to Lorimer. As Lorimer was 78 it is not surprising that he did not have a formal role in the congregation.

For the first six years of its existence the Free Church congregation continued to worship in the chapel of ease which its members regarded as rightfully theirs. However, as noted above, following the 1849 ruling of the House of Lords, the Free Church was obliged to hand over the building. Being forced to leave would have come as a bitter blow to those who had contributed to the building of St John's; made more galling by the fact that the building was left to stand empty. Nevertheless, the congregation raised the funds needed to erect a new church on an adjacent feu which was opened in 1850.⁶³⁸ It is not clear whether the choice of the site was a deliberate show of defiance or whether it was the only one available.

Many ministers in the Original Secession Church were sympathetic to Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland who opposed the intrusion of ministers into parishes and, after the Free Church passed an act and declaration in 1851 identifying itself with the 'Second Reformation' and the signing of the National Covenant in 1638,

⁶³⁶ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 370

⁶³⁷ Ewing, 'Haddington – St John's'

⁶³⁸ Ibid

the Original Secession Church joined the Free Church.⁶³⁹ As noted above, after the union the Original Secession Church in Haddington was renamed ‘Knox’s Free Church’. However, not all the elders approved of the union and, at the first meeting of the reconstituted session, Thomas Hunter entered a lengthy dissent in which he complained that the new denomination had departed from ‘the terms of Ministerial and Christian communion ... that had hitherto been held by the Original Seceders’.⁶⁴⁰ Although Knox’s Free Church was alongside St John’s Free Church,⁶⁴¹ it maintained its independence. In particular, it continued to exercise the discipline that had been one of the characteristics of the Original Secession Church. On 31 October 1853 the minister, William White, reported to the session that Hay Drysdale had admitted ‘that his wife had had a child before the Ordinary time and that he wished to be taken under the discipline of the church’.⁶⁴² Although Ewing states that following the death of White in 1871, Knox’s Free Church was dissolved,⁶⁴³ the minutes of the deacon’s court show that the congregation was determined to continue its separate existence and that pulpit supply was arranged.⁶⁴⁴ Both the session and deacon’s court minutes continue until 1876 when they end abruptly. The failure of the congregation to cooperate with its neighbour, even when it was no longer able to call a minister, suggests that the congregation was on the fringe of the Free Church and more interested in preserving its identity than furthering the cause of the denomination. By 1893 the building had been sold and was being used as a free library.⁶⁴⁵

Following the death of John Wright, in 1872, St John’s Free Church elected David Anderson as its new minister and he was ordained and inducted on 13 March 1873. Sadly he died a fortnight later. On 12 May the session recorded its appreciation

⁶³⁹ William I. Fisk, ‘The Seceders: The Scottish High Church Tradition in America’ in *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 291-305

⁶⁴⁰ Haddington, Knox’s Free Church: Session Minutes 1852-1876 (CH3/169/1) 2

⁶⁴¹ *Town Plan of Haddington*, Surveyed 1853, Sheet 1

Available at <https://maps.nls.uk>.

Accessed 24 June 2019

⁶⁴² Haddington, Knox’s Free Church: Session Minutes 1852-1876, 12-14

⁶⁴³ Ewing, ‘Haddington – Knox’s Free Church’

⁶⁴⁴ Haddington, Knox’s Free Church: Deacon’s Court Minutes, 1872-1876 (CH3/169/2)

⁶⁴⁵ *Town Plan of Haddington*, Surveyed 1893

Accessed 18 July 2019

Available at <https://maps.nls.uk>.

Accessed 24 June 2019

of his all too short ministry. The session minute described him as ‘a young minister of more than ordinary promise’.⁶⁴⁶ However, it did not take long for the congregation to elect a new minister and on 5 September 1873 James Matthews was ordained and inducted.⁶⁴⁷ He was born in Kirriemuir and educated at Edinburgh University and New College.⁶⁴⁸ St John’s Free Church would be his only charge. Matthews was an Evangelical who ‘always proclaimed the Gospel of Christ, and urged the necessity of personal acceptance of His salvation’.⁶⁴⁹

Although the existing building had adequate seating, it lacked some of the other facilities which an active congregation required and, at the beginning of 1888, a search was undertaken to find a site on which to build a new Free Church.⁶⁵⁰ In due course part of the garden of Hilton Lodge at the west end of Court Street was acquired for £50⁶⁵¹ and Sydney Mitchel was commissioned to design a new church.⁶⁵² During the nineteenth century Court Street had become a wide, attractive thoroughfare containing the County Buildings, the Sheriff Court and the Corn Exchange.⁶⁵³ It was, therefore, a prestigious location for the new church. The church and adjacent hall were built in red sandstone with a tower mounted by a steeple. The sanctuary was on the first floor and had seating for 500.⁶⁵⁴ On 22 March 1890 Mrs Neilson of Bellevue laid a memorial stone which contained a number of items, including a list of the office-bearers of the congregation.⁶⁵⁵ And on 16 October the church was opened by the minister, James Matthews.⁶⁵⁶ It was fitting that he should be asked to perform the

⁶⁴⁶ Haddington, St John’s Chapel of Ease: Minutes of Managers, 1841-1932 (CH3/1361/1) 123

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid, 125

⁶⁴⁸ Ewing, ‘Matthew (sic) James, B.D.’ in *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland*.

⁶⁴⁹ ‘Loyal Address to the Reverend James Matthews B.D.’ (Archives of the Haddington West Parish Church)

⁶⁵⁰ Letter from Sydney Mitchell, architect, to the Reverend James Matthews, 24 January 1888 (Archives of the Haddington West Parish Church)

⁶⁵¹ Diana Hardy, *History of Hilton Lodge*, (Publishing details not given) 34

⁶⁵² ‘Sydney Mitchell and Wilson’ on *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*

Available at <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk>

Accessed 27 June 2019

⁶⁵³ *Town Plan of Haddington*, Surveyed 1893

Available at <https://maps.nls.uk>.

Accessed 27 June 2019

⁶⁵⁴ ‘Plan of St John’s Free Church’ (Archives of the Haddington West Parish Church)

⁶⁵⁵ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 28 March 1890

⁶⁵⁶ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 16 October 1890

ceremony. Matthews had played a key role in the building of the new church⁶⁵⁷ and on his retirement the congregation presented him with £150⁶⁵⁸ and a ‘loyal address’ which stated that for over forty years ‘you have steadfastly endeavoured to serve Our Master and to minister to the needs of your people’.⁶⁵⁹ Matthews was said to have visited ‘all the homes of the people’ and to have enjoyed ‘happy and fruitful labours in the Bible Class’. He had built on the foundations laid by John Wright and ensured that the Free Church was a significant player in the life of the church in Haddington.

In 1847 the United Secession Church and the Relief Church came together to form the United Presbyterian Church. In some respects it was an odd union. In matters of discipline the United Secession Church had been much stricter than the Relief Church and the Relief Church had had a more open approach to communion.⁶⁶⁰ However the Disruption, four years earlier, had transformed the ecclesiastical landscape of Scotland and concentrated the minds of the leaders of the uniting churches. Immediately after the union the United Presbyterian Church approached the Free Church about a possible union. The new denomination adhered to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *Larger and Shorter Catechisms*; was committed to the Voluntary Principle; active in overseas missions; open to ‘enlightened’ theological ideas; and ‘democratic’ to the extent that every minister and a representative elder from each congregation attended the Synod.⁶⁶¹

In Haddington, where the Relief Church had had a short and troubled history, the union led to little more than the two United Secession congregations changing their names. The former Burgher congregation became the East United Presbyterian Church and the former Antiburgher congregation became the West United Presbyterian Church and were known locally as the East Church and the West Church. The latter continued to exercise the strict discipline that had been one of the hallmarks of the Antiburghers. On 11 February 1856 the session was informed that Margaret

⁶⁵⁷ ‘Loyal Address to the Reverend James Matthews B.D.’

⁶⁵⁸ This was probably the equivalent of a year’s stipend.

⁶⁵⁹ ‘Loyal Address to the Reverend James Matthews B.D.’

⁶⁶⁰ S. D. Gill, ‘United Presbyterian Church’ in Nigel M. de S Cameron (ed.), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 839-840

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid*, 839-840

Tulloch, a member of the congregation, had given birth to an illegitimate child and wished to submit to the discipline of the church. She was required to appear before the session on 28 February ‘charged with the sin of fornication’ and after expressing contrition was admonished.⁶⁶² And as late as 17 May 1880 the minister reported to the session that James Allan Jn. and his wife had confessed to ‘the sin of antenuptial fornication’. After the couple expressed their sincere regrets the minister addressed them ‘solemnly’.⁶⁶³ As well as dealing with the conduct of members of the congregation, the session also sought to improve the behaviour of the populace. In March 1880 it supported a petition sponsored by the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Haddington and Dunbar to reduce the number of licensed premises in the county in order to curtail ‘drunkenness’.⁶⁶⁴ The Presbytery had cause to be concerned. East Lothian had some of the highest concentrations of public houses in Scotland. Dunbar had one public house for every 83 inhabitants and Tranent one for every 76.⁶⁶⁵

During the 1850s the minister of the East Church, Joseph Young, conducted around half a dozen baptisms per year.⁶⁶⁶ As most of the parents of the children baptised lived in Haddington, it seems that the congregation was no longer serving members throughout East Lothian to the same extent as it had done during the ministry of John Brown a century earlier. The session minutes recorded that during the Crimean War the session agreed to observe the day ‘appointed by the government for a national fast on account of the war and other national calamities with which God has been pleased to visit us’. However, in line with its principles, the session was clear that it was ‘not acknowledging the authority of the government in religious matters’.⁶⁶⁷ The East Church also disciplined its members. However, whereas the West Church used admonition as its main disciplinary device, the East Church used suspension. In October 1852 William Scott was suspended after one of the elders reported that he ‘was much given up to intoxication and that he had spoken to him about his conduct

⁶⁶² Haddington, Haddington West United Presbyterian: Session Minutes 1855-1891 (CH3/1362/1)

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 197

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 200

⁶⁶⁵ T. C Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (Glasgow: Fontana Press, 1987) 135

⁶⁶⁶ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes 1851-1903 (CH3/168/1)

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 52

without effect'.⁶⁶⁸ While both churches would have had funds, administered by the deacons, to assist their poorer members, neither congregation had a school.

On 23 September 1882 R. F. Turnbull, the session clerk of the West Church, told his fellow elders that several members of the congregation had spoken to him about a suggestion that the two United Presbyterian congregations in the town should unite and 'wished to know if the session felt inclined to entertain the proposal'.⁶⁶⁹ The idea of a union appears to have been mooted by the two ministers: M. M. Dickie of the East Church and A. Thomson of the West Church.⁶⁷⁰ Turnbull's initiative was successful and the session agreed to invite the session of the East Church to a conference to discuss the matter. Although the latter responded positively⁶⁷¹ and a conference was held, nothing came of the proposal. In 1886 the presbytery tried to resurrect the plan and held discussions with the office-bearers of the two congregations. However, its efforts were rejected by the office-bearers of the East Church. They went so far as to decline an invitation to send fraternal greetings to their opposite numbers in the West Church.⁶⁷² It seems that even within the United Presbyterian Church the old Burgher/Antiburgher divide remained.

In October 1900 the United Presbyterian Church joined with the majority of the Free Church to form the United Free Church. As St John's Free Church, the East United Presbyterian Church and the West United Presbyterian Church all joined the United Free Church, the new denomination had three congregations in Haddington, two of them within 100 yards of each other. This led the presbytery to question the desirability of having three U. F. congregations in the burgh and when the East Church became vacant in 1902⁶⁷³ it made a further attempt to engineer a union with the West Church.⁶⁷⁴ However, there was a lack of enthusiasm on both sides and at a meeting of the members of the East Church held on 16 February 1903 it was unanimously

⁶⁶⁸ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes

⁶⁶⁹ Haddington, West United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes (CH3/1362/4)

⁶⁷⁰ Turnbull, *Haddington West United Presbyterian Church: A Historic Sketch*, 70

⁶⁷¹ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes,

⁶⁷² *Ibid*, 71-73

⁶⁷³ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid* 316

agreed that ‘the congregation be dissolved’.⁶⁷⁵ The closure of the East Church marked the end of an era during which the Burgher Church in Haddington had been at the centre of the life of the Associated Synod and, in John Brown, had a minister with an international reputation. Although the West Church would continue for another thirty years, the traditions which the Burgher and Antiburgher congregations represented were no longer a force in the burgh.

St Mary’s Roman Catholic Church

In 1793 Roman Catholics in Scotland were granted the same freedom of worship which their co-religionists in England had enjoyed since 1778. John Brown had been one of those who had opposed the extension of Catholic emancipation to Scotland. In 1780 he published a pamphlet entitled *The Absurdity and Perfidy of all Authoritative Toleration of Gross Heresy, Blasphemy, Idolatry, and Popery in Britain*,⁶⁷⁶ which one of his biographers says ‘originated in the universal sentiment of alarm entertained by the evangelical Presbyterians of Scotland’.⁶⁷⁷ Nevertheless, despite continued opposition particularly in the west of Scotland, in 1829 parliament approved *The Act for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects* which applied to the whole of Great Britain.⁶⁷⁸ The measure brought an end to the penal laws which had prevented Roman Catholics from voting, holding public office and owning land and allowed them to participate more fully in British society.⁶⁷⁹

Catholic emancipation coincided with the beginning of large scale Irish immigration into Scotland. The 1851 census disclosed that there were 207,000 Irish-born people living in Scotland, the majority of whom were Roman Catholics.⁶⁸⁰ While the Catholic Church did not have sufficient priests to engage effectively with those who came in the famine years of the 1840s, by the 1880s a large proportion of the Catholic Irish community was attending mass on a regular basis.⁶⁸¹ The Catholic

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid, 332

⁶⁷⁶ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 348

⁶⁷⁷ Anon, ‘Life of the Reverend John Brown’, 5

⁶⁷⁸ *Act for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects* on Legislation.gov.uk Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/10/7/data.pdf>

Accessed 28 February 2020

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid

⁶⁸⁰ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 487

⁶⁸¹ Ibid, 379

Church employed a variety of pastoral measures to gain the adherence of Irish immigrants and their descendants. Priests lived alongside their parishioners; shared their culture; endured their poverty; and were conscientious in visiting the sick and administering the ‘last rites’.⁶⁸²

Fr Joseph Mantica was one of the priests who responded to the growth of the Roman Catholic community in the east of Scotland. He had been born in Greenock and was appointed parish priest at Portobello. Because there was an acute shortage of clergy he was required to cover a wide area including much of Midlothian and East Lothian. He is known to have celebrated mass and heard confessions in an attic in Dalkeith⁶⁸³ and to have travelled to Haddington on the third Sunday of each month to say mass for several hundred worshippers in an old granary.⁶⁸⁴ Sadly the demands placed on the young man took a heavy toll and he died in 1852 at the age of 29.⁶⁸⁵ However, Fr Mantica had been determined to ensure that his work in Haddington reached fruition and before he died requested Bishop James Gillis, the Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District, to apply his small savings to the building of a Catholic church in the town.⁶⁸⁶ Gillis granted his wish and the 1853 report of the St Andrew Society noted ‘A new Mission has been opened in the town of Haddington, mainly through the hard savings of the late edifying young priest’.⁶⁸⁷ The mission was led by Fr John Prendergast, who had been born in Roscommon in Ireland, and was one of a number of Irish priests recruited to assist the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. He was the first resident Roman Catholic priest in Haddington since the Reformation. Like Secession ministers a century earlier, he was required to cover most of East Lothian and into Berwickshire.⁶⁸⁸ It would be a quarter of a century before Dunbar (1877), North Berwick (1879) and Duns (1880) had their own resident priests.⁶⁸⁹ The

⁶⁸² Ibid, 492

⁶⁸³ *St David's, Dalkeith, Centenary Celebrations, 1854 – 1954.*

Available at <https://www.stdavidsdalkeith.co.uk/resources/1954web.pdf>

Accessed 11 June 2019

⁶⁸⁴ ‘Centenary of St Mary’s Haddington’ in *The St Andrew Annual for 1961 – 1962* (Glasgow: John Burns and Sons, 1962) 61

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid, 61

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid, 62

⁶⁸⁷ ‘1853 Report of the St Andrew Society’ cited in *The St Andrew Annual for 1961 – 62*

⁶⁸⁸ ‘St Mary’s Haddington’ in *The Catholic Directory for 1863* (Edinburgh: J Miller, 1863)

⁶⁸⁹ ‘Centenary of St Mary’s Haddington’

pioneering work of Joseph Mantica meant that Fr Prendergast had a significant community to serve. In the first year of his mission in Haddington he conducted 21 weddings⁶⁹⁰ and 82 baptisms.⁶⁹¹ Lorimer and Cook had estimated that there were only three Roman Catholic families in the parish of Haddington in the 1830s.⁶⁹² Even though this figure does not include those living in adjacent parishes, the number of weddings and baptisms suggests that during the 1840s there was a considerable increase in the number of Roman Catholic families living in East Lothian. As a result the new mission was launched on a rising tide and in 1864 Fr Prendergast was given an assistant, Fr Joseph Martin.⁶⁹³

Despite having far less resources than the Free Church, the Catholic Church matched its building programme and built a network of chapels, halls and schools.⁶⁹⁴ Haddington benefited from the commitment of the hierarchy and the sacrificial giving of Catholic families. The Catholic community acquired the grounds of Poldrate House on the southern approach to Haddington and in 1861 commissioned Edward Welby Pugin, the eldest son of Augustus Pugin, to design a new church. By 1861 the younger Pugin had already designed a number of Catholic churches in England and one in Scotland. His use of open sight lines to the high altar facilitated the form of Catholic liturgy that was becoming popular in the 1860s.⁶⁹⁵ His chapel in Haddington was a simple adaptation of early Gothic with lancet windows on each side of the nave and a semi-circular apse at the east end. Built of rubble and dressed stone the building accommodated 400 worshippers.⁶⁹⁶ On Sunday 10 August 1862 Fr John Strain, who was about to become Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District, celebrated Solemn High Mass in the new church and dedicated it to St Mary.⁶⁹⁷ There was a long tradition in Haddington of honouring the Virgin. In the medieval period the shrine of Our Lady

⁶⁹⁰ St Mary's Roman Catholic Church Haddington: Marriage and Baptism Register 1853-1881 (GB240/MP86/1/1/1) 3- 6

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, 114-117

⁶⁹² Lorimer and Cook in 'Haddington', *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 15

⁶⁹³ 'St Mary's Haddington' in *The Catholic Directory for 1864* (Edinburgh: J Miller, 1864)

⁶⁹⁴ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 379

⁶⁹⁵ C. Blaker, 'Edward Welby Pugin, 1834-1875' on the *Pugin Society*

Available at <http://www.thepuginsociety.co.uk/>

Accessed 11 June 2019

⁶⁹⁶ *St Mary's Catholic Church, Haddington – Centenary Celebrations, 1853 – 1953* (Archives of the Archdiocese of Edinburgh)

⁶⁹⁷ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 15 August 1862

of Haddington was an important pilgrimage site.⁶⁹⁸ The opening of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church was a considerable achievement for the Catholic community in East Lothian and the fact that the building had been designed by the leading Catholic architect of the day affirmed that the Roman Catholic community had confidence in the future of Catholicism in East Lothian.

