
Garleton Castle: Southwest Lodge, Athelstaneford, East Lothian



December 2011 – March 2012

On behalf of the Wemyss and March Estates and
The Pollock Hammond Partnership

Produced by



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Buildings Archaeologist and Heritage Consultant

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1. SUMMARY

- 1.1 A series of investigations were carried out in the area of the southwest lodge of Garleton Castle, Athelstaneford, East Lothian (RCAHMS site no. NT57NW 8 NGR:NT 50943 76697). This encompassed full building recording, visual inspection, two, 1 m² test pits and historical research.
- 1.2 These investigations were carried out on behalf of the Wemyss and March Estate prior to a planning application regarding this property.
- 1.3 The work was carried out in order to create a baseline data set regarding the dating, phasing, constructional history and general historical background to the structure.
- 1.4 It will also inform the potential for further works to be decided by Historic Scotland and East Lothian Council Planning Department, with advice from their Archaeology Officer.
- 1.5 The main fabric of the structure is dated to the late 16th century and was originally 3 storeys in height, excluding possible attic accommodation. The truncated lodge has then been re-roofed in the late 20th century and previously converted to workers cottages during the late 18th century, with a further two re-modelling events in the late 19th and mid 20th century.
- 1.6 Excluding the major works involved in removing the upper storey, most alterations have taken the form of window blocking and insertion of new windows. In addition, 2 doorways on the first floor have been inserted; accessed by stairs and a large rubble built platform on the north elevation.
- 1.7 The rear stair tower has undergone transformation from the main interior access to each floor of the structure in to a blocked space used variously for a fireplace and as rooms accessed from the first floor apartments.
- 1.8 Although a domestic structure in appearance there are splayed gun-loops at each corner of the ground floor, excepting the northeast where the original access to the structure is located. It has been suggested (MacGibbon & Ross 1892 and Tranter 1935) that the cottages directly to the north, across an open courtyard are built on the site of a matching lodge, which together with the main castle to the east would have formed a well constructed and defended fortified complex.
- 1.9 No sign of an adjoining curtain wall was recorded and it is possible this building once stood isolated from the main castle; though now a tall garden wall joins the two buildings, but is tied in to neither.
- 1.10 The two internal test pits confirmed that the ground floor level had been raised considerably (up to 0.75m) with rubble infill. It was also noted that the eastern vaulted chamber floor level is circa 0.60m lower than the western vaulted chamber which seems to have a rough flagstone surface. In addition to the interior infill it is clear that the exterior ground surface has been raised as the MacGibbon & Ross illustration of the site in the later 19th century shows a lower surface level.

- 1.11 Internal brick divisions and personal communication with the farmer confirmed the structure was still occupied into the 1960s. It has since been used as a storage area for farm equipment and materials.
- 1.12 A full historical research programme was instituted with Louise Yeoman and Roger McCarthy who have outlined a site history stretching from the early 13th century through to the 19th century. The findings of this research have constituted a fascinating picture of this site and the various inhabitants of the castle that places the building into its local as well as its wider historical context.
- 1.13 The building has undergone major alterations during the four centuries it has been standing and the main fabric retains this story and has potential to return to its original function as a fine residence.



Plate 1: Courtyard with ruins of Garleton Castle

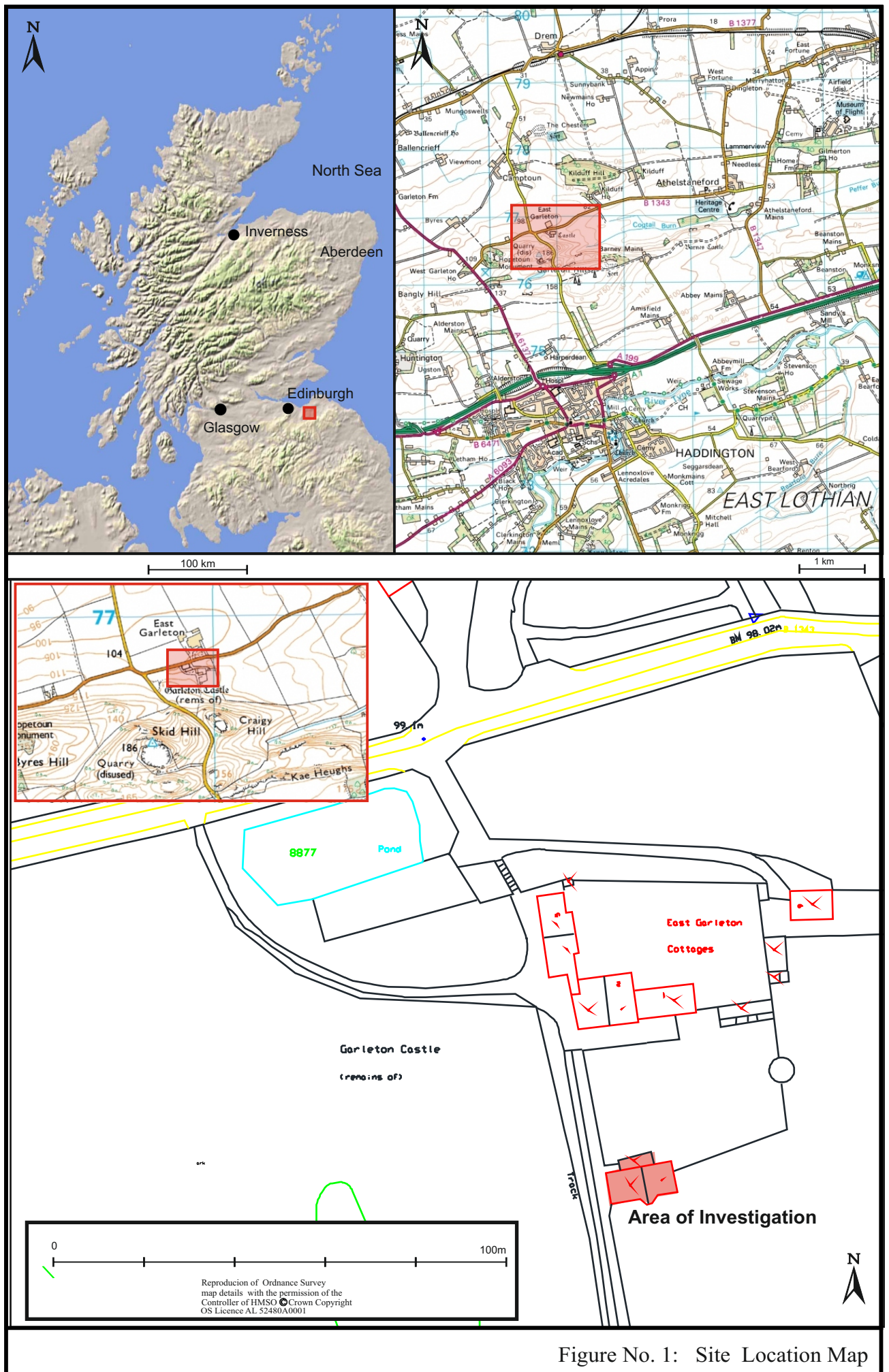


Figure No. 1: Site Location Map

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 Site location and description

The southwest lodge of Garleton Castle is structurally of late 16th century date and is associated as a group with the whole of the Garleton Castle complex located at NT 50943 76697 (Fig. 1) lying some 2km west of Athelstaneford and 3km north of Haddington.

The site as a whole lies within one of East Lothian's transverse east west valleys, between Kilduff Hill to the north and the Garleton Hills to the south.

Garleton Castle itself lies in the southeast sector of a staggered crossroads which leads to Haddington, Athelstaneford and Drem and connects to the main road between Aberlady and Haddington, the A6137.

Although overlooked by Craigy Hill immediately to the south, it is strategically located within a landscape that contains dense Iron-Age, Early Historic and later activity.

The presence of Iron-Age hillforts; Skid Hill to the southwest and Kae Heughs to the southeast and the impressive The Chesters across Kilduff Hill 1km to the north, shows that this was an area of importance through millennia.

Although there is evidence of settlement and occupation in the 12th and 13th century, evidenced by historical reference to the Anglo-Norman Noble family, the current standing structures and ruins date predominately to the late 16th century and occupied by the Seton family.

The north range of the castle complex, at present contains workers cottages of 19th century date, with a 20th century cottage squeezed into the gap between these and the castle ruin itself.

The present castle ruin contains a circular tower and forms the east boundary of a rectangular enclosure of which the investigated structure forms the southwest corner.

3. OBJECTIVES

- 3.1 To fully record the exterior elevations using a photogrametric methodology to create a stone by stone record and use this to inform phasing and constructional history.
- 3.2 To record interior elevations and investigate the original form and subsequent subdivisions.
- 3.3 To excavate 2 test pits within the vaulted chambers to ascertain the nature of the deposits overlying the floor surface and to locate the depth of the original floor surface.
- 3.4 To create an initial historical background to the site, the occupants and where possible the building itself.
- 3.5 To aid further understanding of the site in order to inform any possible future reconstruction works.

4. METHODOLOGY

- 4.1 A series of digital photographic images were taken of all external and internal elevations, which were then rectified to produce a stone by stone CAD drawing (a thumb nail list of all photographs can be found at the end of the report. (Appendix 2)
- 4.2 Architectural floor plans were provided by the Pollock Hammond Partnership and were checked for accuracy and annotated.
- 4.3 All major features were numbered from 101 to 174 and these were located on both the floor plans and the elevations.
- 4.4 A written description of all the structural features was created and related to the broad constructional and phased elements within the building complex as a whole.
- 4.5 Two, 1 m² test pits were hand excavated by archaeologists and each archaeological horizon was exposed and recorded until the sterile sub-soil in test pit 2 and slab floor in test pit 1 was located.
- 4.6 All significant archaeological features were cleaned and defined within the confines of the test pits and recorded to determine their character, function, nature, date and significance.
- 4.7 All excavation and onsite recording followed the Institute for Archaeologists' Code of Conduct, Standards and Guidelines as appropriate, principally by drawing, photography and by completing Connolly Heritage Consultancy recording forms.
- 4.8 Trenches were left open but covered to provide the opportunity for either Historic Scotland or East Lothian Council to examine the site prior to backfilling.

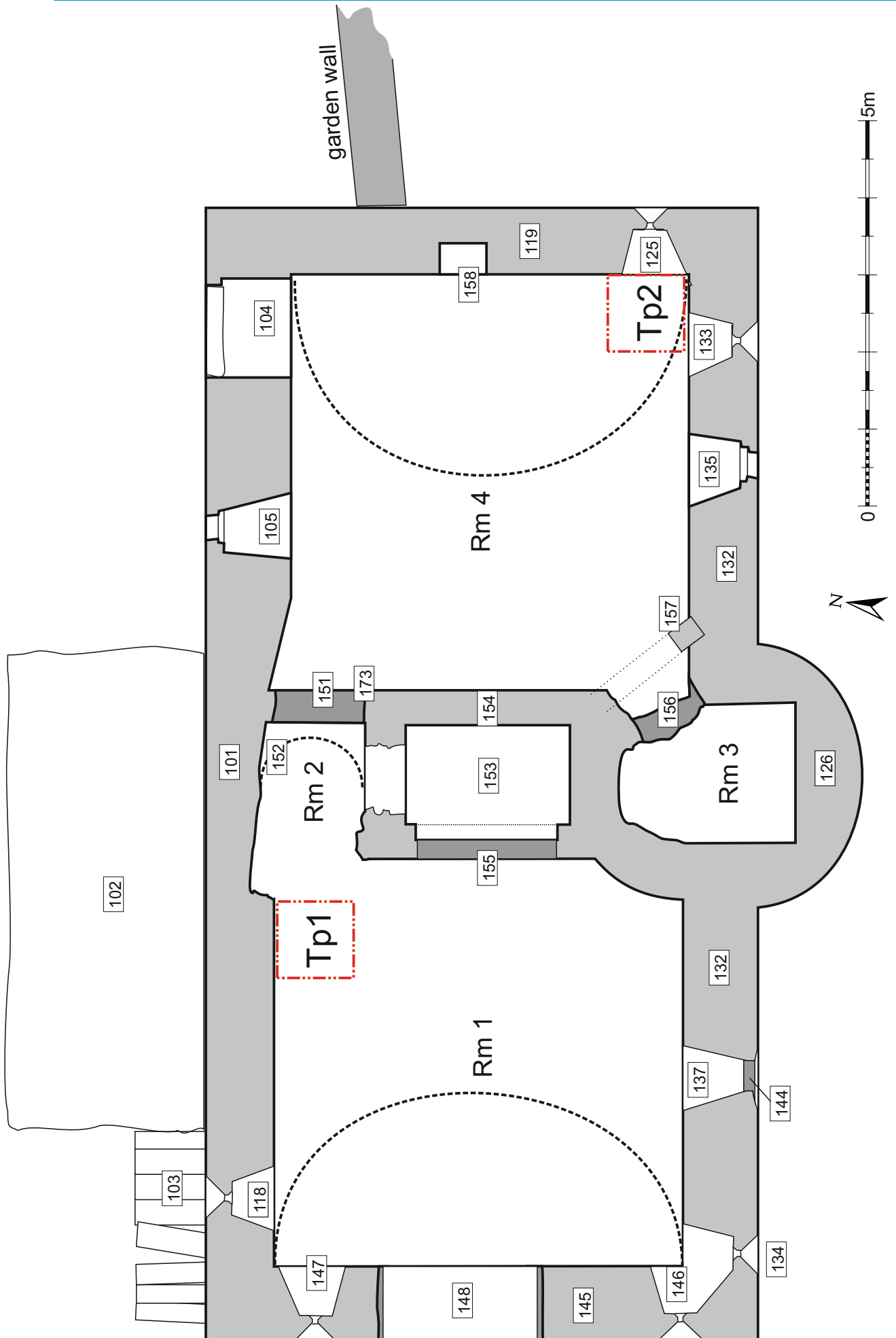


Figure No. 2: Ground Floor plan

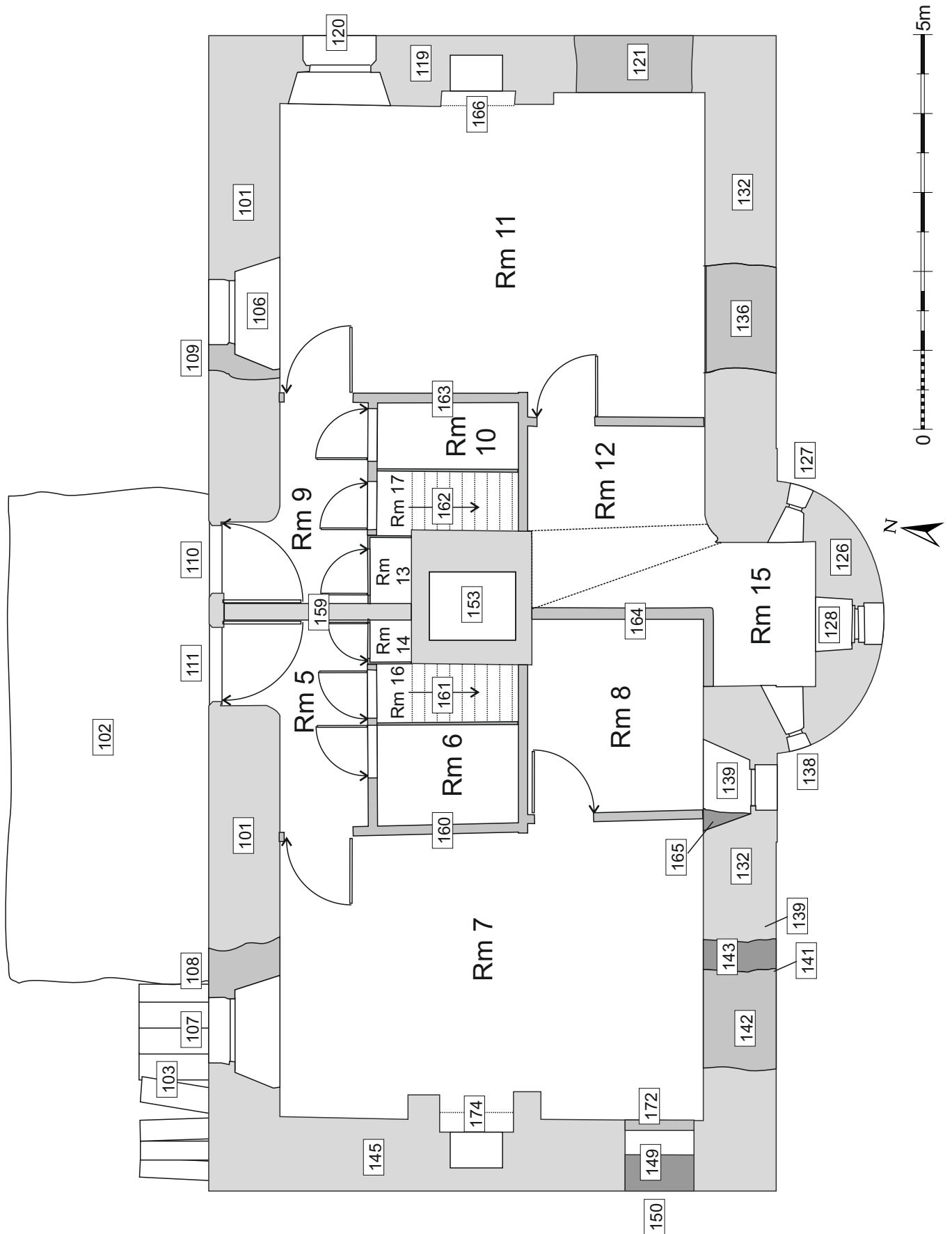


Figure No. 3: First Floor plan

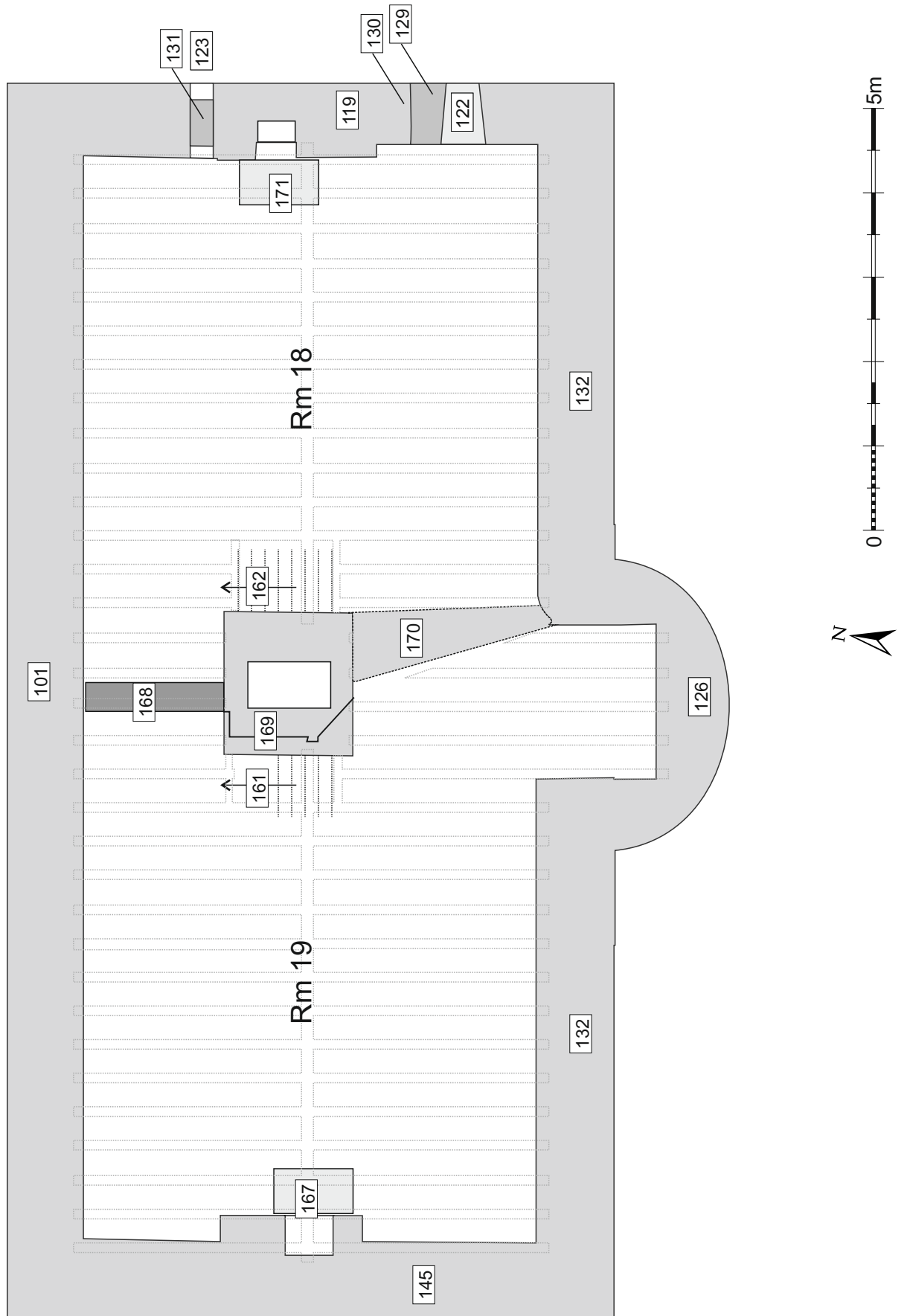


Figure No. 4: Second Floor plan

5. RESULTS

5.1. The Exterior Elevations

- 5.1.1. Four exterior elevations were recorded and the resulting photogrametric drawings re-examined with additional detail added in the field.

5.2. North Exterior

- 5.2.1. The main fabric of this elevation is rubble built of roughly coursed angular local basaltic stone [101]. The northwest quoins are of large roughly squared blocks of basalt, while the northeast quoins are of the same fabric but much slighter in nature and irregular. Extending to the north at first floor level is large rubble built platform [102] measuring 6.3m east west and 2.50 m north south. This is reached by a set of 8 badly damaged and heavily repaired risers [103] which leads upwards from the northwest corner.
- 5.2.2. To the east of this elevation, on the ground floor, there is a single doorway [104] 1.75 m high with a well dressed and round moulded sandstone lintel and large basaltic roughly dressed stone jambs with relieving arch above. The doorway leads to room 4. The sandstone doorway lintel is cracked and the east jamb still retains the iron hangers for a wooden door. Immediately to the west of the doorway and partially buried underneath more recent earth dumping, there is a small window opening [105] that is contemporary with the original build. The window contains a single remaining vertical iron bar.
- 5.2.3. The fenestration on this elevation is of 2 matched windows set in at first floor level [106] & [107] with a mix of re-used sandstone masonry most evident on the west jamb of [107]. Both are replacements of earlier windows which is clearer on the eastern side as four jambs still remain [109] while the western side is only visible as a small random rubble blocking [108] through which the later window [107] has been inserted. In addition to these 2 later window insertions there is a pair of doors [110] & [111] placed centrally on the elevation accessed from platform [102]. They are both formed of red sandstone chamfered surrounds with a central pillar separating them.
- 5.2.4. There are 3 chimney stacks. The eastern stack [112] is brick built resting on stonework and mirrored on the west by another brick built stack [114]. The central stone built stack [113] has a large opening to the flue rather than chimney pots which the other two chimneys retain.
- 5.2.5. Roughly cut crow-step gables [115] & [116] lead from the wall-heads to the ridge line. The roof itself is pantiled [117].
- 5.2.6. Partially blocked by the stairs [103] is a gun-loop [118] which is of splayed form consisting of upper and lower matched basalt blocks similar in form to those found on the castle ruin.

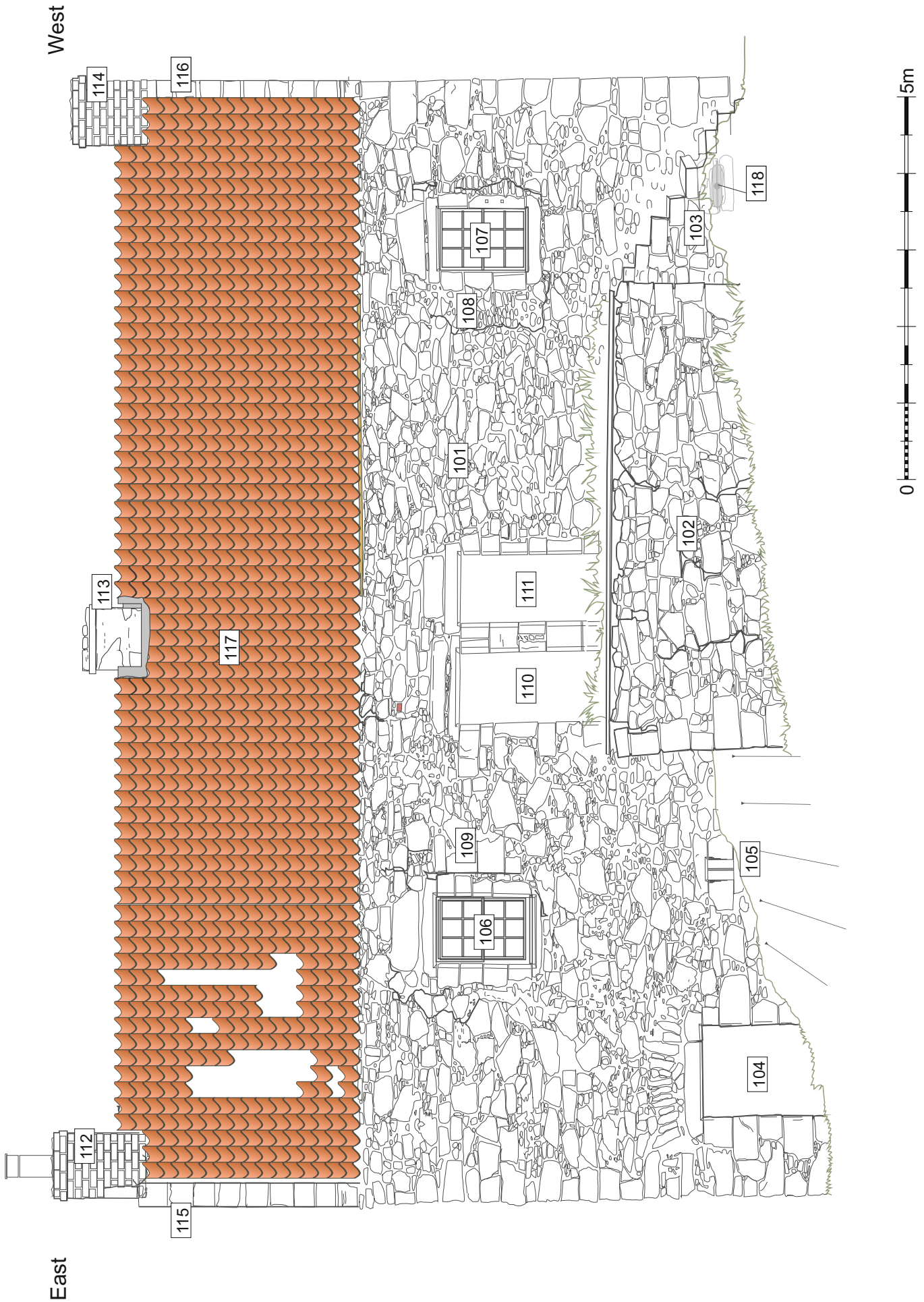


Figure No. 5: North facing external elevation

5.3. East Exterior

- 5.3.1. The main wall fabric is of randomly coursed angular medium sized blocks of local basalt with roughly squared quoins to the southeast and irregular quoins to the northeast [119]. A garden wall extends from this elevation to the east but is not tied in to the gable elevation.
- 5.3.2. There is a complex sequence of fenestration on this gable with a single large window inserted to the north on the first floor level [120] which is constructed of chamfered red sandstone. However, to the south, again on first floor level there is a large blocking [121] formed of small random rubble which represents an earlier window. The base of this blocking also contains 8 courses of 18th century brick [124]. Above this blocked window is a smaller roughly made aperture [122] which lights the current attic space. This window partially cuts an earlier and larger window evidenced by 5 basaltic blocks forming the northern jamb [130] which has been filled with random rubble blocking [129] and cut diagonally by the crow-stepped gables [115]. A further smaller window [123] sits beneath the crow-step gables to the north and formed from 4 shaped blocks of local basalt, with a rounded moulding and the remains of a single vertical iron bar. This has now been blocked from the inside with 3 mortared stone rubble fragments [131].
- 5.3.3. At its base in the southeast corner is a further splay mouthed gun-loop [125] of similar construction to [118].