The investment which the Catholic Church in Scotland made in building new churches was matched by a similar investment in schools.⁶⁹⁹ After erecting their own church the Roman Catholic community in Haddington set about raising funds to build a school at the rear of the chapel.⁷⁰⁰ Following the passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which made education compulsory for pupils from five to thirteen, the parochial schools, which had been run by the Church of Scotland, came under the new school boards.⁷⁰¹ However, Catholic schools were funded by voluntary contributions, which enabled them to appoint their own teachers and to provide their own form of religious instruction.⁷⁰² This enabled the Roman Catholic Church to nurture the children of Catholic families within day schools and not have to rely on Sabbath schools to supplement the limited religious instruction given in non-denominational schools. On 22 January 1871 'St Mary's School Haddington opened ... under the charge of Elizabeth Mitchell a certified 2nd year student from the Liverpool Training College'.⁷⁰³ The college had been founded in 1855 by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur to train female teachers to serve in Roman Catholic schools.⁷⁰⁴ Despite Miss Mitchell's lack of experience, the school had an initial intake of 50 pupils divided into three 'standards'.⁷⁰⁵ By 1904 it had grown significantly and had a staff of four,

⁶⁹⁸ Patrick Maitland, 'Lauderdale Aisle, Haddington near Edinburgh' on *Clan Maitland*

Available at <https://clanmaitland.uk/links/lauderdale-aisle>

Accessed 13 June 2019

⁶⁹⁹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 379

⁷⁰⁰ Town Plan of Haddington, Surveyed 1893 on *Maps.nls.uk*

Available at <https://maps.nls.uk>.

Accessed 27 June 2019

⁷⁰¹ James Scotland, 'The Centenary of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872' in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 121-136

⁷⁰² Ibid,

⁷⁰³ Log Book of St Mary's School, Haddington (SCH40)

⁷⁰⁴ 'Teacher Training' on *Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur UK*

Available at <https://www.snduk.org/training-colleges/>

Accessed 20 July 2019

⁷⁰⁵ Log Book of St Mary's School, Haddington,

including an infant teacher.⁷⁰⁶ It is not clear to what extent the community was able to display a similar commitment to the care of the poor and whether it had a branch of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.⁷⁰⁷ However, as the whole work of the parish was financed by voluntary contributions, the resources available for such care would have been limited. Given the high numbers of public houses in East Lothian, it is likely that the parish promoted temperance.⁷⁰⁸

Methodism and Independency

In 1840 the financial difficulties which had bedevilled the Wesleyan Methodist society in Haddington since its founding came to a head.⁷⁰⁹ With only eleven members⁷¹⁰ the society was unable to maintain its chapel and the President and Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference confirmed that the conference had given the society permission to sell the building.⁷¹¹ And on 16 July 1841 Alexander McAulay, Wesleyan Minister, Dunbar Circuit, issued a certificate stating that ‘no Wesleyan Methodist society exists in the town of Haddington, it having been dissolved’.⁷¹² It was a sad end to an experiment which had begun with considerable promise under the ministry of Daniel McAlum. However, despite his fundraising efforts,⁷¹³ McAlum had been unrealistic to expect the small Haddington society to afford a 300 seat chapel, once he had left.

By 1834 the Independent congregation in Haddington was well established. For the next thirty years it had a succession of ministers, each of whom served around seven years.⁷¹⁴ However, when William McLellan left in 1867, he was not replaced and, although the congregation managed to function for the next twenty years, it was

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid, 456

⁷⁰⁷ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 493

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid, 493

⁷⁰⁹ Stratham, *Lost East Lothian*, 212

⁷¹⁰ ‘Certificate by the Rev. Alex McAulay stating that the Methodist Society in Haddington had been dissolved dated 16 July 1841’. (CH11/8/3)

⁷¹¹ ‘Authority from the President and Secretary of the Methodist Conference to sell dated 11 August 1840’ (CH11/8/3)

⁷¹² ‘Certificate by the Rev. Alex McAulay’

⁷¹³ ‘The Oldest Methodist Chapel in Scotland’ on *My Methodist History* Available at <https://www.mymethodisthistory.org.uk>.

Accessed 29 September 2020

⁷¹⁴ McNaughton, *Scottish Congregational Ministry: 1794-1993*, 404

dissolved in 1878.⁷¹⁵ It was the end of a noteworthy chapter in the life of the church in Haddington which had begun with the Haldanes' purchase of the former Relief Church and which had survived the split in the Tabernacle movement. However, the concept of a lay-led church had struggled to take root in the burgh. While there was no shortage of lay leadership in the church in the town, most committed laymen preferred to exercise their gifts within Presbyterianism rather than Congregationalism.

In 1841 the United Secession Presbytery of Kilmarnock suspended James Morrison, minister of Clerk's Lane Church. In a tract entitled *The Extent of the Atonement* he had expressed views on the universality of God's love and the death of Christ which the presbytery regarded as Arminian.⁷¹⁶ Morrison refused to accept his suspension even when it was confirmed by the Synod, and in 1843 founded a voluntary association of lay-led churches known as the Evangelical Union.⁷¹⁷ In 1848 an Evangelical Union congregation was founded in Haddington.⁷¹⁸ However, there are no extant records of its activities and it is not known why its members chose to plant a new lay-led congregation in the burgh in competition with the existing Independent Church, where George Wright had recently begun his ministry.⁷¹⁹ However, given the working-class character of the Evangelical Union, it may have hoped to attract a different constituency, but the congregation failed to garner support and folded.

Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church

In contrast to the fortunes of the Methodist, Independent and Evangelical Union congregations, Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church made solid progress during the nineteenth century. In 1843 a report on the state of the building revealed a number of defects due to the use of recycled timber in the original construction and a scheme of renovations was put in hand. The project cost just under £1,000 of which £470 was subscribed by the congregation and the rest covered by a loan.⁷²⁰ As the congregation was not in communion with the Scottish bishops when Holy Trinity was

⁷¹⁵ Ibid, 404

⁷¹⁶ C. E. Kirsch, 'The Theology of James Morrison, with special reverence to his Theories of the Atonement' (Edinburgh University, unpublished PhD thesis, 1939) 25

⁷¹⁷ Ibid, 28

⁷¹⁸ McNaughton, *Scottish Congregational Ministry*, 404

⁷¹⁹ Ibid, 404

⁷²⁰ Fraser-Tyler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 10-11

opened in 1770, the chapel had not been consecrated. To rectify matters, in December 1843, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Charles Terrot, consecrated the refurbished building.⁷²¹ By a happy coincidence Terrot had been rector of Holy Trinity in 1814 when the congregation joined the Scottish Episcopal Church.

One of the challenges the managers of Holy Trinity faced was that Episcopalians living in other parts of East Lothian often found it more convenient to attend their local parish church rather than travel into Haddington.⁷²² Some of them were heritors and as such were responsible for the upkeep of their parish church and the stipend of its minister. Francis Richard Charteris, 8th Earl of Wemyss, exemplified this new breed. His grandfather, Francis Charteris, had subscribed half the cost of building Holy Trinity⁷²³ and his father had served as chairman of the managers.⁷²⁴ However, as the owner of the Gosford policies on the Firth of Forth, Charteris was the principal heritor of the parish church in Aberlady. In 1887 he paid for most of the existing church to be demolished and replaced with new aisles⁷²⁵ designed by William Young, the architect of the City Chambers in Glasgow.⁷²⁶ In contrast, in 1898, the managers of Holy Trinity abandoned plans to build a new Episcopal church in Haddington.⁷²⁷

The members of Holy Trinity took their responsibilities to the wider community and the Scottish Episcopal Church seriously. They supported the Haddington Female Society for the Relief of the Poor, known as the Penny Ladies, whose members visited the aged and infirm and distributed coal at Christmas;⁷²⁸ supported the Episcopal Church Society which assisted aged and infirm clergy and

⁷²¹ Ibid, 11

⁷²² Ibid, 13

⁷²³ Ibid, 10

⁷²⁴ Haddington, Holy Trinity Episcopal Church: Treasure's Book and Minutes of Managers, 1714-1748

⁷²⁵ 'History of Aberlady Church' on *Aberlady and Gullane Churches*.

Available at <https://www.aberlady-gullaneparishchurches.org.uk>

Accessed 18 June 2019

⁷²⁶ 'William Young' on *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*

Available at <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk>

Accessed 27 June 2019

⁷²⁷ Fraser-Tyler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 11

⁷²⁸ Ibid, 19

provided salaries for their assistants;⁷²⁹ and helped to found Episcopal congregations in North Berwick and Dunbar and supported others at Biel, Winton Castle and Tranent.⁷³⁰ The outward-looking stance of Holy Trinity contrasted with the insular attitude of Knox's Free Church and the East Church, and helped to ensure its survival. Although the congregation of Holy Trinity was never large and sometimes struggled to pay its way, by the start of the twentieth century it had an established place within the Diocese of Edinburgh and the church in Haddington.

The response of the established church to the Disruption

The established church laid the foundations to its response to the Disruption during the summer of 1843. On 20 June, a month after the Disruption, John Cook, minister of the second charge, was translated to the first charge⁷³¹ and, on 22 August, James Bell was ordained and inducted into the second charge;⁷³² so, by the autumn of 1843, the established church had two able ministers in place to respond to the new situation.

Cook had grown up in Laurencekirk in Aberdeenshire where his father, George Cook, was the parish minister. He was educated at St Andrew's University, licensed by the Presbytery of Fordoun, served as assistant to his father, was ordained and inducted minister at Cults and, in 1833, translated to Haddington.⁷³³ After succeeding Thomas Chalmers as Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrew's, George Cook became leader of the Moderate Party in the General Assembly and opposed his predecessor during the 'Ten Years Conflict'.⁷³⁴ John Cook showed his own churchmanship by sharing communion with the ministers of the Presbytery of Strathbogie who had been suspended after inducting John Edwards to the parish of

⁷²⁹ Ibid, 19

⁷³⁰ Ibid, 20

⁷³¹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 371

⁷³² Ibid, 373

⁷³³ 'Cook, John (1807-1874)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Available at <https://www-oxforddnb-com>.

Accessed 15 June 2019

⁷³⁴ T. F. Henderson, revised by Stewart J. Brown, 'Cook, George (1772-1845)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Available at <https://www-oxforddnb-com>.

Accessed 16 March 2020

Marnoch in Aberdeenshire against the overwhelming wishes of the congregation.⁷³⁵ The Strathbogie case, as it came to be known, was one of those cited in the *Claim of Right*.⁷³⁶ The 1842 General Assembly regarded Cook's actions as insubordination and suspended him for nine months from exercising judicial functions in the Presbytery of Haddington and the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale.⁷³⁷

James Bell was the son of a Dumfriesshire farmer. He was educated at Dumfries Academy and Edinburgh University where, in 1840, he was awarded a prize of twenty-five guineas for *A Philosophical Essay*. After being licensed by the Presbytery of Dumfries he was presented to the second charge by the curators⁷³⁸ of the Earl of Hopetoun.⁷³⁹ In 1855, two years after the founding of the Roman Catholic mission in Haddington, Bell published a work entitled *The Mystery Unveiled, an Examination of the Claims (Spiritual and Temporal) of the Church of Rome*.⁷⁴⁰

In the 1850s Cook became a leading figure in the Auld Kirk. In 1854 he was appointed convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Education, in 1859 Depute Clerk and in 1862 Principal Clerk. In 1866 his efforts were rewarded, when, like his father and grandfather, he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly.⁷⁴¹ Although Cook was the acknowledged leader of the Moderate Party in the General Assembly, he seems to have been orthodox in his views and not to have embraced the Latitudinarianism of some Moderates.⁷⁴² Throughout his ministry Cook had a deep interest in church administration and, in 1850, published *Styles of Writs, Forms of Procedure, and Practice of the Church Courts of Scotland* which went into several editions.⁷⁴³ He was also interested in parochial education and published a number of his speeches on the subject.⁷⁴⁴ The translation of Cook and the induction of Bell meant

⁷³⁵ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 371

⁷³⁶ 'Claim, Declaration, and Protest, anent the Encroachments of the Court of Session' in 'Acts: 1842' in *Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1112-1149

⁷³⁷ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 371

⁷³⁸ John Hope, 5th Earl of Hopetoun had died on 3 April 1843

⁷³⁹ *Ibid*, 373

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 373

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid*, 371

⁷⁴² Gordon and Mitchell, 'Cook, John'

⁷⁴³ *Ibid*, 371

⁷⁴⁴ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 371

that in the quarter of a century after the Disruption, St Mary's had two Moderates who were able to ensure the Disruption had a limited impact in the burgh.

In 1869 Bell died and William Ross was appointed to the second charge and, on Cook's death in 1874, he was translated to the first charge. Ross was born in Dingwall and educated at the universities of Glasgow and Halle. Prior to becoming a parish minister he served as a chaplain in the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot, the famous 'Black Watch', in Crimea, India and Abyssinia.⁷⁴⁵ In 1875 Ross was succeeded in the second charge by Robert Nimmo Smith who had been born in Edinburgh and educated at the city's High School and university; had had assistantships at Livingston and St Andrew's, Edinburgh; and served in the parish of Cargill in Perthshire.⁷⁴⁶ Soon after the start of this new era the two ministers resumed services in St John's. While in the 1870s the Free Church was less inclined to see itself as a national church and its support for territorial operations waned,⁷⁴⁷ ministers in the established church were assuming responsibility for providing religious instruction, observance and pastoral care for their parishioners.⁷⁴⁸

In 1879 Ross died and in 1880 Nimmo Smith was translated into the first charge⁷⁴⁹ and in the same year John Grant was appointed to the second charge.⁷⁵⁰ In 1891 the renaissance of St Mary's was given visible expression when Nimmo Smith oversaw the reconstruction of the west end of the church.⁷⁵¹ In the second half of the nineteenth century ministers in both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church became interested in improving the quality of worship and in 1862 they founded the Church Service Society.⁷⁵² Some of the ideas it promoted were incorporated into the redesign of St Mary's. The floor was lowered to enable galleries to be installed against

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid 371

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid, 371

⁷⁴⁷ Brown, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Communal Ideal in Victorian Scotland', 72

⁷⁴⁸ Stewart J. Brown, 'After the Disruption: The Recovery of the National Church of Scotland, 1843-1874' in *Scottish Church History* 48.2 (2019) 123

⁷⁴⁹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. I, 371

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid, 371

⁷⁵¹ The choir, transepts and tower were still in ruins after being severely damaged during the 'rough wooing' campaign of 1548/9.

⁷⁵² Douglas M. Murray, 'Church Service Society' in Nigel M. de S. Cameron, (ed.) *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*

the east and west walls. The front row of the west gallery was occupied by the bailies and, in 1892, an organ built by Forster and Andrews of Hull was installed into the east gallery.⁷⁵³ It was the first musical instrument to be used in the church since the Reformation. Jane and Helen Aitchison of Alderston presented a new communion table, pulpit, font and lectern incorporating polished marble.⁷⁵⁴ In 1893 five stained glass windows were installed, including one in the north aisle by A. Ballantyne-Gardiner of Edinburgh in memory of Patrick Wilkie, who had served as minister of the first charge from 1721 to 1771.⁷⁵⁵ In 1895 the family of John Brown commissioned Edward Burne-Jones to create a window in his honour which was installed in the south aisle.⁷⁵⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century the established church was no longer responsible for administering the poor law and providing parochial schools; so it could channel its resources into purely church projects.

It is possible to point to four factors which helped the Auld Kirk in Haddington assert its primacy.

One: The long history of St Mary's and its magnificent setting on the banks of the Tyne encouraged the populace to continue to worship in the parish church rather than in the more utilitarian surroundings of the Free Church. St Mary's was very much the 'burgh kirk' and since medieval times had had a close association with the civic and commercial life of the town.

Two: After the reintroduction of patronage in 1712 the Earls of Hopetown displayed sensitivity in presenting nominees to St Mary's; so that patronage did not become a contentious issue in the burgh and there was not the legacy of bitterness towards the Establishment that existed in some parishes.

Three: While the creation of St John's meant that the Free Church had a readymade constituency, it attracted less than 500 members out of a parish population of just over 5,400.⁷⁵⁷ Although the former Original Secession congregation joined the

⁷⁵³ David Stewart and Alan Buchan, *A. Organs in Scotland: a Revised List* (Newtonmore: Edinburgh Society of Organists, 2018)

⁷⁵⁴ Jamieson, *The Church of St Mary*, 34

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 45

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 47

⁷⁵⁷ 'Haddington' on GENUKI

Free Church in 1852, it failed to co-operate with the existing St John's Free Church even though the two places of worship were only 50 yards apart.⁷⁵⁸ In the same way the two United Secession congregations held onto their 'Burgher' and 'Antiburgher' identities and despite the efforts of the presbytery refused to unite.⁷⁵⁹ This meant that none of the other four Presbyterian churches in the burgh was strong enough to pose a serious challenge to the dominance of the established church. Also the Episcopal chapel had come to be regarded as an English enclave⁷⁶⁰ and St Mary's Roman Catholic Church was serving the needs of Irish immigrants and their families.⁷⁶¹

Four: The Auld Kirk had two outstanding ministers between 1843 and 1906. John Cook provided stability in the immediate post-Disruption period; contributed to the work of the General Assembly; and advocated improvements to the parochial school system in Scotland. Robert Nimmo Smith oversaw a major reconstruction of St Mary's which not only alleviated the seating problem but also provided a suitable setting for an enhanced liturgy; and promoted an effective territorial ministry based around St John's.