Plate 2: East gable elevation with truncated earleir window beneath crowsteps

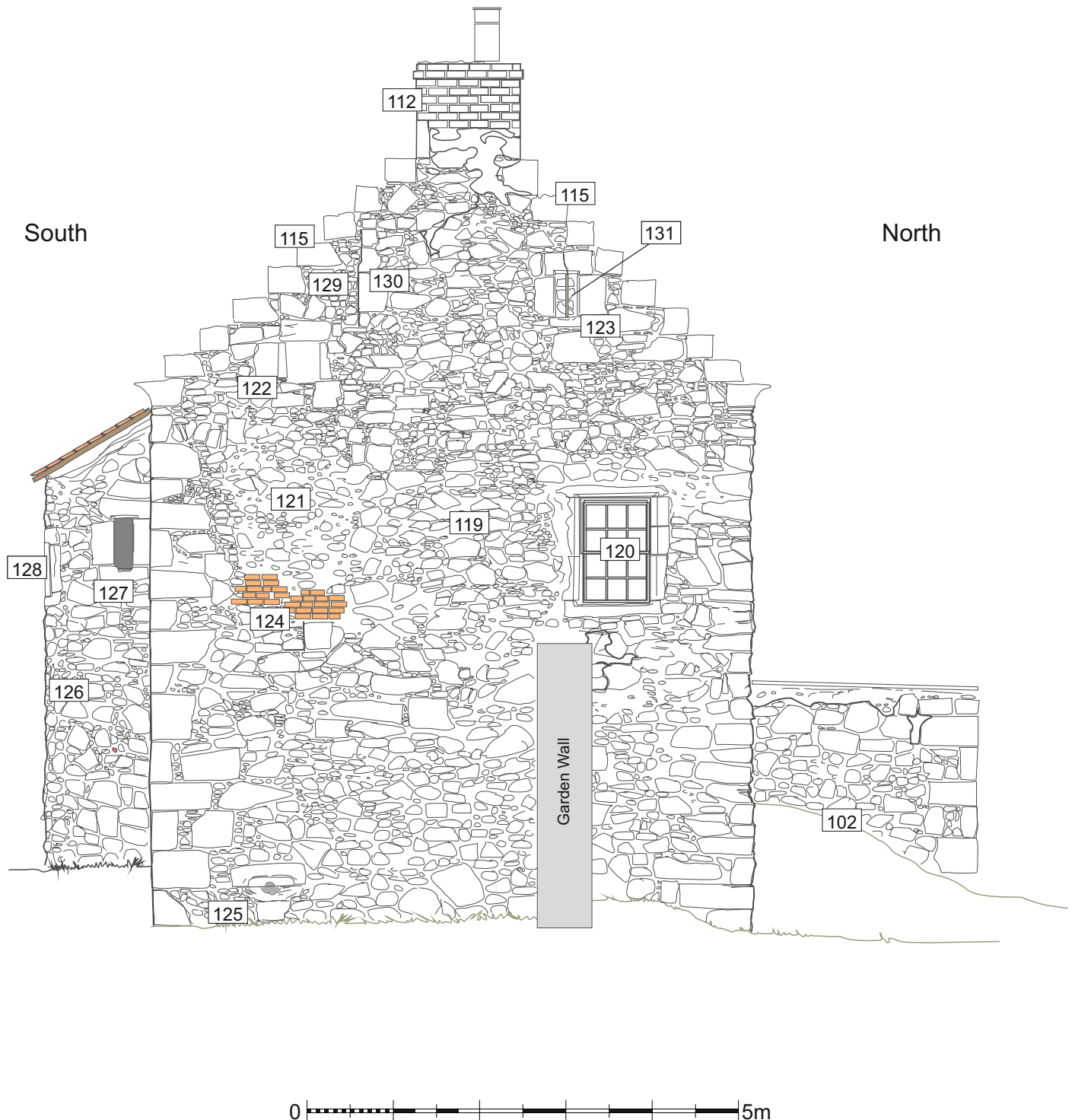


Figure No. 5: East facing external elevation

5.4. South Exterior

5.4.1. The main wall fabric is of randomly coursed angular, medium to large basaltic stone, with large roughly dressed basalt quoins [132] to the southwest and southeast. Extending from the centre of this elevation there is a rounded stair tower constructed of roughly coursed basaltic stone [126] and a flat roof [117]. There are 3 windows at first floor level. Windows [127] & [138] are smaller narrower openings and likely relate to the function of lighting the stair tower and are formed of 4 basaltic blocks with evidence for an iron grill within the surround. The central – and larger – window [128] is constructed of a mix of sandstone and basalt and has likely been inserted at a later date for room 15. The upper lintel has a rounded moulding but does not fit squarely on the present window opening. In addition there are holes for 2 bars on the underside which are not matched on the badly eroded basalt sill beneath.

5.4.2. To the east of the stair tower there is a small window at ground floor level formed of 4 basalt blocks [135] and retaining a single vertical iron bar and two horizontal bars. Directly above at first floor level is a very eroded blocked opening [136] filled with loose random rubble representing an earlier window opening.

5.4.3. To the west of the stair tower is a further complicated arrangement of fenestration. On the ground floor is a larger basaltic surround [137] which may mirror that of [135]. However, the 2 jambs have been hacked back to create a larger square opening which itself has been blocked with cement over a 20th century brick infill. On the first floor beside the stair tower is an inserted window opening [139] with chamfered sill and jambs but only a rotten wooden lintel. To the west of this are the remaining basaltic jambs of an earlier window [140] which has been filled with a stack of loose rubble [143] that bounds a further blocking [142] that consists of both basaltic rubble and brickwork, similar to that seen on the east gable [124]. The lintel of this blocked window [141] is still extant.



Plate 3: west end of south elevation showing complex sequence of window openings, insertions and blockings

5.4.4. In the southwest and southeast corners of the elevation and sitting only a few centimetres above present ground level are two further gun-loops [133] & [134] similar in fabric and design to [118].

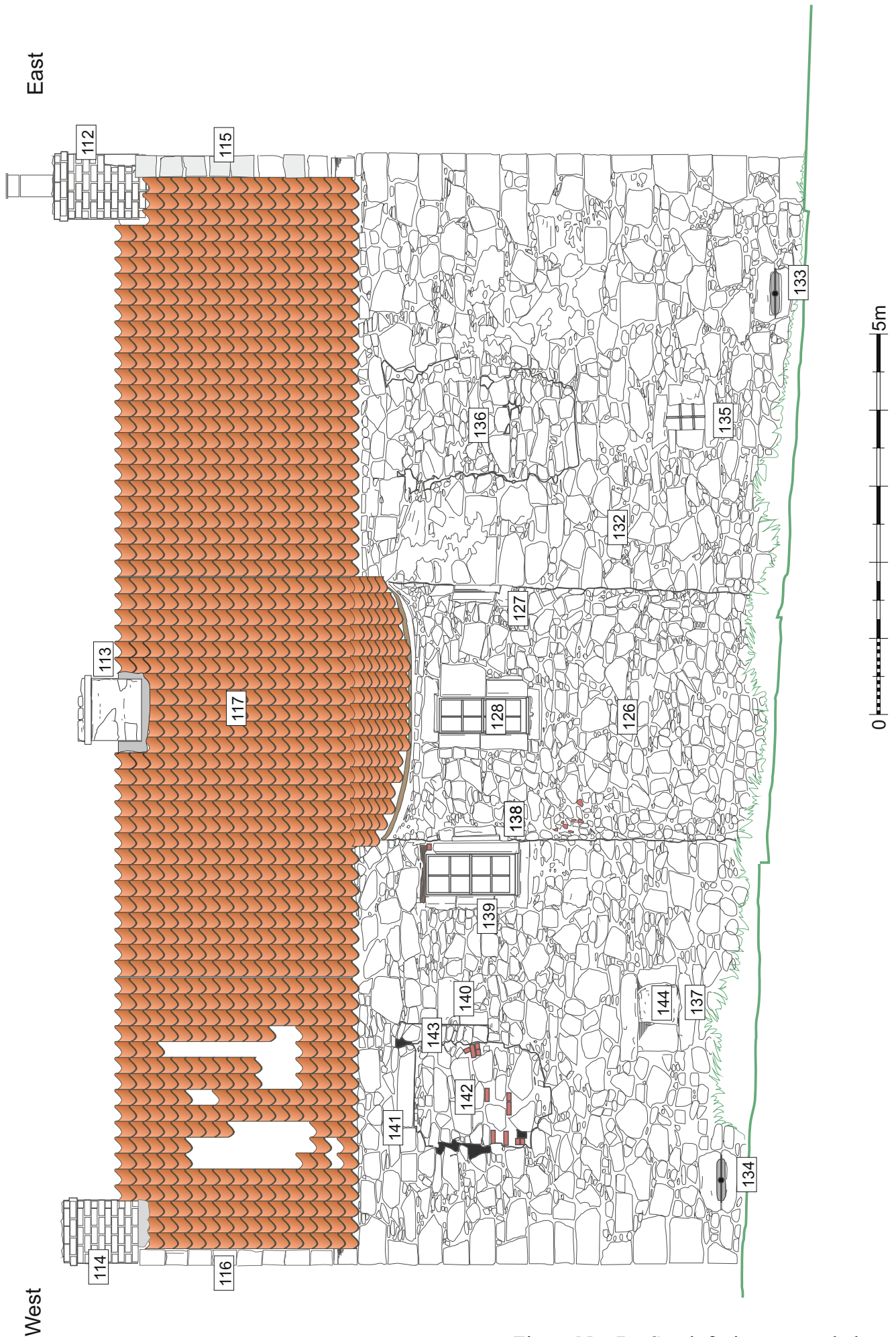


Figure No. 7: South facing external elevation

5.5. West Exterior

- 5.5.1. The main fabric of the west gable elevation [145] consists of roughly coursed medium to large basaltic stone with large roughly dressed basalt quoins to the northwest and southwest. Central to this elevation at ground floor level is a large forced opening [148] 2.20 m wide and 1.90 m high. The present opening has cement and wooden uprights with a large wooden beam lintel. However, this is a later adaptation of a mid 19th century slap through providing entry into room 1.
- 5.5.2. On the first floor to the south is a blocked window [150] formed of sandstone surround with a relieving arch above, the blocking [149] is of heavily mortared random basalt rubble.
- 5.5.3. Two splay mouthed gun-loops [146] & [147] are located on the ground floor to the southwest and northwest respectively. They are of similar make-up and design to [118].



Plate 4: West gable with large central ground floor opening and original window on 1st floor to the right - now blocked. The castle ruin is in the background.

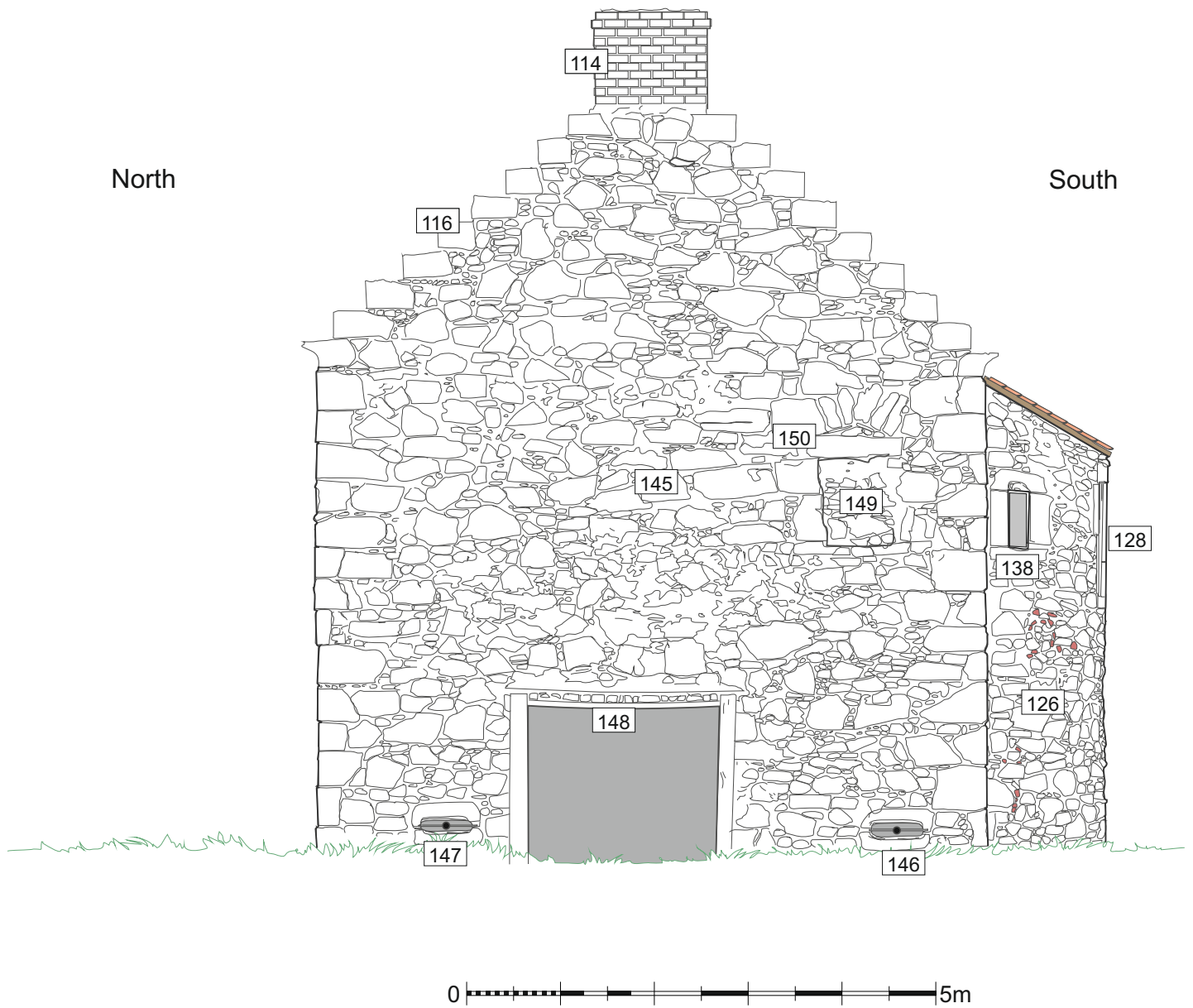


Figure No. 8: West facing external elevation

5.6. Interior

- 5.6.1. The following is a description of the present interior spaces which are numbered 1-19. Each room is described in general and where applicable additional feature numbers have been ascribed.

5.7. Room 1

- 5.7.1. A square vaulted chamber 5.30 m x 5.30 m is currently entered from the exterior on the west elevation via the large opening [148]. Directly opposite on the east elevation is a large blocked fireplace [153] formed of large well dressed yellow sandstone voussoirs. The fireplace has been blocked by a cement and brick infill in the later 20th century. The interior of the fireplace – which can be entered through a breach from Room 2, is circa 2.10 m north south and 1.25 m east west. This narrows into a flue which extends through the entire building and exits as chimney stack [113].
- 5.7.2. A noticeable bulge in the southeast corner is due to the continuation of the circular stair tower fabric [126]. In the south elevation a large splayed window recess slopes up to the smaller window opening [137] which has been blocked with 20th century bricks [144].
- 5.7.3. In both the northwest and southwest corners there are double sets of splayed gun-loops ([118], [134], [146] & [147]). The exit hole for each gun-loop is recessed some 0.60 m from the interior face and measures circa 0.08 m in diameter. Aiming a gun may have been problematic when inserting an arquebus or similar firearm through the small aperture and would have effectively blocked any view of the exterior.
- 5.7.4. In the northeast corner an angled arch leads into the short corridor of Room 2.



Plate 5: East elevation of Room 1 with central fireplace and link corridor to left and rounded section of stair tower to right

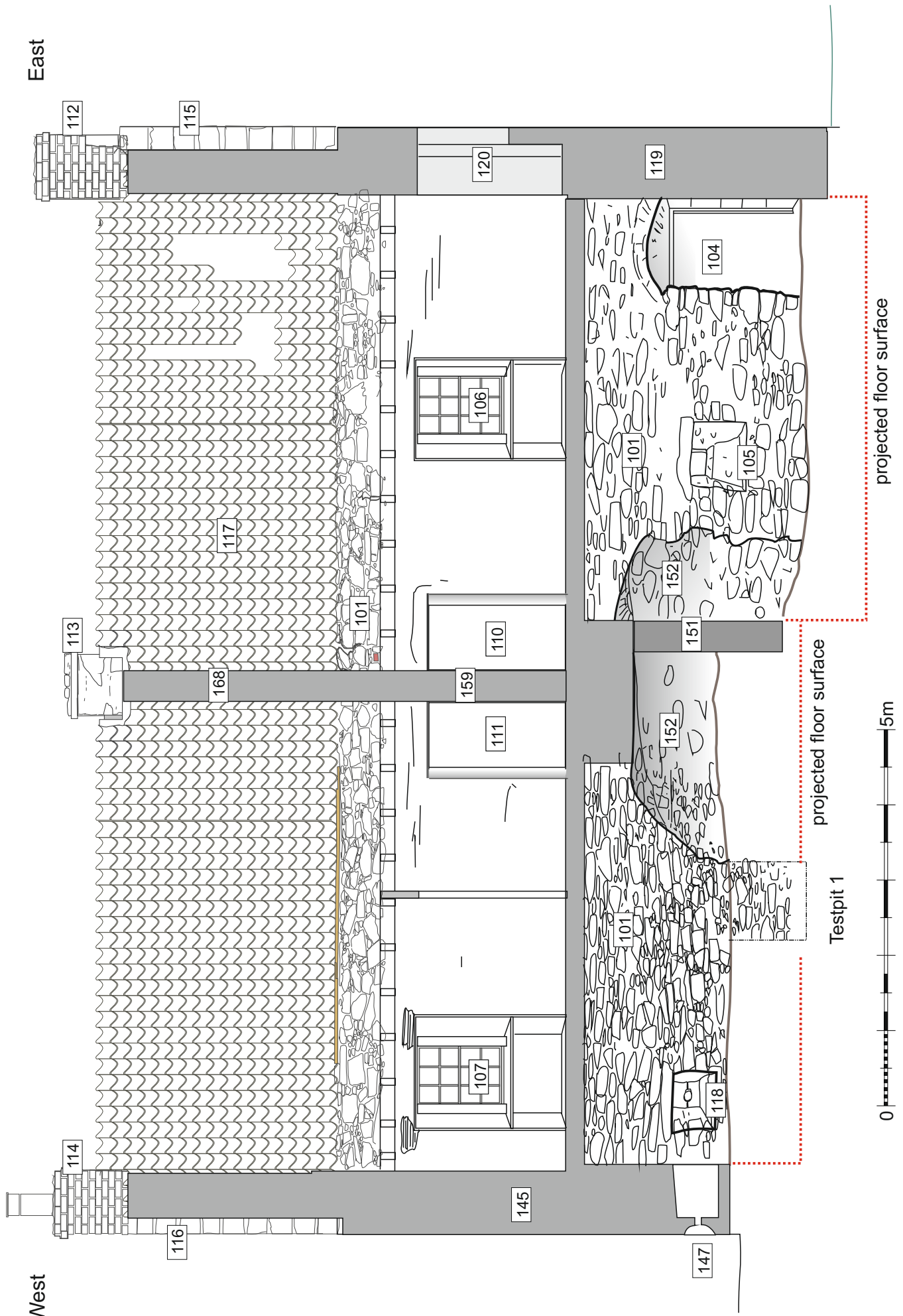


Figure No. 9: South facing internal elevation of north wall

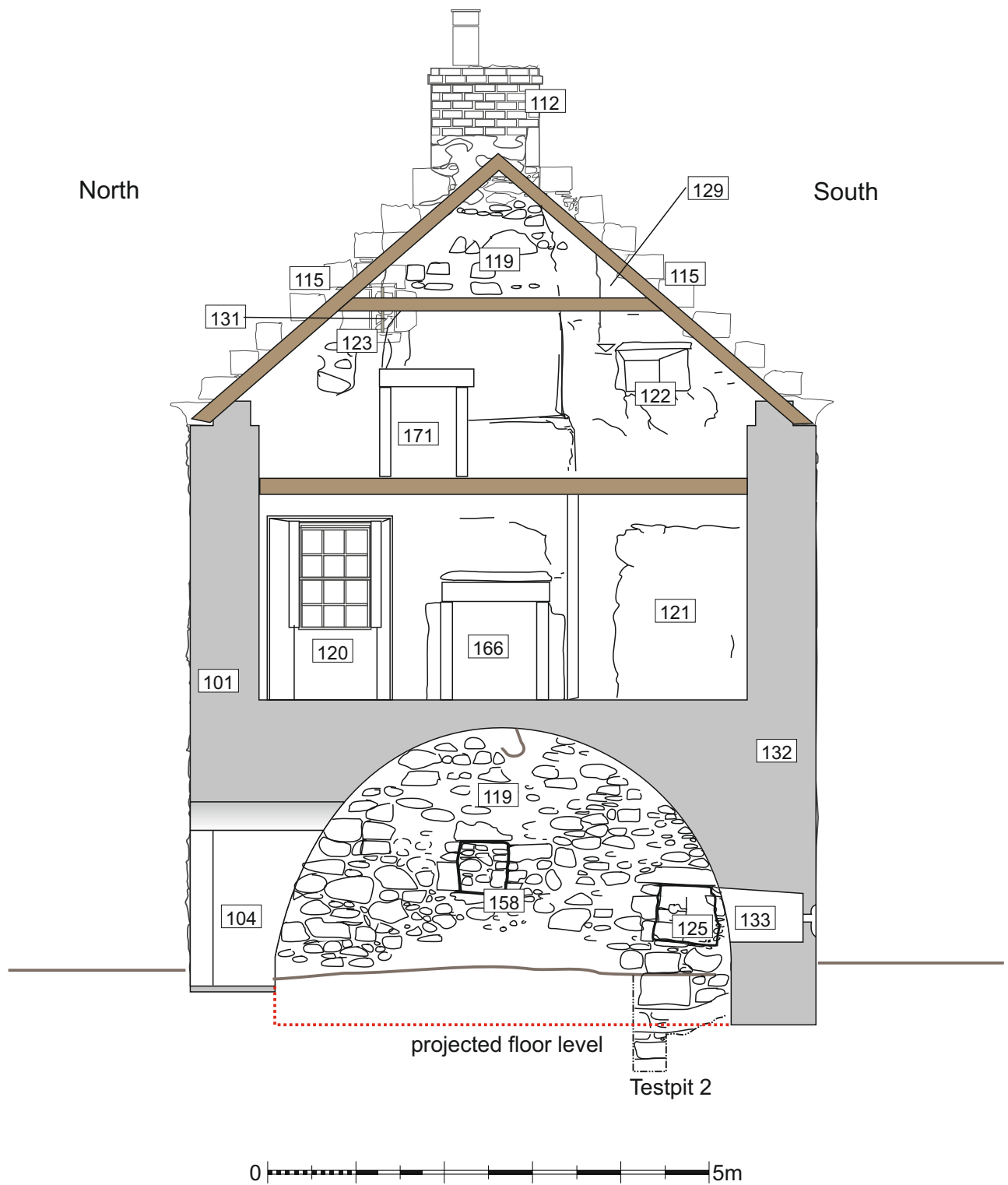


Figure No. 10: West facing internal elevation of east wall

5.8. Room 2

- 5.8.1. The short 2.50 m long corridor of Room 2 links Rooms 1 & 4. The roof of the corridor is a shallow vault 1.20 m wide [152].
- 5.8.2. This corridor led from a doorway in the east elevation [173] which is made up of large finely dressed jambs and lintels. This has been blocked with a random rubble angular basalt infill, effectively isolating Rooms 1 & 4.

5.9. Room 3

- 5.9.1. The ground floor of the stair tower is accessed from an opening in the southwest corner of Room 4. The condition of this area was deemed too dangerous to examine in its present state, though it is assumed that the upper storeys were originally accessed via a turnpike stair that began at this level.
- 5.9.2. A section of blocking [156] seems to suggest that a fireplace and flue had been inserted into what was once the doorway into the stair tower.

5.10. Room 4

- 5.10.1. The larger vaulted eastern chamber measures approx. 5.30m x 5.30m in size. The entrance
- 5.10.2. to this room from the exterior is through doorway [104] located in the northeast corner.
- 5.10.3. There are small splayed windows [105] & [135] in both the north and south elevations which lead to small bar openings in the exterior space. There are also 2 gun-loops [125] & [133] in the southeast corner (similar to those described within Room 1).

Plate 6: Original window with bars in vaulted Room 4



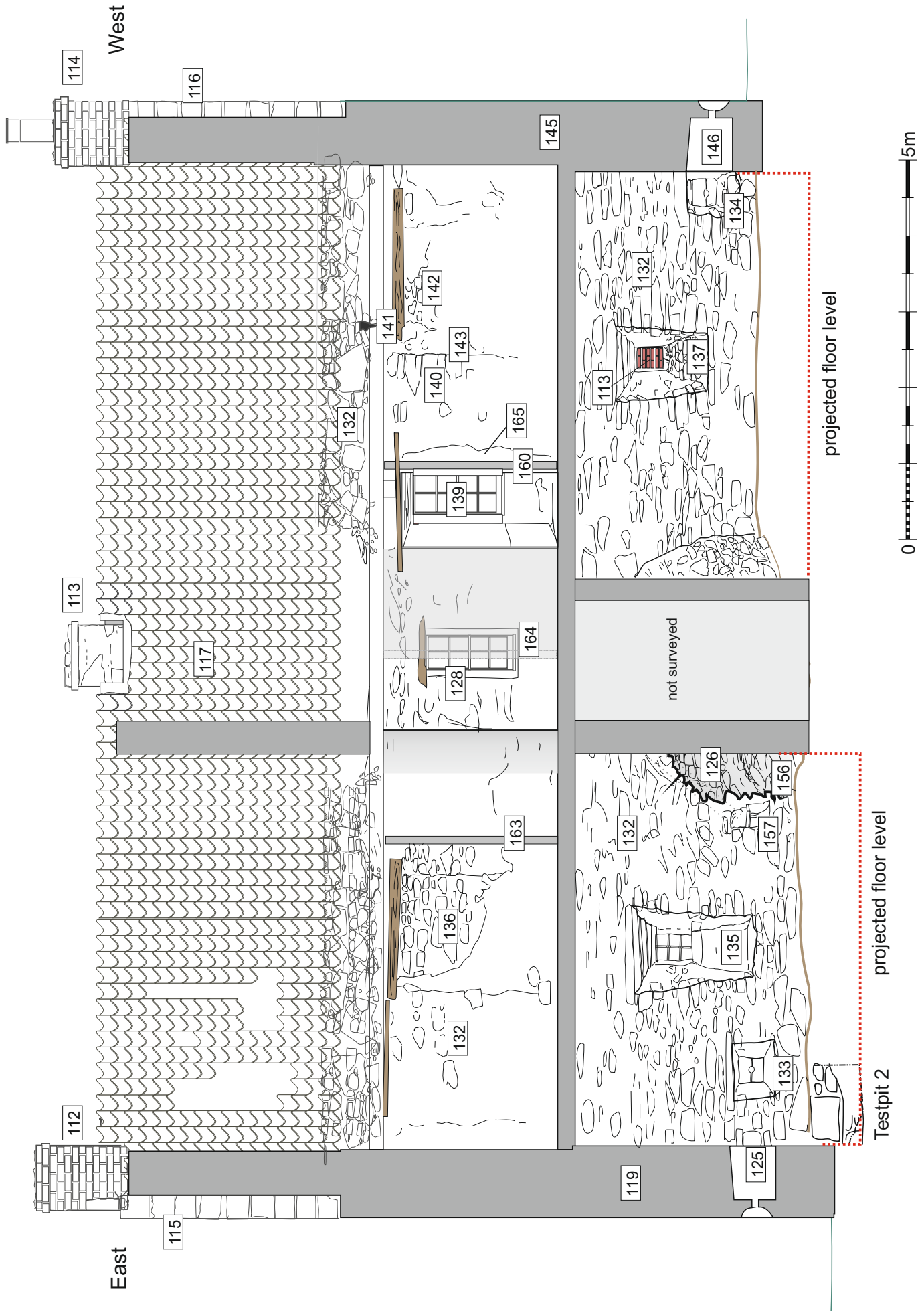


Figure No. 11: North facing internal elevation of south wall

- 5.10.4. In the southwest corner where the expected doorway to the stair tower, room 3, was located, a single corbel [157] projects at a 45 degree angle to the northwest. The timber hole above the corbel shows that a large beam supported on this corbel was angled upwards to meet the west elevation and was perhaps secondary to the original build.
- 5.10.5. The west elevation [154] is formed by the rear of the central fireplace [153] and has at its northern end the blocked doorway [173]. Given the height difference between room 1 and room 4 - shown to be up to 0.60 m - there is potential for two steps still to be located in the southwest corner.
- 5.10.6. A single aumbry opening [158] is located centrally on the east elevation. This recessed cabinet is circa 0.55 m square and 0.40 m deep.

5.11. Room 5

- 5.11.1. A small entrance lobby entered by first floor doorway [111]. A series of 4 doorways lead off this lobby which measures 2.60 m east west and 1.00 m north south. The north elevation is formed by the main stone wall [101] while the other elevations are brick built.

5.12. Room 6

- 5.12.1. A small storage cupboard measuring 1.25 m east west and 1.75 m north south. Scars of shelving can be seen on the brick partition wall [160]. The east elevation consists of a wooden partition.

5.13. Room 7

- 5.13.1. Large living space to the west originally covering half of the lodge interior prior to the later partitioning.
- 5.13.2. The north elevation is lit by window [107] which is the only surviving window for this room. Scars in the plaster of the south elevation attest to earlier blocked windows [139] & [141]. In the southwest corner a blocked cupboard [172] retains the arched ceiling of an earlier window [150] which had previously been converted into a press. In the southeast corner a vertical scar in the plaster indicates the original western limit of window [139] which has subsequently been brick blocked [165] after the insertion of room 8.
- 5.13.3. A single central fireplace formed by 3 machine cut blocks of sandstone [174] is placed central on the west elevation.

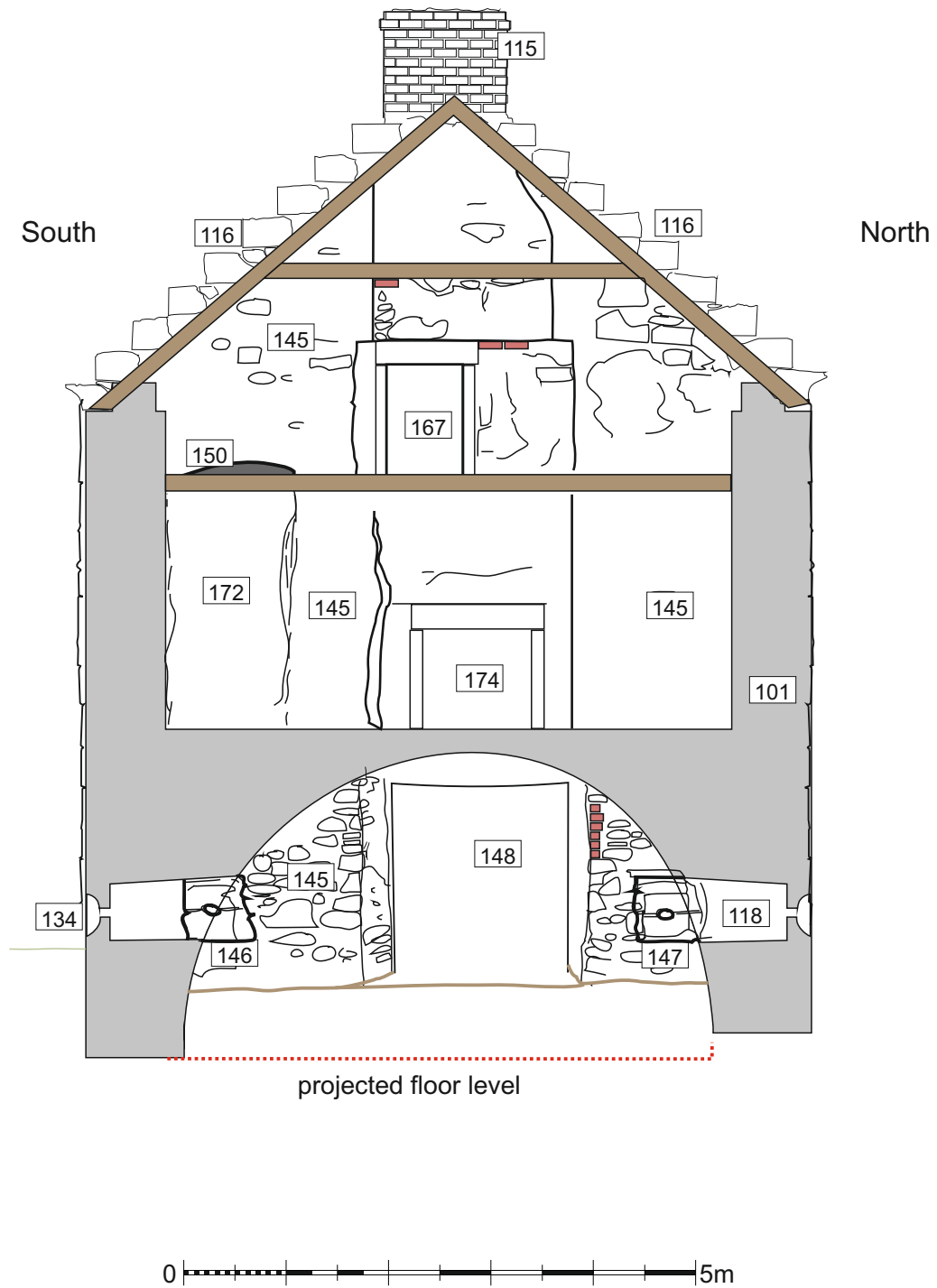


Figure No. 12: East facing internal elevation of the west wall

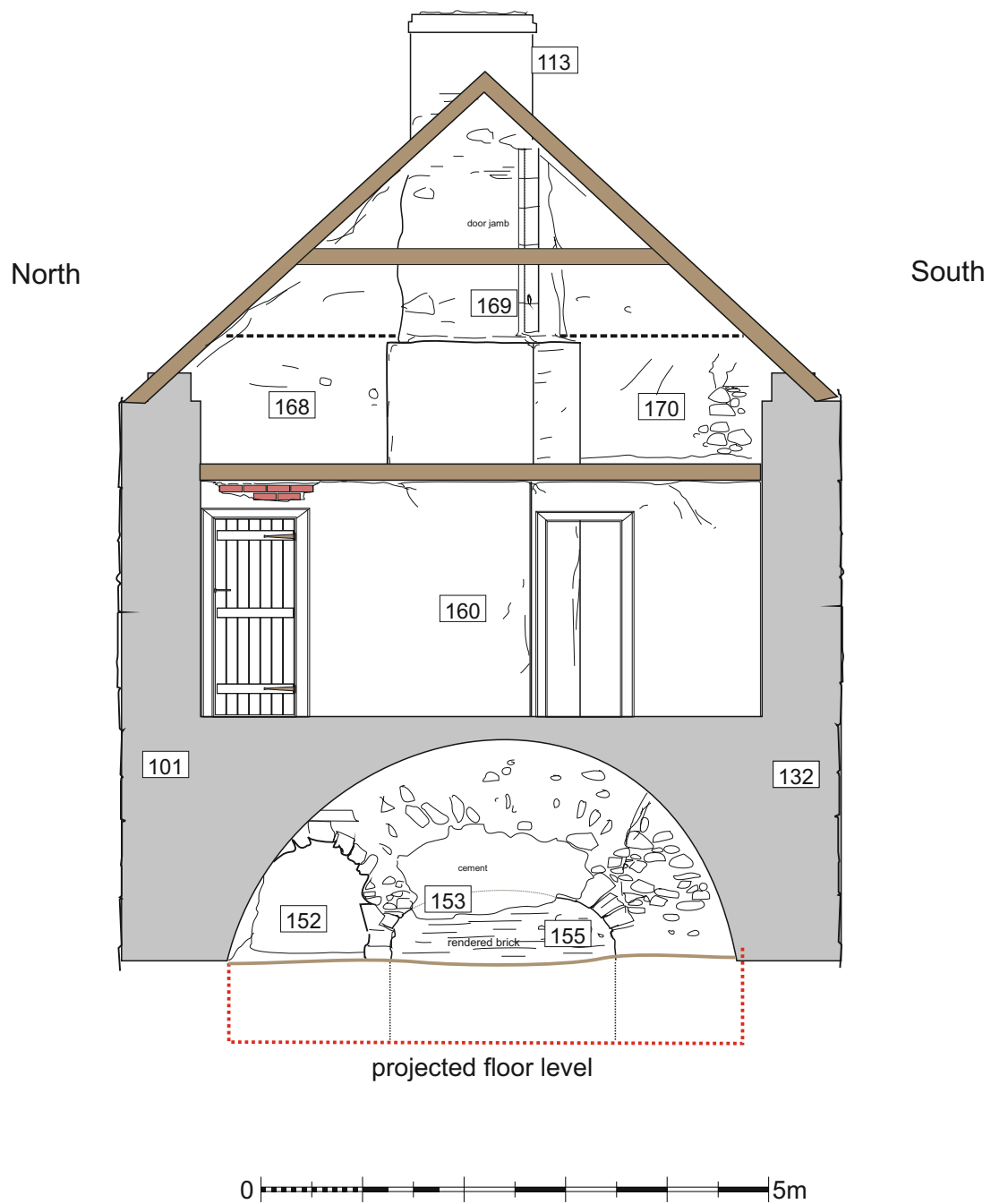


Figure No. 13: West facing internal elevation of central partition

5.14. Room 8

- 5.14.1. This 2.50 x 2.20 m sized room is entered from room 7 to the west. The east and southeast elevation is created by a brick wall [164] that extends into the original stair tower.
- 5.14.2. The room is lit by a single splayed window [139] in the south elevation which has had its western splay straightened and filled with brick [165] after the insertion of the brick built and plastered on the hard west elevation.

5.15. Room 9

- 5.15.1. A small entrance lobby entered by first floor doorway [110]. A series of 4 doorways lead off this lobby which measures 2.60 m east west and 1.00 m north south. The north elevation is formed by the main stone wall [101] while the other elevations are brick built.

5.16. Room 10

- 5.16.1. A small storage cupboard measuring 0.90 m east west and 1.75 m north south. Scars of shelving can be seen on the brick partition wall [163]. The east elevation consists of a wooden partition.

5.17. Room 11

- 5.17.1. Large living space to the east originally covering half of the lodge interior prior to the later partitioning.
- 5.17.2. In the north and northeast elevations there are 2 inserted splayed windows [106] & [120]. A scar in the south elevation and a noticeable wooden lintel are evidence for the blocked window [136]. In addition, a further blocking 121 can clearly be seen in the southeast elevation.
- 5.17.3. A single central fireplace formed by 3 machine cut blocks of sandstone [166] is placed central on the east elevation.

5.18. Room 12

- 5.18.1. Measuring 2.20 m x 2.20 m, the elevations are brick built [164] & [163] and the room is entered from room 11. The southwest corner enters into room 15 of the stair tower where the 3 windows would provide the only light for this space. Directly above room 12 is a large angled masonry wall [170] supported on sagging wooden beams but clearly related to the earlier stair tower.

5.19. Room 13

- 5.19.1. A small cupboard directly accessed from room 9 lobby measuring 0.45 m deep and 0.70m wide.

5.20. Room 14

- 5.20.1. A small cupboard directly accessed from room 5 lobby measuring 0.45 m deep and 0.55m wide.

5.21. Room 15

- 5.21.1. A small rectangular room 1.75 m east west and 1.25 m north south sitting within the southern stair tower. The room is accessed from the southwest corner of room 12 though there is no doorway between them.
- 5.21.2. Two earlier small splayed windows [127] & [138] are located in the east and west elevations. A further large inserted window [128] is located in the south elevation. These 3 windows would have provided light for room 12.
- 5.21.3. A wooden floor has been laid over the empty stair tower below.

5.22. Room 16

- 5.22.1. Directly accessed from room 5 and opposite front door [111] room 16 originally contained a wooden staircase [161] that led upstairs to room 19. The evidence for the staircase can be seen as a small diagonal scar on the east elevation of the room and a single riser remaining on a floor joist above. The narrow and steep staircase is 0.65 m wide.

5.23. Room 17

- 5.23.1. Directly accessed from room 9 and opposite front door [110] room 17 originally contained a wooden staircase [162] that led upstairs to room 18. The evidence for the staircase can be seen as a small diagonal scar on the west elevation of the room and a single riser remaining on a floor joist above. The narrow and steep staircase is 0.65 m wide.

5.24. Room 18

- 5.24.1. A large roof space covering the east side of the structure and accessed from the stairs [162]. The wallheads to the north and south, rise approx 1.00 m before angling into the roof joists.

- 5.24.2. A single fireplace [171] of large sandstone blocks with surviving grate has been inserted into an earlier fireplace flue on the east elevation. A small square window [122] is the only source of light for this room and the other 2 blocked windows [123] & [130] are not visible from the interior.
- 5.24.3. There are no signs of any internal sub-divisions.
- 5.24.4. The northwest corner is recessed some 0.80m back from the central partition flue and built of random rubble; this walling suggests an earlier opening to connect rooms 18 & 19.

5.25. Room 19

- 5.25.1. A large roof space covering the west side of the structure and accessed from the stairs [161]. The wallheads to the north and south rise approx 1.00 m before angling into the roof joists.
- 5.25.2. A single fireplace [167] of large sandstone blocks with surviving grate has been inserted into an earlier fireplace flue on the west elevation. There are no window openings in this room.
- 5.25.3. In the east elevation the central flue partition contains the remains of an earlier doorway jamb [169] resting on a plinth that is 1.30 m above the floor of room 19. Traces of the door hanger are visible in the stone work and this would have been accessed from the stair tower at a higher second floor level.
- 5.25.4. In the northeast corner the blocking wall [168] is plastered on the hard and no visible join can be seen. To the southeast an angled section of walling [170] may represent a survival of the earlier stair tower into the second floor level.



Plate 7: Room 18 roofspace with original floor level for the second floor marked and the original doorjamb highlighted.

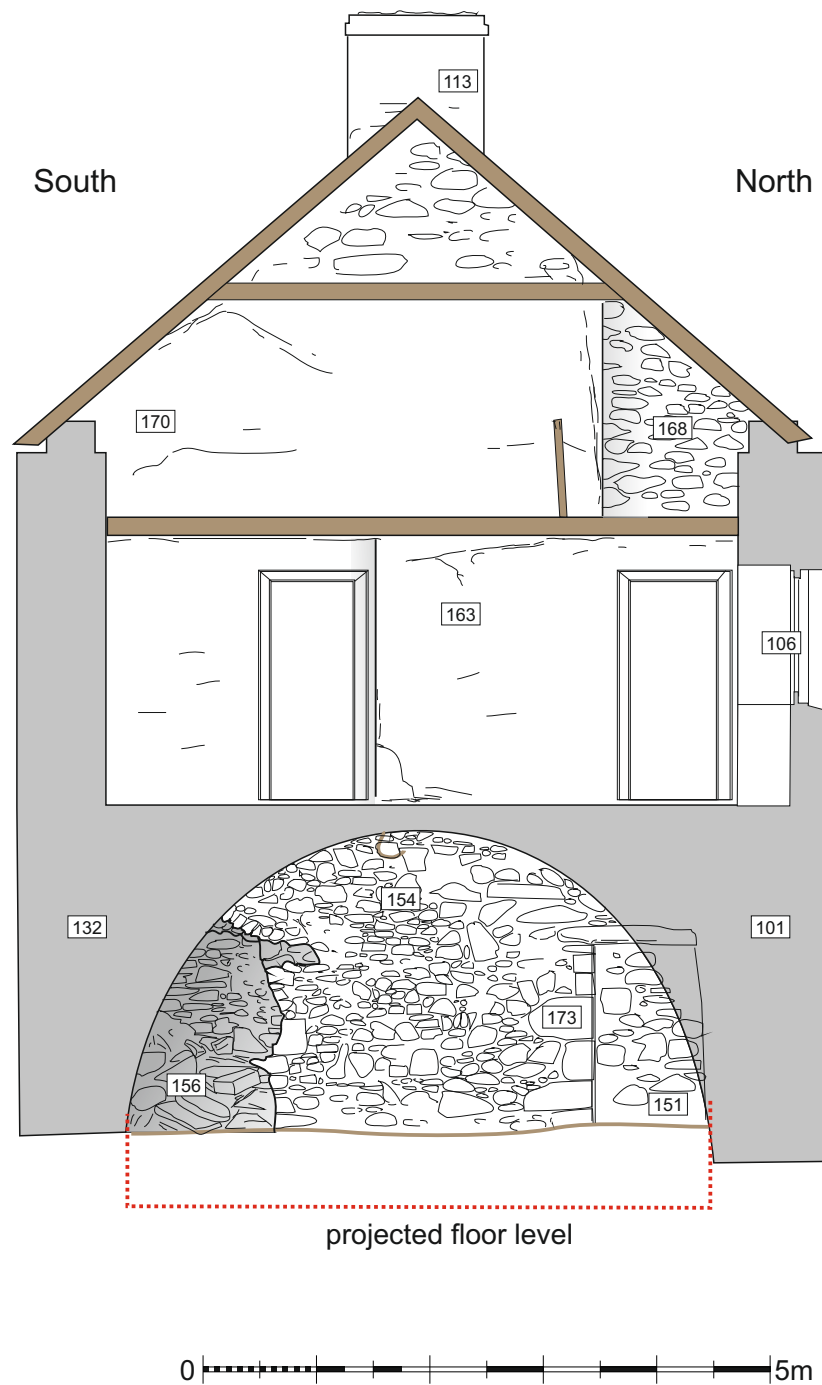


Figure No. 14: East facing internal elevation of the central partition

5.26. The Test pits (Figure 2)

- 5.26.1. Test pit 1 was located in the northeast corner of room 1 against the north wall [101]. The agreed size was 1.00 m x 1.00 m. The initial surface [1001] was of recent formation consisting of soil and hay fragments from the current use as a farm store.
- 5.26.2. Deposit [1002] was a layer of loose angular rubble up to 0.20 m thick and contained frequent fragments of mid-later 20th century material. This has been interpreted as a secondary infill of this vaulted chamber as it lies directly onto a hard packed surface [1003]. Surface [1003] consists of a flat horizontal layer of mortar with a thin dark coal dust spread across the upper surface and seems to represent an active use layer which has been buried by [1002] when the floor level was raised. Lying directly on this layer was a single leather tackety boot, suggesting infilling at quite a late date.
- 5.26.3. Beneath [1003] there is a thicker 0.50 m layer of compacted rubble and mortar which has been interpreted as the primary infill layer, as this overlies the slab surface [1006]. Forming a layer between the dump deposit [1004] and the floor surface [1006] is a thin band of earth and charcoal which must represent a period of decay and abandonment prior to the infill. Directly beneath and extending beyond the confines of the test pit is a large sandstone slab some 0.10 m thick which is postulated to represent the original slab floor surface. This indicates that the vaulted room 1 has up to 0.90 m of infill debris lying above the original floor surface.
- 5.26.4. Between the slab floor [1006] and wall [101] there is a gap of 0.20 m. This was excavated down 0.15 m through a silty clay, rich with charcoal and reddened clay fragments. Within the test pit it was difficult to ascertain whether the slab floor had been removed in this area, or if it had been a deliberate channel.

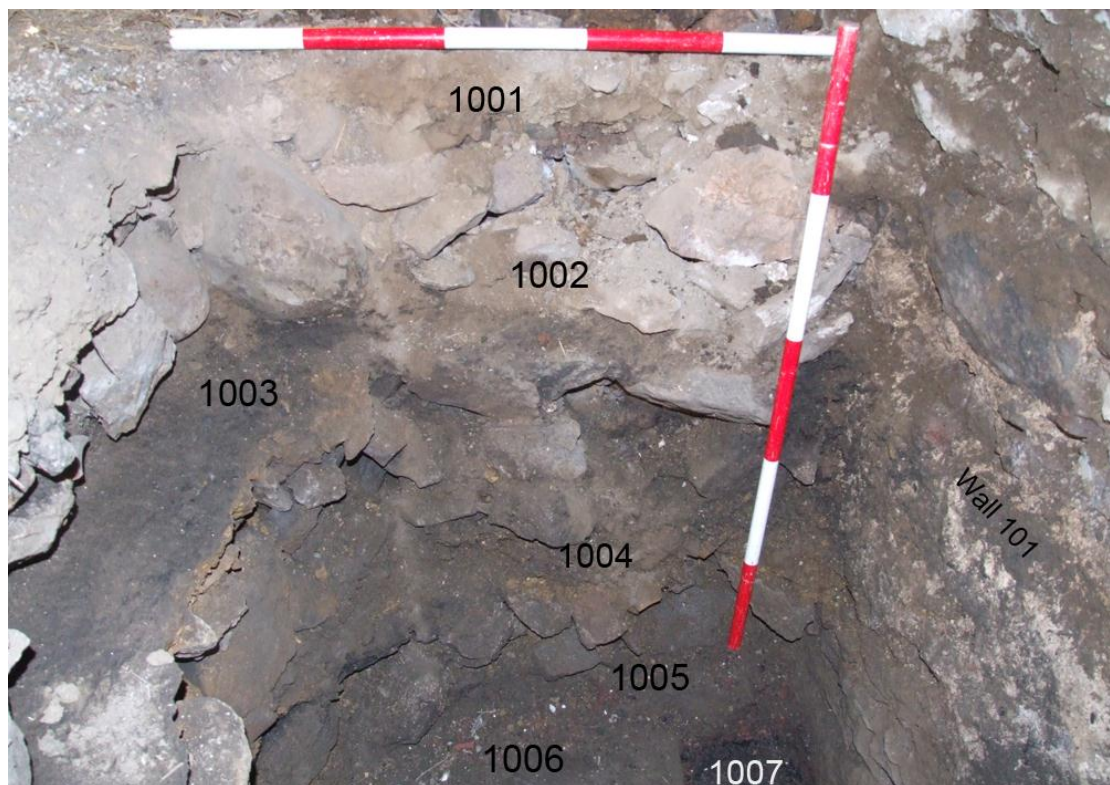


Plate 8: East facing section of test pit 1 showing all context levels

- 5.26.5. The excavation of test pit 1 provided evidence of two distinct episodes of infill overlying the original floor surface. However, it is clear from the retrieved material that the upper infill [1002] is 20th century in date and the surface [1003] and infill [1004] date to some point during the conversion to workers cottages in the late 18th century.
- 5.26.6. The floor level was recorded at 103.14 maOD.
- 5.26.7. Test pit 2 was located in the southeast corner of room 4 at the angle between the east and south walls [119] & [132]. The agreed size was 1.00 m x 1.00 m. Similar to test pit 1, the upper 0.10 m is a loose surface of soil and recent farm store material and domestic rubbish [2001]. This sits directly over a 0.35 m deposit of angular rubble and broken structural elements such as floor slab and stone roofing tile [2002].
- 5.26.8. The rubble layer [2002] sits directly over a thick 0.15 m deposit of hard dark cream lime mortar which may represent either constructional activity during conversion to workers cottages or material directly related to the demolition of the upper floor of the building prior to the raising of the floor surface to its current height.
- 5.26.9. Two layers sit directly over an unusual white lime plaster deposit [2006] which is 0.02 m thick. These two layers consist of a soil lense [2005] and a coal layer [2004]. The coal must represent a secondary use of the interior for storage as it lies directly over the white plaster layer which will have derived from the walls and ceiling of the vaulted chamber, room 4.
- 5.26.10. The plaster layer [2006] does contain a flat sandstone slab within the matrix which may derive from the original floor surface.
- 5.26.11. Directly beneath this layer lies a clean silty clay soil [2007] which is devoid of any artefactual material. This sterile layer is interpreted as top soil over which the original floor surface was laid. A depth of 0.35 m for this layer is consistent with top soil depth and the wall [145] appears to be cut cleanly through this deposit.
- 5.26.12. Continuing down in a sondage in the northeast corner of test pit 2, a glacial till subsoil was revealed, which ran beneath the foundations of wall [145] and had been slightly cut by the foundations to a depth of circa 0.10m.
- 5.26.13. This gives a foundation depth of circa 102.25 maOD and a conjectured floor level of 102.70 maOD for the putative floor surface. This confirms that the original floor surface in room 4 is at a depth of circa 0.50 m lower than room 1.