First World War

On 4 August 1914 Britain fulfilled its treaty obligations to Belgium and declared war on Germany. The speed of the events that summer took many churchmen by surprise. In a sermon on 9 August 1914 Wallace Williamson, the minister at the High Kirk of Edinburgh, St Giles, observed 'war has come upon us with terrible and unlooked for swiftness'.⁷⁶² While Presbyterian ministers were not prone to the jingoism displayed by the Bishop of London, A. F. Winnington-Ingram,⁷⁶³ they continued to support the war even when casualty lists lengthened.⁷⁶⁴ Although

Available at <https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/sct/ELN/Haddington>

Accessed 16 March 2020

⁷⁵⁸ Haddington, Knox's Free Church: Session Minutes (CH3/169/1)

⁷⁵⁹ Turnbull, *Haddington West United Presbyterian Church: A Historic Sketch*, 71

⁷⁶⁰ Circular cited by Fraser-Tytler in *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 5

⁷⁶¹ 'Centenary of St Mary's Haddington' in *The St Andrew Annual for 1961 – 1962*, 61

⁷⁶² Cited by Stewart J. Brown in 'The Scottish and Irish Reformed Churches and the First World War' in Hans-Georg Ulrichs (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg in der reformierten Welt; Forschungen zur Reformierten Theologie*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie, 2014, 254-71.

⁷⁶³ Keith Robbins, *England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales: the Christian Church 1900-2000*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 200) 120

⁷⁶⁴ Cited by Brown in 'The Scottish and Irish Reformed Churches and the First World War'

discussions about a possible union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church were suspended on the outbreak of hostilities,⁷⁶⁵ the war strengthened the links between the two churches. They engaged in joint chaplaincy work amongst soldiers and sailors and encouraged local congregations to hold united services and prayer meetings.⁷⁶⁶

It was not long before the consequences of going to war were felt in Haddington. On 9 October 1914 the *Haddingtonshire Courier* reported that Private John Ramage had been killed a month earlier while serving in the 1st Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders during the First Battle of Marne.⁷⁶⁷ Although Haddington was spared the long casualty lists experienced by some communities, there was a steady stream of casualties throughout the war and into 1919. As late as 19 September 1919 the *Haddingtonshire Courier* reported that Private Robert Goodall of the Royal Scots Fusiliers had died ‘from the effects of war wounds received in 1916’.⁷⁶⁸ When peace came the churches in the town were left to count the cost to their people. Early in the conflict the kirk session of St Mary’s decided to compile a ‘roll of honour’⁷⁶⁹ of those serving in the armed services and at the end of the war it commissioned a memorial containing fifty-two names. A similar memorial in Holy Trinity recorded the names of thirteen servicemen who had been killed.⁷⁷⁰

Both St John’s United Free Church and St Mary’s became directly involved in the war effort at the beginning of the conflict. On 1 October 1914 the 8th (Territorial) Battalion of the Royal Scots hired St John’s hall at £1 per week.⁷⁷¹ The battalion’s commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Brook, was the highest ranking officer from the burgh to be killed in action.⁷⁷² He was a member of the West Church

⁷⁶⁵ Murray, *Freedom to Reform*, 23

⁷⁶⁶ Brown, ‘The Scottish and Irish Reformed Churches and the First World War’

⁷⁶⁷ A. K. Shepherd *The Haddington War Memorial 1914-1918* (Haddington: 2013)

⁷⁶⁸ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 19 September 1919

⁷⁶⁹ Haddington, St Mary’s Kirk Session: Minutes, 1906-1918 (CH2/799/75)

⁷⁷⁰ John Gray Centre, ‘Haddington World War One Memorials’ on *Johngraycentre.org*
Available at <https://www.johngraycentre.org>

Accessed 24 June 2019

⁷⁷¹ ‘Letter from the Paymaster, 8th Battalion the Royal Scots, Haddington’ (Archive of Haddington West Parish Church)

⁷⁷² Plaque in the north aisle of St Mary’s Parish Church.

and treasurer of its Missionary Society.⁷⁷³ The army also hired St Mary's hall as 'a hospital for the territorials'⁷⁷⁴ and the presence of the military was given as a reason for not fixing a date for 'having a Mission Week conducted by the Evangelist of the Temperance Committee'.⁷⁷⁵ The chaplain to the Lothian and Border Horse, which was billeted at Amisfield Park, was given permission to hold a service in St Mary's from 10 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. each Sunday.⁷⁷⁶ In East Lothian committees were formed to knit socks and provide troops with food, fruit, chocolate, reading material and cigarettes on their journey to France.⁷⁷⁷ While supporting the war effort, the kirk session of St Mary's was touched by the plight of Belgian Refugees and agreed to recommend a fund organised by Glasgow Corporation.⁷⁷⁸

As the impact of the war on supplies of fuel began to be felt, the sessions of St Mary's, St John's United Free Church and the West Church 'agreed to hold a joint service during the winter months' so that only one church would need to be heated.⁷⁷⁹ It was a small but significant sign that the war was slowly bringing the Presbyterian churches in Haddington together.

On 9 September 1921 the Earl of Wemyss unveiled a memorial, inside the gates of St Mary's graveyard, containing the name of 131 servicemen who had died during the war. The Earl then unveiled a separate memorial to the officers, NCO's and men of the 8th Scots Guards inside the church.⁷⁸⁰ The involvement of the established church in these ceremonies may have discouraged members of the Roman Catholic community from attending.⁷⁸¹ Although the Earl of Wemyss praised those who had

⁷⁷³ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 28 May 1915

⁷⁷⁴ Haddington, St Mary's Kirk Session: Minutes 1906-1918

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 302

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 305

⁷⁷⁷ John Gray Centre, 'Supporting the Troops during World War One' on *Johngraycentre.org*
Available at <https://www.johngraycentre.org>
Accessed 4 July 2020

⁷⁷⁸ Haddington, St Mary's Kirk Session: Minutes 1906-1918

⁷⁷⁹ Haddington, St Mary's Kirk Session: Minutes 1918-1938 (CH2/799/76)

⁷⁸⁰ Shepherd, *The Haddington War Memorial 1914-1918*, 3

⁷⁸¹ Michael Penman and James Smyth, 'Scotland's Great War Memorials' in *History Scotland*, 19 (3),10

‘responded to the call of duty’, there is no evidence that a serious effort was made to meet the needs of returning servicemen.⁷⁸²

The 1929 Union

Following the Armistice the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church resumed discussions about a possible union. The United Free Church insisted that the Church of Scotland must secure its spiritual freedom before substantive negotiations could begin.⁷⁸³ The process of drawing up the necessary declaratory articles was long and tortuous and revealed differences in the way various groups in the established church viewed the nature of the church. However, in 1921 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland approved *The Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual* which were then incorporated into the 1921 Church of Scotland Act.⁷⁸⁴ The Act was carefully worded to make it clear that Parliament was not conferring spiritual freedom on the Church of Scotland but simply recognising the church’s claim to have spiritual freedom.

Article III of the *Articles Declaratory* reflected a subtle shift in the constitutional position of the Church of Scotland designed to meet the United Free Church’s objections to Establishment. The Church of Scotland declared itself to be ‘a national church representative of the Christian Faith of the Scottish people’ and acknowledged ‘its distinctive call and duty to bring the ordinance of religion to the people in every parish of Scotland through its territorial ministry’.⁷⁸⁵ However, there was a dark side to these benign words. The leaders of both churches interpreted the phrase ‘the Christian Faith of the Scottish people’ to mean Protestantism and they conducted a vigorous campaign against the supposedly malign influence of Irish Catholic immigration.⁷⁸⁶ The passage of the 1921 Act paved the way for the Church of Scotland and the majority of the United Free Church to unite in 1929. A service to mark the union was held in St Mary’s on 6 October 1929.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸² Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 98

⁷⁸³ Murray, *Freedom to Reform*, 2

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 161 & 162

⁷⁸⁵ J. T. Cox, J. T. and D. F. M. MacDonald, (eds.) *Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland* (Sixth Edition) (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1976) 391

⁷⁸⁶ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 498

⁷⁸⁷ Haddington, St Mary’s Kirk Session: Minutes 1918-1938

In Haddington the union not only led to another change of name for the two United Free Church congregations but also a change of status. They became parish churches responsible for bringing the ordinances of religion to the people in their newly assigned parishes. After St John's and the West Church united in 1932 to form Haddington West Parish Church, the burgh was divided into two parishes. St Mary's was assigned the southern and eastern parts of the town and the West Church the northern and western parts.⁷⁸⁸ In addition St Mary's retained the bulk of the landward part of its parish: an arrangement which acknowledged that St Mary's had always been responsible for the hinterland of Haddington. However, it is not clear what difference dividing Haddington into two parishes made. Each congregation had members scattered throughout the town and there was no suggestion that people should transfer their membership to 'their' parish church. The kirk session of St Mary's agreed to suggest to the presbytery that 'the parish church should be known in future as 'the Church of St Mary'.⁷⁸⁹ While the session clerk's use of the term 'parish church' may have been no more than force of habit, it is likely that the elders assumed that on civic occasions St Mary's would continue to function as the 'burgh kirk'. At the time of the union the three Church of Scotland congregations in Haddington had a combined membership of 2,059⁷⁹⁰ out of a population of around 5,700.⁷⁹¹

The union of St John's and the West Church to form Haddington West Parish Church was the final stage in the attrition of Presbyterian churches in Haddington. Shortly after 1876 Knox's Free Church ceased to exist; in 1903 the East Church was dissolved; and in 1910 the General Assembly rescinded the constitution of St John's Church of Scotland. However, the process was not the strengthening of Presbyterianism in the town that Turnbull had advocated. Both Knox's Free Church and the East Church maintained their independence to the bitter end and chose to close

⁷⁸⁸ Church of Scotland Statistics for Mission Group 'Haddington St Mary's' on *Churchofscotland.org.uk*

Available at https://cos.churchofscotland.org.uk/church_finder/data/parish_profiles/
Accessed 15 July 2019

⁷⁸⁹ Haddington, St Mary's Kirk Session: Minutes 1918-1938, 293

⁷⁹⁰ *Church of Scotland Year Book for 1930* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1930)

⁷⁹¹ M, Anderson, 'Population' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*:

Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 20 December 2019

rather than enter a union. And St John's was absorbed back into the parish church because the established church could no longer justify having two parishes in the town. While in the decades leading up to the union of 1929 both St Mary's and St John's United Free Church had ministers with a strong sense of the mission of the church, the main factor moulding the shape of Presbyterianism in Haddington was attrition.

Summary

While during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century division in the Presbyterian churches in Haddington had added to the diversification of the church in the burgh, during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, the desire of congregations to retain their identity led to the closure of Presbyterian congregations rather than their consolidation. At the same time Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church and St Mary's Roman Catholic Church each established a niche for itself. This meant that the church in Haddington was no longer solely Protestant but contained the three main strands in the Scottish church. This was a reflection of a community which, through the arrival of incomers, had become both more diverse and more typical of towns throughout Scotland.

Chapter Four

Restoration and Retrenchment: 1930-2000

This chapter will consider the factors which moulded the church in Haddington between 1930 and 2000. It will demonstrate that it was a time of transition both in the life of the church and in the wider community, and that both saw their traditional roles transformed. At the time of the Union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in 1929 the national church enjoyed the adherence of around half of the population of the burgh⁷⁹² and played a significant role in the life of the community. However, in 2000 the church in Haddington was suffering declining attendance and a loss of influence.⁷⁹³ In the same way in 1930 Haddington was a market-town with a variety of local businesses. However, by 2000 the mart had closed;⁷⁹⁴ a supermarket had replaced a number of shops, including the Co-operative Society;⁷⁹⁵ a small industrial-estate had been opened;⁷⁹⁶ the town was the administrative centre of East Lothian Council;⁷⁹⁷ improvements to the A1 had swelled the numbers of people commuting to Edinburgh;⁷⁹⁸ and the coming of the Welfare State had largely eliminated the role which the churches and benevolent societies played in the provision of welfare.

Although during the 1990s the population was ageing with deaths exceeding births, this natural decrease was offset by families moving into the town to be within

⁷⁹² *Church of Scotland Year Book for 1930*

⁷⁹³ Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington: Belief' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*
Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

⁷⁹⁴ Stratham, *Lost East Lothian*, 124

⁷⁹⁵ McArthur and Baker, 'The Co-operative Society in the county'
in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*:

Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

⁷⁹⁶ Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington: Economy' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*
Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

⁷⁹⁷ Douglas L. Buttenshaw, 'Local Government Administrative Areas: 1975-2000'
in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

⁷⁹⁸ Wendy Lund, 'Haddington: Transport' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*:
Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 28 October 2019

traveling-distance of the capital,⁷⁹⁹ and during the 1990s the population rose by over 2%.⁸⁰⁰ However, increased prosperity brought with it increased secularisation, and after displaying considerable energy during the 1960s and 1970s, especially in their work among women, children and young people, the churches in Haddington experienced numerical decline during the 1980s and 1990s.

A decade of stagnation

During the 1930s Haddington faced many of the difficulties experienced by communities throughout Scotland. The hopes raised by the ending of the First World War had not materialised; there was still significant unemployment; and, although there was some slum clearance, much of the housing stock in the burgh was of poor quality.⁸⁰¹ This meant that Haddington was not the bustling market-town it had been in the nineteenth century. Over the previous one hundred years the population had fallen by a quarter to 4,405 and would only rise by 2% over the next twenty years.⁸⁰²

The stagnation of the 1930s coincided with the consolidation of the Presbyterian churches in the burgh. Following the Union of 1929 there were four Church of Scotland charges in the town. However, a decade later there were only two. In 1932 John Fleck, minister at St John's, demitted due to ill health and Alexander Duncan, minister at the West Church, accepted a call to Lochmaben.⁸⁰³ This facilitated a union of the two congregations to form Haddington West Parish Church.⁸⁰⁴ However, almost immediately there were signs of difficulties. At the first meeting of the united session it was intimated that two elders had resigned⁸⁰⁵ and when a leet was held to elect a minister, the vote was almost evenly divided. William King received 88 votes and T E Nichol 76 votes.⁸⁰⁶ Although a meeting of the congregation

⁷⁹⁹ There is anecdotal evidence that retirees followed their offspring.

⁸⁰⁰ M. Anderson, 'Population' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*:

Available at e14.org.uk

Accessed 20 December 2019

⁸⁰¹ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 102-103

⁸⁰² Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington: Population' in *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Available at e14.org.uk

Accessed 10 September 2019

⁸⁰³ John A. Lamb, (ed.) *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961) 90

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 90

⁸⁰⁵ Haddington West Parish Church: Kirk Session Minutes 1932 – 1976 (CH3/1362/9)

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid*

agreed to make the call unanimous, King does not seem to have enjoyed the support of all of his members. While he attempted to develop the life of the congregation and proposed the formation of Boys' Brigade and Girls' Brigade companies,⁸⁰⁷ by October 1933 his health had broken down and he was obliged to take leave of absence.⁸⁰⁸ By then the congregation was experiencing a downward drift in membership. Prior to the union the membership of the West Church had been 240 and St John's 226, giving the new charge a combined membership of 466. However, by the end of 1932 that figure had fallen to 450⁸⁰⁹ and by the end of 1937 membership was down to 419: a drop of 10% in five years.⁸¹⁰ While on King's return matters appear to have returned to normal, in June 1937, he challenged the terms of a minute of a meeting of the Congregational Board concerning the financial situation of the congregation, and authorised Dr Thomas Calderwood, Clerk to the Presbytery of Haddington and Dunbar, to moderate a special meeting of the Kirk Session to consider the issue.⁸¹¹ The fact that King called in the presbytery clerk to deal with an internal matter was a sign that his relations with at least some of the congregation had broken down and at its meeting on 1 November 1938 the presbytery accepted his resignation. The Presbytery minute recorded the court's 'appreciation of [King's] ministry in the West Church, Haddington; its sympathy with him in the difficulties which determined his resignation; and its hope that with a period of rest and recuperation his health would be restored'.⁸¹² There is a clear hint in these kind words as to which party the presbytery held responsible for the 'difficulties' that had prompted King to resign.

It is possible to identify several factors that led to this unhappy outcome, including the difficulty in uniting two congregations with different origins and traditions; the narrowness of the vote in favour of King; the fragility of his health; and the challenge of maintaining the congregation's finances at a time of falling membership. While it is not possible to say how much the situation in the town

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid

⁸¹⁰ Ibid

⁸¹¹ Minute signed by Dr Calderwood and dated 1 June 1937 inserted into Haddington West Parish Church: Kirk Session Minutes.

⁸¹² Presbytery of Haddington and Dunbar: Minutes, 1949-1954 (CH2/185/27)

contributed to the difficulties in the West Church, the depressed state of the local economy was not the most congenial backdrop against which to carry through what was always going to be a difficult union. The congregation included shop keepers and tradesmen who were adversely affected by the depression.

Meanwhile St Mary's continued its traditional role of being the parish church not only for its post-1929 parish but for the whole of Haddington. Throughout the 1930s there was a steady stream of 'new communicants'. In 1934, for example, there were 52 'confirmations'.⁸¹³ One of the interesting features of the lists of those admitted to membership is that several were described as living in the local mental hospital.⁸¹⁴ The main challenge facing the kirk session in 1931 was how to maintain the fabric of a building which was 500 years old. On 18 February it received a report from Wilson Paterson, architect, identifying between £2,180 and £3,120 of work that needed to be carried out.⁸¹⁵ On 3 September the kirk session agreed to proceed with the first phase of the work at an estimated cost of £600 and asked the minister of the first charge, Dr Wauchope Stewart, the fabric convener and the session clerk to draft an appeal to be delivered to members with their communion cards.⁸¹⁶ The sum being sought was four times the £147 raised in the 1932 annual appeal in support of the work of the central boards and committees of the Church of Scotland, known as the 'Schemes of the Church', in such areas as overseas mission.⁸¹⁷

In 1938 Dr Wauchope Stewart retired and St Mary's became a single charge under William Forbes, minister of the second charge.⁸¹⁸ During his ministry Wauchope Stewart had done a great deal to promote work among children and had instigated a monthly children's service.⁸¹⁹ The creation of the single charge marked the end of an era going back to 1635, when the second charge had been erected,⁸²⁰ and beyond that to 1537 when St Mary's was described as a 'collegiate kirk'. The change

⁸¹³ Haddington St Mary's: Kirk Session Minutes 1918-1938 (CH2/799/76)

⁸¹⁴ Ibid

⁸¹⁵ Ibid

⁸¹⁶ Ibid

⁸¹⁷ Ibid

⁸¹⁸ Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 100

⁸¹⁹ Ibid, 98

⁸²⁰ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* Vol. I, 372

of status was a sign that St Mary's was now in practice, if not in theory, a 'gathered congregation' and as such was increasingly reliant on the financial contributions of its members. However, as a former Auld Kirk, it did not have the same tradition of voluntary giving as other churches in the town.