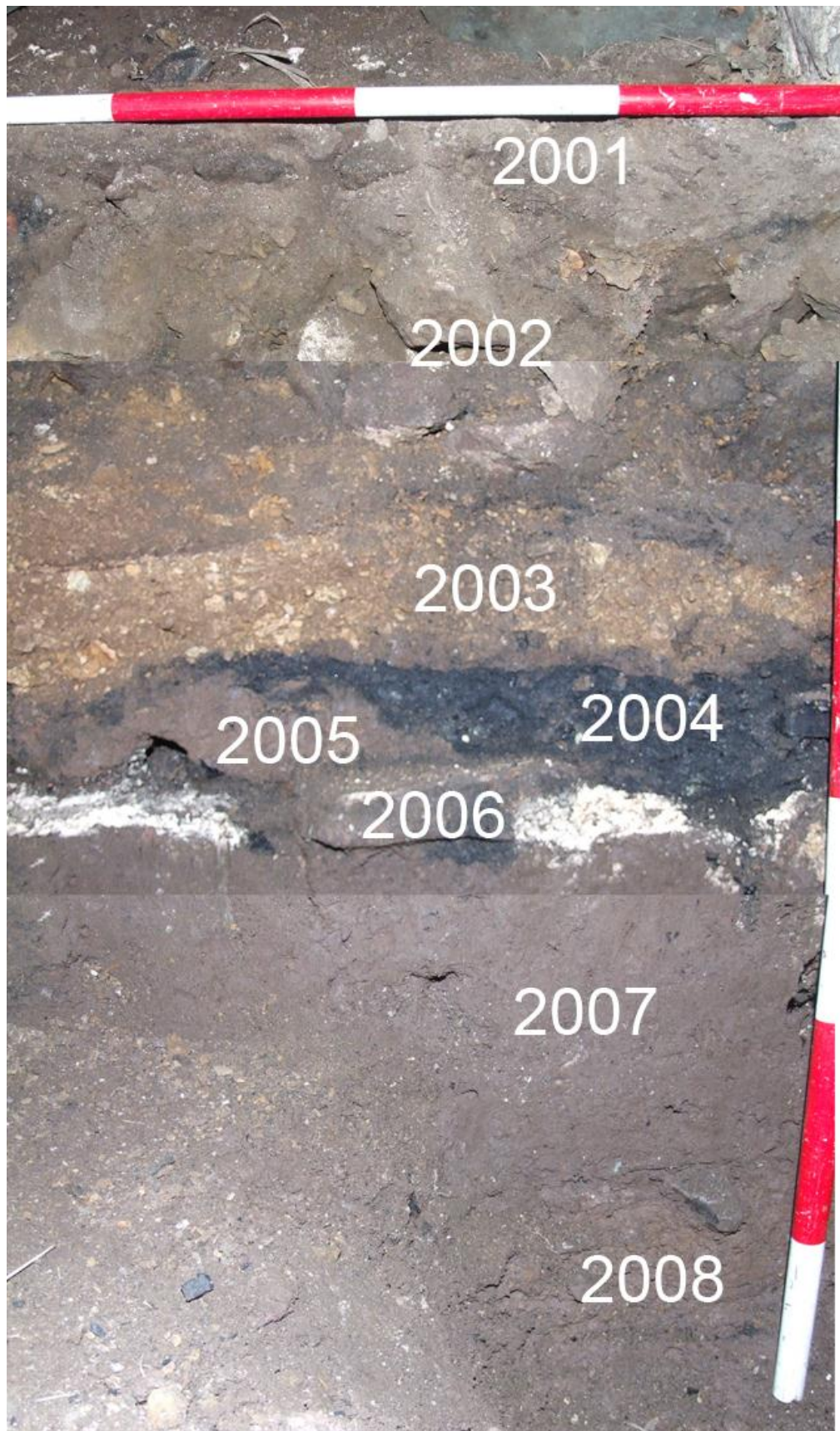


Plate 9: Composite image of the south facing section of test pit 2. note the white plater layer marking the interface between sterile soils and anthropogenic deposition.

5.27. General Structural Phasing

- 5.27.1. Although the recording of the elevations has been extensive there are still areas within the building, notably the stair tower and roof spaces as well as the sub surface features within the vaulted chambers that have remained without investigation. This was due to either safety concerns, lack of visual access and more prosaically, the depth of infill within the vaulted chambers, which must be removed to expose possible hidden features and the full extent of features such as the fireplace [153] or the dividing doorway [173] for example.
- 5.27.2. Given these caveats it is still possible to break down the evolution of the structure into 4 broad phases based upon both documentary and constructional details visible on the elevations.

5.28. Phase 1 – late 16th century

- 5.28.1. Documentary sources (see Section 6.14) provide us with a probable construction date within the 1590s, as part of a major re-modelling of the castle by the Seton family. There are several architectural elements that support this date, such as the 6 gun-loops ([118], [125], [133], [135], [134], [146] & [147]) which are of splay mouth form and are identical to those within the main castle building to the east. This form of gun-loop is commonly accredited to the late 16th century and may represent more of a show of defensive strength rather than actual defensive purpose.
- 5.28.2. The doorway on the ground floor [104] has rounded moulding on the surrounds which again points to a 16th century date. It is noticeable that this northeast corner has a lack of gun-loops which may suggest this part of the building lay within a protective courtyard. In addition, the internal link doorway [173] between the vaulted chambers of room 1 and room 4 is of similar style and is integral with the main construction.
- 5.28.3. The central fireplace [153] gives the impression of a kitchen space within room 1, accessed through the room 2 link corridor [152]. Due to the covering of cement render it is difficult to date the fireplace moulding but once again the size and location of this central fireplace lends itself to a 16th or 17th century date.
- 5.28.4. Within the attic space and set against the flue, there is a visible door jamb [169] that hints at a second floor level much higher than the present attic floor space. Examination of the exterior east elevation provides further evidence that the original building was at least 3 storeys high with a potential attic space, rather than the current layout which contains 2 storeys and an attic space. This evidence is provided by window [130] which is neatly bisected by the crow-step gables [115] on the south side. In addition, there is a small barred window light [123] on the north side of the east elevation which has been blocked after being rendered useless by the new roof line.
- 5.28.5. On the north elevation there is evidence for earlier windows, such as the jambs [109] and the blocked opening [108], which is repeated on the south elevation by the window [140].
- 5.28.6. Window [150] on the west elevation is one of the few surviving - though blocked - larger window openings from the original construction.



Plate 10: Internal and external view of gunloop.

5.28.7. It is clear that although truncated by an entire storey, much of the original fabric from the 1590s is present and that subsequent phases have left only slight traces - such as internal divisions and replacement windows - on the building.

5.29. Phase 2 – late 18th century

- 5.29.1. Phase 2 is represented more by what was removed rather than what is currently visible and it is clear from the historical research (see 6.23) that the building was still in use by Lady Hepburn into the 1780s, while the other structures seem to have been in a ruinous state (Armstrong's Map of the Lothians 1773).
- 5.29.2. It is understood that the Wemyss and March Estate gains the lands and properties in the late 18th century and convert this southwest lodge from its ruinous state into 2 estate workers cottages. Perhaps due to the state of the roof and wallheads, the upper storey has been removed and the building truncated to its present height, adding crow-step gables and pantile roof. At each level the building has been sub divided into 2 equal spaces; the blocking [151] of the link doorway [173] on the ground floor; the brick wall [159] on the first floor and the rubble wall [168] in the attic space.
- 5.29.3. Both floor levels in rooms 1 & 4 seem to have been partially raised with rubble, which must have been derived from the upper storey demolition. Room 4 retains the entrance through doorway [104] but a new opening is required in the west gable elevation to provide access into room 1. This is in the form of a large cart opening [148].
- 5.29.4. The new entrance to the living quarters is no longer from the stair tower (room 3) but from a large external platform [102] on the north elevation, accessed by stairs on the northwest corner. Two doors [110] & [111] are inserted centrally and on the northeast and south elevations new windows ([106], [107], [120] & [139]) are inserted roughly in the location of the earlier openings. It is possible that the blocked openings [136] & [142] date to this refenestration.
- 5.29.5. The main features of this phase relate to the sub division of the building into 2 distinct living spaces set out over 2 floors and accessed by an external stair and platform. Both living spaces utilise one of the vaulted chambers beneath for storage facilities evidenced by coal recovered from the test trenches.

5.30. Phase 3 – late 19th / early 20th century

- 5.30.1. Phase 3 sees an internal re-organisation on the first and likely second (attic space) floors as well as blockings on the south elevation.
- 5.30.2. The south elevation bears the unusual marks of window blockings [136] & [142] leaving only the north elevation windows [106] & [107] to light the interior. The east gable window [120] remains open but the west gable window [150] is blocked and turned into an internal cupboard space for room 7. When examining MacGibbon and Ross's pen and ink illustration viewing the entirety of Garleton Castle to the east, the window [150] is still functioning in the 1880s.
- 5.30.3. MacGibbon and Ross's illustration provides further clues for this third phase as the gun-loops [146] & [147] are seen to be higher above the ground surface than they are at present, confirming the raising of the external ground level. The fireplace within room 1 is blocked

with a similar style of brick work to that found on the first floor, which create the internal divisions clustered around the central partition ([160], [163] & [164]).

- 5.30.4. During the creation of room 8, the western splay of window [139] is blocked with brick work [165] as the dividing wall between room 8 and room 7 partly bisects the window. It is possible there was an earlier division for which window [139] was required for one room and the now blocked window [141], for what is now room 7.
- 5.30.5. This phase is mainly represented by a raising of the external ground surface, the blocking of windows on the west and south elevation and the possible re-organisation of the interior divisions.

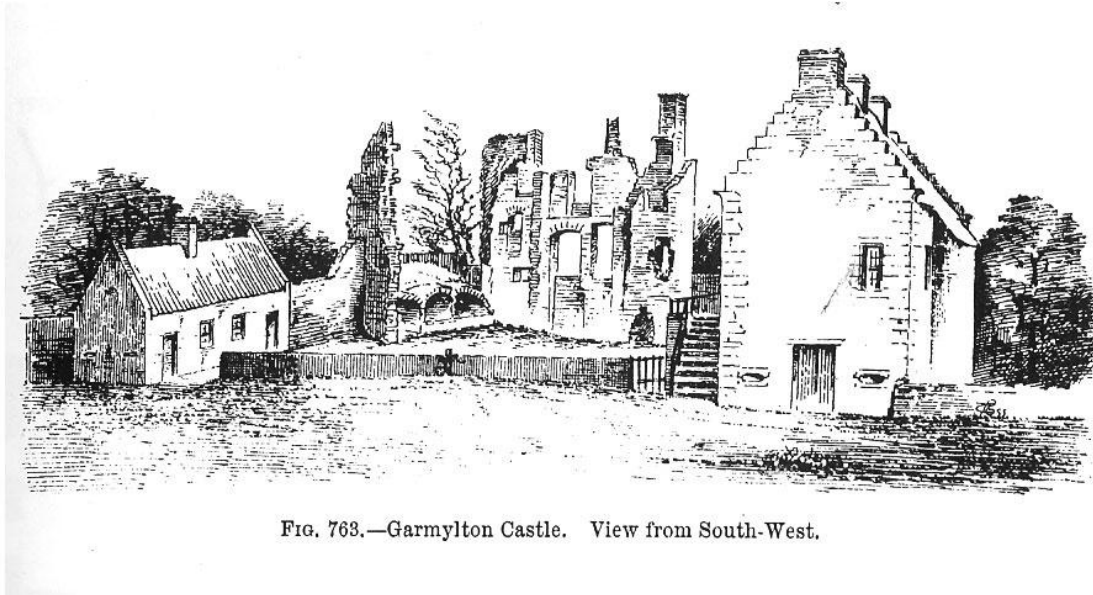


FIG. 768.—Garmylton Castle. View from South-West.

Plate 11: MacGibbon and Ross view of the structures west and south elevations, note the gunloop height above the ground level.

5.31. Phase 4 – mid 20th century - present

- 5.31.1. Phase 4 is ephemeral in nature but no less important to understand the final form of the structure as it stands today.
- 5.31.2. Discussions with the farmer of nearby East Garleton, provided verbal testimony to the occupation of the building up until the late 1960s. It becomes apparent that after this date the upper storeys had been completely abandoned and the 2 vaulted chambers, rooms 1 & 4 used as temporary farm storage areas.
- 5.31.3. The present roof timbers are recent in date, with the space between the rafters filled with particle board. In addition all the existing window frames have been inserted at around this same time in an attempt to keep the building wind and water tight and to dissuade vandalism.

5.32. Map Regression

- 5.32.1. In addition to the historical background research a map regression was undertaken utilising currently available resources to examine the site.
- 5.32.2. Timothy Pont's map of 1630 locates the site as North Garneton and although not as grand as the 'three tower' sites of Byres Castle and Ballencrieff Castle, the symbol on the map of a 'double tower' marks it out as more significant than structures such as the 'single tower' Fenton Tower or Sydserf House which is a tower house and a fortified lairds house respectively.



Plate 12: Pont's A new description of the shires Lothian and Linlithgo 1630

- 5.32.3. Blaeu's Atlas of Scotland, 1654, is a near copy of Pont's work and no further information can be gleaned from his map.



Plate 13: Blaeu's Atlas of Scotland 1654

5.32.4. In 1682, John Adair's map is the first to provide any recognisable detail for the site itself, with a castellated structure, surrounded by trees and a large outer wall with what has the appearance of a garden extending out from the building. In addition, there are 2 fields extending to the east which have the appearance of being surrounded by hedges and given their illustration on this map they must have some significance for no other nearby location has this annotation.

5.32.5. Intriguingly, directly to the south of Garntoun on this map, lying on the top of one of the shaded hills is a feature which may represent the Kae Heughs hillfort.

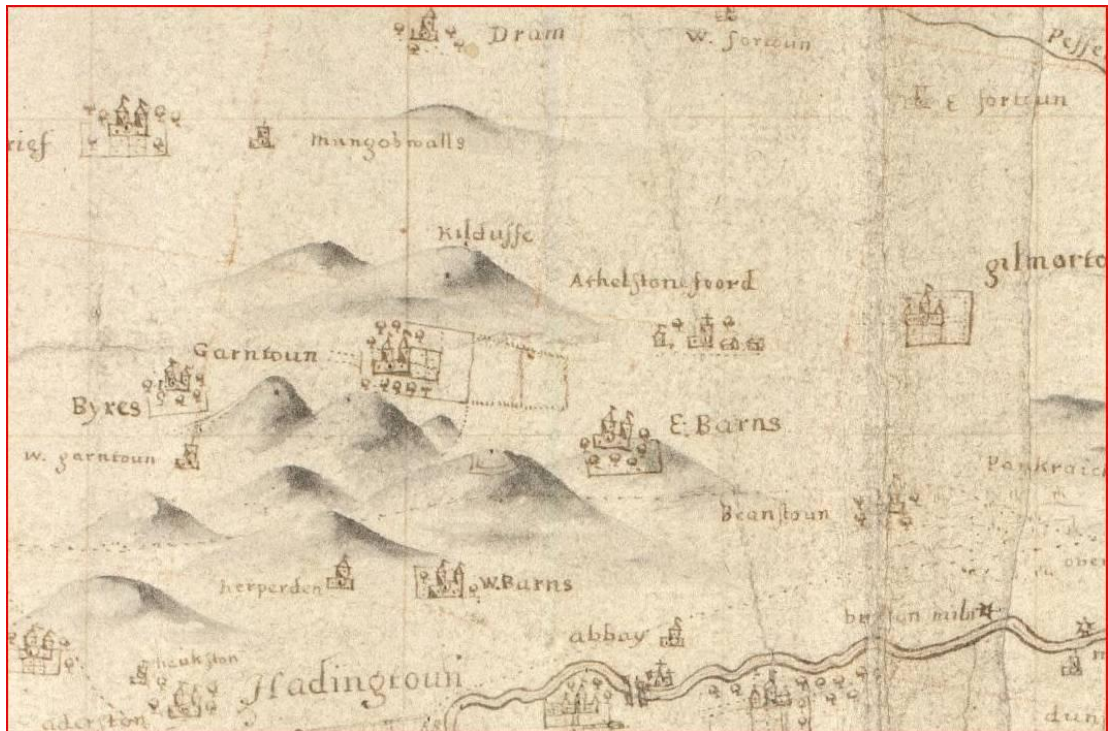


Plate 14: Adair's Map of East Lothian 1682

5.32.6. Elphinstone's New and Correct Map of the Lothians, dating to 1744, seemingly copies Adair's earlier map with the 2 enclosed fields to the east and the castle now named Granton shown as before, with trees and surrounding wall but without the garden.



Plate 15: Elphinstone's A New and Correct Map of the Lothian's from Mr Adair's Observations 1744

5.32.7. General Roy's Military Map dated to the 1750s provides a more accurate representation of the plan of Garleton, though here it is now named Girlton. Closer examination highlights a square courtyard, the castle to the east and what must be the southwest lodge marked in red.



Plate 16: Roy's Military Map of the Lowlands 1750

5.32.8. Armstrong's Map of the Three Lothians from 1773, is the first to indicate that the site is in ruins. However, 2 buildings appear to the left of the ruined castle and one of these will represent the southwest lodge. It must be noted that Armstrong's symbology is schematic and therefore this cannot be used as evidence for 2 lodges at this location.



Plate 17: Armstrongs Map of the Three Lothians 1773

- 5.32.9. The best plan of the site comes from the Ordnance Survey 6 inch First Edition Map of Scotland, surveyed between 1850 & 1856. The southwest lodge appears as an extant building with a row of cottages to the north which may or may not lie on the foundations of another lodge building. Garleton Castle is once again shown as ruins but the entire area around the site has been given over to garden.

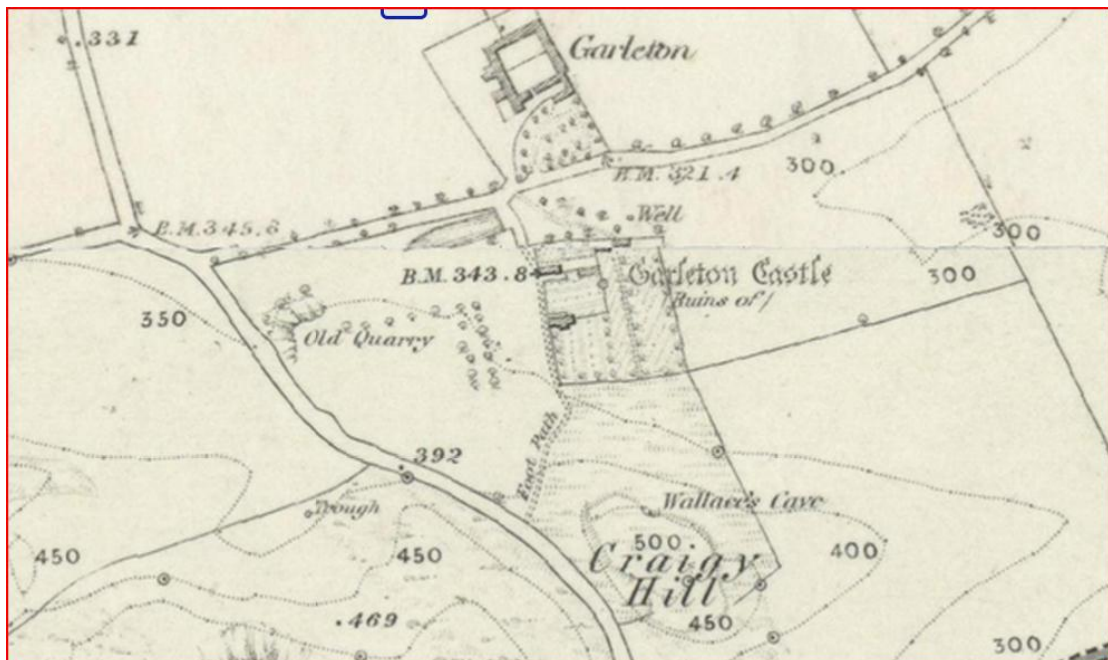


Plate 18: Ordnance Survey six-inch first edition maps of Scotland 1850-56

- 5.32.10. The map evidence provides very little to enhance our knowledge of the site, given that our first map of 1630 is schematic at best and surveyed by Pont some 50 years previously and provides little detail that can be specifically tied to the present buildings even if the site was

surveyed prior to or even during the construction of the present structure. Later maps only confirm the location of the site and while Armstrong's map of 1773 allows us to recognise the castle as a ruin, it once again does not help with layout of the surrounding buildings. The 1850s OS map does give us a first accurate ground plan and very little has changed since this, except the addition of further cottages to the north and a later 20th century cottage filling a gap between the north ranges and the castle. What does seem to be clear about Garleton is that it had some significance being portrayed quite often larger than other surrounding estates.

5.33. Fieldwork Bibliography

MacGibbon and Ross (1892) Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland 1880-1892
vol 4 p.189-191

RCAHMS (1924) The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and
Constructions of Scotland. Eighth report with inventory of monuments and constructions in
the county of East Lothian, Edinburgh
Page(s): 8-9, No.11 fig.46 Held at RCAHMS A.1.1.INV(8)

Tranter, N G (1935) The fortalices and early mansions of south Scotland, Edinburgh
Page(s): 57 Held at RCAHMS F.5.21.TRA

6. HISTORICAL RESEARCH

By Louise Yeoman & Roger McCarthy

6.1. Introduction

- 6.1.1. The site has been fully surveyed twice: by MacGibbon and Ross for their grand architectural survey of Scottish buildings published between 1887 and 1892¹ and by the RCAHMS in 1913 (revisited 1975) - the latter's summary is worth quoting here:
- 6.1.2. Garleton Castle was apparently an oblong enclosure of about a third of an acre containing a house with a small wing at the NE corner and two little lodges set at the western ends of the N and S boundary walls. At least three storeys high, the main block and wing were 50' and 42' long respectively. A circular tower 22' in diameter is salient to the enclosure at the SE angle of the wing. Only the N and E lateral walls of the house remain, indicating the W gable and interior divisions. Three vaulted cellars can be traced. An external fore stair at the NE angle is secondary. A feature of the house is the number of gun-loops of the splayed type typical of the 16th century (N Tranter 1935).
- 6.1.3. The SW lodge, now falling into disrepair, is oblong, two storeys high and has two vaulted chambers on the ground. The NW lodge is modern, but appears to be on the site of a building coeval with the SW lodge.
- 6.1.4. Architectural Notes: L-shaped. 16th century. Courtyard. Rubble-built².
- 6.1.5. MacGibbon and Ross did do archival research to establish the history of the site but as we will show made a fundamental mistake by confusing it with the completely separate site of Garleton Alexander and thus wrongly misattributed the building of the castle to the famous poet and courtier Sir David Lindsay of The Mount (c. 1490 – c. 1555).
- 6.1.6. RCAHMS seem to have restricted themselves purely to a site survey.
- 6.1.7. Subsequent published descriptions e.g. the short and inaccurate notice in Colin McWilliams Buildings of Scotland: Lothian and various online references appear to be based on these two surveys rather than direct research either on site or in the documentary record.
- 6.1.8. The one exception to this appears to be Joachim Zeune who did visit and photograph the site in 1985 for his *The Last Scottish Castles* 1992 and discusses it at some length - but Zeune is only interested in what the RCAHMS calls the SW lodge and again does not seem to have done any research into the documentary record³.
- 6.1.9. Ours is therefore the first study of the site to be based on a full review of all of the extant documents and original literary references from the early thirteenth century onwards.
- 6.1.10. Based on these we have developed an alternative theory as to when and by whom the castle was built – we will argue that it was in fact built by the Towers family in the later sixteenth century, was home to two wealthy and influential families through the seventeenth century

¹ MacGibbon and Ross *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* 1887-1892 vol 4 p.189-191

² RCAHMS (Canmore ID 56360, Site Number NT57NW 8)

<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/56360/details/garleton+castle/>

³ Zeune, *The Last Scottish Castles*, Internationale Archaeologie 12 (whole issue), 1992

and was gradually abandoned and allowed to fall into decay after its sale by Sir George Seton in 1716.



Plate 19: View of the southwest lodge and castle from the south

6.2. The Geographical Context

- 6.2.1. Garleton Castle is set on the main invasion route into Scotland from England, in some of the richest agricultural land in Scotland,⁴ bounded in the north by the sea and to the south by the Lammermuir Hills. It stands two miles from the important town of Haddington and 16 miles from the key target of Edinburgh Castle, in an area where invading armies could supply themselves by sea and land.
- 6.2.2. And given that for much of its medieval and early modern history Scotland was at war with England and was frequently riven by internal strife even when it was at peace with its neighbour this geography goes a long way to explain why the lords of Garleton felt the need to fortify their homes.

6.3. Which Garleton?

- 6.3.1. Until mapmakers and officials established a standard spelling in the eighteenth century Garleton was spelled in many different ways including: *Garmilton, Garmylton, Gairmyltoun, Garmeltoun, Gariltun, Garletoun, Gairntoun, Garnetoun, Gairleton, Gairletoun, Gairletoun, Gairltoun, Garnetoun, Gearlton, Girlton, Garntoun* and *Grantoun* (with variants of *Garmilton* bring the more archaic form).
- 6.3.2. Various suggestions have been offered for the Garle- or Garmil-part of the name which could be either a Anglian (or conceivably a Scandinavian or Norman) personal name or a Gaelic phrase describing the terrain - but as Lothian placenames have for long been a battlefield between often amateur enthusiasts with rival-ethno linguistic theories there is little point in rehearsing these arguments again here.
- 6.3.3. The -ton part of the name however is indisputably Anglic (the Germanic language from which both Scots and English were to evolve) and probably dates the original settlement to the period when the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria extended its rule to the Forth from the seventh to ninth centuries. To the Angles 'tun' originally meant an enclosure or homestead and is usually associated with a personal name - but in medieval Scots 'toun' came to mean a specific class of small settlement comprising multiple families owing rent and allegiance to a single lord⁵ - and our Garleton appears to have been precisely that in the middle ages.
- 6.3.4. Thus although there is no direct documentary evidence of a settlement here before the early 13th century we can assume that Anglic-speakers were living here considerably before that.
- 6.3.5. There were three quite separate settlements called Garleton and these were given different qualifiers (West, East, North, Mid-, Alexander, -Noble and Dunning) at different times -

⁴ McNeill and MacQueen *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 1996

⁵ Michael Lynch (ed.) *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, 2001. Ordnance Survey, [Guide to Scots Origins of Place Names in Britain](#)

which has greatly confused previous historians and led to the mis-attribution and mis-dating of the castle.⁶

- 6.3.6. Garleton Dunning (again several variant spellings) was held by the Libaud family between 1312 and 1336 and later erected into a regality held by the Douglasses of Dalkeith in the later fourteenth century (and passed on through various lords of Dalkeith into the late seventeenth century) and seems to have been an estate somewhere to the west of our Garleton Castle.
- 6.3.7. The settlement known at various times as Garleton Alexander, Mid-Garleton or just as plain Garleton (or Garmylton etc) was held from the 1230s through to the 1580s by the powerful Lindsay family as part of their barony of Byres.
- 6.3.8. The third settlement was called East or Easter Garleton or Garleton-Noble (with variant spellings) and was successively held by members of the Noble, Napier, Towers and Seton families.
- 6.3.9. **It is this Garleton (Garleton Noble) which has our ruined castle and house, and which will therefore be the subject of this report.**
- 6.3.10. To complicate matters, Garleton Noble and Garleton Alexander also eventually came under the ownership of the Towers family in the late 16th century and though there were some fluctuations stayed that way before entering into the possession of the Charteris family (later Earls of Wemyss) in 1725.⁷ However they were probably part of the same original medieval landholding.
- 6.3.11. When and how the original split took place is unclear, but it was quite common for medieval landowners to split up their holdings in this way and we know from the first document to mention Garleton Alexander that it was held in exchange for the service of half a knight (that is to say the owner would need other fiefs or estates as well to make up the income needed to maintain a full knight).
- 6.3.12. It is therefore probable that the original Garleton was a single settlement big enough to support one whole knight and may have been split into three smaller fiefs owing a fraction of a knight's service to different lords in the twelfth or early thirteenth century – and with each split some of the peasant households would have relocated themselves to a new *toun* and named it after the original with a qualifier.
- 6.3.13. However some earlier descriptions of the Garleton Castle site were unaware that there were these multiple Garletons (or perhaps assumed that they were always united in the same hands).
- 6.3.14. In particular led astray by David Laing, MacGibbon and Ross wrongly attribute the building of the castle to the famous poet and courtier Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (c.1486 to c.1555), author of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, and even claim that he was born there.⁸ This is not

⁶ There is also a fourth West Garleton which appears in early modern documents and maps - unless this was a later alternate name for Garleton Dunning it seems to have been part of the Lindsay lands - and Blaeu's 1654 Atlas further muddies the water by having just a North and South Garnetoun on different sides of the Garleton Hills.

⁷ 1586, CC8/8/16, f.342, confirmed to Sir George Touris, 1605 in retours, sasine to Col Francis Charteris of Amisfield, RS27/99/165.