While these events were unfolding in the two Presbyterian congregations, the *Haddingtonshire Courier* was reporting more mundane happenings in Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church. On 24 January 1930 the paper reported that, on the previous Monday, members of the Young Women's Social and Servicing Club had held a social evening and dance in the church hall at which there had been readings and recitations and that at 'the interval in the programme a sumptuous supper was provided'.⁸²¹ Eight years later the *Courier* reported 'The children of Holy Trinity Church Sunday School were entertained to their annual party in the Church Hall, on Thursday, when there was a good attendance ... After tea, the scholars engaged in games and dancing, for which prizes were given'.⁸²²

These entertainments came at a time when the churches in the burgh were facing increased competition from secular activities. As a market-town Haddington had always had a disproportionate number of inns and public houses and its Bowling Club, founded in 1709, was said to be the oldest in Scotland.⁸²³ As the twentieth century progressed leisure activities expanded. In 1911 Haddington Rugby Club was founded; in 1931 Haddington Drama Club was formed; in 1933 the New County Cinema was opened;⁸²⁴ art exhibitions continued to be held; and the farming community held dances in hotels.⁸²⁵ These developments accelerated after the Second World War when a variety of clubs, societies and musical groups were formed, including the Garleton Singers.⁸²⁶

⁸²¹ *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 24 January 1930

⁸²² *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 14 January 1938

⁸²³ Jean McKinnon 'Haddington Leisure' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* Available at <https://el4.org.uk/> Accessed 5 July 2020

⁸²⁴ In 1966 the New Cinema became a Bingo Hall

⁸²⁵ McKinnon, 'Haddington Leisure' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

⁸²⁶ *Ibid*

The impact of the Second World War on Haddington

The Second World War had a more direct impact on the people of Haddington than the First World War. Both the grounds of Amisfield House to the east of the burgh and Clerkington House to the west were requisitioned for military use, and there was an arc of airfields around the town.⁸²⁷ Although Haddington itself was not of strategic significance, at 8 p.m. on 3 March 1941, a Heinkel III bomber operating out of Norway dropped two high explosive bombs on the town centre which destroyed two properties. Despite one of the bombs bouncing off the roof of the offices of the *Haddingtonshire Courier*, war time restrictions meant that it was not until 1945 that the paper disclosed “the casualties in the town were few – one civilian and two soldiers killed, and 18 people injured, of whom only four had to be taken to hospital.”⁸²⁸ Among those who escaped were the patrons of the adjacent New County Cinema, which was showing the film version of Steinbeck’s novel *Of Mice and Men*⁸²⁹ and members of the St Mary’s Woman’s Guild who were meeting in the nearby WRI room.⁸³⁰

At the start of the Second World War the churches in Haddington tried to maintain as many of their activities as they could, despite war time restrictions, the blackout and air raid precautions. However, on 29 October 1939 the kirk session of St Mary’s was informed that the military authorities had requisitioned the church hall and the beadle had been called up.⁸³¹ Women from the churches were the mainstay of canteens run by the Women’s Voluntary Service and the Women’s Rural Institute and the churches in Haddington ran their own canteen in Holy Trinity Church hall.⁸³² These facilities both provided refreshments for troops as they moved around East

⁸²⁷ ‘East Lothian’s WWII Airfields’ on *East Lothian at War*

Available at <http://www.eastlothianatwar.co.uk>

Accessed 10 October 2019

⁸²⁸ Anna Canelli, ‘A look back at the night the Nazis bombed Haddington during the Second World War’ in *East Lothian Courier*, 24 March 2016.

Available at <https://www.eastlothiancourier.com/news/14382906.a-look-back-at-the-night-the-nazis-bombed-haddington-during-the-second-world-war/>

Accessed 10 October 2019

⁸²⁹ ‘Air Raids in East Lothian’ on *East Lothian at War*,

⁸³⁰ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 110

⁸³¹ Haddington, St Mary’s Kirk Session: Minutes 1938-1963 (CH2/799/77)

⁸³² Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 110

Lothian and a refuge for off-duty personnel. While the activities of these ladies may not have been spectacular, they made a significant contribution to the local war effort.

In March 1942 the 10th Mounted Rifles, which was part of the Polish Armoured Cavalry Brigade, was billeted in Amisfield House in order to carry out tank training in the Lammermuir Hills and during their stay its gates were emblazoned with two large Polish eagles.⁸³³ A branch of the Scottish-Polish Society, which had been formed to foster good relations between local people and Polish troops, was formed with Colonel Bruin Lindsey of Colstoun as its president. It met in the West Church hall and had a programme including talks on subjects such as ‘Polish Christmas customs’ and performances by Scottish and Polish choirs.⁸³⁴ A number of the Polish troops met and married local women. In June 1943 Rudalphan Wiktoram Fruzski and Marian McLeith Purves were married in St Mary’s Roman Catholic Church: the first of three such weddings that summer.⁸³⁵ After the war a number of former Polish servicemen settled in East Lothian.⁸³⁶

At the end of the war, the Town Council hosted a reception for returning service personnel in the Town House and, in 1947, it awarded the freedom of the burgh to the Royal Scots, allowing the regiment to march through the town with bayonets fixed.⁸³⁷ One of the legacies of the Second World War was the willingness of the populace to participate in communal activities. Before the popularity of television transformed people’s leisure habits, mass entertainment such as soccer and the cinema enjoyed a heyday.⁸³⁸ This willingness to attend communal activities provided the churches with an opportunity to increase attendance at worship.

The post-war period

Having escaped from the Second World War largely unscathed, on the night of 12/13 August 1948 the Tyne flooded the older part of Haddington up to a depth of ten feet. Dwellings, businesses and shops were affected and many residents were

⁸³³ ‘Polish Forces in East Lothian’ on *East Lothian at War*

⁸³⁴ *Ibid*

⁸³⁵ St. Mary’s R. C. Church, Haddington: Marriage Register for 1882-1918 (MP/86/1/4/1)

⁸³⁶ ‘Polish Forces in East Lothian’ on *East Lothian at War*,

⁸³⁷ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 112

⁸³⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 562

forced to leave their homes and some had to be given temporary accommodation.⁸³⁹ St Mary's, which was situated only yards from the river, was inundated and it was said that the water in the nave was so deep that it was possible to row a boat down the aisles.⁸⁴⁰ For nine months the congregation was forced to worship in the church hall.⁸⁴¹ Holy Trinity which was also close to the Tyne suffered a similar fate and while recovery work was taking place services were held in the church hall.⁸⁴² The provosts of Haddington and Edinburgh set up a relief fund to assist those who had been affected which raised £17,460.⁸⁴³

The late 1940s was a time of radical change throughout the United Kingdom as the government implemented the recommendations of the 1943 report by Sir William Beveridge into *Social Insurance and Allied Services*.⁸⁴⁴ The parliamentary constituency of Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire played its part in the creation of the 'Welfare State' by electing a Labour M.P. The 1945 Education (Scotland) Act placed an obligation on education authorities to provide 'all forms of primary, secondary and further education'⁸⁴⁵ and the 1948 National Assistance Act terminated 'the existing poor law'.⁸⁴⁶ The passing of these Acts symbolised the changes that had occurred over the last century, which had seen the Church of Scotland lose its role in the provision of welfare and education and concentrate on providing the ordinances of religion. Although to some this change represented a loss of status, it meant that the Kirk could focus its resources on its mission.

⁸³⁹ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 116

⁸⁴⁰ A member of St Mary's, who was a student nurse in 1948, recalls spending her days off removing buckets of sediment from the floor.

Interview with Mrs K Reid conducted 13 October 2019

⁸⁴¹ Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 7

⁸⁴² Rev. John Wood, 'Haddington: Belief, Holy Trinity' in *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Accessed 12 October 2019

⁸⁴³ Reid, 'Haddington in History', 116

⁸⁴⁴ 'The Welfare State' on *the National Archives*,

Available at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/welfare.htm

Accessed 26 October 2019

⁸⁴⁵ Education (Scotland) Act 1945 on *Legislation.gov.uk*

Available at <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/cy/ukpga/Geo6/8-9/37/enacted>

Accessed 12 July 2020

⁸⁴⁶ National Assistance Act 1948 on *Legislation.gov.uk*

Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/29>

Accessed 25 October 2019

However, it seems that the coming of the new era did not obliterate entrenched attitudes. In the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland* the Rev. Robin Mitchell, minister at Haddington West Parish Church, observed, ‘A certain amount of “class hatred” ... still exists, especially in the ranks of the Labour Party.’⁸⁴⁷ However, Mitchell does not offer any evidence for his criticism of the party and it may reflect an anxiety amongst his middle-class congregation that the old order was disappearing.

A period of regeneration

By 1950 Haddington had recovered from the worst aspects of the pre-war depression. Mitchell observed ‘education, two devastating wars, and “the acids of modernity”’ had levelled out the population and brought an end to snobbery;⁸⁴⁸ that despite post-war rationing ‘on the whole the town has an air of quiet prosperity’; and that there was evidence of full-employment.⁸⁴⁹ However, the historic centre of the burgh was in a sad state. The Town House with its assembly rooms, clock tower and steeple had extensive dry rot and the Georgian facades of the shops and houses in the two main streets were shabby.⁸⁵⁰ The Town Clerk, John McVie, persuaded the Town Council to restore the Town House and property owners in High Street and Market Street to give their businesses a ‘facelift’.⁸⁵¹ In 1958 the Town Council signed an agreement with Glasgow Corporation to accommodate 250 families as part of the latter’s Overspill Programme and it went on to build houses on Artillery Park to accommodate the new arrivals.⁸⁵² As a result of these measures, after several decades of decline, the historic centre of Haddington was reinvigorated; the housing stock improved; and the population increased.

On 2 December 1963 James Thomson, the minister at St Mary’s, told the kirk session that he had received a letter from a lady whose name he could not disclose, offering to pay for a bell to be installed in the tower. It was revealed later that the benefactress was Hilda Nimmo Smith, the daughter of the Reverend Robert Nimmo

⁸⁴⁷ Mitchell, ‘Parish of Haddington’ in *Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of East Lothian* 321

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 321

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 322

⁸⁵⁰ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’ 116-117

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 120

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, 113,

Smith, who had been the driving force behind the 1891 renovations. He had been thwarted in his attempt to place a bell in the tower and Miss Nimmo Smith, who had received a substantial legacy, wanted to fulfil her father's wishes. However, the tower, choir and transepts were in the guardianship of the Ministry of Works and it refused permission because the tower was not strong enough to support a bell.⁸⁵³ Undeterred Miss Nimmo Smith agreed to donate £20,000 to build a new church hall provided it was on a site near the church:⁸⁵⁴ the existing hall was half a mile away and in need of repair. The kirk session accepted this generous offer and John McVie was appointed convener of a sub-committee to progress the proposal. He arranged the purchase of a plot at the south-east corner of the garden of the adjacent Haddington House and Alan Riach, architect was commissioned to draw up plans for a building in keeping with its historic setting.⁸⁵⁵

However, on Easter Monday, 1964, McVie saw a photograph in the *Scotsman* newspaper which changed the course of events. It was taken from high up at the west end of St Michael's, Linlithgow and showed the nave and choir.⁸⁵⁶ McVie realised that if the east end of St Mary's, which had stood empty for 400 years, could be restored, the result would be a building as impressive as St Michael's. With his recent experience of the restoration of the Town House, McVie set about discovering if the idea was worth pursuing.⁸⁵⁷ He consulted William Paterson, who had recently retired as senior architect at the Ministry of Works. After visiting the site Paterson assured McVie that the east end of St Mary's could be restored: a view confirmed by a structural engineer.⁸⁵⁸ It was estimated that the work would cost between £40,000 and £50,000 and Miss Nimmo Smith said she was willing to have her £20,000 used as the basis of a fundraising campaign. On 4 May 1964, McVie put his proposal to the kirk session. After a long discussion, it voted unanimously to proceed with the first phase, which involved restoring the choir, transepts and tower.⁸⁵⁹ The decision to restore

⁸⁵³ McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington* 2

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 2

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 3

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 4

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 4-6

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 7-9

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 12

St. Mary's inspired Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, who lived at Lennoxlove, a mile south of Haddington, to found the Lamp of the Lothian Collegiate Trust with the aim of restoring derelict cottages at nearby Poldrate Mill and making them available for community use, including a youth club and a visual arts centre.⁸⁶⁰ The name came from the chronicler John of Fordun who had described the Franciscan Friary, which was destroyed in 1356, as 'the Lamp of the Lothians and the singular solace of the people of that place'.⁸⁶¹ The Trust saw the project as a way of conveying 'the spiritual significance of secular activities'.⁸⁶²

By the beginning of 1968 considerable progress had been made towards the restoration.⁸⁶³ However, on 15 January 1968 the kirk session considered a report from Ian Lindsay and Partners, consulting architects, which stated that the original costings of £40,000 to £50,000 were too low and that the work would require a minimum of £60,000.⁸⁶⁴ The report commented that, if the main purpose of the restoration was to increase accommodation, this could be achieved more economically by building the new church hall.⁸⁶⁵ While the need to increase accommodation had not featured in McVie's proposal, the comment provided the kirk session with food for thought. On 5 February the kirk session resumed consideration of the report. Despite growing social awareness in church circles during the 1960s, the elders' concerns were domestic and centred on four main issues: whether the existing church was still fit for purpose; the fact that the congregation would have to forego having a new church hall at a time when there was a large Sunday School and flourishing Boys' and Girls' Brigade companies; that enlarging the building would increase heating costs; and, above all, that financing the project would place a heavy burden on the congregation.⁸⁶⁶ These considerations led John Shedden to propose that the scheme

⁸⁶⁰ Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, 'The Restoration of St Mary's', Address at the Lamp of Light Service, 26 June 1983' (Archives of St Mary's Parish Church)

⁸⁶¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 7

⁸⁶² McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*, 42

⁸⁶³ The project had been approved by the Ministry of Works and the General Trustees of the Church of Scotland; an architect and surveyor had been appointed; a tender had been accepted from Alex Moncrieff, builder; it had been discovered that glass fibre could be used to solve the issue of whether the existing pillars could support stone vaulting over the choir; and Miss Nimmo Smith had increased her contribution to £30,000.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 35

⁸⁶⁵ Haddington, St Mary's: Kirk Session; Minutes 1963-1968 (CH2/799/79)

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid*

be abandoned. After discussion his motion was approved.⁸⁶⁷ McVie, who was in attendance at a meeting of the Town Council that evening, was appalled when he heard the news.

However, McVie soon acquired a powerful ally in the Duchess of Hamilton. Her Grace wrote a letter to James Thomson expressing sorrow at the decision and proposing a meeting between trustees of the Lamp, as the trust was now known, and representatives of the kirk session. When the kirk session met on 1 April 1968 Sir Cameron Badenoch persuaded the kirk session to accept the invitation.⁸⁶⁸ On the evening of 30 April a constructive meeting was held in Lennoxlove, which led to a conference in the same venue on 28 June, chaired by the Earl of Wemyss, at which most of the elders were present, along with the trustees of the Lamp and ministers with experience of restoring historic churches, including Dr David Steel, minister at St Michael's, Linlithgow.⁸⁶⁹ The conference led to the formation of the Friends of St Mary's, which worked with the Lamp in a joint fundraising campaign, including a recital by the violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, who was a friend of the Duchess.⁸⁷⁰ Thanks to her initiative the restoration of the east end of St Mary's was once again under consideration.

When the session met on 22 July James Thomson attempted to persuade the session that, in the interests of unity, any motion to proceed with the restoration should have a two-thirds majority. However, John McVie succeeded in blocking the suggestion. James Denholm then proposed that the February decision should be revoked. His motion was seconded by Sir Cameron Badenoch. Mr Main proposed the counter motion and was seconded by Mr Ewan. In the debate that followed Derick Mills, the session clerk, spoke in favour of the counter motion.⁸⁷¹ Although James Denholm was able to argue that the involvement of the Lamp had made a crucial difference, the concerns which had been expressed in February were restated.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid

⁸⁶⁸ McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*, 39

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid, 42

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid, 49

⁸⁷¹ Ibid, 49

However, when a vote was taken the motion carried by 22 votes to 16.⁸⁷² As this was less than the two-third's majority proposed by the minister, had his well-intended move succeeded it would have left the majority of the elders frustrated. The session then went on to appoint a sub-committee to progress the restoration. It had been one of the most momentous evenings in the long history of St Mary's, rendered all the more dramatic by taking place in a thunderstorm.⁸⁷³

The crucial decision having been made, the detailed work of bringing the project to the point where building work could begin got underway. John McVie used his numerous contacts to progress the project; the Duchess of Hamilton assumed the role of Appeals Organiser,⁸⁷⁴ and the Very Rev. Dr Nevile Davidson, late of Glasgow Cathedral, became chairman of the Friends of St Mary's.⁸⁷⁵ The fundraising was assisted by the sale of four surplus communion cups dated 1645 which raised a net £40,000⁸⁷⁶ and a five year interest free loan of £15,000 from the County Council.⁸⁷⁷ In 1970 James Thomson retired and the congregation called James Riach who attempted to remain aloof from the ongoing debate over the merits of the restoration.⁸⁷⁸ On 31 May 1971 Alexander Hall & Son Ltd began work on phase one,⁸⁷⁹ on 17 March 1972 they started to remove the Barrier Wall, in the presence of Miss Nimmo Smith and members of the Restoration Committee,⁸⁸⁰ on 30 March 1973 phase one was completed; and on 2 September James Riach conducted the first service in the choir for four hundred years.⁸⁸¹ However, it was another four years before the final phase, involving improvements to the west end of the church, was completed.⁸⁸² The project had cost £185,680: over three times the estimate which had led the Kirk Session to abandon the project in 1968.

⁸⁷² Haddington, St Mary's Kirk Session: Minutes 1963-1968

⁸⁷³ McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*, 49

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid, 51

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid, 65

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid, 59

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid, 63

⁸⁷⁸ Interview with the Very Reverend John Cairns conducted 24 November 2019

⁸⁷⁹ McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*, 56

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid, 64

⁸⁸¹ Ibid, 80

⁸⁸² Ibid, 88

Among the features of the restored east end of St Mary's were glass fibre vaulting over the choir, clear leaded panes in the windows in the choir, including the Dr Cook Memorial Window in the east wall, the Wemyss Memorial Window by Burne-Jones which had been installed originally in St Michael's Church, Torquay and gifted by the Victoria and Albert Museum, two chapels for private prayer, a new pulpit, and a dais at the crossing.⁸⁸³ Although the restoration replaced much of the structure of the medieval building, it did not replicate the high altar, rood screen and side chapels which had been key features of the pre-Reformation Roman Catholic Church. Like the Georgian and Victorian renovations, the 1970s restoration reflected the liturgical practices at the time.

One remarkable aspect of the restoration was that 'the great and the good' of East Lothian combined to ensure that it was carried through to a successful conclusion. Without the drive and networking of the Duchess of Hamilton the project would not have been resurrected after being abandoned in February 1968. Her Grace was not alone. The Earl of Wemyss chaired the conference at Lennoxlove which reignited the proposal; the Earl of Lauderdale held a fundraising event that developed into the Haddington Pilgrimage; Lady Bruin Lindsay of Colstoun, whose husband's family had undertaken to make financial contributions to the upkeep of St Mary's in 1457,⁸⁸⁴ served on the Restoration Committee; and Sir Cameron Badenoch, who had served as Auditor-General of India,⁸⁸⁵ played a crucial role in the deliberations of the kirk session. The 'great and the good' of the Church of Scotland also contributed to the cause, including two former moderators of the General Assembly: the Very Rev. Dr Nevile Davidson chaired the Friends of St Mary's and the Very Rev. Roy Sanderson was a member of the Campaign Committee. During the final decades of the twentieth century Haddington, like much of Scotland, became increasingly secularised and much of Scottish society came to regard the affairs of the church as a matter for the

⁸⁸³ Marshal, *Ruin and Restoration*, 47-56

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 27

⁸⁸⁵ 'Sir Alexander Cameron Badenoch as Auditor-General of India' on *National Archives* Available at <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk> Accessed 6 October 2019

church. It is, therefore, possible to argue that the late 1960s was the last occasion when such an alliance could have been forged.

After the restoration was completed the Council of the Friends of St Mary's recruited 'guardians' drawn from the congregation and the wider church community to welcome the growing number of visitors to the church.⁸⁸⁶ They came to admire the grandeur of the restored building, absorb something of its atmosphere and learn about its history. The 'guardians' were given the task of guiding the visitors around the building, distributing suitable literature and establishing a book stall in one of the rooms off the foyer at the west end of the church. In due course a small refectory was created.⁸⁸⁷ St Mary's was open each afternoon from Easter to the end of September and a short act of worship was conducted by one of the volunteers. At 2.00 p.m. a small bell was rung to call for silence after which the leader for that day read a passage from the Bible and said a series of short prayers ending with one for 'our visitors'.⁸⁸⁸ As well as attracting individuals from all over the United Kingdom and overseas, St Mary's soon became a popular destination for church groups from throughout Scotland. It was especially favoured by the Woman's Guild as a venue for summer outings and during the 1980s they came in their 'coachloads'.⁸⁸⁹ However, the ambivalent attitude of many residents of East Lothian towards the promotion of tourism meant that the restoration did not produce significant economic benefits for the town.⁸⁹⁰

One feature of what came to be known as the 'Open Season' was that it was lay-led and lay staffed. Although the ministers at St Mary's, James Riach, Alastair Macdonell and Clifford Hughes, supported the opening of the church and encouraged the 'guardians', they played a minimum role in the day-to-day operations of the

⁸⁸⁶ Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 1

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid, 130

⁸⁸⁸ John McVie, 'Haddington: Belief, St Mary's Church of Scotland' in *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Accessed 8 October 2019

⁸⁸⁹ Diaries of the Rev. Alasdair Macdonell, Minister at St Mary's 1979-1992 (Macdonnell Family Archive)

⁸⁹⁰ Alastair Durie, 'Tourism' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 21 December 2019

Friends of St Mary's. While it is possible to draw parallels with the stream of pilgrims who came to the shrine of Our Lady of Haddington during the medieval period,⁸⁹¹ the twentieth-century version was a very Presbyterian form of pilgrimage in which the worship element was minimal and which was usually rounded off with a cup of tea and a plate of home baking.

Spin-offs from the restoration of St Mary's

As a fundraising effort towards the restoration of St Mary's, in 1970, Patrick Maitland, 17th Earl of Lauderdale, organised a 'pilgrimage' during which 13 people walked the ten miles from the site of the medieval shrine of our Lady of Whitekirk to Haddington. Maitland was a high churchman, whose father had been an Episcopalian priest. He was a member of the College of Guardians of the (Anglican) National Shrine of our Lady of Walsingham with its tradition of pilgrimage.⁸⁹² In due course, each May the Haddington Pilgrimage, as it came to be known, brought together Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.⁸⁹³ In 1989 it attracted over 2,500 participants from all over Scotland and the north of England.⁸⁹⁴

In 1962 the ecumenical movement had been given a boost when the Second Vatican Council approved the Decree on Ecumenicalism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*. Its opening sentence, which expressed the desire of Pope John XXIII for reconciliation between Christians,⁸⁹⁵ declared 'The restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council.'⁸⁹⁶ The new openness of the

⁸⁹¹ Patrick Maitland, 'The Lauderdale Aisle, Haddington near Edinburgh'

Available at <https://clanmaitland.uk/links/lauderdale-aisle>

Accessed 8 October 2019

⁸⁹² 'Obituary: 17th Earl of Lauderdale' on *Church Times*

Available at <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2008/26-december/gazette/obituary-the-17th-earl-of-lauderdale>

Accessed 8 October 2019

⁸⁹³ Clifford Hughes, 'Haddington: Belief' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* Belief

Accessed 21 December 2019

⁸⁹⁴ Letter from the Earl of Lauderdale, in *The Herald*, 24 April 1990

Available at <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11943995.haddington-pilgrimage/>

Accessed 21 May 2020

⁸⁹⁵ Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners; A History of the Popes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002) 357

⁸⁹⁶ 'Decree on Ecumenicalism' on *Documents of the Second Vatican Council*

Available at http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/index.htm

Accessed 8 October 2019

Roman Catholic Church in Scotland enabled Roman Catholics to participate in the Pilgrimage and for members of the hierarchy to celebrate mass in St. Mary's.⁸⁹⁷ In 1992 the Rev. Clifford Hughes, minister at St Mary's, welcomed Cardinal Thomas Winning to the event.⁸⁹⁸

Patrick Maitland was also responsible for another spin-off from the restoration of St Mary's. In 1978 he completed the renovation of the Lauderdale Aisle where members of the Maitland family had been interred since 1595.⁸⁹⁹ Up until the restoration of St Mary's, the Aisle was accessed through a door in the north wall of the ruined choir. However, after the restoration the entrance was within the church, making the Aisle a *de facto* part of St Mary's. In recent times the Aisle had been neglected by the Maitland family. However, when Fr Hope Patten of Walsingham told Maitland of the significance of the shrine at Whitekirk, he began to take an interest in the Aisle. Patten told him that there had been an altar dedicated to the Virgin and the Three Kings of Cologne in St. Mary's.⁹⁰⁰ The cult of the three kings had flourished in Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰¹ While the image of the adoration of the Magi, which would have adorned the altar, had been lost, Maitland was directed to a medieval carved panel in the crypt of St. Nicholas East Church, Aberdeen.⁹⁰² Taking it as his inspiration the Earl commissioned 'a wood carver from Oberammergau, then living in Norfolk, to carve figures of the Magi and of Christ in his Mother's arms',⁹⁰³ which were placed on the south wall of the Aisle behind a small altar. On 6 May 1978 the restored Aisle, named the Chapel of the Three Kings, was consecrated by the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Most Reverend Alastair Haggart. The Rt. Rev. Roy Sanderson and a Polish Orthodox priest from

⁸⁹⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 63

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 63

⁸⁹⁹ 'The Lauderdale Aisle' on *Historic Environment Scotland*

Available at <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/lauderdale-aisle-st-marys-church/history/>

Accessed 8 October 2019

⁹⁰⁰ Maitland, 'The Lauderdale Aisle, Haddington near Edinburgh'

Accessed 9 October 2019

⁹⁰¹ Eila Williamson, 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland' in S. Boardman, J. Davies, J. and E Williamson, (eds.) *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009) 160-179.

⁹⁰² Maitland, 'The Lauderdale Aisle, Haddington near Edinburgh'

⁹⁰³ *Ibid*

Edinburgh each said a prayer; and the Abbot of Nunraw blessed the carved figures.⁹⁰⁴ The chapel was then made available for worship by Christians of all Trinitarian traditions. Although Patrick Maitland's claim that the chapel became 'the focus of an annual ecumenical pilgrimage'⁹⁰⁵ is an overstatement,⁹⁰⁶ it was certainly a significant contribution to the restoration of St Mary's and to local ecumenicalism. In March 1983 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, accompanied by his envoy, Terry Waite, visited St Mary's to see the aisle.⁹⁰⁷

During the 1960s and 70s Haddington enjoyed something of a renaissance after a generation of stagnation. The Overspill Agreement with Glasgow Corporation injected 'fresh blood' into the community and the refurbishment of the Town House, the 'facelift' of the two main streets, the founding of the Lamp of the Lothian Collegiate Trust, the restoration of St Mary's, and the establishment of new industries,⁹⁰⁸ each added to the feeling that the town was progressing. What is interesting is that these developments were very largely the work of grandees within the burgh and county rather than elected representatives. The Town Clerk, John McVie, the Duchess of Hamilton, the Earl of Wemyss, the Earl of Lauderdale and Lady Bruin Lindsay of Colstoun were all to the fore, especially in the restoration of St Mary's. It would be the last occasion when the old established East Lothian families would wield so much influence. In 1974 local government was reorganised and the Town Council and County Council were replaced by East Lothian District Council and Lothian Regional Council.⁹⁰⁹ Thereafter decisions were in the hands of elected councillors.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid

⁹⁰⁷ Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 46

⁹⁰⁸ Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington – Industry' on *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Available at <https://el4.org.uk>
Accessed 9 October 2019

⁹⁰⁹ Anon, 'District and Regional Council' in *Fourth East Lothian Statistical Account*
Available at <https://el4.org.uk>
Accessed 9 October 2019

Living Religion: Work among women, children and young people

Although in the post war period men continued to hold most of the positions of leadership in the church in Haddington, the majority of members were women and organisations like the Woman's Guild played an important role in the life of congregations. The Woman's Guild had been founded in 1887 by Archibald Charteris,⁹¹⁰ Professor of Biblical Criticism at Edinburgh University, and one of those who led the recovery of the Church of Scotland after the Disruption. In 1964 St Mary's Woman's Guild had 129 members and the West Church Guild 92.⁹¹¹ Although the primary function of both the Haddington branches was to provide fellowship for their members through a programme of monthly meetings, they were also adept at raising money for their respective congregations and other good causes.⁹¹² Part of the strength of the Woman's Guild was that local branches were supported by a system of Presbyterial Councils and a Central Committee, which from 1954, offered an annual theme for each branch to follow⁹¹³ and a national project to support.

In 1943 the first Young Mother's Groups were formed in the Church of Scotland to enable those who did not feel ready to join the Guild to enjoy fellowship, and in 1964 they were re-named Young Women's Groups and open to single women.⁹¹⁴ both St Mary's and the West Church had groups.⁹¹⁵ The former met during the winter months and had a programme of film shows, speakers from various walks of life, and the occasional outing.⁹¹⁶ Both the Woman's Guild and the Young Women's Groups can be said to be examples of 'lived religion'.

During the post-war period the churches in Haddington regarded nurturing children and young people as a vital part of their work. For almost forty years from 1925 St Mary's had two Sunday Schools: one in Newton Port serving the town and

⁹¹⁰ 'History' *The Guild*,

Available at https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/serve/the_guild

Accessed 9 November 2019

⁹¹¹ *Year Book of the Church of Scotland* for 1965, (Edinburgh, Church of Scotland, 1965)

⁹¹² Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 129

⁹¹³ *The Guild*, 'History'

⁹¹⁴ *The Guild*, 'History'

⁹¹⁵ Tom W. Neil, 'Haddington: Belief, West Church' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Accessed 13 November 2019

⁹¹⁶ Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 129

the other at Abbeymill serving the local farming community.⁹¹⁷ However, the decline in the number of workers employed on neighbouring farms meant that the latter ceased to be viable. While the population in the landward parts of St Mary's parish was in decline, the population of the town was rising and this rise was reflected in an increase in the number of children attending Sunday school. In 1964 there were 283 children in St Mary's Sunday school and 150 in the West Church Sunday school.⁹¹⁸ Coping with such large numbers was a logistical challenge. For St Mary's it meant fitting all age groups into the parish hall. The boys were separated from the girls and each child placed in a 'class' of seven or eight. Like their elders the girls wore hats.⁹¹⁹ Teaching material consisted of booklets for the 'teacher' to read to their class and sheets for the younger children to colour in.⁹²⁰ While some of the leaders were adults, including Tom Smith who served as superintendent of St Mary's Sunday School for 21 years,⁹²¹ young people in their final years at secondary school were also recruited. One of the highlights of the year was the summer picnic. A fleet of buses took children to one of East Lothian's beaches for games on the sand. Each child was given a 'poke' containing a sausage roll and an iced cookie.⁹²² The churches were able to maintain such large numbers in their Sunday Schools because they enjoyed the support of parents, not all of whom were members of the church. Up until the end of the 1960s working-class families in Britain considered it important to send their children to Sunday school.⁹²³

The next stage in the nurturing of children and young people was the Bible Class. In St Mary's it was taken by the minister and met in the church.⁹²⁴ Its function was to build on the work of the Sunday school and provide secondary school pupils with a deeper understanding of the Christian faith.⁹²⁵ However, following the Second World War, ministers in the Church of Scotland began to recognise that teaching of

⁹¹⁷ Ibid, 125

⁹¹⁸ *Year Book of the Church of Scotland* for 1965

⁹¹⁹ Interview with Mrs J Playfair conducted 30 October 2019

⁹²⁰ Ibid

⁹²¹ Jenkinson and McKinlay, *The Lamp of the Lothians*, 125

⁹²² Interview with Mrs J Playfair

⁹²³ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understand Secularisation 1800-2000* 169

⁹²⁴ Jenkinson and McKinlay, *The Lamp of the Lothians*, 126

⁹²⁵ Ibid, 126

itself was not sufficient and that young people needed the support of other young people if they were to experience ‘lived religion’. To meet this need many congregations formed Youth Fellowships for young people in their late teens and early twenties.⁹²⁶ By 1959 St Mary’s had a well-established Youth Fellowship with a membership of up to thirty which met in the backroom of the parish hall.⁹²⁷ The main business of each meeting was a talk by a speaker. Haddington’s proximity to Edinburgh meant that St Mary’s Youth Fellowship was able to attract some distinguished figures, including Harold Leslie Q.C.⁹²⁸ who went on to be Chairman of the Scottish Land Court. There were also social events. The Jenkinson family, who were strong supporters of youth work in St Mary’s, invited its members to meals at its farm at Harpendean.⁹²⁹ Members also displayed their practical skills by decorating the Sunday school room at Abbeymill. In 1959 the Youth Fellowship took an evening service.⁹³⁰ During the 1970s the Youth Fellowship was re-formed to cater for those in the first three years of secondary school. Its syllabus for 1977 contained a mixture of speakers and group activities.⁹³¹ While the change in the age range of the group was a sign that the church was finding it more difficult to retain young people, of all the youth activities of this period, the Youth Fellowship would be the most successful in producing future leaders of the congregation.

In the mid-1960s St. Mary’s and the West Church decided to supplement their work among young people by organising a Church Youth Club to meet during the week rather than on a Sunday. The initiative came from the assistant minister of St Mary’s, John Harris, who recruited Jim Ritchie and Jimmy Wren to work alongside him.⁹³² The club was designed to offer young people the opportunity to socialise in a safe and supportive environment and, in an attempt to embrace contemporary culture, Jim Ritchie played his guitar. The club, which met in the Manse Stables, attracted around fifteen young people most of whom were connected with St. Mary’s. It held

⁹²⁶ Mary B. Morrison, *Memories of Blackhall Youth Fellowship* (Edinburgh: 2018)

⁹²⁷ Interview with Mr J Wood conducted on 5 November 2019

⁹²⁸ *Ibid*

⁹²⁹ *Ibid*

⁹³⁰ *Ibid*

⁹³¹ ‘Syllabus of Youth Fellowship for 1977’ (St Mary’s Parish Church Archive)

⁹³² Interview with Mr J Wren conducted 27 November 2019

discos in Holy Trinity Hall to which the young people brought along their friends; thereby swelling the numbers to between thirty and forty.⁹³³ However, when Harris left there was no one to take his place and, after a short existence, the club was disbanded. While the initiative shows that there were those in St. Mary's and the West Church who wished to respond to the challenge of retaining young people, neither church was able to provide ongoing leadership.

The concept of a uniformed organisation for boys was pioneered in Scotland by William Alexander Smith, who established the first Boys' Brigade Company in 1883, as a way of providing a disciplined structure for the boys in the Mission Sunday School in North Woodside in Glasgow where he was a teacher.⁹³⁴ Its aim was "The advancement of Christ's kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness." From the outset Smith adopted a quasi-military approach which he had learnt while serving in the Volunteers. The boys were given a simple uniform of a pillbox cap, white haversack and belt and each meeting included sessions of drill and physical training. It was a formula that proved successful and congregations throughout Scotland formed Boys' Brigade companies. In 1917 a junior section for those aged 9 to 11 was formed. Initially it was known as the Boy Reserves but in 1924 was renamed the Life Boys. It had a nautical uniform consisting of a sailor's cap, navy blue jersey and shorts. Like the senior section its programme included drill and physical activity.