⁸ MacGibbon and Ross, iv, p.190, David Laing *Sir David Lyndsay's Poetical Works* 3 vols, 1879

the case. Throughout Sir David's life the lands that the castle now stands on were never in Lindsay hands.

6.3.15. McWilliams assigns it to a Sir John Seton in the 1550s, but neither Garleton was in Seton hands before 1643.⁹

6.3.16. Unfortunately these errors have been further perpetuated on the internet and may thus prove ineradicable – but this essay will demonstrate from the original documents which families owned which Garleton over the whole medieval and early modern period.

⁹ This is presumably a mistake for the later Sir John Seton of Garleton, 1st Baronet, d.1686. The first Seton to own the castle was George Seton, 3rd earl of Winton, 11th August 1643, RS25/31/416.

6.4. Garleton in the Middle Ages

- 6.4.1. For much of its history this area of East Lothian was if not quite the wild frontier of Scotland (the actual medieval border was 30 miles or 48 km to the east of Garleton) still close enough to it to be a debatable territory subject to frequent invasions and raiding during the many Anglo-Scottish wars.
- 6.4.2. And even in time of peace there were local feuds, banditry and civil wars to worry about - particularly during the numerous periods where the king or queen was a child and the Scottish lords fought and intrigued over who should control the regency.
- 6.4.3. The fortifications that survive at Garleton are therefore hardly unusual: early modern maps show many fortified houses and castles and only well into the seventeenth century did Scottish lairds feel safe enough to cease designing their homes with defence as a key consideration¹⁰.
- 6.4.4. And Garleton first enters history with several early to mid-thirteenth century documents that clearly shows it was part of the feudal system that Scottish kings imported from England and the continent to provide them with the key military technology of the period: the medieval knight.
- 6.4.5. Knights with their armour and warhorses and the need to constantly practise their military skills (rather than farm or practice a useful trade) were extremely expensive to train and maintain and few medieval kings could afford to directly pay more than a small retinue of them directly.
- 6.4.6. But while medieval kings - and particularly Scottish kings - were usually short of money, they did generally have two resources in abundance: land and the people that farmed it.
- 6.4.7. So the feudal system developed by which a king would grant a territory to a lord or baron who in turn would parcel it out amongst his knights each of whom would receive a fief or feu - a small estate large enough to support him, his family and his entourage and in exchange for which he would give the lord military and other services.
- 6.4.8. This fief would typically be a village or hamlet (a *toun* in Scots or *baile* in Gaelic) inhabited by multiple peasant families who would deliver up part of their harvest to their new lord and were also obligated to work on the land that he chose to retain for himself.
- 6.4.9. In Scotland feudalism was a relatively late arrival - it developed on the continent, was introduced to England by William the Conqueror in 1066 and began to be adopted by Malcolm Canmore and his successors in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries as it gave them a new weapon to use in the constant struggle to assert their authority.
- 6.4.10. As in England it required the importing not just of the feudal idea but of men to implement it - Norman and other French barons who were enticed to Scotland with generous grants of land and brought their knights north with them.
- 6.4.11. Thus when Garleton is first mentioned in documents it is associated with originally French baronial and knightly families which had taken service with the Scottish kings and settled

¹⁰ For which see Zeune's *Last Castles of Scotland* which is largely devoted to precisely this transition from the late medieval castle to the unfortified Laird's houses of the seventeenth century.

here and early East Lothian charters are full of French names like Vaux, Molyneux, St Martin, Montfort, Marshal etc.

6.5. The Nobles and de Vaux

- 6.5.1. The earliest document to mention Garleton is a charter dated from between 1214 and 1230:
- 6.5.2. *William Noble of Garleton has given and granted and made firm by this his present charter to Newbattle Abbey a toft and croft in East Fenton (ELO), which lies between the toft and croft of Simon and the well next to the exit of the villa, which Aylward brother of Uchtred held. He has also given them that land which lies next to the Peffer Burn by stated bounds, as far as the bounds of Robert Fleming's lands, which he accepted in marriage with his wife Matilda, for an annual render of 13d. for all service and demand, which he and his heirs owe in renders to the brethren of the Temple of Balantrodach (Temple, MLO), half at Martinmas, half at Easter, as attested by the charters of William de Vaux and the brethren of the Temple, which he handed over to the monks of Newbattle.*¹¹
- 6.5.3. This document tells us that between 7 Oct 1214 and 6 January 1230 William Noble granted two pieces of land to the monks of Newbattle Abbey (13 miles/20km to the W of the castle) some land at East Fenton (3 miles/4.5 km to the NE) and next to the Peffer burn (a small river that is sourced in the Garleton hills and runs east to the sea) and that he also owes a sum in renders to the Knights Templars of Balantrodach (16 miles/25km to the SW).
- 6.5.4. William's family name Noble is Norman-French: the de Nobiles came to England during the Conquest and are attested in the border county of Cumberland soon after - and William is married to a Fleming who as the name suggests are another French family (Flanders then being a county in France).
- 6.5.5. An earlier charter between 1208 and 1211 also shows William Noble being granted land in Kilpunt and Illieston in West Lothian by Henry de Bohun Earl of Hereford (one of many Anglo-Norman barons who held land on both sides of the border)¹².
- 6.5.6. The 'of Garleton' indicates that although he owned multiple pieces of land (Kilpunt and Illieston remained in the family until his son Ralph disposed of them) Garleton was the most important of his holdings and probably the one he lived on.
- 6.5.7. The charter above also had to be confirmed by his lord William de Vaux (whose own main landholding - in feudal terms his seat - was centred at Dirleton 4 miles north of Garleton):
- 6.5.8. *William de Vaux has granted and by this present charter established to Newbattle Abbey the donation which William Noble of Garleton made of land next to the Peffer and a toft and croft, which all are in the territory of East Fenton (ELO), with common pasture of the same _villa_, and of 'Kynggeston' and with a peatery and with pasture for 200 sheep and 20*

¹¹ Paradox of medieval Scotland database <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/5080/>, (genealogical sources frequently identify a Ralph Noble as the father of William but this is based solely upon a charter between Vivian de Molyneux and the Hospital of Soutra Ralph witnessed but which is now dated 1215-1241 rather than the 1198-1232 first suggested for it - and is thus more likely to refer to the son of William Noble named Ralph who is known from other charters to have been active between 1232 and 1256).

¹² <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/583/>

plough-beasts and two horses, as in the charter of William Noble, in perpetual alms. He also grants that the monks are to be free and immune perpetually of all service and secular exaction, custom and demand, as attested by William's charter.¹³

- 6.5.9. So we learn William Noble was a substantial landowner and that his family were religiously devout: patronising both the Cistercian monks at Newbattle and the crusading Knights Templars but that he was still just a knight who held his Garleton lands from the de Vaux lords of Dirleton (and his lands in West Lothian from the de Bohun Earls of Hereford), rather than a baron who held it direct from the king.
- 6.5.10. While the ruined castle at Garleton can hardly be dated before the later sixteenth century, there would thus likely have been simpler buildings on the site - at least some form of manor house or hall - from at least the early thirteenth century as the Nobles needed to live somewhere.
- 6.5.11. There would also be a number of peasant dwellings occupied by his tenants - the croft of Simon and the home of Aylward brother of Uhtred that are mentioned in the charter for instance - and given that the Nobles lands stretched over several miles these would probably have formed several different settlements including Garleton and West and East Fenton.
- 6.5.12. The nearest church was at Athelstaneford (founded in 1176 and later associated with the lords of Garleton, but in a different barony owned by yet another two French families the [St Martins](#) in the twelfth and the [de Montforts](#) in the thirteenth centuries).
- 6.5.13. With lands in both West and East Lothian we can assume that the Nobles would moved between them (with terrible medieval roads and their rents and feudal fees mostly paid in perishable foodstuffs with a low value/weight ratio it made much more economic sense for a knightly or baronial family to regularly move themselves from manor to manor and consume the surplus produced by the tenants there rather than have it carted around from place to place).
- 6.5.14. As typical knights the Nobles might also accompanied their lords when they visited the royal court in Edinburgh and the other royal capitals at Stirling and Perth, attended the tournaments which became popular in Scotland from the late twelfth century onwards and must have frequently visited the growing town of Haddington which was just over the hill from Garleton and becoming the main royal administrative centre for East Lothian.
- 6.5.15. Their military duties as knights would have certainly taken the Nobles to Dirleton where they would have owed the de Vaux a fixed period of feudal service every year and although Anglo-Scottish hostilities were nowhere near as frequent, prolonged or bloody in the twelfth and thirteenth as they were in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries it is quite likely that they would have joined royal armies campaigning against England in for instance 1215 and 1243 (or mustered out against the punitive English raid which burned Haddington in 1216).
- 6.5.16. Sir William was succeeded by a son Ralph who became a vassal of the Church of Durham for land in Lamberton on the border in the 1240s¹⁴ - extending the range of the Nobles holdings another 30 miles to the east
- 6.5.17. A son of Ralph also called Ralph is documented in several charters around 1256 where he disposes of the Nobles properties in West Lothian¹⁵ - possibly because this over-extended the range that either he or the goods his tenants produced had to travel.

¹³ <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/5503/>

¹⁴ <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/4924/>

- 6.5.18. As far as we can tell Garleton remains in Noble hands to 1337 when yet another Ralph is holding it.

6.6. The Lindsays and Marshals

- 6.6.1. While we are not interested at this stage in documenting the other Garleton (Garleton Alexander or Mid-Garleton) in detail, it also first becomes documented around this time in a charter dates 1233-1241:
- 6.6.2. *Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, has given to David Lindsey of Barnweil, his land of Garleton (ELO) and Byres (ELO) with the meadow of 'Cattoun' (Camptoun, ELO) next to the same land with common pasture and all easements in the moor of Gladsmuir (ELO), having and holding as freely and quietly as any knight holds land of him in the feu of Haddington (ELO) by the service of one half knight for all services, exactions and demands.*
- 6.6.3. That is to say between 11 September 1233 and 27 June 1241 The Earl of Pembroke - then the greatest baronial landowner in England, Ireland and Wales and as we can see from here a baron in Scotland too - granted David Lindsey Garleton and Byres in exchange for the service of half a knight.
- 6.6.4. This is clearly not our Garleton (which we know was a fief of either William or Ralph Noble between these dates) but the property known in later times as Garleton Alexander or Mid-Garleton which remained in Lindsay hands as part of their barony of Byres until the later sixteenth century.
- 6.6.5. As we will show although the commonly made assertion following MacGibbon and Ross that the Lindsays built Garleton Castle is untrue, the Lindsays were the closest neighbours of the lords of Garleton Noble and as you'd expect they crop up fairly regularly in documents as being associated with them.

6.7. The War of Independence and the end of the Nobles

- 6.7.1. While Scotland was to endure 60 years of war (with a few short truces) between Edward I of England claiming the crown of Scotland for himself in 1296 and Edward III renouncing his claim in 1357, in all this tumultuous period we have only two documents that mention Garleton Noble.
- 6.7.2. These are both lists of Scots whose lands were to be forfeited issued by Edward III in 1337, one of which includes the lands held by Ralph Noble from David Lindsay in Byres and

¹⁵ <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/5105/>

Garleton Noble, the other of which forfeits the lands of his heir (who is an un-named minor)¹⁶.

- 6.7.3. The context of this is that Edward III was at this stage claiming and occupying Lothian which had been ceded to him by his puppet-king Edward Balliol in 1332, but facing a serious revolt from Scots loyal to King David II which was to shortly expel his garrisons from Scotland.
- 6.7.4. Ralph Noble is therefore clearly one of a number of rebellious Scots who the king was instructing his local Sheriff in Haddington to punish by forfeiting their lands.
- 6.7.5. What we do not know is whether and when this took effect: if Ralph was loyal to David II then he would presumably have re-occupied his lands by 1341 when David had expelled the English from Lothian; but if he was persuaded by the threat of forfeiture to return to Edward's side then he might have had them confiscated by David - unfortunately there is simply no documentary evidence to tell us what happened.
- 6.7.6. The reference to lands held by Ralph Noble from David Lindsay in Byres is also interesting as it indicates that at some time before 1337 the Nobles had acquired more land from the Lindsays in Byres and became their sub-vassals - however the forfeiture document clearly distinguishes these lands from those in Garleton-Noble.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in His Majesty's Public Record Office London*, Vol III, p.336-8

6.8. The Napiers and the Douglasses

- 6.8.1. Before 1377 Garleton Noble had passed into the hands of William Napier as in a charter of 7 March Robert II of Scotland confirmed its transfer from him to William Earl of Douglas and Mar¹⁷.
- 6.8.2. This may well be the same William Napier who served as constable of Edinburgh Castle under Robert II and acquired land at Wrights Houses near Edinburgh in 1390¹⁸.
- 6.8.3. Another undated charter also seems to have existed identifying William as the son of a John Napier of Garleton-Noble¹⁹, in which case we may speculate that having been forfeited of their lands (or just dying out) the Noble's lands went to the Napiers at some time between 1337 and 1377 - but that the Napiers eventually found it politic to transfer the estate to the Douglasses who at this time were by far the dominant family in the Border shires.
- 6.8.4. About this time we also find Robert II investing James Douglas of Dalkeith with a regality (a superior form of barony where the lord tried legal cases normally reserved to the crown) at Garleton. This is Garleton-Dunning (which was still a barony owned by the Earls of Dalkeith in 1693) a separate estate not associated with either Garleton Noble or Garleton Alexander and which appears to have been situated further west towards Elvington²⁰ - so we can see that both the main branches of the Douglasses had interests in this area.

6.9. The Towers take over

- 6.9.1. By 1380 another document tells us that the Douglasses have granted Garleton Noble to another knightly family: the Towers (variously spelt Touris, Towris, Toures, Tours or de Turribus) of Inverleith and Dalry (both now part of Edinburgh).
- 6.9.2. *"Charter by William, earl of Douglas and Marr, in favour of Sir John de Toures, knight, of lands of Garmyltoun nobil in constabulary of Hadyntoun and sheriffdom of Edynburgh, to be held "de nobis" with reddendo of one silver penny in name of blench farm; with clause of warrandice; witnesses - James de Douglas, "filio nostro et herede", William Lyndessay, Alexander de Mentethe, and Thomas Harkars, knights, Malcolm Flemyng, sheriff of Edynburgh, Alexander de Cokburne, Alan de Lawedre, Adam Forster, Adam de Glendonewyne"*²¹.

¹⁷ John Riddell, *Tracts, legal and historical: with other antiquarian matter chiefly relative to Scotland*, 1835 p.130

¹⁸ William Fraser *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers 1130-1587*, 1857 p.44

¹⁹ Riddell op cit.

²⁰ *Registrum Honoris de Morton: Ancient Charters, Volume 2 (1141 - 1580)* pp. 57, 148-9, McNeill and MacQueen *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* maps 203 and 207, *Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707* Ratification of Charter 18 April 1693 [\[1693/4/150\]](#)

²¹ Description of charter in private hands in National Register of Archives Scotland online- catalogue, Charteris family, Earls of Wemyss and March, NRAS208/57 Tag with well-preserved seal bearing Douglas arms

- 6.9.3. Inverleith became the Towers main seat in the fifteenth through to seventeenth century and is their usual designation. Apart from the original owner, no Towers styles himself 'of Garmilton' until the later 16th century.
- 6.9.4. While the Nobles and Napiers appear to have been relatively minor knightly families, the Towers became important players in the burgh of Edinburgh where they owned substantial lands, including what would later become the Portsburgh.²²
- 6.9.5. But they began as knights rather than burgesses: Sir John Towers to whom Garleton was granted was already a battle-hardened warrior who had been twice released from English captivity after being captured fighting for the French at Poitiers in 1356 and in a border raid in 1358.
- 6.9.6. He was also notably devout, making pilgrimage while in England to the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury²³ and when Scotland and England were enjoying one of their longer periods of peace from 1357-84, Sir John tried something far more adventurous: he set out for the Holy Land in 1381, travelling with his neighbour Sir Alexander Lindsay, two other knights, 30 men and 30 horses. This was an expensive and dangerous undertaking and Sir Alexander died in Candia (modern day Heraklion in Crete) en route - however Sir John survived returning home through England in 1383.
- 6.9.7. When war resumed with England, he followed James Earl of Douglas on a daring raid south in 1388 which captured the pennon of Henry Percy, Shakespeare's Hotspur himself. The Scots force was ambushed on its way back, but defeated a much larger English force in the night battle of Otterburn - but Douglas was killed in his moment of victory, and Sir John died of the wounds he received in that battle.²⁴
- 6.9.8. He also seems to have passed his crusading zeal on to Sir John Towers of Dalry (relation not completely certain but as Dalry remained a key Towers possession this is probably his son and heir who may have used that designation while his father was still alive) who in 1389 went east to crusade with the Teutonic Knights against the pagan Prussians.²⁵
- 6.9.9. Sir John Towers of Dalry is likely the same person as the Sir John Towers of Inverleithen who in 1406 took ship as part of the retinue of the endangered heir of the Scots throne the 11-year old Prince James.
- 6.9.10. James' elder brother had already been murdered by his ambitious uncle the Duke of Albany and his father the ailing King Robert III was desperate to have the boy taken to safety in

and legend "S'WILMI COMITIS DE DOUGLAS" [see Douglas Book, II, 550, no. 2]. No date. [Limit dates are 1374 and 1380. Confirmed by Robert II on 11 December 1380 - Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. I, no. 637, where the grantee is called John 'de Turribus']"

²² Cassell's, *Old and New Edinburgh*, v, pp.92-4, their holdings included Coates, Dalry, Pocketslieve, High Riggs, Bristo, Wardie, besides Dalry and Inverleith. The lands around what is now Tollcross and the Westport were erected into the burgh of Portsburgh in 1649, see *House of Commons Papers*, Volume 29, p.330

²³ M.A. Penman, *The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury*, c.1178-c.1404, 2006, <https://dspace.stir.ac.uk/bitstream/1893/646/1/Bruce%20Dynasty,%20Becket%20and%20Canterbury.pdf>

²⁴ Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, p130

²⁵ Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513*, pp.105-6

France. However the ship had not got very far before it was captured off Flamborough Head by English pirates who delivered up the passengers to Henry IV - and within another fortnight James' father had died, leaving his son both King of Scots and an English prisoner, kept in captivity until 1424.²⁶

6.9.11. Sir John Towers however would have been ransomed or released well before that.

6.9.12. We next encounter a Towers of Inverleith in the Great Chamberlain's accounts of 1434 where the Custumar (the official responsible for collecting customs dues) of Edinburgh receives a sum of £14, 6s, 8d from Johanne de Touris de Inuleith in duty on wine²⁷

6.9.13. This is either the John Towers from 1406 (who if he succeeded his father in 1388 or 1389 as an adult would be at least in his sixties in 1434) or possibly another John from the next generation who succeeded to the lands of Inverleith after 1406 and before 1434.

6.9.14. As for the Towers being significant importers of wine, we also know that in 1560 George Towers of Inverleith was appointed sommelier or wine steward to the royal household and given the great importance of the Bordeaux wine trade to late medieval and early modern Scotland with Leith being the major entrepot²⁸ this may well indicate that throughout this period the wine trade was a major source of the Towers wealth.

6.10. The Chapel of St Mungo/Kentigern

6.10.1. While earlier piety revealed itself in donations to religious orders and pilgrimages, by the mid 15th century the Towers were endowing altars and a chapel on their own lands.

6.10.2. In 1457, William Touris and his wife Alison apparently endowed the altar of St Mungo (Kentigern) with 10 merks per annum out of their lands in Haddington.²⁹ This is a claim made by local antiquarian James Miller in 1824, drawing on primary sources not available to us, however in 1528, a charter of the great Seal confirms that there was by then a chapel to St Mungo at Garleton.³⁰ There is even a priest named by Miller as Sir James's chaplain in 1534:

²⁶ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14587>

²⁷ [*The accounts of the great chamberlains of Scotland, and some other officers of the crown, rendered at the exchequer. vol 3. 1406-1453 page 246*](#)

²⁸ Marcus Merriman *The Rough Wooings Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1551* p107 and Lyeth *the Economy of Scotland in the European Setting 1550-1625*, describe wine as the main staple of Franco-Scots trade over the whole late medieval and early modern period, and Thomas George Shaw *Wine, the Vine and the Cellar* 1868 pp 29-31 describes wine being so plentiful in Leith that claret was sold by the stoup in the street from casks wheeled about in barrows - and the Towers adjacent as they were to the great wine-port of Leith seem to have played a significant role in the trade.

²⁹ James Miller, *St. Baldred of the Bass: a Pictish legend*, 1824, p.77. He claims to be using a document called 'The heads of the writs of Garleton' which seems to be a list of earlier documents. The language and nature of the entries give no reason to doubt he is copying a genuine listing others which are also authentic, but we were not able to locate this document ourselves. William Towers also granted an annuity of 14 merks to help support a chaplain at the altar of St Anne, at St Cuthbert's Church Edinburgh in 1487, Cassell's, *Old and New Edinburgh*, v, p.94.

³⁰ [*Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland, Entry EN/JD/631, RMS, III, No.664. chapel confirmed to Sir John Towers and his wife, Margaret Hume. Miller, op.cit. also gives us the name of the chaplain in 1534, Walter Henderson.*](#)

Walter Henderson. His primary job would be to pray for the souls of the Towers family, but he may also have been providing services to the community around the castle.

- 6.10.3. The dedication may seem surprising as Kentigern is best known as the patron saint of Glasgow, however it is interesting to note that the Nobles' feudal lords and neighbours the de Vaux's of Dirleton committed an offence against the church of St Kentigern in Glasgow and made grants to it in 1243 and 1267 and so may well have supported his cult more locally.³¹
- 6.10.4. 12th century versions of the Saint's life also placed his origins in Lothian, nearby to Garleton at a placename called Aberlessic, which was for a long time identified as Aberlady, but which is now thought to have been at another one of the river estuaries on the south of the Forth.³²
- 6.10.5. While these are hagiographies which may contain very little (if any) authentic information about the original 6th century British saint, nevertheless it was firmly believed in the late medieval period that Mungo was associated with this area and while this appears to be the sole chapel dedicated to him in East Lothian there is also a nearby settlement named Mungo's Wells just 1.5 miles to the north of Garleton.³³
- 6.10.6. According to the early 19th century antiquarian Miller, 'Near the chapel [at Garleton] was a mineral spring, called, from the virtue of its waters, the Vertur Well. It was much resorted to by persons afflicted with scrofulous disorders.'
- 6.10.7. If this is correct, it raises the possibility that (1) the chapel was a free standing building outside and not a mere oratory in a castle or tower house of the day and (2) It was possibly connected with a holy well which could be much more ancient, and perhaps itself originally dedicated to Mungo or Kentigern.³⁴ There was definitely a holy well in the area 'at the head of a stream which represented the march between the lands of Seton of Garleton and Seton of Barnes. This was the 'Lady Well', mentioned in 1679.³⁵

³¹ <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/source/5536/>

³² <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15426> See K. Jackson in N. Chadwick (ed.) *Studies in the Early British Church*, 1958, p.292 and A. MacQuarrie *Saints of Scotland*, 1997, pp.120, 124.

³³ Though there are church dedications at Currie and Balerno. There was also an altar and fraternity dedicated to him in St Giles, a holy well in Pencuik and "some marshy ground in Cockpen parish is referred to in a charter of 1580 as 'the bog S, Quentigerni', James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church dedications in Scotland: Non-scriptural dedications*, 1914, p180. St Mungo's name is also associated with multiple 'holy' wells in places like Midlothian, Cumbria and Yorkshire although we have not verified the dates of these.

³⁴ The term 'vertur well' seems to be a corruption of 'virtue well'. This suggests that the term dates from the post-reformation period when some wells were regarded as having natural medicinal properties to escape charges of venerating saints, so the well, if we take Miller's word for it having existed may have lost its original dedication by the time it was recorded.

³⁵ "It is already found, that a strip of water running from the Lady-well, is the march between both parties", William Maxwell Morison, *The Decisions of the Court of Session: from its first institution to the present time, digested under proper heads, in the form of a dictionary, 1801-1808*, Volume 13, p.10476.

6.10.8. Presumably the chapel fell victim to the Reformation and the holy well to farm improvement and irrigation and certainly the later Towers seem to have worshipped at Athelstaneford Kirk and were being buried there by 1603.³⁶

³⁶ Testament and inventory of Marion Crichton, wife of Sir John Touris, d. 2nd May 1611, CC8/8/4

Garleton in the Sixteenth Century

6.11. The Rough Wooing and the Reformation

- 6.11.1. Border wars still loomed large during the 16th century and it's possible that Sir William's heir Sir John Towers may have been one of the many Scots knights who died with James IV at the catastrophic battle of Flodden in 1513 since his son Alexander is retoured heir to him January 5th 1514 and the gap would therefore be just about right.³⁷
- 6.11.2. In 1544 Alexander's grandson George succeeds to his father's lands and the Anglo-Scottish wars impinge once again.³⁸
- 6.11.3. This period was one of the most disastrous in Scottish history, as James V having begun a war England in 1542, then promptly died leaving a baby daughter Mary as the new Queen and this prompted Henry VIII to embark on his 'rough wooing' of Scotland - a series of invasions and raids designed to terrorise the Scottish nobility into agreeing to the marriage of Mary to Henry's infant son (the future Edward VI) and so finally unite the English and Scottish crowns.
- 6.11.4. With two truces this struggle continued until 1550 and involved several large scale invasions of the lowlands, the deliberate devastation of much of the countryside, the destruction of many castles, churches and monasteries, the sack of Edinburgh in 1544 and the last great pitched battle of the Anglo-Scots wars at Pinkie (10 miles/16 km to the west of Garleton) in 1547.
- 6.11.5. The concluding military acts of this drama took place very close to Garleton: A renewed English offensive in February 1548 captured Haddington which was then massively fortified using the latest *Trace Italienne* methods, given a large garrison of 4,500 men and designated by the English Lord Protector Somerset as 'the key to Scotland'.³⁹
- 6.11.6. However a large French army arrived to help the Scots in June 1548 and set about besieging Haddington and in July the Scots Parliament gathered there in a nunnery behind the French lines and resolved to send Mary to safety in France where she was married King Henry II's son and heir Francis.

³⁷ In 1489 The lands of Innerleith, Dalry and Garmyltoun passed to Sir John Towers, son of William Towers. He is somewhat better documented than his predecessors being in conflict with the Priory of Holyrood in 1494 over teinds, NAS, PA2/6, 2nd part, f.24r, and building a coastal fortress at Werdihow (at modern day Wardie, in Leith) in 1499 (RSS, II, No,453) and having a sasine in respect of the lands of Brynthalch (Burnthaugh in Canonmills) in 1504, GD297/278. His son Alexander returned heir to him, 5th Jan, 1513/14, GD297/283 and plays some part in the struggles for power that occupied the minority of the child-king James V, signing a bond against the Duke of Albany in 1524.

³⁸ George is the son of Sir James, see the timeline.