Having been first formed in 1932, the Haddington Company was re-established in 1954 as the 1st Haddington Company and met in the parish hall. It was decided to forego the traditional pillbox cap in favour of a forage cap.⁹³⁵ During the remainder of the 1950s the company went from strength to strength and eventually

⁹³³ Ibid

⁹³⁴ Johnathan Roberts, 'William Alexander Smith, the founder of the Boys Brigade as a youth worker' on *Infed*

Available at <http://infed.org/mobi/william-alexander-smith-the-founder-of-the-boys-brigade-as-a-youth-worker/>

Accessed 11 November 2019

⁹³⁵ Allan Colley, email re '1st Haddington Boys' Brigade Company', (3 December 2019)

numbered around 100 boys.⁹³⁶ In 1958 a pipe band was formed using drums from the original company. Each Friday evening the company had a programme that included an opening service, inspection, drill, physical training, games and classes on various subjects. In line with the origins of the movement boys were expected to attend Bible Class on a Sunday morning.⁹³⁷ During the 1960s the Haddington Company established close links with the F. D. F. movement of the national church in Denmark and during the 1970s officers and boys took part in exchange visits.⁹³⁸ While in the 1950s the Boys Brigade's close links with the church had been a strength and had provided accommodation and committed leaders, as Scottish society became more secular in the 1980s, it became a weakness as young people were less inclined to be associated with an overtly Christian organisation, and in the 1990s the company was disbanded.⁹³⁹

In 1964 a number of uniformed organisations with a similar ethos came together to form the Girls' Brigade. Like the Boys' Brigade, it was an overtly Christian organisation and had as its aim 'to help girls become followers of the Lord Jesus Christ and through self-control, reverence and a sense of responsibility to find true enrichment of life'.⁹⁴⁰ While following the same disciplined approach to youth work as its male counterpart, the Girls' Brigade did not have the same quasi-military ethos.

Having been first formed in 1932, the Haddington Company was re-established in 1963 as the 12th Edinburgh and Lothians Girls' Brigade Company and met in the parish hall on Wednesday and Thursday evenings before moving to the West Church hall in the 1980s where it met on a Friday.⁹⁴¹ The company provided a broad-based, age-related programme for each of its four sections. Girls studied the Bible, performed Scottish country dancing, and were taught practical skills, including

⁹³⁶ Ibid

⁹³⁷ Ibid

⁹³⁸ Ibid

⁹³⁹ Ibid

⁹⁴⁰ 'History' on *Girls' Brigade*

Available at <http://www.girlsb.org.uk/history-21.html>

Accessed 11 November 2019

⁹⁴¹ Aileen Bradford, email re '12th Edinburgh and Lothians Girls' Brigade' (21 October 2019)

caring for babies and simple baking. Each year the company took part in a series of activities in the local community, including running a party at the adult training centre, having a float in the Haddington Festival parade and participating in the Remembrance Sunday ceremonies. One of the highlights of the year was the summer camp which involved staying in a church hall in a coastal resort: in 1979 the girls and their officers went to Dunoon.⁹⁴² Like the Boys Brigade the Haddington Company had close links with the F. D. F. movement in Denmark. From 1974 to 1982 there were alternate reciprocal visits.⁹⁴³

Like other church youth organisations, the Girls' Brigade was affected by the secularisation of Scottish society in the 1980s. While in the 1970s there were around 70 girls in the Haddington Company, by 1989 numbers had dropped to around 40.⁹⁴⁴ It is possible to contrast the fate of Boys' and Girls' Brigades with that of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, both of which were active in Haddington in the 1960s.⁹⁴⁵ While the former declined during the last decades of the twentieth century, the latter, with their more secular ethos, flourished.⁹⁴⁶

The planting of new 'churches'

During the second half of the twentieth century new 'churches' were planted in Haddington. However, the planting was not on the same scale nor of the same significance as the plantings which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While these earlier developments were part of wider movements within the Scottish church, the formation of the new congregations in the burgh was of purely local significance. As well as two independent lay-led congregations, the planting included the establishment of a meeting of the Religious Society of Friends and a Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses.

⁹⁴² Ibid

⁹⁴³ Ibid

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid

⁹⁴⁵ *Courier Year Book and Guide for 1963*, 45

⁹⁴⁶ McKinnon, Haddington: Leisure' on *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*
Accessed 16 October 2019

In 1955 a congregation of the Church of Christ was formed following a mission in the town.⁹⁴⁷ Initially it met in a private house and then in the Town House. In 1987 its members converted a former butcher's store off Newton Port into a purpose-built meeting room. In the *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* one of its members, Patricia Moncrieff, described the Church of Christ as 'a non-denominational body of believers which came into being on the day of Pentecost'.⁹⁴⁸ Unlike some Church of Christ congregations, the Haddington fellowship did not have a minister. Instead the elders, all of whom were male, preached and administered communion each Sunday morning. Because the administration of baptism, which was by immersion, required evidence of conversion,⁹⁴⁹ baptisms were rare. The heyday of the congregation was in the 1960s and 1970s when it had a Sunday school containing over 60 children and conducted missions in the town with the support of sister congregations in Tranent and Prestongrange. However, the response to this evangelistic outreach was said to be 'poor'.⁹⁵⁰ Although the congregation enjoyed the loyal support of a small band of dedicated adherents, who styled themselves 'Christians', the nature of its beliefs, which can be described as 'fundamentalist', meant that it struggled to attract new members and by the end of the twentieth century it was showing signs of terminal decline.

In 1958 a group of Jehovah's Witnesses established a presence in Haddington and in 1971 the congregation bought two houses at the West Mill and converted them into a Kingdom Hall.⁹⁵¹ In 1989 the premises were extended to create an auditorium seating around 120 and additional meeting rooms. In 2000 the congregation was said to number about 60 members and attendance at its meeting was said to be about 70, with over 100 attending the annual 'Memorial Celebration of Christ's Death'. Meetings, which were open to the public, were held on Sunday mornings and included

⁹⁴⁷ Patricia Moncrieff, 'Haddington: Belief, Church of Christ' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Accessed 16 October 2019

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid

⁹⁵¹ R. P. Mackenzie, 'Haddington: Belief, Jehovah's Witnesses' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Accessed 16 October 2019

a discussion of a Bible subject. There was also a Thursday evening meeting at which members received training for the congregation's evangelistic outreach which involved visiting every home in the area.⁹⁵² As the Haddington congregation covered the eastern half of East Lothian and into Berwickshire, visiting every home was a considerable undertaking.⁹⁵³ Although the congregation attracted a committed group of active adherents, scope for growth was limited by its heterodox beliefs and its tight discipline.

In the 1960s a meeting of the Religious Society of Friends was established in East Lothian when two Quakers came to live in the county and invited other Friends to their home for worship. After three years the founding couple moved away and the meetings ceased.⁹⁵⁴ In 1988, another Quaker couple moved into the area and in July 1990 a meeting was held in their home which restarted Quaker worship in East Lothian. Because those involved were spread throughout the county, meetings were held in the Stables of St Mary's Manse, Haddington. In March 2000, with the support of Friends from Edinburgh, the meeting was given official status.⁹⁵⁵ In line with Quaker practice, members of the Haddington meeting were involved in social work in the area.⁹⁵⁶ From the outset the meeting was primarily for the benefit of existing Friends rather than a vehicle for outreach.

In 1993 the Haddington Community Church was founded. After meeting for a year in Haddington House, in the autumn of 1994 the group, which was drawn from different parts of East Lothian, moved to Poldrate Mill. In the *Fourth Statistical Account* one of its leaders, Graham Ford, described the church as 'independent, non-charismatic and evangelical' and stated that its members believed that 'the Bible is the wholly inspired, inerrant, Word of God' and that they wished 'to demonstrate that [the Bible] is wholly relevant to every aspect of life today'.⁹⁵⁷ As well as services at 10.30

⁹⁵² Ibid

⁹⁵³ Ibid

⁹⁵⁴ Doreen Dodd, 'Haddington: Belief, Religious Society of Friends' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Accessed 16 October 2019

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid

⁹⁵⁷ Graham Ford, 'Haddington: Belief, Haddington Community Church' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*,

a.m. and 6.30 p.m. on a Sunday, the church organised mid-week activities, including ‘Bible Clubs’ for children of primary school age, a group known as ‘Discovery’ for teenagers and house groups for adults.⁹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the *Fourth Statistical Account* does not provide information on how much support the Haddington Community Church enjoyed and, despite the enthusiasm and commitment of its founders, there is no evidence that it made a significant contribution to the life of the church in Haddington.

With the exception of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, each of the churches planted in the second half of the twentieth century had ceased to exist by 2019 when research for this dissertation was carried out. They were not the first lay-led churches in Haddington to fail to establish themselves in the long term. During the nineteenth century Haldaneite, Independent and Evangelical Union congregations had suffered a similar fate and in the twentieth century two small Brethren congregations had come and gone.⁹⁵⁹ In each instance the failure can be attributed to the stability of the community and the dominance of the established churches. This meant that the newly planted congregations did not have an obvious constituency from which to recruit members and struggled to reach a critical mass.

The impact of secularisation on the church in Haddington

At the beginning of the 1950s the Rev. Robin Mitchell, minister at the West Church, observed that there was ‘less regular attendance at church services’ than there had been at the start of the twentieth century and that there had been ‘a general falling-away of interest in church activities’.⁹⁶⁰ Mitchell estimated that the two Church of Scotland Congregations had ‘a combined membership of over 2,000, and weekly attendance at divine worship in the region of four or five hundred.’⁹⁶¹ That is to say while around 40% of the population of Haddington were members of the national church, only around 10% attended worship regularly. Unfortunately, Mitchell was only interested in what he describes as the ‘Scottish’ churches in the town and does

Accessed 16 October 2019

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid

⁹⁵⁹ Mitchell, ‘The Parish of Haddington’ in *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, 321

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid, 320

⁹⁶¹ Ibid, 320

not provide equivalent statistics for Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church or St Mary's Roman Catholic Church. However, it is unlikely that, in 1950, more than one in six adults in Haddington attended church each Sunday.

While during the next two decades the churches in Haddington enjoyed a respite from this downward trend, writing in the *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Caroline Lawrie, an elder in St Mary's, remarked, 'Compared with earlier times the long-established denominations seemed to suffer, here as elsewhere, from diminished congregations, a disinclination for formal commitment on the part of many attending services, and a shortage of candidates for the clergy.'⁹⁶² This shortage led, in part, to the West Church being linked with Garvald and Morham Church in 1980.⁹⁶³

The rapid fall in the membership of the Church of Scotland from the mid-1960s onwards prompted the General Assembly to appoint two major commissions to investigate the causes. One was chaired by Professor Hugh Anderson of New College and the other by Professor Robin Barbour of the University of Aberdeen.⁹⁶⁴ Each identified institutionalism, clericalism and a reluctance to reform, as the main contributors to the decline in membership, and recommended changes to the structure of the national church. While clericalism had always been a feature of St Mary's, the restoration of the east end of the church had been largely lay-led.

However, Professor Callum Brown has identified factors beyond the control of the church, which he argues were of far greater significance.⁹⁶⁵ During the 1960s young people acquired a culture that was distinct from that of their parents and which was expressed in pop music, dress, hair styles, and a more 'permissive' attitude to relations between the sexes.⁹⁶⁶ There was also a less apparent but just as momentous 'revolution' among women. While in the 1950s women had been encouraged to stay at home and have children and their roles as mothers and housewives had been

⁹⁶² Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington: Belief' on *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* Accessed 27 October 2019

⁹⁶³ Tom W Neil, 'Haddington: Belief, West Church' on *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Accessed 11 November 2019

⁹⁶⁴ Finlay A. J. MacDonald, *Confidence in a Changing Church* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 2004) 22 & 24

⁹⁶⁵ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 179

extolled,⁹⁶⁷ in the 1960s, greater numbers of women went out to work, in part, to finance a more consumerist life-style.⁹⁶⁸ As a result of these changes many Scots came to embrace a secular view of the world in which the happiness of the individual was deemed more important than conformity to the norms of previous generations. This cultural shift had a major impact on the Scottish church, not least because it took place among women and young people in whom it had invested much of its energy in the post-war period. Concern about the numerical decline of the Church of Scotland was not confined to the General Assembly. Writing in 1983, Jenkinson and McKinlay noted ‘Church attendances all over Scotland are falling at an unprecedented rate and membership [of the Church of Scotland] has dropped by 20,000’.⁹⁶⁹

While statistics for individual congregations must be approached with caution, and while it is difficult to compare different denominations, it is possible to detect the trajectory of the two Church of Scotland congregations in Haddington, Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church and St Mary’s Roman Catholic Church.

Statistics for Church of Scotland Congregations in Haddington

	St Mary’s Church			West Church			Haddington	
	Mem.	W.G.	S.S.	Mem.	W.G.	S.S.	Population	
1964	1521	129	283	560	92	150	1961	5505
1974	1480	91	112	571	157	104	1971	6502
1984	1362	60	93	599	94	78	1981	7839
1994	1005	*	**	708	54	**	1991	9490

Mem: Membership at 31 December

W.G: Woman’s Guild

S.S: Sunday school

* St Mary’s Guild closed in 1991.

** Statistics no longer recorded.

Sources: the *Year Book of the Church of Scotland* for 1965, 1975, 1985 and 1995
Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian, Lawrie C. ‘Haddington: Population’

Although the statistics for St Mary’s show a steady downward drift in membership of the congregation, the Woman’s Guild and the Sunday school, and while membership of the Woman’s Guild and the Sunday school in the West Church

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid, 179

⁹⁶⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 563

⁹⁶⁹ Jenkinson and McKinlay, ‘The Lamp of the Lothians’ 104

also fell, its membership rose by 26% between 1964 and 1994. It is possible that the congregation benefitted from extensive private house building in the western part of Haddington, which brought new middle-class families into the town.⁹⁷⁰ In 1967 the West Church undertook a Parish Development Programme during which the minister, Joseph Sillars Ritchie, visited new houses in Clerkington.⁹⁷¹ However, in general, the Church of Scotland failed to benefit from the growth of the population, which increased by 70% from 1961 to 1991.⁹⁷² In the 1960s around 40% of the population were members of the Church of Scotland and in the 1990s less than 20%.

Although each year the *Catholic Directory* gave an estimate of the Roman Catholic population in each parish in Scotland, these figures were only a rough indicator of the strength of the local Catholic community. In 2000 the Catholic population in Haddington was estimated at 1,000, but only 700 were said to have an active connection with St Mary's Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁷³ However, there are precise figures for the number of baptisms each year and they provide a guide to the trajectory of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church in the final decades of the twentieth century.

Baptisms in St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Haddington

1964	1974	1984	1994
22	25	7	14

(Source: *The Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity in Scotland* for 1965, 1975, 1985 and 1995)

While other factors, including the willingness of Roman Catholic couples to limit the size of their families through the use of artificial methods of birth control, may have contributed to the fall in the number of baptisms in the last two decades of the twentieth century, it is reasonable to assume that, by the 1980s, St Mary's Roman

⁹⁷⁰ Bill Rarity, 'Haddington: Homes' on *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* Available at e14.org.uk

Accessed 27 October

⁹⁷¹ Tom T. Neil, 'Haddington: Belief, West Church' in *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*, Accessed 11 November 2019

⁹⁷² *Ibid*

⁹⁷³ Very Rev James Canon Friel: 'Haddington Belief – St Mary's Roman Catholic Church on *Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*

Catholic Church was beginning to lose the allegiance of younger members of the Roman Catholic community.

In Holy Trinity Episcopal Church the Registers of Services recorded the numbers who attended each service. One guide to the trajectory of the congregation during the last decades of the twentieth century are the numbers attending communion on Easter Sunday, which most Anglicans considered obligatory.

Attendance at Easter Communion Services in Holy Trinity Church, Haddington.

1964	1974	1984	1994
160	172	229	128

(Source: *Register of Services for Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church, Haddington* for 1964, 1974, 1984 and 1994)

The significant rise in attendance at the Easter services in 1984 can be explained by there being a baptism at the 9.45 a.m. service. (There had been 67 communicants on Palm Sunday compared with 83 ten years earlier.) The slight rise in attendance between 1964 and 1974 followed by a drop between 1974 and 1994 suggests that Holy Trinity was following a similar trajectory to the other three congregations in the burgh.

The statistics for the churches in Haddington show that the churches were unable to benefit from the rise in the population and that the town was becoming increasingly secular as the twentieth century drew to a close. It is possible to identify three factors that led to this decline: the decline in religious belief and practice in Scottish society in general; the loss of support among women which can be seen in the fall in the membership of the Women's Guild; and the failure to translate the considerable numbers of children and young people associated with the church in the 1960s and 1970s into members. During the 1980s Alasdair Macdonell, minister at St Mary's, responded to falling attendances by carrying out a number of liturgical reforms and by emphasising the inclusive nature of the church.⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷⁴ Jenkinson and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 104

Summary

The main characteristic of the church in Haddington during this period was the speed with which it had to adjust from what appeared to be a 'golden age' to one where there were clear signs of numerical decline. While during the 1950s and 1960s church organisations thrived and attendance was buoyant, in the closing decades of the twentieth century women's groups, Sunday schools, and uniformed organisations saw their numbers fall and some closed or were reconstructed. Although in the immediate post-war period developments in the local community benefitted the church, including the revitalising of the historic town centre of Haddington, the Glasgow Overspill Agreement, and the building of private housing, as the prosperity of the burgh increased, from the 1970s onward, the community became more secular and less inclined to see the relevance of the church.

However, even during this period of rapid change there was a considerable degree of continuity. Despite becoming a single charge, St Mary's retained its status as the largest congregation in Haddington and continued to function as the 'burgh kirk'.⁹⁷⁵ The other three 'long-established denominations' also continued to serve their constituencies. Although those who founded the Church of Christ congregation and Haddington Community Church sought to offer an alternative to the existing denominations, they had a minimal impact on the life of the church in the burgh. In the final decades of the twentieth century the four main congregations appear to have adopted a policy of 'managing decline' and relied on the residual religious allegiances of the community to carry them forward into the twenty-first century.

⁹⁷⁵ Diaries of the Rev. Alasdair Macdonnell, Minister at St Mary's 1979-1992 (Macdonnell Family Archive)

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to provide a case-study of how the church in a small, semi-rural burgh evolved from 1560 to 2000 in the context of developments within the Scottish church, Scottish society and the local community. It has achieved this by tracing the history of St Mary's Parish Church and the histories of the churches which were planted in the burgh during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries; by noting the main developments in the Scottish Church, including the Reformation, the Revolutionary Settlement, the Secessions of 1733 and 1761, the Disruption and the 1929 Union; and by charting the progress of the burgh, including the role of the Incorporated Trades, its evolution into a county-town, the coming of the stage coach and the railway, the impact of the two World Wars, and its transformation into an administrative centre and commuter suburb. This concluding section will review the factors which moulded the church in Haddington during this period and set them out in descending order of importance. It will also identify four distinguishing features of the church in the burgh and its three main characteristics.

Factors which moulded the church in Haddington

One: Much of the life of the church in Haddington was shaped by reformed worship, doctrine and discipline. In 1562 the Town Council converted St Mary's into a preaching auditorium and appointed Patrick Cockburn as the first Protestant minister of the burgh.⁹⁷⁶ The post-Reformation church abandoned the elaborate ritual of the late medieval church in favour of a more austere form of worship. It had two main elements: the sermon, in which the minister expounded a passage from the Bible, and the unaccompanied singing of psalms.⁹⁷⁷ Worship gradually evolved. Sermons became shorter and less didactic and, at the end of the nineteenth century hymns, accompanied by an organ, began to replace the unaccompanied singing of psalms.⁹⁷⁸

Much of the life of the church in Haddington was also shaped by the doctrines of *sola fide* and *sola scriptura*. Because ministers in the reformed church held that men and women were saved by faith alone, preaching and the administration of the

⁹⁷⁶ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 24-25

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 24

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 65

sacraments were seen as ‘means of grace’ through which an individual could be brought into a right relationship with God.⁹⁷⁹ In the same way because the reformed church taught that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were the supreme rule of faith and life, the Bible not only influenced the content of worship, it was central to personal piety. Individuals interpreted *sola scriptura* to mean that, through reading the Bible, they could discover the way of salvation and some of the more devout joined praying societies from which the Secession Church emerged. John Brown encouraged the private study of the Bible by publishing his *Self-Interpreting Bible*.⁹⁸⁰

Because the reformed church saw godly discipline as the third mark of the true church, it became a fundamental element in the life of St Mary’s. It had a ‘pillar of repentance’ on which those found guilty of a moral offence were required to stand while being rebuked by the minister.⁹⁸¹ The founding of the Secession Church was, in part, a reaction to what Ebenezer Erskine and others saw as the decay of discipline in the established church.⁹⁸² And the East Church⁹⁸³ and the West Church⁹⁸⁴ continued to exercise discipline well into the nineteenth century.

Two: The prosperity of the burgh assisted the development of the church. In the eighteenth century the ‘revolution’ in agricultural production, and improvements to the Great North Road, enabled Haddington to have the largest grain market in Scotland and by the nineteenth century it had become a bustling market-town with a number of agricultural related businesses.⁹⁸⁵ And even when these traditional enterprises went into decline after the Second World War, the town was able to reinvent itself as an administrative centre and commuter suburb.⁹⁸⁶ The prosperity of the burgh meant that there were sufficient resources to support two ministers in the established church; to renovate St Mary’s twice in the nineteenth century and to erect

⁹⁷⁹ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 227

⁹⁸⁰ Mackenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 175-191

⁹⁸¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 26

⁹⁸² Brown, *An Historical Account* 24

⁹⁸³ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes

⁹⁸⁴ Haddington, Haddington West United Presbyterian: Session Minutes

⁹⁸⁵ Reid, ‘Haddington in History’, 83

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 132

a chapel of ease; and in the twentieth century to carry out a third major restoration. The ‘agricultural revolution’ also generated the resources to plant new churches and Haddington’s role as the county-town made it the natural location for Episcopalians, Dissenters and Roman Catholics to build churches.

Three: Closely related to the second factor was the role played by the Town Council in the development of St Mary’s as the ‘burgh kirk’. This was a continuation of the role which the guilds had played in the medieval period. In the immediate post-Reformation period the Council maintained the fabric of St Mary’s and appointed ministers, readers, precentors and masters of music.⁹⁸⁷ The bailies saw it as their right to have a prominent pew in the parish church and, as late as 1891, the front row of the west gallery was allocated to the Magistrates.⁹⁸⁸ Although there seems to have been bailies in the Secession Church,⁹⁸⁹ the fact that St Mary’s was seen as the ‘burgh kirk’ made it the natural place for those who were not driven by strong religious convictions to worship.

Four: The formation of a Secession congregation, in 1737, created an effective alternative to the established church and even after the ‘breach’ in 1747 it continued to have a significant presence. The Burgher Church benefitted from the long and distinguished ministry of John Brown.⁹⁹⁰ Although initially the Secession Churches catered for families from the whole of East Lothian, there is evidence that by the middle of the nineteenth century the East Church was catering mainly for families from Haddington.⁹⁹¹

Five: While the Disruption of 1843 led to the formation of a Free Church, and while, in 1852, the Original Secession Church joined the Free Church and was renamed Knox’s Free Church, the Disruption had a limited impact in Haddington. Although the members of St John’s chapel of ease provided the Free Church with a readymade congregation,⁹⁹² the effective response of the established church made it

⁹⁸⁷ Haddington: Burgh Council Records

⁹⁸⁸ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 34

⁹⁸⁹ Small, *History of the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 514

⁹⁹⁰ Mackenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 75-103

⁹⁹¹ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes

⁹⁹² ‘Haddington – St John’s’ in Ewing, W. (ed.) *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland: 1843-1900*

difficult for it to increase its membership. Matters were not helped by the reluctance of Knox's Free Church to co-operate with St John's Free Church.⁹⁹³

Six: The planting of the Episcopalian meeting-house, in 1714, and the opening of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, in 1862, had the long term effect of adding to the catholicity of the church in the burgh. Although Holy Trinity was constrained by being perceived as the 'English church', its adoption of an Anglican style liturgy enabled it to carve out a niche for itself.⁹⁹⁴ And although St Mary's Roman Catholic Church was founded to meet the needs of Irish immigrants and their families,⁹⁹⁵ after the Second Vatican Council it became integrated into the life of the church in the town.

Seven: after proliferating during the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, the number of Presbyterian churches in the burgh gradually reduced and, after 1932, there were only two Church of Scotland congregations in the town. However, this was more a matter of attrition than consolidation. Knox's Free Church⁹⁹⁶ and the East Church⁹⁹⁷ hung on to the bitter end before being obliged to disband and the only union was between St John's Church of Scotland and the West Church to form Haddington West Parish Church.⁹⁹⁸

Eight: The planting of lay-led congregations, at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the end of the twentieth, added to the diversity of the church in Haddington without changing its character. While it is possible to point to particular reasons why the Wesleyan Methodist Society failed,⁹⁹⁹ there was a deep-rooted attachment to Presbyterianism in the burgh which made it difficult for lay-led churches to establish themselves.

Nine: After its reintroduction, in 1712, patronage had a largely beneficial effect on the life of the church in Haddington. While a disputed presentation in Tranent¹⁰⁰⁰ boosted the ranks of the newly formed Secession Church and while disputed

⁹⁹³ Haddington, Knox's Free Church: Deacon's Court Minutes

⁹⁹⁴ Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 6

⁹⁹⁵ 'Centenary of St Mary's Haddington' in *The St Andrew Annual for 1961 – 1962*, 61

⁹⁹⁶ Haddington, Knox's Free Church: Deacon's Court Minutes

⁹⁹⁷ Haddington, East United Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes, 332

⁹⁹⁸ Haddington, West Parish Church: Kirk Session Minutes 1932 – 1976 1

⁹⁹⁹ Stratham, *Lost East Lothian*, 212

¹⁰⁰⁰ Small, *History of the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, 513.

presentations elsewhere led to the formation of the Relief Church, the sensitivity shown by the Earls of Hopetoun, both before and after the Disruption, assisted the stability of the parish church and helped to ensure that it maintained its dominant place in the life of the burgh. Although not patronage in the technical sense of the term, the financial support which Francis Charteris gave to the building of Holy Trinity¹⁰⁰¹ was crucial to the development of the Episcopal community and the Haldanes' purchase of the Relief Church enabled an Independent congregation to be formed.

Ten: In the decades after the Second World War the church in Haddington enjoyed something of a 'golden age'. It benefitted from the regeneration of the town centre; the Glasgow Overspill Agreement; the building of private housing; a culture in which corporate activities were popular; and the 'baby boom'.¹⁰⁰² Organisations providing 'lived religion' for women, children and young people flourished; attendance at worship picked up; and there was an air of optimism, and a desire to celebrate St Mary's history and heritage led to the restoration of the building.

Eleven: In the closing decades of the twentieth century secularisation began to have an impact on the church in Haddington. Organisations which had flourished in the previous decades went into decline and some closed; attendance at worship fell; and fewer young people became communicant members.¹⁰⁰³ However, secularisation did not lead to a reshaping of the church in the burgh, which remained as it had evolved during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(While it is possible to argue that the final two factors deserve a higher ranking, it is convenient to list them in their chronological order.)

Distinguishing features of the church in Haddington

It is possible to identify five distinguishing features of the church in Haddington: some of which it shared with churches in other burghs and some which were unique to the town.

¹⁰⁰¹ Fraser-Tytler, *200 Years in the Life of Holy Trinity*, 8

¹⁰⁰² Reid, 'Haddington in History', 116-122

¹⁰⁰³ Caroline Lawrie, 'Haddington: Belief' in *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian*
Available at el4.org.uk

Accessed 27 October 2019

One: Two aspects of the origins of the church in Haddington stand out. Along with St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh,¹⁰⁰⁴ St Mary's was one of only two churches in the Lothians thought to have been founded in Anglo-Saxon times and one of a small number of ecclesiastical foundations in Scotland to develop into a burgh.¹⁰⁰⁵ By granting Haddington a charter and giving St Mary's and its lands to the Augustinians, David I realised the potential of the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

Two: While the iconoclasm which followed Knox's sermon in Perth in May 1559¹⁰⁰⁶ spread to other towns, as militant Protestants sought to rid burgh churches of the trappings of 'popery', in Haddington the damage had already been done. In 1548 an English army had reduced St Mary's to a ruin and before leaving, in 1559, had burnt the Franciscan friary.¹⁰⁰⁷ This meant that the question of which elements in the town's two churches should be removed did not arise.

Three: Not only were two ministers at St Mary's elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, both were honoured while guiding the congregation through a difficult phase in its history. John Currie's election, in 1709, came as St Mary's was moving back to Presbyterianism after two decades of having Episcopal ministers.¹⁰⁰⁸ And John Cook was elected Moderator, in 1866, after leading the response of the established church in the burgh to the Disruption.¹⁰⁰⁹

Four: Haddington played a key role in the development of the Associate Synod during the nineteen years John Brown served as its Professor of Divinity. Each summer around thirty students came to Haddington to study under Brown. MacKenzie quotes Dr John MacFarlane as saying, 'A giant himself, Brown gave birth to giants. The piety, learning and soundness of faith, for which the Haddington students were justly esteemed, greatly contributed to the influence and usefulness of the young Secession.'¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁴ 'Edinburgh: St Cuthbert's Parish Church' in *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Houston, 'The Scottish Burgh', 117

¹⁰⁰⁶ Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 204

¹⁰⁰⁷ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 20

¹⁰⁰⁸ Jenkinson and McKinlay 'The Lamp of the Lothians', 91

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 96

¹⁰¹⁰ MacKenzie, *John Brown of Haddington*, 143

Five: While, like other burgh churches in Scotland, St Mary's had been extensively restored during the nineteenth century,¹⁰¹¹ the restoration of the ruined choir, transepts and tower in the second half of the twentieth century was a unique achievement which attracted widespread interest and earned the building the Civic Trust's Heritage Year Award in 1975.¹⁰¹² Unlike the Georgian and Victorian renovation, which reflected contemporary notions of church design, it was a sympathetic attempt to re-create the church's medieval splendour.

Characteristics of the church in Haddington

In the light of this review it is possible to identify three main characteristics of the church in Haddington between 1560 and 2000. The first and most important characteristic was the continuity provided by the Church of Scotland. Far from veering to extremes as Forbes Gray suggests, it displayed a surprising degree of continuity. Although there were fundamental changes in the decade after the Reformation in Scotland, some practices, such as the desire of the laity to be buried within the walls of St Mary, carried on. During the seventeenth century the parish church evolved in a steady and consistent manner and ministers were prepared to resist the diktats of the Stuarts in order to remain true to their principles. Apart from two decades at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, when St Mary's had two Episcopalian ministers, all of its ministers were Presbyterian. While there were differences between the Evangelical stance of Robert Lorimer and the Moderate stance of John Cook, these differences centred on the issue of the spiritual freedom of the church rather than matters of worship, doctrine and discipline. The continuity provided by the Church of Scotland was assisted by the economic, social and political stability of Haddington. The town had a variety of businesses and was not subject to the rise and fall of a single industry;¹⁰¹³ the population were said to be 'sober, industrious and well-behaved';¹⁰¹⁴ and, until 1833, the affairs of the burgh

¹⁰¹¹ Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration*, 33

¹⁰¹² McVie, *The restoration of St Mary's Parish Church Haddington*, 95

¹⁰¹³ Forbes-Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 92

¹⁰¹⁴ Lorimer and Cook 'Haddington' in *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 50

were in the hands of a self-perpetuating oligarchy¹⁰¹⁵ and, as late as the 1960s, the local gentry were able to influence key decisions.

The second characteristic of the church in Haddington in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries was its diversity. Although the planting of new churches occurred gradually, almost all of the main movements in the Scottish church were present in the burgh; albeit sometimes for a very short period. However, the nature of that diversity gradually evolved. In the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth there were only Protestant congregations in the burgh; the majority of whom were Presbyterian. However, the gradual attrition of the smaller Presbyterian churches and the failure of lay-led congregations to put down roots combined with the founding of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church and four new 'churches' formed in the second half of the twentieth century, meant that by 2000 there was a much wider spread of expressions of Christianity than there had been in earlier times.

The third characteristic of the church in Haddington can be summed up in John of Fordun's phrase 'A Singular Solace', used in the short title of this dissertation. Although John Knox sometimes yearned for the 'little flock' of likeminded men and women he had experienced in Edwardian England,¹⁰¹⁶ the reformed church in Haddington continued the medieval practice of being a focus for the whole community. In the same way the churches which were planted in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries served as foci for their denominations throughout East Lothian. And, even as secularisation was reducing the numbers attending worship, Alasdair Macdonell, minister at St Mary's, emphasised the inclusive nature of the church.¹⁰¹⁷

While this dissertation was prompted by a desire to show that there was far more to the history of the church in Haddington than the story of St Mary's Parish Church and that over the centuries other churches played their part, it has shown that

¹⁰¹⁵ Forbes-Gray, *A Short History of Haddington*, 105

¹⁰¹⁶ Dawson, *John Knox*, 53-54

¹⁰¹⁷ Jenkinson, and McKinlay, 'The Lamp of the Lothians' 104

the planting of other churches did not diminish the standing of St Mary's as the principal church in the burgh.

Appendix 1: Time Table of Events

- Saxon minster founded prior to 1000 AD
- 1120s David I grants charter to Haddington
- 1139 David I grants St. Mary's and its lands to Augustinian Priory
Marriage of Henry of Scotland to Ada de Warenne
David I gives lands of Haddington to his daughter-in-law
- 1140 Lands of Clerkington given to St Mary's
- 1152 Death of Henry of Scotland
- 1150s Ada de Warenne founds Cistercian Convent
Ada de Warenne grants land to Alexander de St Martin
Alexander gives land to Cistercians to build St Martin Chapel
Bishop Richard gives portion of St Mary's income to Cistercians
- 1242 Order of Friars Minor build friary on Tyne
- 1284 Sir James Cockburn of Clerkington grants friars 'King's Yard'
- 1356 'Burnt Candlemas Raid' destroys St. Mary', convent and friary
- 1380 Work on building gothic church begins
- 1400 Church dedicated to St Mary, the Virgin
- 1442 Cockburn of Skirling establishes altar dedicated to St Blaise
- 1457 Bailies required to maintain the building
- 1477 Alexander Barcare founds chaplaincy at altar to St Blaise
- 1514 Birth of John Knox
- 1537 St Mary's described as 'collegiate kirk'
- 1540 Town Council appoint president to preside over collegiate church
- 1545 George Wishart preaches final sermon in St Mary's
Wishart arrested by Earl of Bothwell
Henry VIII orders first 'Rough Wooing' campaign
- 1548 Duke of Somerset orders second 'Rough Wooing' campaign
Siege of Haddington begins
Roof of St Mary's removed by English army

- Treaty of Haddington signed in grounds of Cistercian Convent
Mary, Queen of Scots, leaves for France
- 1549 Siege of Haddington ends and English army departs
- 1555 Lord James Stuart asked to assist re-roofing of St. Mary's
- 1560 Reformation in Scotland**
- 1562 St Mary's turned into preaching auditorium
Patrick Cockburn appointed minister
- 1566 William Wilson appointed parish clerk
- 1568 Death of Patrick Cockburn
- 1569 Andrew Simson, Exhorter at Bolton, supplies vacancy
- 1570 James Carmichael appointed minister and schoolmaster
- 1574 Carmichael minister at Bolton, Athelstaneford and St Martin's
- 1576 Carmichael relieved of being schoolmaster
- 1579 Pillar of Repentance in St Mary's replaced
- 1584 Carmichael flees to England after supporting Ruthven Raid
John Kerr provides supply
- 1587 Carmichael returns
- 1591 Carmichael publishes *Newes from Scotland*
- 1597 Carmichael assists James VI write *Daemonalogue*
- 1606 Carmichael made constant moderator of Presbytery of Haddington
- 1622 James Lowrie appointed to teach men and children to sing
- 1626 Alexander Hamilton appointed to St Mary's
- 1610 Town Council acts against 'filthy and damnable vices'
- 1617 Town Council erects 'loft' in St Mary's
- 1630 Three women tried and acquitted of witchcraft
- 1633 Charles I grants new charter to Haddington
- 1635 Anna Tait found guilty of witchcraft and executed
Second charge created
- 1636 Charles I issues *Book of Canons* and *Service Book*
William Trent appointed to second charge