³⁹ Merriman pp.311-316

- 6.11.7. This negated the primary English war aim but the siege of Haddington lasted until the last starving survivors of the garrison withdrew in September 1549. This was followed by the Peace of Boulogne and the withdrawal of the remaining English forces in June 1550.
- 6.11.8. During this crisis the Towers show up as firm supporters of the Scottish government and would probably have suffered significantly for it.
- 6.11.9. In May 1544 The Earl of Hertford's amphibious invasion force landed at Wardie - a Towers possession which had been fortified after 1499 - and having failed to take Edinburgh castle 'did what they could to destroye the whole towne with fire' and 'neither within the walls nor in the suburbs was left any one house unbrent beside the innumerable bodies, pillage and spoils that our soldiers brought from thence' and this brutal sack can hardly have left the extensive Towers properties in Inverleith and Edinburgh untouched.⁴⁰
- 6.11.10. In 1547 we find the Laird of Inverleith sending oxen to help draw the guns of the Scottish army posted at Lauder and in February and May 1549 he was being summoned by royal messengers to attend council in Edinburgh - in the latter case in response to the renewed appearance of English ships in the Forth.
- 6.11.11. And in June 1550 Inverleith and other Edinburgh Lairds were charged with convoying the French commander the Marquis de Mane toward Berwick - presumably in relation to the final withdrawal negotiations then taking place.⁴¹
- 6.11.12. This indicates that while the Towers may not have played a big military role in the crisis, they were called upon on multiple occasions to support the regency government.⁴²
- 6.11.13. During the regency of Mary's mother Mary of Guise (1554-60) the protestant party grew in strength and with the restoration of Protestantism in England in 1558 this turned into an armed conflict in which the Towers again played some role.
- 6.11.14. For instance when she is calling out lords, barons and freeholders to muster in her support in April 1558. Mary is in communication with the Laird of Inverleith - and again in August when the crisis deepened⁴³
- 6.11.15. In January 1560 he still appears to be of the regent's party (unsurprisingly as his house in Inverleith was within range of the guns of the French army based at Leith which was Mary's main source of support) as we find Sir George Towers of Inverleith appointed to the post of 'oure soveranes summoir, wailar and uptaker of wines' at Leith, Burntisland etc. for their highnesses [Mary Queen of Scots and her husband Francis II – then still in

⁴⁰ Merriman pp.148-9

⁴¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland vol 9*, pp.95, 287, 313, 319, 420

⁴² There are also records of the sale (i.e. transfer) of a prisoner named Thomas Naill from David Hoppringle (an 'assured Scot' who had sided with the English to prevent the devastation of his own lands) to George Towers which resulted in litigation in 1548 - such transactions were common given that the right to collect a ransom was a tradable commodity, Denys Hay, *Renaissance essays*, 1988, p301.

⁴³ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland vol 10*, p.312 – these list the destinations of royal messengers.

France] and their dearest mother's [Mary of Guise] household' - that is to say he became sommelier or wine steward, selector, and collector of wines to the royal household which sounds like an excellent job - presumably strict quality control had to be maintained by sampling!.⁴⁴

- 6.11.16. With the death of the regent Mary and the withdrawal of the French army from Leith the Protestant Lords of the Congregation were able to complete the reformation of the Scottish church and it would appear that the Towers like most other lairds quietly submitted to the new regime.
- 6.11.17. Following the return of Mary Queen of Scots return from France in 1561 it is obscure what role if any George Towers had to play in the intrigues of her court but when in 1567 the Darnley murder and her scandalous marriage to the Earl of Bothwell led to Mary's Lords rising up against her, George Towers became a Kings Man signing the band or list of notables demanding the deposition of Mary in favour of her infant son James - and this time at least he chose the winning side.⁴⁵
- 6.11.18. Though civil strife continued in Scotland itself through the early part of the reign of James VI between the Kings and Queens Men (and lowland lairds and highland chiefs continued to intermittently prosecute their own personal feuds), the general background level of violence and insecurity was significantly reduced as Scotland and England were now allied protestant nations which seemed likely soon to be sharing a monarch – and this began to be reflected in the architecture as lairds could now design homes without the expectation of rampaging English armies besieging and destroying them.

6.12. 16th century Garleton - what's there?

- 6.12.1. Garleton was just one of several significant Towers properties in the period up to the Reformation and it clearly was not their most important residence - which raises the question: what kind of establishment did they have there and what buildings and property might there have been? We know about the chapel, but what about the house? Who lived in it?
- 6.12.2. One possible clue is that William Towers makes his donation to the altar of St Mungo (presumably at Garleton) in 1457 but isn't confirmed in the lands of Inverleith until 1472.⁴⁶
- 6.12.3. This may be the first indication that there could be a pattern among the Towers family, where the laird will mostly reside at his principal place of Inverleith but his heir (especially if married) may move out to and occupy Garleton, as may other family members such as widows or younger children of the laird.

⁴⁴ RSS, vol V, part 1, p.164

⁴⁵ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18248>

⁴⁶ Precept under quarter seal to William Towris of Innerleithe and Alison, his spouse, of lands in Innerleithe in sheriffdom of Edinburgh, 21 Feb. GD297/277

- 6.12.4. When William's grandson Alexander dies in 1525 and is succeeded by his son Sir James, we now get our first glimpse inside the walls of Garleton and into its fields and barnyards through the share of family property given to James's sister Christian:⁴⁷
- 6.12.5. In the fields she has 33 bolls beir (barley), 23 bolls wheat, 24 bolls oats.⁴⁸
- 6.12.6. There is also a field called 'the lady's acre' perhaps the one that has the Lady's well in it. Garmilton's hind, the farm servant, must also receive a boll of her produce for his upkeep. She also has
- 6.12.7. *75 yowes (ewes), 60 lambs, 18 oxen (used for ploughing), 3 ky (cows) with calfs, 3 tuppis (rams),*
showing that the farm practiced the kind of mixed agriculture common in the Lothians. But intriguingly we also get to find out a little about her household goods:
- 6.12.8. *ane fedder (feather) bed with the bowster, ane covering, three stand beds (four poster beds) and pair of double blankets and comptor board (a counting table or bureau), ane chymnay (fireplace/grate), ane kist, ane lrn spit, ane rax (the iron framework for a spit), ten plates and five dishes of pewter, ane furnisht pleuch (plough), twa harrowis, ane tyne quart, ane tyne pint (both of these are tin vessels of that measure), ane irn cruke, twa brazen chandellers (candlesticks) and pair of tayngs (tongs), ane wash? pot of tin, ane form, twa mele pipes (big oatmeal casks), ane window clat (possibly a frame?), ane flesh fat (vat) ... ane schoid schule (a shovel with an iron blade), thre caddo nails (large iron pins)*
- 6.12.9. Note that her dinner service is of pewter and nothing grander and that most of what are mentioned here are not luxury objects (except perhaps for the feather bed!).
- 6.12.10. This is the younger female child of a laird, but with a feather bed and three 'stand beds' it is likely that family members are staying in Garleton - even if not the laird, who has grander accommodation elsewhere. Her share won't include those things that go directly to the heir, but it gives an idea of the contents and their value.
- 6.12.11. It's shortly after this in 1528 that the right of naming their own priest to the chapel is confirmed to Christian's brother Sir James and his first wife Margaret.
- 6.12.12. *The King has confirmed to James Towers of Inverleith, knight, and to Margaret Hume, his wife, the lands of Garmilton Noble, with their manor, in the shire of Edinburgh, within the stewartry of Haddington, with the advowson of the chaplaincy of St Kentigern within the chapel of Garmilton Noble*⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Sir James settling property left by his father, 1525, GD297/278

⁴⁸ a boll is a measure of dry goods = 6 imperial bushels = 48 gallons

⁴⁹ Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland, Entry EN/JD/631, RMS, III, No.664. James marries a second wife Janet Chisholm in 1542, who had a very colourful past, she secured a divorce from Ninian Seton of Touch on grounds that previously she had "a liaison with one Andrew Buchanan, who was related to Ninian Seytoun in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity, she herself bore that degree of affinity to her husband when she married him. Sir Bruce Seton, 'The Distaff Side : a Study in Matrimonial Adventure in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries' SHR, 1920 p.283. We also find Janet supplying the Royal household at Falkland with Pykis (probably fish) in 1540. *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*. Vol. X, Scottish History Society, Fourth Series, 2

- 6.12.13. So we need to assume that there's a community out here big enough to warrant its own chaplain and that family members are often living here or managing the lands. But what sort of residence might they be living in?

6.13. Which Garleton and whose Garleton? Part II

- 6.13.1. To complicate matters, by the mid-16th century, as well as having to keep track of Garleton Noble and Garleton Alexander, we now encounter the terms East Garleton, Mid Garleton, and West Garleton. Later sasines and retours handily identify two of them for us:
- 6.13.2. *'Eister Garmilton alias vocat (otherwise called) Garmilton Noble' and 'Garmilton Alexander vocat (called) middil Garmiltoun'*.⁵⁰
- 6.13.3. Garmilton-Alexander at the beginning of the 16th century was still in the hands of the Lindsays.⁵¹
- 6.13.4. By 1566 we know the name of the Lindsay's tenant there, William Thomson, who had a tack of the lands 'of Mid Garventoun' (sic) and was escheated of it for being at the murder of David Riccio.⁵²
- 6.13.5. However a series of documents ranging in date from 1430-1608 mention another family as being 'of Garmilton': the Yules who were active in the affairs of the burgh of Haddington.⁵³
- 6.13.6. At first it seemed possible that the Yules could have been tenants of the Towers, living at Garleton Noble, however a 1582 will of John Yuill, reveals their full designation to be 'of Wester Garmilton'. West Garmilton is possibly the third Garleton split from the original medieval fief - Garmilton-Dunnyng or may be another settlement altogether.
- 6.13.7. In 1567 the will of Alexander Yule who died at his 'dwelling place' of 'Germiltoun' on the 22nd June allows us to make comparison between the Towers and their neighbours⁵⁴ This is 35 years later than the note of Christian Towers belongings at Garleton Noble/East Garleton, and is surprisingly similar in scale.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Sasine of teinds to Sir George Towers, 1634, GD297/278

⁵¹ Charter by Patrick, lord Lindsay of Byris, superior of lands of Garmiltoun Alexander, to David Lindsay, son and apparent heir of David Lindsay of Month, 1507 October 19, 6 April and sasine 1508 confirms that they have Garmilton Alexander, GD237/6/1

⁵² William Thomson who got escheated of his tack of Middle Garmilton from Lindsay of the Byres in 1566 for his role in the Riccio murder, Privy Seal, 1566, pt II, p.77 and the land given to a servant of Bothwell "letter to John Newton servant to Bothwell of the goods and gear and tak of landes of Mid Garventoun in Byres made to W Thomson by Lindsay of the Mounth". In 1582 he is described as being of 'Middil Garmilton', will of John Yuill, CC8/8/10

⁵³ J.G Wallace James, *Charters and Writs Concerning the Royal Burgh of Haddington 1318-1543*, 1895, p.16; C. Clelland Harvey 'A Sixteenth century rental of Haddington', SHR, 1913, p.377

⁵⁴ CC8/8/1

⁵⁵ See Tables in Appendix 3 for a comparison of the main assets of the Towers and Yule's.

- 6.13.8. Christian had 18 ploughing oxen (the key resource for any early modern Scottish farmer with richer farmers hiring out their teams to poorer neighbours or tenants), Alexander has 19. He has more of other livestock:⁵⁶ Crops are similar but in larger quantities:⁵⁷
- 6.13.9. However matters get interesting when we move into the bedroom!
- 6.13.10. Alexander has '*ane furnisht bed*' to leave with timber work, again suggesting he may be living somewhere similar in scale to Christian, but he is leaving his blankets, sheets, wool and the '*clayth that remains of his grey gown (gown)*' to Margaret Dik, the mother of his two illegitimate sons,⁵⁸
- 6.13.11. His son and heir John Yule marries the girl next door from Garmilton: Euphame Touris, daughter of George Towers, laird of Inverleith, showing that the two families were not separated by any vast social gulf, even if with their large property holdings in Edinburgh, the laird's of Inverleith were much wealthier.⁵⁹ This makes the Yules a useful benchmark for thinking about what sort of house might be at Garmilton.
- 6.13.12. The comparison with the Yules still holds when we look at the laird Sir George Touris' inventory (died July 1570) which shows his holdings at Garleton to be:
- 6.13.13. *16 oxen worth 80 pounds, a bull worth 4 pounds, three ky worth 10 pounds, 2 young stirks (a heifer, ox or bullock), 80 yowes (ewes) and wedders (castrated male sheep) and crop 80 bolls wheat, 60 bolls beir, 180 bolls oats and 4 bolls peas.*⁶⁰
- 6.13.14. Therefore whatever is at Garleton Noble in the early-to-mid 16th century is not likely to be big, but comparable to the kind of house and furnishings that would be expected of a small gentry family - so you might expect something like a modest tower or bastell house, with perhaps one or two good chambers where we could expect to find the feather beds, and three less grand but still comfortable chambers with their 'stand beds' – but certainly not the rather grand house suggested by the present ruins.
- 6.13.15. Sir George's will also mentions for the first time at Garmilton a barn holding '*mild (milled) wheat, threshin (threshed) and spilt (spolit)*'. The barn at Garmilton will be mentioned in subsequent wills.
- 6.13.16. But there is another interesting development it mentions for the first time that the Towers now have lands in 'Elstanefurd' – Athelstaneford and that they are now beginning to expand their possessions in Haddingtonshire.

6.14. The building of the modern towerhouse and castle?

⁵⁶ four new calfit ky (cows that have just calved), 4 yeild ky (cows not currently producing milk), five auld ky (5 old cows), 3 young gryis (pigs), a gray horse, a blak hors, a blak 'naig' (a small horse or pony), a black mare with a foal, 127 auld sheep, 47 hoggis, (yearling sheep).

⁵⁷ 60 bolls oats, 50 bolls wheat, 11 bolls beir, 6 bolls peas. Crops sown in the feilds at the time of his death - 20 bolls oats, 12 bolls wheat, 12 bolls beir (barley). His household geir was estimated at 40 shillings.

⁵⁸ She also has a daughter Euphame but unlike the sons she is not noted as being Alexander's

⁵⁹ CC8/8/2 f.302, George Towers is worth roughly £1998 pounds over all in moveable goods in 1570, Alexander Yule by comparison, CC8/8/1 is worth £637 in 1567.

⁶⁰ Alexander also had two legitimate daughters Helen and Isobell, as well as a legitimate son, George and his heir John, not mentioned in the will. CC8/8/2 f.302

- 6.14.1. Sir George dies in 1570 to be succeeded by his son Sir John. His testament and inventory provides our next snapshot of what's at Garleton and shows the start of a steep rise in wealth for the Towers family.
- 6.14.2. Sir George was the laird of the barony of Inverleith himself, a man with multiple properties who hobnobbed with royalty (or at least was allowed to choose their wines!) but in 1570 was only worth about two thousand pounds in other goods.
- 6.14.3. In 1586 his son John's first wife Agnes Hepburn leaves an inventory which shows that despite the fact she is not the laird she is dealing with a much greater cash flow: before their debts were taken off, Sir George was worth £2,237 but his daughter-in-law Agnes was worth £6,120 alone.⁶¹ This is quite a leap and things are beginning to change.
- 6.14.4. She also died nearby at Congalton (3 miles NE of Garleton). Why she would die there where the Towers held no property is a puzzle, but it places her nearby to Garmilton. Despite her wealth her farm produce and livestock at Garmilton Noble roughly match Sir George's.⁶² It's when you look at the debts owed by Agnes which are almost like the equivalent of a modern credit card statement (because that was how you did your shopping in early modern Scotland - people of quality hardly carried cash but ran up extensive credit bills with merchants), that you start to get some idea of her lifestyle and that it is very different to Christian's in 1525 who had to worry about shovels, wash pots and pairs of tongs.
- 6.14.5. There are sums owed by Agnes to a goldsmith, a butcher, a baker, a weaver, a tailor, a chapman, debts for 'merchandyce' such as sweetmeats (£31 - likely for the highly-prestigious and expensive sugar and rosewater confections handed out at every high class social occasion in late 16th century Scotland), linen clayth, drink, debts for renting a chamber in Edinburgh, various financial obligations, building materials - £60 worth of timber from John Raa in Leith, lyme stane from Fife, £5 10 shillings and also paying the servants - at least 23 of them.
- 6.14.6. We can also see the farm staff at Garmilton. They include Thomas Scheill the hind [farmworker] in Garmeltoun to whom she owes £70 13 s 4d and he gets an extra 26 shillings 8d for keeping the sheep. John Nichol the hind in Elstanfurd gets 47 pounds and 13 shillings 4d. The hind's wives get 18 pounds for 'wynding corne'.⁶³
- 6.14.7. But besides showing that the Towers were living a more lavish life (and that Agnes perhaps likes to shop!), the will also contains important evidence that the family are expanding their holdings around Garleton Noble.
- 6.14.8. *Item awin to John Kincaid of Warestoun of borrowit money upon the [blank] day of April last bypast 1586 which was given to David Lyndesay of the Month for ane pairt of the soumes of*

⁶¹ Agnes Hepburn, d. 2nd day of May 1586, CC8/8/16, f.342, Sir Geogre is worth £1998 in moveable goods. His son's first wife, Agnes Hepburn was worth £1,194 pounds net of debts in her own right, when she died in May 1586.

⁶² On the ground and land of the mains of Garmiltoun Nobill an estimated 92 bolls of wheat. Oats estimated at 150 bolls, 32 bolls peas, 20 drawing oxen, 80 yowes with their lambs, 13 shilling, 30 yeild sheep, 3 kye, 3 stirks. In the bairnyaird of the said Mains of Garmiltoun 26 bolls of wheat worth 100 pounds. See table in Appendix 3.

⁶³ Figures are always pounds Scots unless otherwise stated.

money given to him for ane pairt of the lands of myd garmiltoun wherto the defunctis third son [John] is infeft, the sum of 587 merks 6 shillings 8d

- 6.14.9. This shows that the Towers were also in the process of acquiring Garleton Alexander from the Lindsays, which is confirmed in 1605 when Sir John's son, George was retoured heir to his father not only in Innerleith and Garmilton Noble but in 'Garmilton Alexander called Middill Garmilton'⁶⁴
- 6.14.10. We can now compare Sir John's own will confirmed in 1605 (he died 1603), with those of his predecessors, neighbours and the Towers women: with all the debts owed to him added to his inventory he is worth £21,448, and even net of debt he is worth £14,733 pounds. This is a big difference - now the Towers are really pulling away from their neighbours.
- 6.14.11. While some of this increase can be discounted by the effect of the sixteenth century price revolution and the inflation of the Scottish coinage⁶⁵ his holdings of livestock and produce at Garleton have also multiplied - there has clearly been major expansion and investment there:
- 6.14.12. *Pasturand upon the lands of Garmilton 5 work horses, 30 oxen, 6 ky with their followars (calves), 160 auld sheep, 120 yearling sheep. In the 'barne and barnyaird' of Garmilton, 78 bolls wheat, 100 bolls barley, 280 bolls oats, 35 bolls peas. (On Elstanefurd: 3 mares, and ane wark horse, 80 pounds, 30 oxen worth 600 pounds. His personal goods are worth a thousand marks:*
- 6.14.13. On paper Sir John's total wealth including his other properties is six or seven times what his father was worth and there is evidence that his political status has taken a similar upward trajectory: he serves as a collector for the special tax levied 'for Queen Mary in her present peril' (Mary was to be tried for conspiracy against Elizabeth I and executed at Fotheringhay castle on 8 February 1587); a commissioner to parliament (the old Scots term for an MP); a collector for tax for the small barons; a commissioner for holding parliament (1597); a commissioner on meal (1598) and on the coinage (1599); he's even one of the lords and barons who tries the earl of Bothwell for witchcraft August 1593.⁶⁶ This is a very wealthy and influential man.
- 6.14.14. Sir John Tours died in October 1603 six months after James VI and I united the crowns of Scotland and England, and chose to be buried in Athelstaneford Kirk.⁶⁷
- 6.14.15. So we now have a family who are much more wealthy, more powerful, more interested in expanding and improving their lands around Garleton and even willing to be buried out here in Athelstaneford parish and - one more thing - for the very first time their son and heir takes

⁶⁴ *Inquisitionum ad Capellam domini regis retornatorum, quae in publicis ...*, Haddington, No.27, May 14 1605.

⁶⁵ Gibson, Alex J.S. and Smout, T.C. *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, 1995 p.15 and passim.

⁶⁶ Collects tax for Queen Mary 'in her present peril', *RPC*, IV, pp.392, 819, M. Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*, vol.2, p.698, on assise of Bothwell, *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1605*, p.144

⁶⁷ Will of Marion Crichton, CC8/8/46

the designation 'of Garmilton' which the new laird is using when he is returned heir in 1605.⁶⁸

- 6.14.16. All in all, this suggests that the optimum period for building the L-plan towerhouse castle and the large hall house which goes with it, with its expensive, decorative 'just-for-show' gun ports would be during the lifetime of Sir John (succeeded 1570, d.1603).
- 6.14.17. Further research in the unindexed portion of the Register of Deeds (Books of Council and Session) might narrow this window, but it's likely that the buildings seen today were built in the last quarter of the 16th century (or at the very latest in the first years of the 17th) as the documents illustrate that the Towers had begun shifting their family resources into significantly expanding their Garleton holdings by 1586, that they had a family 'sepulchre' at Athelstaneford by 1603 and that Sir John was the first of the Towers line who had the financial resources and social status to build a grand country house that could be designated as a castle.
- 6.14.18. So in our view the builder of the ruined castle was almost certainly Sir John and it is a great pity his no doubt elaborate tomb at Athelstaneford Kirk doesn't survive.

6.15. What does the architecture tell us?

- 6.15.1. Architecturally, while there is not enough left of the 'castle' itself to draw very precise conclusions as to dating, what RCAHMS calls the south west lodge is well preserved enough to have been looked at in detail by Joachim Zeune in his 1992 *Last Castles of Scotland*.
- 6.15.2. Zeune argues that this lodge is what he calls by analogy with a similar German building type a *saalgeschosshaus* (a literal translation would be 'multi-floored hall house'):
- 6.15.3. 'a long low building of only two main storeys and sometimes a garret. The length of the longitudinal walls may be three times that of the gable walls, so that the basement affords rooms for a fair number of vaulted cellars and dwelling rooms with separate access; but the traditional subdivision of the first floor into hall and solar with adjacent entrance doors still obtains. The garret above - if there was one - held sleeping accommodation'.
- 6.15.4. And gives three other identifiable examples of this style: Powrie and Murroes in Angus and Skelbo in Sutherland, noting that Powrie and Skelbo are like Garleton houses fitted into a larger fortification.
- 6.15.5. Skelbo and Powrie unlike Garleton also have distinctive architectural features which date them no earlier than 1600 and based on his own site inspection in 1985 Zeune suggests that the house at Garleton was erected towards the end of the sixteenth century – although following MacGibbon and Ross he seems to believe that the ruined castle was built earlier in that century.
- 6.15.6. In addition Zeune sees considerable similarities between Garleton and the many fortified bastle houses of the SW borderlands which can again be mostly dated to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and are characterised by a manifest reduction (but not total

⁶⁸ *Inquisitionum ad Capellam domini Regis retornatorum, quae in publicis ...*, Haddington, No.27, May 14 1605.

abandonment) of defensive features – the gun loops at the Garleton house for instance are probably far too small and too low to actually be of any use defensively but presumably did signal that the owners were armed and dangerous, while the very thick walls may not have been much use against any serious military cannonade but were certainly solid enough to stop raider's bullets.

- 6.15.7. Thus based on Zeune's analysis while it is possible that the castle part of the site may perhaps be a few years older (one indicator to watch out for may be the measurement of the gun loops in the ruins wall – if these are actually big enough to poke a musket through and still see a target then Zeune's typology of Scottish gunloops suggests a rather earlier date as generally the smaller and more militarily useless the gunloop becomes the later the building will be) the hall-house appears to be from the 1590s or very early 1600s.
- 6.15.8. As MacGibbon and Ross and the RCAHMS surveys both posited that there was an equivalent lodge on the NW side as well as the main castle or large tower house of at least three stories all surrounding a courtyard, this would certainly be a substantial complex of buildings commensurate with the known wealth and importance of the Towers family towards the end of the sixteenth century.
- 6.15.9. Who lived in which part of the complex is now impossible to tell but the surviving hall-house was certainly large enough to accommodate a family comfortably - so it is possible that the laird himself resided in the big house with his servants while less favoured relatives or perhaps his local steward or factor resided in the two smaller houses.

6.16. Garleton in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

- 6.16.1. The castle is almost certainly there by 1611, when an irate Sir George (Sir John's son) bursts his way into it and is complained of to the Privy Council by John Dundas of Newliston for:

*expelling him forth of his place of Garmilton and barring his dochter and some other women from keeping the corps of the deceased auld lady Inverleith with violent intrometting with the defuncts jewels and goods.*⁶⁹

- 6.16.2. It's no wonder violence was involved, the deceased 'auld lady Inverleith' was Sir George's stepmother Marioun Crichton, who married Sir John in 1587, she was, to put it mildly, very wealthy and Sir George and his siblings were not getting any of it.⁷⁰

- 6.16.3. Her inventory when adjusted for debts amounted to even more than her husband's - £18,857 and it all went to her executors, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, John Dundas of Newliston, James Tennent of Lynhousess and Thomas Young writer. Her testament written at Garmilton 2nd April 1611 specifies:

*First I leiff my saull to god and my body to be buryeit in the paroch kirk of Ethelstanefurde in the sepulchre of the said John Touris of Innerleith therin with him.*⁷¹

- 6.16.4. The funeral must have been quite something, especially if her step-family had anything to do with it.

- 6.16.5. To give some idea of Marion's wealth and the contents of the castle at the time, in 'reddie gold and silver' alone she was worth 6,700 merks. She had nine silver cowpis (cups) and a silver cower (cover), two silver salt fattis (salt cellars), ane cop fute and ane dosand of silver spoones, all weighing 5 pund half pund and quarter pund. Her silver was worth £276, and she had 'two gouldin cheinzies', 'the ane mair and the uther less' with 'ane hinger (pendant) and litill tablet (a flat ornament like a locket worn on a chain), two garneshings' (golden ornaments, perhaps for her hair or hat) and seven gold rings, worth £280.

- 6.16.6. It would be safe to assume that Marioun was living graciously in her deceased lord's highly-fashionable new towerhouse. It's also perhaps amusing to note that some of her tenants were bound to pay her partly in capons and coals! For her tenants in Dalry this worked out at a whopping 220 capons and 220 loads of coals. Marioun was presumably never short of a tasty capon supper in front of a roaring fire.

⁶⁹ RPC XIV, p.619

⁷⁰ RD1/30 f.271

⁷¹ Marioun Crichton, CC8/8/46

6.17. The fall of the House of Inverleith and Garmilton

- 6.17.1. In case you're feeling sorry for Sir George, it should be remarked that he was not short of a penny or two (or the odd capon supper) himself. The very next year he can be found in the Privy Council records standing surety of £10,000 for James Douglas brother of William Earl of Angus.⁷² He was a commissioner to parliament for the small barons, served as a JP for Edinburgh, and even dealt with an outbreak of the plague on his Inverleith lands in 1635.⁷³ But he was mostly notable for making a nuisance of himself to his neighbours, being bound over not to harm them, 1604, 1606 and 1607, as well as on this occasion.⁷⁴
- 6.17.2. In 1640 he signed over:
*'all and sindry the landis of easter Garmilton utherwayis callit Garmilton Noble with the teinds personage and viccarage of all and sindry the lands of Garmilton Alexander utherwayes callit Midle Garmilton', to Sir Alexander Touris younger of Garmilton, our eldest son.*⁷⁵
- 6.17.3. But these lands which had stayed in Towers family hands for 260 years, took Sir Alexander only 3 years to sell. What went wrong?
- 6.17.4. The clues appear to lie in the outbreak of British Civil Wars.
- 6.17.5. Until 1633 the Towers were continuing their upward trajectory. The young heir, Sir Alexander, was married to Lady Jean Wemyss, daughter of the earl of Wemyss, who came with a dowry of 20,000 merks.⁷⁶
- 6.17.6. However in 1638, religious war loomed in Britain. Many Scots distrusted Charles I due to his distaste for Presbyterian forms of worship, combined with his taste for fairly-untrammelled royal authority. The Towers, like everyone else in the Scottish landed classes, faced a dilemma - throw in their lot with the Covenanters' rebellion against Charles or back the King. They wavered.
- 6.17.7. Sir George may initially have leaned towards the King, as he was appointed to supervise the signing of the so-called King's Covenant of 1638 - Charles's too-little, too-late attempt to out-do his opposition by having a Godly Protestant Covenant of his very own.⁷⁷ However by the next year, they were backing the Covenanters: Sir Alexander appears as one of the 108 signatories standing surety for 200,000 merks that the Covenanters borrowed from Sir William Dick, the very wealthy Edinburgh financier, to raise an army.⁷⁸

⁷² RPC IX p 371-2

⁷³ M. Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*, vol2, p.698

⁷⁴ RPC, VII, p356, 553, 626, RPC IX, 690.

⁷⁵ Procuratorie and resignation be Innerleith elder in favour of Innerleith younger has two numbers (54) and 9, document dated 21st april 1640, GD297/284

⁷⁶ Memorials of Wemyss of Wemyss, vol i, p.235

⁷⁷ RPC, vii, p.76

⁷⁸ 200,000 merks for payment of 2,000 soldiers for three months, bringing home ammunition for them, 'and for certane uther necessaris expedient for the weill and safetie of our religioun, King and countrey'.RH15/29/160

- 6.17.8. This share may not seem like much, but it means that they were almost certainly out in the Bishop's Wars, where the Scots defied Charles and helped light the fuse which led to England and Ireland going up in flames as well - and going to war quickly brings other expenses in its train.
- 6.17.9. Some indication that this may be the case, may be found in a huge heritable bond taken out from the Dicks by April 30th 1640, secured on the lands of Inverleith and paid back to the Dicks on the 6th February 1643, for 59,500 merks.⁷⁹ They paid this back, but in doing so probably put a considerable strain on their finances.
- 6.17.10. As the three kingdoms moved towards all-out civil war, the Towers also seemed to be losing their appetite for Covenanting. In January 1643, Sir Alexander Towers of younger of Inverleith and Garmilton signed a petition with the royalist nobles and lairds who were trying to support the King against the English parliament.⁸⁰ In September 1645, just before his death, he was recorded as visiting the victorious Marquis of Montrose at Calder castle.⁸¹ By 4th December 1645, the Towers were being fined 7,200 marks as royalists and the next year his brother Captain Robert (whose rank suggests that he may have at some point raised a company of men as regimental colonels effectively sub-contracted their recruiting to their captains) would help rescue the royal standard after Montrose's disastrous defeat at Philliphaugh and return it to the Captain-General in the Highlands.
- 6.17.11. The Towers had thus switched sides at a crucial and expensive moment in Scottish politics and now had to pay the price.
- 6.17.12. Probably trying to stabilise themselves and to secure their other lands after borrowing such vast sums in the early days of the Bishop's wars, in 1643 they sold Garleton complete with castle to the Earl of Winton for the huge sum of 95,000 marks.⁸²
- 6.17.13. It was still not enough.
- 6.17.14. When Alexander died, he was worth only £4,297 in goods and gear. By 1648 Inverleith too was gone - to the Rougheads. His father Sir George, the first laird of Garmilton to be named after the property, and probably the person his father had in mind for it, when he built his sumptuous towerhouse, died in genteel poverty in Edinburgh in 1652. He was surrounded by the once grand, now shabby, furnishings of carpets and hangings, damask naperie, and timber work saved from the shipwreck of his estates, described again and again by the clerk as 'old'. His entire worldly goods were only worth £1, 377 and went to his creditor John White, in the Canongate. He did have nine feather beds, 'old and new': eight more than Christian in 1525, but this was still a shocking come-down for a man who was once laird of Inverleith and the proud owner of Garmilton castle when it was brand new.

⁷⁹ RS25/31/36

⁸⁰ The 'Cross petition', RPC 2nd Series, vol 7, p.597

⁸¹ Visiting Montrose, Alexander F. Mitchell, James Christie (eds), *The Records Of The Commissions Of The General Assemblies of The Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647*, SHS, 1892, Vol. 11, p.141, Montrose was at Calder in September 1645, Sir Edward Cust, *Lives of the Warriors of the Civil Wars of France and England*, vol. 2, 1867, p.510; death CC8/8/63, Alexander was worth a relatively paltry £4,297 at death in moveables; Fined as 'malignants', C.S. Terry, *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647*, Volume 2, SHS, 1917, p.373;

⁸² *Scots Peerage*, vol. viii, p. 594.

- 6.17.15. You might think things couldn't possibly get worse, but there's a rather bizarre coda.
- 6.17.16. The young laird of Inverleith, Sir John Towers, probably born at Garmilton, took to the hills as a hunted royalist in the desperate post-Montrose resistance in the Highlands. Skulking back to Edinburgh, the landless young cavalier was pursued repeatedly for fornication and stuck on the stool of repentance in St Cuthbert's church (where his ancestors were once chief heritors) - But he'd been on the right side, hadn't he? Hadn't he and his family suffered for the royalist cause? Surely the restored Charles II would understand about such things? Except in 1666 the ruined laird was caught forging the King's signature!
- 6.17.17. Sentenced at the Old Bailey on April 25th, to be hanged, drawn and quartered he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea prison but reprieved by Charles to be merely transported to Barbados where he'd have been forced to work on the plantations.⁸³ His desperate protestations of loyalty to the King that he would 'sacrifice thousands of lives' (if he had them) for His Majestie's Sacred Person seemed not to be enough to get him out of this scrape. But in 1667 he escaped, and it's possible his escape was colluded at - because there was a royal pardon for Sir Robert Vyner who was held responsible for this dereliction of duty.⁸⁴
- 6.17.18. The ruin of the House of Towers was complete.

6.18. The Setons of Garleton - A new out-post for the Catholic faith

- 6.18.1. Though Scotland in the reign of Charles I was an overwhelmingly Protestant country, where people were prepared to go to war over which flavour of Protestantism they preferred, it still contained a tiny Catholic minority, estimated at about 2% of the population between 1603-1707.⁸⁵
- 6.18.2. Outside of the Highlands where some clans still adhered as a whole to the old faith, Catholicism was even more of a minority pursuit, centred around the houses of the few powerful Catholic landed families who could protect the priests of the Scottish Mission. One of the most powerful of those families were the Seton earls of Winton. They were descendants of the 5th Lord Seton who helped Mary Queen of Scots make good her escape from Loch Leven castle and who had remained favourites with her Protestant successors who valued their loyalty to the crown, despite their Catholic faith.
- 6.18.3. Though their traditional seat was at Seton Palace (the name says it all really). George the 3rd Earl had rebuilt himself a new and fashionable house at Winton. In 1643 he was also looking to provide for his large family of more than 12 children by two wives which included six sons who would all need landed properties to live in the style to which they were accustomed.⁸⁶ Like Alexander Towers, he was a committed Royalist and supporter of Charles I, but unlike the Towers the Setons were big enough and rich enough to survive all the fines, losses and sequestration the Civil Wars could throw at them and after the Restoration they would revive their fortunes.

⁸³ Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, of the reign of Charles II: 1666-67, p.27

⁸⁴ C. J Vyner, Vyner. *A Family History*, 1885, p.67

⁸⁵ P. McNeill and H. L. MacQueen (eds.) *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 1996, pp.408-10

⁸⁶ Sir B Burke, *A genealogical history of the dormant, abeyant, forfeited, and extinct peerages of the British empire*, pp.486-7

- 6.18.4. On the 11th of August 1643 Winton bought Garleton Noble and Garleton Alexander for 95,000 marks from Sir Alexander Towers.⁸⁷ The Register of Sasines also shows that he bought Athelstaneford at the same time.⁸⁸ The intended beneficiary of this purchase was his eldest son by his second marriage, Christopher, b.1631 and failing him the property was to pass to his brother William - and failing him to his younger brothers John and then Robert.
- 6.18.5. This was quite an investment for a 12-year old, but unfortunately Christopher did not live to enjoy it. Though this was still a little early for the 'Grand Tour' where young gentlemen were sent abroad to finish their education, Catholic noble families were inclined to send their sons and even some of their daughters abroad anyway to receive their further education in Catholic countries,⁸⁹ This was to prove fatal, not only to the 17-year old Christopher but also to his younger brother William when the ship they were travelling on sank off the Dutch coast in 1648.⁹⁰
- 6.18.6. As a result Garleton came unexpectedly to the hands of John Seton (b. 1639) and the lands originally bought for Christopher were erected into the barony of Athelstaneford for his brother in 1649, including the lands of Finkelstreet and Needles (in West Fortune) and Swynlawes, with the tower and manor of Garmilton Noble being recognised as the laird's principal dwelling.⁹¹
- 6.18.7. Young John would take a further step up the social hierarchy after the Restoration when he was created a baronet on 9 December 1664, being styled 'of Garleton'.⁹² He had probably by this stage already married Christian, daughter of George Home of Renton as their son and heir - named George after his grandfather - was born the next year 1665.⁹³
- 6.18.8. According to his elder half-brother Alexander, Viscount Kingston, 'This said Sir John was a vertuous man; much given to policie; ane improver of his fortune'.⁹⁴ This appears to be 'policie' in the old Scots sense 'Improvement or development (of a country, estate, town, property or the like) by the erection of buildings, by plantation or enclosure, or by addition to or embellishment of an existing building'.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ Scots Peerage, vol. viii, p. 594.

⁸⁸ Edinburgh 11th August RS25/31/416-418

⁸⁹ The Scots Colleges of Douai, Spain and Paris not only trained priests but catered to such young gentlemen, see art. 'Scottish Colleges', *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. See also fn. 59. Sir Richard Maitland and Alexander Seton, Viscount Kingston, *The history of the house of Seytoun to the year MDLIX, with the continuation by Alexander, Viscount Kingston to MDCLXXXVII*, 1829, p.78: 'Christopher and William two hopeful young gentlemen - Christopher was a great scholar - who both going to their travells abroad were cast away at sea'.

⁹⁰ Sir B Burke, *A genealogical history of the dormant, abeyant, forfeited, and extinct peerages of the British empire*, p.487

⁹¹ 'principale fore messuagium' RMS, 1634-1651, pp.802-3.

⁹² Sir B. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland*, 1844, p.635

⁹³ Sir J. Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 8, 1904, p.596

⁹⁴ Sir Richard Maitland and Alexander Seton, Viscount Kingston, *The history of the house of Seytoun to the year MDLIX, with the continuation by Alexander, Viscount Kingston to MDCLXXXVII*, 1829, p.87

⁹⁵ DOST, 'Policie', definition 5.

- 6.18.9. For instance when Kingston mentions the 1st Earl of Dunfermline, he writes: 'He acquired the lands of Pinkie, where he built ane noble house; brave stone dykes about the garden and orchard, with other commendable policie about it'. John Adair's 1682 map of East Lothian shows just such a vision for Garleton, the castle has a large walled garden and enclosed fields with its policies dotted with trees.⁹⁶ But as for the matter of those brave stone dykes... well Sir John's neighbours might have had another word for those, probably quite a few in fact, many of them unprintable.
- 6.18.10. Sir John was a fearsome litigator, who didn't always get his own way in court. From 1676-79 first the Privy Council and then the Court of Session dealt with his squabble over a dyke with his neighbour:
- 6.18.11. "1676. July, Sir John Seaton of Gairleton convenes George Seaton of Barnes... for oppression and riot, in casting down a dry-stone dyke Gairleton was building on the march betwixt them, for taking in a park. Barnes alleged he had done no wrong; because he had encroached upon his land, and was going to enhance, appropriate, and inclose a well, which not only served his beasts, but also made a mill he had to go".⁹⁷
- 6.18.12. To add insult to injury, some of Barnes' cattle escaped into one of Sir John's brave new enclosures and no doubt munched happily on the edible parts of his 'policie'. An enraged Garleton proposed that the court fine his neighbour £5-per-beast damages. Clearly such a matter demanded heavyweight legal intervention, Lords Newbyth and Gosfoord were called out 'to perambulate and take inspection of the ground' examining no less than four witnesses and concluded:
- 6.18.13. "That the stone dyke of the park is rightly situated, according to the Earl of Dundonald's decreet-arbitral; and find that Garmilton should make a stone pend in the park-dyke, sufficient to let the water go out, not being of that wideness to let in or out beasts. And find that the water-gang, from the park dyke to Barnes his mill, ought to continue in the old channel; and that the channel wherein it now runs is the old channel; and that the said water-gang, from the stone park, is the march betwixt Barnes' and Garmilton's lands; and that the water running therein can suffer no division; and the diversion made by Garmilton ought to be restored, so that the water may run entire in the old channel."
- 6.18.14. The results were not happy for Sir John, the results of a 'footwear-on' inspection concluded:
- 6.18.15. 'And find that Garilton's feal-dyke, at the east end thereof, is built, by the space of a pair of boots, on Barnes his land; and that therefore the same ought to be demolished, by the said space of a pair of boots.'⁹⁸

⁹⁶ NLS maps, <http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=65> , Adv.MS.70.2.11 (Adair 10) – see appendix

⁹⁷ Mungo Ponton Brown and William Maxwell Morison, *Supplement to the Dictionary of the decisions of the Court of Session*, Volume 3, 1826 p.226. William Maxwell Morison, *The Decisions of the Court of Session: from its first institution to the present time, digested under proper heads, in the form of a dictionary, 1801-1808*, Volume 13, p.10476. This was also the case that stated "By a decreet of the Lords, it is already found, that a strip of water running from the Lady-well, is the march between both parties.

⁹⁸ Mungo Ponton Brown and William Maxwell Morison, *Supplement to the Dictionary of the decisions of the Court of Session*, Volume 3, 1826 p.228: 'That the stone dyke of the park is rightly situated, according to the Earl of Dundonald's decreet-arbitral; and find that Garmilton should make a stone pend in the park-dyke, sufficient to let the water go out, not being of that wideness to let ,in or out beasts. And find that the water-gang, from the parkdyke to Barnes his mill, ought to continue in the old channel; and that the channel wherein it now runs is the old channel ; and that the said water-gang, from the stone park, is the march betwixt Barnes'

- 6.18.16. There were further cases: Arguing with Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenston over a mill dam (Garleton won this time).⁹⁹ In another case pursuing a debt, the Court adjudged his suit to be fraudulent.¹⁰⁰ All this led to a somewhat unenviable reputation, according to Lauder of Fountainhall, Sir John lost a family wrangle with his sisters in court, which he should have won:
- 6.18.17. "only Gairleton had the misfortune to be generally ill-loved, and the ladies found favour with my Lord Chancellor, who is an enemy to none of that sexe, if they be handsome."¹⁰¹
- 6.18.18. Obviously with all this 'police' someone would have to be looking after Sir John's tender young plantings, and in October 1685, we find that the church courts were taking issue with Sir John's protection of his Catholic household:
- 6.18.19. "There was a report made from the Presbytrie of Haddington, that Sir John Seton of Garmilton had some servants who had been debauched to apostatize, and make defection from the Protestant religion to Popery".¹⁰²
- 6.18.20. And the follow-up from Fountainhall's notices reveals just how far Sir John was prepared to go to bring influence to bear - the Synod had dared to try to excommunicate his gardener and soon found themselves receiving:
- 6.18.21. "A letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh from the Secretaries, intimating his Majesty's pleasure to discharge him to proceed in the excommunication of Garleton's gardener, (*de quo supra*, 20 Octobris, in the synod there was a warrant to process him.) This is to signify, you must not touch nor discourage the meanest of that persuasion."
- 6.18.22. 'His Majesty' was James II and VII, the only openly Catholic monarch to sit on the post-1603 British thrones (though his brother Charles did convert on his death-bed), stepping into aid his fellow believers in Garleton. The gardener was likely Edward Buchan or Buckholm who appears on both the Hearth tax of 1691 and identified as the gardener the 'List of Popish Parents' of 1704 for Athelstaneford.¹⁰³ He and his wife Bessie Henderson had two adult children by then. He also appears acting as a baillie to Sir John's successors.¹⁰⁴

and Garmilton's lands; and that the water running therein can suffer no division; and the diversion made by Garilton ought to be restored, so that the water may run entire in the old channel. And find that Garilton's feal-dyke, at the east end thereof, is built, by the space of a pair of boots, on Barnes his land; and that therefore the same ought to be demolished, by the said space of a pair of boots. And find that both Barnes and Garmilton may, at their pleasure, cast the foresaid aqueduct and water-gang; and that, in their casting, they ought to do no prejudice, either of them, to other's lands, or to the feal-dyke built by Garmilton, except in so far as the same is ordained to be demolished and that the mud and earth, to be cast out by either party, when they dig the aqueduct, ought to be casten, the one half thereof on Barnes his side of the aqueduct, and the other half on Garmilton's side: and decerned accordingly'.

⁹⁹ 1683-4, Mungo Ponton Brown and William Maxwell Morison, *Supplement to the Dictionary of the decisions of the Court of Session*, Volume 3, 1826, p.489

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*, p.439

¹⁰¹ *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, selected from the Manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, 1661-1683*, vol. 1, 1848, p.49

¹⁰² *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, selected from the Manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, 1661-1683*, vol. 2, 1848, pp. 669, 680.

¹⁰³ Hearth Tax, Haddington, Athelstaneford, E69/9/2, Lists Of Popish Parents And Their Children In Various Districts Of Scotland As Given In To The Lords Of The Privy Council And To The Commission Of The General

- 6.18.23. James's accession to the crown did little to calm fears of Catholicism in Scotland, indeed in the matter of the 'Popish' gardener of Garleton the bishop tried to calm the Synod with soothing words that:
- 6.18.24. 'That our fears neided not be so panicall for Popery, because, 1 -We had the promises and providence of God to rely on. 2- The King's promise and assureance to protect our religion...'
- 6.18.25. To this Fountainhall waspishly adds "tho' some cannot find wher the King hes promised it."!
- 6.18.26. It's noticeable that with the end of the 'Exclusion Crisis' in 1681, when it was finally settled that James would succeed Charles II to the throne, that Garleton's status as a Catholic hot-spot and place of mission and refuge became more open.
- 6.18.27. Firstly Sir John gave asylum to the minister of Ruthwell, William Wishart: according to *Fasti* 'In April 1681 he was resident in the family of Sir John Seton of Garleton, and went abroad with his sons in the following month.'¹⁰⁵ His later 'apostatizing' gardener was nothing to the scandal of a minister of the Church of Scotland converting.
- 6.18.28. Secondly, in 1681, at Douai in France, presumably at the Scots College, a tract in English, defending the Catholic understanding of mass was published and openly dedicated to Sir John: 'An Answer to Monsieur de Rodon's [David Derodon] Funeral of the mass by N. N.'¹⁰⁶ Father William Aloysius Lesley of the Scots College in Rome has been suggested as the author,¹⁰⁷ yet this is a book published at Douai by someone who had stayed at Garleton while Sir John was laird and who felt a great obligation to him.
- 6.18.29. *Sir, The great Obligations, I had to your Honour afore I parted from Scotland, claim with much reason to some Fruit of my labour. Be pleased then to accept of a little work of mine from Flanders.*
- 6.18.30. Though praise is to be expected, the testimonial to Sir John is personal and glowing:
- 6.18.31. *But much of Your Charitie the World has seen. I am the Subject of a notable part of it, and Witness of your sheltring poor Strangers, considering distressed Tenents, clothing the naked, feeding orphans, visiting the imprisoned in Person, the sick by almes, entring some fore-lorne into the number of your domesticks, and honestly burying the Dead, that had no Friend or Relation, able to do that Duty. Such actions done in the Spirit of Christ make savour at present in the Eucharist, the sweetness of the hidden Manna there, and will Crown hereafter the Christian in the solemn day of the general Resurrection.*

Assembly, MDCCI—MDCCV, *Miscellany of the Maitland Club, consisting of original papers and other documents illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland*, 1840, p.406

¹⁰⁴ RD4/96, 26 Feb 1705

¹⁰⁵ *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, vol. 2, p.625

¹⁰⁶ Robert Seton, *An Old Family: The Setons of Scotland and America*, 1899, p.143

¹⁰⁷ by George Oliver, *Collections towards illustrating the biography of the Scotch, English and Irish members S.J.*, 1838, p.13, yet he gives no grounds for this, and his account of Lesley's career does not fit with such a connection between Garleton and Douai

- 6.18.32. It's tempting to speculate whether N.N is really W.W. - William Wishart, paying back Sir George's charity with this paean to the family of Seton which also praises their long tradition of Catholic piety.
- 6.18.33. However Garleton must have sheltered priests of the Scottish mission, so the family could have the sacraments, if nothing else and someone besides Sir John was likely convincing those servants to 'apostatize'. Since there is nothing to indicate that the chapel of St Mungo survived the Reformation in any form and that until James II and VII neared power open practice of the religion was illegal and dangerous, it is likely that worship was conducted inside the castle. Possibly the family would have had a small oratory, perhaps like the one identified at Niddrie Marshall where there was also a recusant catholic family sheltering mission priests.
- 6.18.34. 'The plaster in the E window of the third floor of the tower-house was removed during the restoration work, revealing a small stone aumbry in the S side. Removal of the blocking revealed a stone shelf and a hemispherical hollow in its base. The broken stump of a stone table with a chambered edge was visible in the E wall, corresponding with scars of removal of its mortared stone base in the E side and the E part of the N and S sides. These seem to have been the remains of an altar and of a piscina, for what seems to have been an oratory or the castle chapel.'¹⁰⁸
- 6.18.35. In February 1686 Sir John died and was buried at Athelstaneford Church as Sir John Towers was before him. He left behind him four sons, and at least one surviving daughter, beside Margaret, 'who, after four years bred in a Nunrie in Paris, dyed in France a young woman.' His sons George, John and Robert had all been educated at the Scots college Douai.
- 6.18.36. George his heir had travelled widely. According to Viscount Kingston, he 'went young abroad; and is well travelled in Flanders, France, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, and England.' and he was already married to a suitable Catholic bride, Barbara Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal.¹⁰⁹
- 6.18.37. Robert was well on his way to making his profession as a Jesuit and coming back to join the Scottish mission.¹¹⁰
- 6.18.38. Despite his legal adventures, Sir John still seemed to be well-off, he was able to make loans of sums as high as 10,000 merks.¹¹¹ Barbara came to his son with a dowry of 10,000 pounds, so they were well off. Meanwhile, King James was on the throne and working to remove the legal disabilities of Catholic families to allow the faith to be practiced once again.

¹⁰⁸ RCAHMS site record, <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/49263/details/niddry+castle/>
C-A Kelly 1990.

¹⁰⁹ Maitland and Kingston, *The history of the house of Seytoun*, p.87

¹¹⁰ He would profess in 1688. *Scots Peerage*, vol. viii, p. 598.

¹¹¹ 10,000 marks to Cockburn of Ormiston in 1685, RD2/75 f.205

6.19. Sir George Seton of Garleton - Popery, rebellion, sex and money.

- 6.19.1. The Bishop of Edinburgh's plea that people need not get 'panical' fell on deaf ears. The conversion of two of the highest officials in King James's Scottish regime to Catholicism (the Earls of Perth and Melfort) produced riots in Edinburgh.¹¹²
- 6.19.2. When in town, the Garletons and their relatives worshipped discreetly in private houses. On the last Sunday in January 1686, when attending worship at the house of Mr Peter Bruce (a German emigrant), George Seton and his sister Anna Countess of Traquair encountered the Canongate mob in full cry: railing against 'the papists' and 'the Virgin Mary', roughing up and insulting the worshippers and breaking windows.¹¹³ The soon-to-be Sir George was not one to let such things pass. He sent to his fellow Catholic, the Chancellor to send up a guard from Holyrood Abbey, but when he emerged from divine service, he was most annoyed to see the soldiers 'standing doing nothing, notwithstanding of all the croud and abuses committed'. George was not one to let this slide either, he turned to the man in command: "Serjant, yow know your duety!" with the gratifying result that Serjant Anderson pounced on the crowd and 'rune and beat severalls of them' including an unfortunate baker who got thrashed with the sergeant's halberd and taken up as the sacrificial prisoner. When it came down to it, the guard were probably no more enthusiastic about religious toleration than the mob they were supposed to be policing - but they had to be seen to do something when addressed by a person of quality.
- 6.19.3. This was not entirely wise of the heir of Garleton because the abused rioters knew where he lived - at the Netherbow - and as night fell, they came round for an attempted lynching: breaking all his windows, crying 'Devill murder them', they would 'pull their souls out of them', storming up the stair brandishing swords and pistols, attempting to force the heavily barricaded door. When the guard was called out 'the rable rune for it as before', disappearing down the warren of closes to the Cowgate. There were lurid reports of plots to seize the burgh, and to 'destroy all papists'. The Town was in uproar. In this atmosphere, King James's attempts that April to have the Scots parliament guarantee freedom of worship to his fellow Catholics only made matters worse.
- 6.19.4. The Garletons, Sir George, 2nd baronet (as he was by then), and his new bride Barbara Wauchope, were sitting on a powder keg.
- 6.19.5. On 11th December 1688, James II and VII fled London in the wake of William of Orange's invasion to depose him. Britain's attempted experiment in Catholic toleration was over.
- 6.19.6. 'The Glorious Revolution' as it was called, played out differently in each of the three kingdoms. While resistance rapidly collapsed in England, in Scotland it was just getting going. In March 1689, a special Convention of Estates, what would normally have been the Scottish Parliament, met to decide their allegiance. When it became clear that they would back William and Mary, John Graham, Viscount Dundee, the 'Bonnie Dundee' of the famous ballad, rode out of Edinburgh on March 18th to kick off Scotland's first Jacobite rising to restore King James.

¹¹² James II and VII, Oxford New DNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14593>

¹¹³ RPC, series 3, XII, pp.30-32, 94-5

- 6.19.7. By March 27th, the Estates were rounding on the people who would now become the 'usual suspects':
- 6.19.8. "The meeting of the estates doe give order and warrand to Sir John Ramsay, sheriffe depute of Hadingtoun, to search the house of Gairletoun for horses and armes, and to secure the samen untill further order."¹¹⁴
- 6.19.9. Such a search conducted at the height of anti-Catholic feeling may well have been neither pleasant nor respectful - and the horses may not have been all they rounded up.
- 6.19.10. In July 1690, Privy Council granted warrant to 'the captaine of the abbay guard or any others whose custody Sir George Seaton of Garltoun is prisoner to sett him at liberty upon his granting bond and finding caution to live peacablie'. The bond was £500.¹¹⁵ Given the large number of Jacobite political prisoners committed to Edinburgh's jail in the wake of the outbreak of civil war it's quite possible that Sir George was one of them.¹¹⁶
- 6.19.11. He'd no sooner been relieved from imprisonment than Garleton was plunged into fresh chaos.
- 6.19.12. Sir George's younger brother John and his cousin James Seton the son of Viscount Kingston had turned highwaymen: sticking up the post-boy of Cockburnspath (a 44-year old post 'boy' - Andrew Cockburn), 'holding a bended pistol to his breast', threatening to kill him if he blew his horn, tying his horse to the post-boy's foot and tying him up with cords, robbing the 'packet, black box, and by-bag' he was taking to Haddington and carrying it away towards Garleton.
- 6.19.13. Needless to say Garleton got raided again. By now Barbara must have been getting fed up with the sheriff's officers trampling through her castle, rummaging through her closets and turning the place upside-down. Presumably any priests had to be hidden at times like this. They would certainly have been arrested, if found.
- 6.19.14. A farce followed when John and James surrendered themselves to the sheriff, were put into the custody of one of the bailies of Haddington - and then when Bailie Lauder went as usual to the Kirk in proper style, preceded by the Town Officers (thus removing their guard) the twosome thought better of it and legged it. The unfortunate baillie and the Town Officers ended up in jail instead, by order of the Privy Council.¹¹⁷
- 6.19.15. Exasperated, the Privy Council went all the way to the top and got the 17th century equivalent of a wanted poster - a royal proclamation which was published offering a reward.¹¹⁸
- 6.19.16. It wasn't as if the miscreants were going to be hard to spot. Despite taking the precaution of wearing masks, the would-be dandy highwaymen had gone out suitably attired for their rank and station with James on a 'blew gray horse, wearing a steel gray coat with broune silk buttons', and John Seaton, Sir George's brother 'ryding upon a whyt horse having a whyt

¹¹⁴ NAS. PA2/33, f.20-20v.