- 1637 Presbytery of Haddington petitions General Assembly
- 1638 Signing of *National Covenant* in Greyfriars, Edinburgh
General Assembly meets in Glasgow
- 1639 First 'Bishops' War'
- 1640 Second 'Bishops' War'
- 1643 English and Scots approve *Solemn League and Covenant*
- 1647 Robert Ker appointed to St Mary's
- 1649 Charles I executed
Estates have Charles II proclaimed King
- 1650 Oliver Cromwell writes to General Assembly
Scots defeated at Battle of Dunbar
'Usurpation' begins
- 1657 Captain Legg takes over Lady Bearford's house
General George Monck made a burgess
Town Council restricts the use of its pew
- 1658 Town Council imposes levies on carcasses sold in Fleshmarket
- 1659 Burgh consents to union between England and Scotland
Thomas Clarges elected M.P. for burgh
Thomas Clarges sent to consult Charles II
- 1660 General Monck marches to London
Monck convenes 'Convention Parliament'
Charles II issues 'Declaration of Breda'
Charles II writes to Presbytery of Edinburgh
Charles II returns to England
Horse race held on King's birthday and bonfires lit
- 1661 Elaborate celebrations on King's birthday
Overthrow of 'Gunpowder Plot' celebrated
Estates pass 'Rescissory Act'
- 1662 Charles II gives bishops their previous powers
Ministers must be approved by a bishop

- 1663 270 ministers ejected from Church of Scotland
Robert Ker refuses to conform but survives
- 1665 Robert Watson appointed Master of Music
- 1669 Charles II issues first 'Letters of Indulgence'
- 1672 Charles II issues second 'Letters of Indulgence'
- 1678 James Forman, an Episcopalian, appointed to second charge
- 1679 James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrew's, assassinated
Covenanters defeated at Battle of Bothwell Bridge
- 1680 Society People issue 'Declaration of Sanquhar'
John Graham of Claverhouse sent to suppress Covenanters
- 1681 Estates approve Test Act
James Gray, minister of second charge, deposed
- 1685 James II and VII succeeds Charles II
George Dunbar, an Episcopalian, appointed to second charge
- 1687 James II and VII announces toleration for Roman Catholics
- 1688 Bonfires lit to celebrate Mary of Modena's pregnancy
Bonfires lit to celebrate King's birthday
William of Orange lands at Torbay
James II and VII flees to France
- 1689 Estates declare the throne of Scotland vacant
Estates approve 'Claim of Right'
Estates offer throne of Scotland to William and Mary
John Gray, minister at Aberlady, deposed
- 1690 Revolutionary Settlement**
- 1694 Town Council shows solidarity with James Forman
- 1701 Town Council loses £400 in *Darien Scheme*.
Council sends memorial to the Convention of Estates
- 1702 Death of James Forman
Local lairds prevent Presbyterian minister preaching in St Mary's
- 1704 John Currie appointed to first charge

- 1709 Currie elected Moderator of General Assembly
- 1710 Assembly considers relations within St Mary's
- 1712 Patronage Act becomes law
- 1713 Death of George Dunbar
- 1714 Patrick Wilkie appointed to second charge
John Gray opens Episcopalian meeting-house
- 1717 Death of John Gray
John Wilson serves Episcopal meeting-house
- 1719 Parliament passed the first Penal Act
Episcopal meeting-house becomes a qualified chapel
- 1721 Patrick Wilkie appointed to first charge
- 1733 Ebenezer Erskine and others declare a Secession from Establishment
- 1737 'Correspondence of East Lothian' form Secession congregation
- 1741 Three elders and 40 members from Tranent join Secession
- 1742 Seceders open meeting-house in Haddington
- 1744 Seceders call Robert Archibald
- 1747 'Breach' in Associated Synod over swearing 'Burgher Oath'
General (Antiburgher) Associated Synod formed
Archibald and supporters forced out of Secession Church
Antiburghers form separate congregation
- 1751 Burgher congregation calls John Brown
- 1753 John Brown elected Moderator of Associated Synod
- 1761 Presbytery of Relief formed
- 1767 John Brown appointed Professor of Divinity under the Associate Synod
- 1769 John Brown publishes *A Dictionary of the Bible*
- 1770 Holy Trinity Scottish Episcopal Church opened
- 1772 George Barclay appointed to first charge
- 1778 John Brown publishes *The Self-Interpreting Bible*
- 1787 Death of John Brown
- 1791 Relief Church founded in Haddington

- 1792 Relief congregation calls David Gellatly
Gellatly found guilty of disorderly conduct at presbytery meeting
- 1794 Gellatly deposed for immoral conduct
- 1796 Robert Lorimer appointed to first charge
Relief Church calls William Reid
- 1800 William Reid resigns from Relief Church
- 1802 Relief Church sold to Haldanes
Haldaneite Church formed
- 1806 Rift in Antiburgher congregation over New Licht controversy
Majority of congregation join Original Secession Synod
- 1808 Rift in Tabernacle Movement over practice of baptism
Haldanes sell meeting-house to Antiburgher Congregation
Independent congregation formed
- 1815 Holy Trinity joins Scottish Episcopal Church
Independent meeting-house opened
- 1818 Methodist chapel opened
- 1834 Start of 'Ten Years Conflict'**
General Assembly passes 'Chapels Act' and 'Veto Act'
- 1838 St John's chapel of ease opened
- 1839 John Wright appointed to St John's
- 1840 Methodist Society disbanded
- 1842 General Assembly suspends John Cook from presbytery and synod
- 1843 Disruption and formation of Free Church
Robert Lorimer and between 60 and 70 members leave St Mary's
John Wright and around 400 members leave St John's
St John's Free Church formed
John Cook translated to first charge
James Ball appointed to second charge
Holy Trinity refurbished and dedicated by Bishop of Edinburgh
- 1847 Formation of United Presbyterian Church

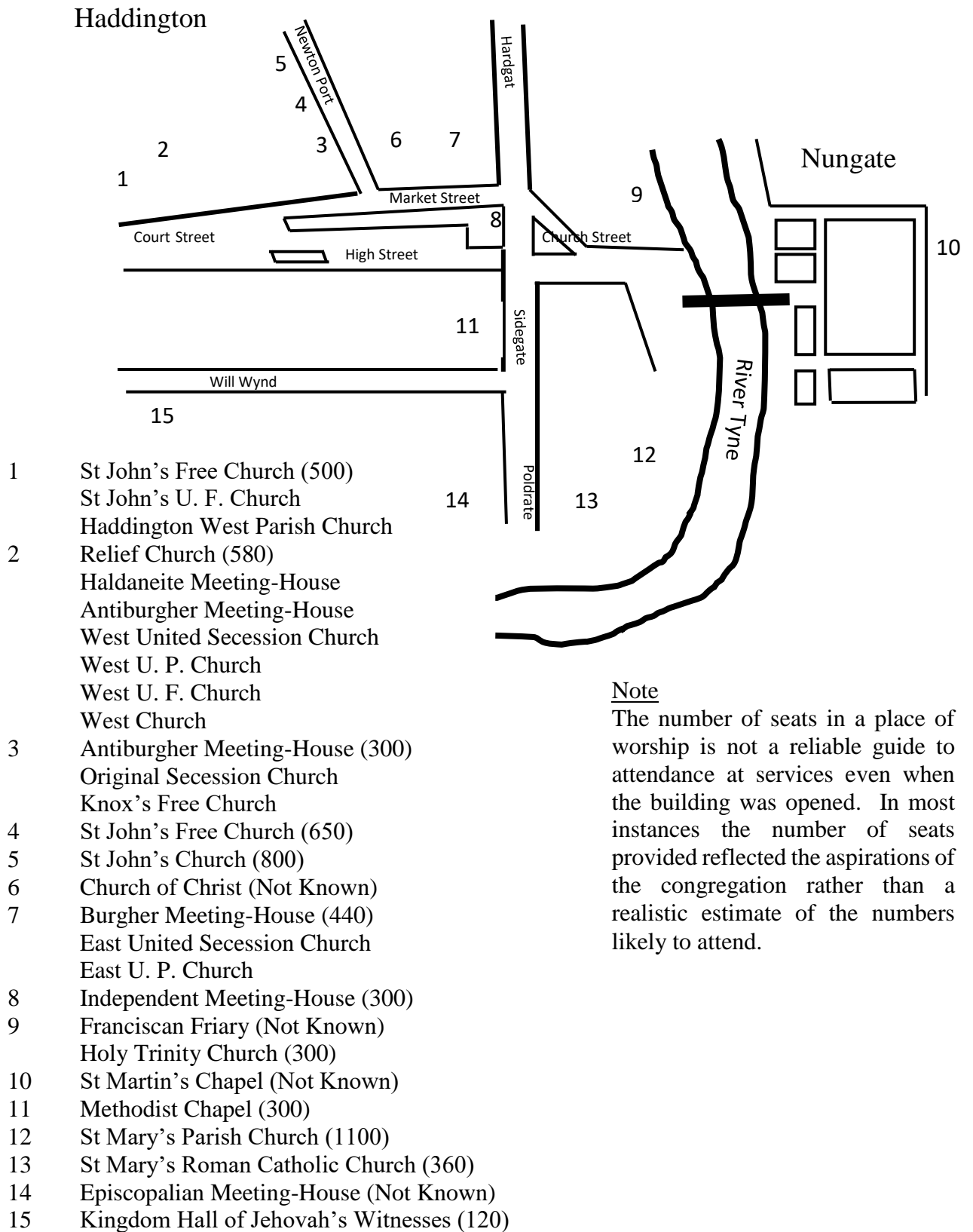
- 1848 Evangelical Union congregation founded in Haddington
- 1849 Church of Scotland obtains possession of St John's
- 1850 New Free Church opened
- 1852 Original Secession Church renamed Knox's Free Church
- 1853 Roman Catholic mission in Haddington led by Fr John Prendergast
- 1863 St Mary's Roman Catholic Church opened
- 1866 John Cook elected Moderator of General Assembly
- 1871 St Mary's R. C. School opened
James Matthews appointed to St John's Free Church
- 1874 William Ross appointed to first charge
- 1875 Robert Nimmo Smith appointed to second charge
- 1876 Services resumed in St John's
Knox's Free Church closes?
- 1878 Independent congregation disbanded
- 1880 Robert Nimmo Smith appointed to first charge
- 1882 Unsuccessful attempt to unite East Church with West Church
- 1890 Opening of new Free Church in Court Street
- 1891 Renovation of St Mary's
- 1893 Managers appointed to run St John's
- 1895 Constitution of St John's revived
- 1896 William Dempster appointed to St John's
- 1900 Formation of United Free Church
- 1901 William Conn appointed to St John's
- 1903 East Church dissolved
- 1905 John McLean appointed to St John's
- 1906 George Donald appointed to first charge
- 1910 General Assembly rescinds the constitution of St John's
- 1913 George Wauchope Stewart appointed to first charge
- 1914 Start of First World War
Haddingtonshire Courier reports death of Private John Ramage

- 8th (Territorial) Battalion of the Royal Scots hire St John's hall
St Mary's hall to use as a hospital for territorials
- 1917 St Mary's, St John's U. F. and West U. F. hold united services
- 1918 End of First World War
- 1921 War Memorial containing 131 names unveiled
- 1929 Union of Church of Scotland and United Free Church**
- 1932 Union of St John's and West Church
St Mary's and Haddington West Parish Church allocated parishes
William King called to Haddington West Parish Church
Appeal to fund repairs to St Mary's
- 1933 Boys' Brigade and Girls' Brigade companies formed
- 1937 Presbytery Clerk presides at kirk session meeting in West Church
- 1938 William King demits
St Mary's becomes a single charge under William Forbes
- 1939 Start of Second World War
St Mary's church hall requisitioned
Women from the churches open canteens for service personnel
Robin Mitchell appointed to Haddington West Parish Church
- 1941 Haddington bombed
- 1942 10th Mounted (Polish) Rifles billeted in Amisfield House
Scottish-Polish Society meets in West Church Hall
- 1943 Polish troops marry local girls in St Mary's Roman Catholic Church
- 1945 End of Second World War
- 1947 Royal Scots given freedom of the burgh
James Thomson appointed minister at St Mary's
- 1948 Tyne floods: St Mary's and Holy Trinity inundated
- 1954 Boys' Brigade Company re-formed
- 1955 Church of Christ congregation formed
Joseph Sillars Ritchie appointed to Haddington West Parish Church
- 1958 Glasgow Overspill Agreement signed

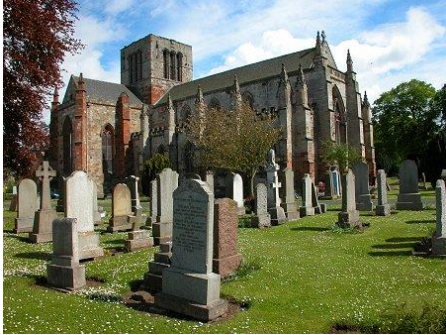
- Jehovah's Witnesses congregation formed
- 1959 St Mary's has a well-established Youth Fellowship
- 1963 Girls' Brigade Company re-formed
- 1964 St Mary's Kirk Session agrees to build new church hall
St Mary's Kirk Session agrees to restoration of ruined east end
- 1965 St Mary's and West Church form mid-week Youth Club
- 1967 Duchess of Hamilton founds Lamp of the Lothian Collegiate Trust
- 1968 St Mary's Kirk Session rescinds decision to restore east end
Conference with Kirk Session and Lothian Collegiate Trust
St Mary's Kirk Session agrees to proceed with restoration
Campaign Committee and Friends of St Mary's formed
- 1970 Fundraising 'Pilgrimage' from Whitekirk to Haddington
James Riach appointed minister at St Mary's
- 1971 Work on phase one of restoration begins
Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses opened
- 1972 Curtain Wall removed
- 1973 First phase of restoration completed
- 1977 Final phase completed
First Haddington Ecumenical Pilgrimage
- 1978 Lauderdale Aisle restored as 'Chapel of the Three Kings'
- 1979 Alasdair Macdonnell appointed minister at St Mary's
Concern expressed at the fall in membership of Church of Scotland
- 1983 Ian Walker appointed to Haddington West Parish Church
- 1990 Religious Society of Friends meet in Haddington
- 1993 Haddington Community Church formed
Clifford Hughes appointed minister at St Mary's
- 1997 C. McKenzie appointed to Haddington West Parish Church
- 2000 Society of Friends recognised

Appendix 2: Places of Worship in Haddington, 1129-2000

[Seating given in brackets taken from O.S. Maps for 1853 and 1893]



Appendix 3: Images of Churches in Haddington



St Mary's Parish Church



Haddington West Parish Church



Holy Trinity Church



St Mary's R C Church



Burgher Church



Antiburgher Church



St John's Church

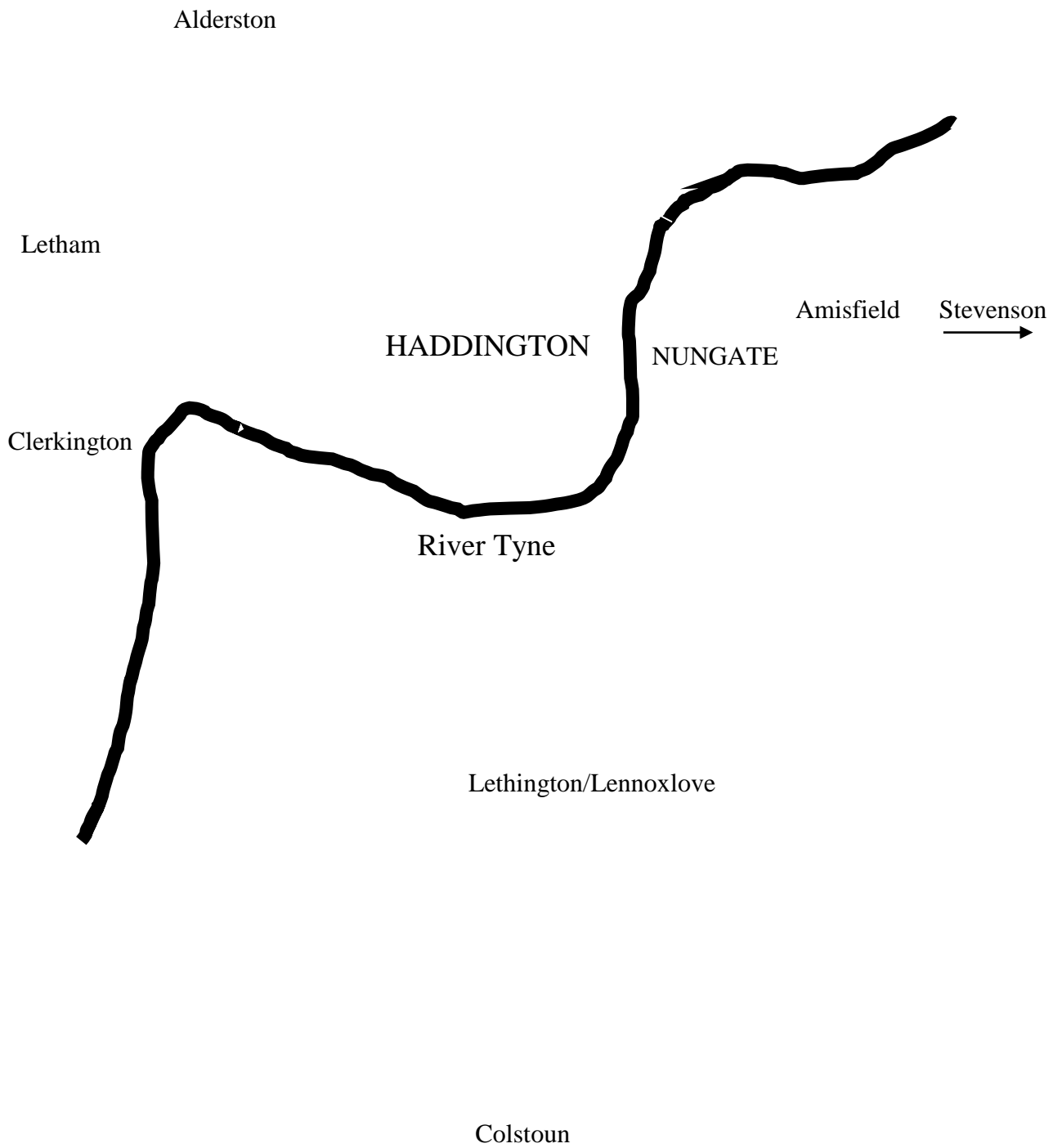


St John's Free Church



Independent Church

Appendix 4: Estates around Haddington mentioned in text



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