¹¹⁵ RPC, 3rd series, XV, p309

¹¹⁶ R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol 3, pp.11-15.

¹¹⁷ RPC, 3rd series, XV, pp.390, 393-5, 401-7.

¹¹⁸ Alas unspecified.

English gray cloth coat with wrought silver threed buttons'. It's no wonder they were recognised.

- 6.19.17. But this was not sticking up the mail for thrills - the crime was politically motivated. As their royal majesties William and Mary noted, John and James were persons of 'pernitious and disloyal principles'...'highly disaffected to us and our government' who by robbing the packet 'had done their outmost endeavours to entercept our royal commands to our Commissioner and Privy Council'. No, this was a politically-motivated crime by Jacobite dandy highwaymen and so must be stopped!
- 6.19.18. John was eventually caught when the ship he was escaping to Holland on was raided by the military as she lay at anchor in the Firth of Forth. He was thrown into jail in Edinburgh to languish for the best of a year till the next July 1691 when to everybody's amazement he somehow got off.¹¹⁹ But before he could get out of prison, his elder brother Sir George was promptly thrown in to join him, accused of striking his own blow for King James - that he'd helped betray the Bass Rock to the forces of Jacobitism.
- 6.19.19. A quick look on a map will show you that Garleton is quite handy for Aberlady and for smuggling out supplies and people to the rock. Famous now exclusively for its enormous gannet colony, in 17th century Scotland the Bass Rock with its fortress was a political prison - a kind of Alcatraz for enemies of the state. Until the revolution it had been housing extreme Calvinist rebels - the later Covenanters. Naturally things were now reversed and it became a handy holding pen for seditious Jacobites - that was until 1691, when four of the prisoners turned the tables on their guards, locked them out while they were unloading supplies, trained the guns on them and declared for King James. Astonishingly this led to an almost three-year siege as its tiny Jacobite garrison held on against all odds.¹²⁰
- 6.19.20. Sir George was charged with having lodged and aided four men including foreigners and with having lent them his boat to get to the rock. This was a serious charge and though he was allowed 'open prison' by October and not put to a treason trial as was at first threatened, even as late as April/May 1694 he was under some form of government custody or observation, when he was to be 'liberat upon caution to answer when called' but to be confined 'to his house and tuo myles about it'.¹²¹ While it's hard to keep an exact tab on his imprisonments, it's clear that he spent at least one, if two stretches of months as a political prisoner. This cannot have done his financial affairs any good.
- 6.19.21. And Sir George was also a man who was hiding out his share of the highly-illegal Scottish Catholic mission in his castle at Garleton. After the shock of King James's downfall, Scottish Catholicism had re-grouped under its first new bishop since the Reformation: Vicar-Apostolic Thomas Nicholson appointed in 1694 and in post by 1696.¹²²
- 6.19.22. It is in a report from Mr John Irvin, the Procurator of this revitalised Scottish Mission in Paris, September 5 1698 that we find the first official confirmation of Garletons' role. Of Scotland's ten Jesuits:

¹¹⁹ RPC, 3rd series, XVI, 91, 206-7, 422

¹²⁰ James Grant, *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 To 1710*, 1914, pp.145-6, William, Fraser, *Annandale family book of the Johnstones, Earls and Marquises of Annandale*, 1894, p.49

¹²¹ James Grant (ed.) *Seafield Correspondence From 1685 To 1708*, 1912, pp.135, 146

¹²² P. McNeill and H. L. MacQueen (eds.) *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, 1996, pp.408-10

- 6.19.23. “of whom three are newly arrived, and two others a little before them. Five of them live in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh: two in the house of a country gentleman (Garleton), two with another gentleman ([Wauchope of] Niddry), the fifth in Edinburgh itself, with his nephew Mr Buchan.”
- 6.19.24. Between George’s family and Barbara’s family the Wauchops, nearly half the Jesuit mission to Scotland was accounted for.¹²³ Sir George’s own brother Robert was one of those mission priests who came back over in 1696, stationed up in Deeside. His son John would follow the same path¹²⁴
- 6.19.25. Religion could have unexpected costs. In July 1695, Sir George found one of his father’s legal triumphs being messily reversed to his disadvantage. Sir John the fearsome litigator had managed to get a hefty chunk of a bond assigned to him, in one of those characteristic games of monetary pass-the-parcel that 17th century Scots used for credit.¹²⁵ The person on the wrong end of the parcel of debt being passed around, Margaret, dowager lady Belhaven had now gone to parliament to play her trump card. She was a Protestant, while old Sir John who had benefited from a ruling made under King James’s powerful Catholic ministers was a ‘papist’. So clearly, she argued, any finding in his favour must have been made iniquitously ‘to gratify the popish party, upon the expence of the petitioner who was a Protestant....so neither of the popish persuers might suffer’. Parliament agreed with her. This was defeat to the tune of 6, 000 marks, to a man who had just had some likely very expensive spells in prison.
- 6.19.26. In 1699, perhaps not co-incidentally, the retours show Francis Kinloch having a liferent of 360 merks corresponding to a bond of 6,000 marks in the barony of Athelstaneford and lands of Garmiltoun,¹²⁶ Sir George’s lands were starting to show the effects of his troubles.
- 6.19.27. It is worth pausing now to look at two snapshots we have of Garleton and its Catholic community under Sir George. The first is the Hearth tax for 12th March where Sir George shows as having 18 hearths at Garleton.¹²⁷ These 18 hearths do not count his tenants in New Mains or his gardener Edward Buchan, or his hind (farm worker) William Walker or the other three people listed with them, Thomas Sandie, Adam Innes and William Heriot (a smith) who also should be counted as part of the Garleton listing. Two other tenants are explicitly mentioned as being ‘in Garletowne’ Walter Gray and John Paterson, but because of the way the list ‘dittos’ things e.g. William Walker there, Edward Buchan there etc. it’s possible that many of the other names on the list belong to Garleton too. However the fact that people who can be identified as tenants, farm workers and gardeners can be identified as having their own hearths suggests that those 18 hearths relate to Garleton proper: Sir George’s castle and hall house.
- 6.19.28. To get some idea of community size the list can be cross referenced to some extent with the list from 1704, of ‘Popish Parents and their Children’ given into the Privy Council and General Assembly for Athelstaneford Parish, during one of Scotland’s regular anti-Catholic panics and

¹²³ Alphons Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic church of Scotland from the introduction of Christianity to the present day*, p.369

¹²⁴ *Scots Peerage*, vol. viii, p.598

¹²⁵ NAS. PA2/36, f.107v-108v.

¹²⁶ *Inquisitionum ad Capellam domini regis retornatorum*, Haddington, 1700, No.388.

¹²⁷ Parish of Athelstaneford, Haddingtonshire, E69/9/2 - see Appendix

an additional list of 'Papists' for Athelstaneford.¹²⁸ Of the people who appear on both those lists and the 1691 Hearth Tax: William Walker has five children, Edward Buchan has a wife and four children, Adam Innis has four children, and Andrew Dounie has a wife and 3 children. (Walker and Innis probably also have wives: one list mentions wives and the other doesn't). The Garletons, Sir George and Barbara themselves have six - 'viz 4 sones and 2 daughters, his eldest sone who is about 15 or 16 years of age is abroad in France': George, Andrew, John, Barbara, Margaret and Mary. Andrew, the youngest, was born in 1700. This gives some idea of how to multiply up hearths in terms of people, but it should be taken into account that the Garletons will also have servants who weren't counted in the Hearth Tax: the list of papists for example, mentions: Adam Shaw, William Walker, Elizabeth Maxwell Elder & Younger, Helen Douglas and Clara Maxwell.

6.19.29. The Big House, at the very least, has 14 people living in it, to which you can probably add the odd Jesuit, visitors and various non-Catholic servants. The surrounding farm houses hold families probably averaging around 4 children. There's a community of at least 40 Catholics and Garleton Castle will certainly be the main place of religious worship for them. However the mission isn't going terribly well: the lists report only one convert over the past six years for 1704 - Robert Brownhill, tenant, so George and Barbara having their own personal Jesuit or team of Jesuits on site hasn't impacted much on the surrounding area.

6.19.30. So this is Garleton as a Catholic and Jacobite place of refuge, still going strong despite some quite serious persecution and political difficulties for the laird and his family.

6.19.31. However some of the worst human misfortunes are self-inflicted. This little Catholic community is about to explode quite messily and very publicly.

6.19.32. [Sir George's very bad day](#)

6.19.33. It was Sir George's very bad luck that Hogmanay, December 1704 fell on a Sabbath and that he made the fatal decision to lie in bed all day with his mistress and not go to the Kirk. This was in a close¹²⁹ already a-buzzing with rumour about his notorious adultery with shop keeper Anna Chiesly, who sold cravats to gentlemen.¹³⁰ It was probably the last straw.

6.19.34. When he woke up on New Year's Day morning, there was something much, much worse awaiting Sir George than a hangover from his favourite bed-side tippie of warm sack. It began with resistance being made at the 'outter door' as the lady of the house, 50-year old Agnes Johnston, put up as much of a protest as she could to the unwelcome callers. It continued with resistance being made at the 'chamber door' as Agnes made a last-ditch attempt to save the reputation of her household.¹³¹ By this time Sir George had realised his peril, but that there was no way out, the door burst open. In Edinburgh in 1705 you had to expect the Kirk Session. It was a raid.

¹²⁸ Lists Of Popish Parents And Their Children In Various Districts Of Scotland As Given In To The Lords Of The Privy Council And To The Commission Of The General Assembly, MDCCI—MDCCV, *Miscellany of the Maitland Club, consisting of original papers and other documents illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland*, 1840, p.406. See Appendix

¹²⁹ 'the throw-gang between Forrester's and Liberton's wynds' - probably under the old courts building now, next door to Gosfoord's close.

¹³⁰ 'Anna Chiesly, shopkeeper in Edinburgh, was able to supply Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo with cravats'; R K Marshall, *Virgins and viragos: a history of women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980*, p.153

¹³¹ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, pp.4, 19.

- 6.19.35. Sir George Seton, 2nd baronet of Garleton was discovered ignominiously 'standing naked at the back of the bed nothing upon him but his shirt and nightcap'. Are you Garleton? He was asked. To which he answered 'He was', 'whereupon the deponent told him he was his prisoner'. Worse indignity befell poor Anna, whose 'head cloaths' were lifted so she could be identified. The raiding party were 60-year old Edinburgh merchant and Constable Andrew Carmichael and his fellow merchant burges John Weir, Elder of the New North Kirk.¹³²
- 6.19.36. There now played out a delicious farce where the two bourgeois representatives of Calvinist morality couldn't resist the delights of having their social superior at their mercy and milked it for all it was worth. Carmichael loftily told Sir George 'that he was sorry that a person of his quality should be found guilty of such a base act and wished it might be a means to make him a better man'. Sir George politely thanked him for this sentiment and asked if he would 'remove a little till he put on his cloaths', which they did. Poor Anna only got to pull the curtains on the bed while the men were in the room to get dressed. But the little morality play hadn't finished yet. Sir George now tried to discreetly smooth things over and asked his persecutors what they would take 'to pass the matter and make no more noise of it?' This gave Carmichael and Weir even more delight in taking the moral high ground, they told him 'That he was in the wrong close... and they were none of such persons.'
- 6.19.37. He'd picked the wrong close alright, Carmichael lived and kept a shop in the next door one, and his wife had been personally scandalised by Anna's comings and goings, leading to reports to her husband.
- 6.19.38. Sir George and Anna were dragged before the magistrates, and from thence, he to jail, and Anna to the House of Correction, for she was found 'guilty of Whoredome'.¹³³
- 6.19.39. Though it was surprising that this should happen to man of Sir George's quality, it should be remembered that his Catholic religion made him more vulnerable and a better target than his rank might otherwise indicate. But there was also stupidity involved. He and Anna had been on the Kirk Session's radar for two years now, and she'd been fined four times now (or rather he had, as he was the one who stumped up) sums of £5 and £10 sterling.¹³⁴ She was well known to successive Kirk Session treasurers as both a 'bad woman' and a ready source of cash, for those hefty fines went to poor relief (Anna, not without some black humour at her situation, remarked on one of these occasions that 'the poor might pray for her for she was a good customer to them').¹³⁵ To return so close to the scene of Anna's last arrest in next door Gosfoord Close, right under the nose of scandalised Mr and Mrs Carmichael and their neighbours, when she was so well known and had been caught so many times was sheer folly.
- 6.19.40. As well as the Kirk Session, Anna and George had also been rumbled by a whole series of landladies as they tried ruses like false names, renting adjoining rooms, pretending to be man and wife, fake marriage testificats etc. Sir George was even daft enough to make poor

¹³² The New North was one of the four sub-divisions of St Giles. Constables were not like modern police officers but were burgesses elected prevent disorder and to arrest suspected criminals in their district, Andrew Carmichael was a shop keeper and merchant. GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.4

¹³³ GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, p. 15.

¹³⁴ The powerful Presbyterian church court composed of the ministers and elders of a parish with the right to fine moral offenders and to consign them to repentance; fines GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, pp.29-31

¹³⁵ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.29

Anna go and hide in a closet with nothing on but her night gown, while he called one landlady up to light the fire in his room.¹³⁶ The landlady, Isabel Rollo, already suspicious, promptly searched the room and threw open the closet door revealing a presumably rather chilly Chiesly. (And this wasn't the first time she was caught hiding in a closet with nothing on but her nightie: earlier in the same year of 1703 the Kirk Session had found her trying that trick in Mrs Farquhar's in the Cowgate).¹³⁷

- 6.19.41. Anna was not exactly a mastermind of escaping detection herself, having run one of Sir George's night gowns into a fetching dress for herself which was easily recognised by another landlady when she wore it in the street.¹³⁸ And they'd caused an absolute scandal a few months ago in nearby Niddry's Wynd, where the landlady, apparently fearing they were about to have a threesome with a woman of ill repute called Elizabeth Scott, had actually gone down to call out the captain of the Town Guard to prevent such an abomination and to make Sir George send the two women away.¹³⁹
- 6.19.42. Discretion was not the better part of their ardour. They'd run through over ten addresses in four years, one step ahead (or not) of the Kirk Session and besides this, there were side trips to Cornwall, Aberdour and 'the English Borders'. The last for Anna to surreptitiously deliver her illegitimate baby who they'd fetchingly named Barbara after Lady Garleton.¹⁴⁰ What Lady Garleton thought of this when she learned of it is not recorded.
- 6.19.43. And there had been adultery at Garleton too. Sir George had got Helen Inglis, servant there, pregnant in 1696, so that she had shown up 'betwixt 1 and 2 of the clock' in the morning on a winter night, of February 1697, at a midwife's door in Edinburgh on the very point of giving birth: 'her bearing showers upon her'. Eupham Wilkie, despite the scandal, had made her husband let the poor girl in 'for fear if the said Helen were put out again she might murder her child'.¹⁴¹
- 6.19.44. This was the dark side of Sir George's carrying on up the wrong close. Women like Anna and Helen were placed in absolutely desperate straits. Anna got such a fright from one Kirk Session raid, that Sir George complained it had cost him a 100 guineas in medical bills for 'druggs to doctors and chirurgeons for her'.¹⁴² On another occasion after being rumbled by yet another landlady, Sir George who was drunk 'fell a beating the said Anna... who he was like to destroy'.¹⁴³ She couldn't go back to running her shop. Credit for women in 18th century Scotland depended on sexual reputation and Anna's was ruined.
- 6.19.45. Perhaps the saddest thing of all about Anna is how she aspires to gentility and respectability, her silver is marked A.S. for Anna Seton as if she is married, she dresses in silks like a gentlewoman (and is perceived as such by those who don't know her) and she and Sir George pathetically try to convince her relations to accept them with a fake marriage

¹³⁶ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, pp.18-19

¹³⁷ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.29

¹³⁸ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.15

¹³⁹ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.21.

¹⁴⁰ Or so Anna told Janet Ker who was looking after little Barbara Seton. GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.21.

¹⁴¹ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.10

¹⁴² GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.31

¹⁴³ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.15

testificat which Sir George says is from a priest.¹⁴⁴ All Anna's little fripperies and marks of gentility are seized by the magistrates to be sold for the poor, her silver spoons, her silver fork and knife, her ribbons, gloves and 'silk sutes'.¹⁴⁵ At least Sir George does fetch her out of the House of Correction.¹⁴⁶ But what happens to her after that we don't know - it's unlikely that they lived happily ever after given the hue and cry after them.

6.20. Lady Barbara strikes back

- 6.20.1. But being apprehended in his nightshirt, and then dragged to magistrates and thrown into the tolbooth was only the beginning of Sir George's woes. The other woman in his life, Lady Barbara Wauchop his wife, had been putting up with George's adulteries she reckoned, since 1693 and this public parade of humiliation was absolutely the last straw.¹⁴⁷
- 6.20.2. Barbara acted swiftly, there was more than infidelity at stake and she had to use this opportunity while she had the upper hand and counter-act the presumption that wives should be subject to their husbands and be endlessly patient with their vices. She went home to her father's castle of Niddrie Marischal and within a week her brother and a lawyer were dispatched to Sir George's prison cell, bearing an offer he was in not much position to refuse. Garleton, it turned out, was drowning in a sea of debt. It wasn't just his marriage which was going under. Sir George owed the shocking sum of £44,567 pounds Scots to his creditors, one loan alone to Sir Francis Kinloch amounting to 40,000 merks.¹⁴⁸
- 6.20.3. Barbara had to act now if she was to secure anything for herself and her children, and to have anything for her eldest son to inherit. She needed to get George's agreement to sell enough land to satisfy his creditors and to ensure that her own and the children's provision of annual income from the remaining lands was secure. In this situation, in prison, in debt, and bearing in mind that adultery was a serious offence in Scotland, Sir George duly signed: securing Barbara an income of 2,500 merks a year and clearing the legal ground for the partial dismemberment and sale of the barony of Athelstaneford to clear his debts.¹⁴⁹
- 6.20.4. But then something extraordinary happened. Remember that Sir George Seton and Barbara Wauchop come from the two great families in Lothian who are holding out as Catholic recusants and sheltering the Jesuits of the Scottish mission. Imagine George's horror when he found out that in order to guarantee her access to the provisions of her marriage contract Barbara was taking him to court - and not just any court but the divorce court - Barbara wanted her rights and she was not going to take it anymore.
- 6.20.5. She needed this to get immediate access to the financial provisions made for her in her pre-nuptial marriage contract.¹⁵⁰ Scots marriage law, as administered by the Commissariat Court of Edinburgh after the Reformation, allowed divorce on the grounds of desertion or adultery. It also, completely unlike the law in England, allowed women to sue for divorce on equal

¹⁴⁴ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, pp.6, 26-8, GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, pp.14-15

¹⁴⁵ GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, pp.14-15

¹⁴⁶ GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, p.22

¹⁴⁷ Implied by her questions to witnesses which all ask what they know about adultery after 1693, George and Barbara married in 1686, GD247/183/2/2, Depositions, pp.2-3.

¹⁴⁸ Original disposition 7th January and written in the Tolbooth, registered 26 Feb 1705, RD4/96, f.414

¹⁴⁹ Original disposition 7th January and written in the Tolbooth, registered 26 Feb 1705, RD4/96, f.414

¹⁵⁰ These were routine for Scotswomen of any standing - who still brought dowries - 'tochers' with them, so marriage was a serious financial transaction between landed families.

terms, though this was a very brave and hazardous thing to do, which could destroy a woman's reputation and which would normally deprive of her children. It did not provide alimony in a modern way. What it did was to declare your erring partner legally dead to you, this meant a man didn't have to support an erring woman, and that a woman could have her marriage contract provisions from an erring man. Barbara had come to get financial security, and also to get shot of Sir George 'being highly irritat by Sir George's re-iterated injuries done to her by the violation of this wedlock engagement and finding all other means of reclamation to prove ineffectual'.¹⁵¹ You could see her point.

- 6.20.6. She'd brought no fewer than 30 witnesses to prove his adultery and had to go through the whole process of standing there at the bar of the court while a parade of witnesses deponed upon Sir George's misdeeds in glorious technicolour detail, while being asked to look at Barbara and identify her as a 'distinct' woman to whoever they'd seen Sir George cavorting around with. It's really hard to get across how humiliating this would be for a lady of quality in Dame Barbara's world. You would have to be white-hot with righteous fury to go through with this.
- 6.20.7. A lesser man might have surrendered at the 30 witness mark. But Sir George Seton of Garleton 2nd Bart was not a lesser man. He had a defence of such stunning chutzpah, that even 300 years later, it still amazes with its cheek. Having fornicated his way round half the closes in Edinburgh and knocked up both Helen the serving girl and his mistress, Sir George appeared in court to play the wronged and scandalised husband: Barbara couldn't have a divorce, because she was Catholic. That was against the law of God and the faith which she professed!
- 6.20.8. You can just imagine the surprise of the Edinburgh Commissariat judges - Calvinists to a man, in post-Glorious Revolution Scotland - when Sir George came before them and cited the canons of the Council of Trent: the foundational document of the Catholic Counter Reformation in his defence. Since Barbara didn't truly believe in divorce, he argued, she couldn't and shouldn't have one, it would put her under 'anathema' of her church and she didn't profess such a principle.
- 6.20.9. We now probably have to move Dame Barbara's 'highly irritat' scale up yet another notch. Her reply through her lawyers was scathing.¹⁵²
- 6.20.10. 'The pursuer [Barbara] is not professing her principles' she told him, 'nor hath the defender [Sir George] any right to demand such profession. But it were to be wished he would own that he had [should have] observed the law of God touching marriage which he has so foully violat'.
- 6.20.11. After all, Sir George's expertise on the sanctity of Catholic wedding vows mostly consisted of finding new and exciting ways to break them.
- 6.20.12. Nevertheless, he tried this tack not once but twice, and finally the judges smacked him down. The Council of Trent had never been received in Scotland, and further:

¹⁵¹ GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, p.20

¹⁵² GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, pp.22-4.

- 6.20.13. “supposing the pursuer [Barbara] were popish, yet her laying hold on a protestant course for redress of the wrong done her in a Protestant country ought not to be discouraged or repelled by Protestant magistrates”¹⁵³
- 6.20.14. There’s something almost strangely modern about this - a woman appearing before a secular court in Scotland to demand her full rights, against protests that the religion of her community doesn’t allow them. But Barbara had Catholic arguments too about how the Council of Trent was to be understood: that it did not forbid divorce, merely remarriage. Nonetheless, this was an incredibly brave stand for her rights - but was there something besides Sir George’s debt and adultery that drove her to it?
- 6.20.15. In November 1700, the status of Scotland’s Catholics had taken yet another turn for the worse. The Scottish parliament passed an act affirming earlier penal acts against Catholics but also attacking Catholic rights of landed inheritance.¹⁵⁴
- 6.20.16. And sicklike his majestie, with advice and consent forsaied, statutes, enacts and declares that no person or persons professing the popish religion past the age of fifeteen years shall hereafter be capable to succeed as heirs to any person whatsoever, nor to bruick or enjoy any estate by disposition or other convoyance flowing from any person to whom the said papist might succeed as heir, any manner of way, untill the said heirs purge themselves of popery... ‘
- 6.20.17. The crucial age at which sons and heirs had to publicly forswear their Catholic faith was 15 years old. George junior, the son and heir was born sometime around 1687, early in George and Barbara’s marriage, making him about 13-14 years old at the time of this act.¹⁵⁵ The clock was ticking for the Garletons, their eldest son might soon be declared incapable of inheriting, and by 1704 the pressure was telling on Sir George.
- 6.20.18. As the divorce case progressed and his situation became more desperate, Sir George made a series of revealing outbursts about religion. The first is put in context by a later statement that in the winter of 1704, his debt was already such an issue that Barbara’s father and brothers had come to town to consider brokering a settlement of the estate upon George junior. It appears that Sir George made a stunning proposition to them: that George junior should be ‘educated in the religion established by law in this kingdom’ and that he should publicly renounce his Catholic faith, so that he was capable of inheriting.¹⁵⁶
- 6.20.19. Then, in Sir George’s last desperate petition, comes an amazing outburst, where he not only blames Barbara’s agents for ‘hounding’ him out and putting him under confinement (for debt- he is writing this broadside in his own hand from the ‘Abbey’, the debtors sanctuary at Holyrood), but goes on the offensive against Barbara’s faith: she’s a Catholic, he argues, and her oath and evidence to the court can’t be trusted because her oath’s been sworn on a Protestant bible and: ‘being of the Romish religion who do not own the English translation of the Bible to be authentick’, she must be made to swear on a Catholic bible and to swear that

¹⁵³ GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, p.35.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Act for preventing the growth of popery, 23rd November 1700’, NAS. PA2/37, f.206v-210.

¹⁵⁵ Smaller Douay Register, HMC, General reports, volume 4, (1000-1800), p.653. George was educated as a Catholic at the Scots College Douai, its register book puts him at 12 in April 1698, but the list of Popish parents thinks he is 15-16 in 1704. Either way he is a young teenager who will in a few years turn 15 when this act is introduced.

¹⁵⁶ GD247/183/2/1, Decreet, p.45

what she says is 'without equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever', i.e. he's playing on a series of nasty stereotypes about Catholics, insinuating that her confessor might have given her some rationale or dispensation to lie, that an oath on a Protestant bible in a Protestant court wouldn't count for her.

- 6.20.20. In other words, her testimony is all a popish plot to make 'ruin and shipwreck of his fortune as well as reputation'.
- 6.20.21. Here the shocking truth becomes apparent: Sir George has cracked. Fearful of losing his estates, increasingly seeing a choice between Garleton and God, he chose Garleton. This was a heavy blow to the persecuted Scottish Catholic mission. Drawing on the mission correspondence of the time, Rev John Thompson, rector of Scalan and later clergy agent at Rome recorded for 1705¹⁵⁷
- 6.20.22. 'Among others, Sir John Seaton of Garleton apostatised this year, which gave great concern to the Bishop and the missionaries. He was under the direction of the Jesuits.'
- 6.20.23. Specifically, he appears under the direction of Father John Gordon at Garleton, while back home with her father at Niddry, Barbara could likely have availed herself of Father James Buchan stationed there.¹⁵⁸ Behind the divorce proceedings in Edinburgh, there were likely two very displeased fathers of the Society of Jesus who could happily have strangled Sir George with one of Mistress Anna's finest top-of-the-range cravats.
- 6.20.24. But Barbara triumphed. Her divorce was confirmed, her annual income of 2,500 merks was secured to her, and Sir George was forced to dismember his barony and sell-up everything except his beloved Garletons: Garleton Alexander and Garleton Noble. The rest went to his major creditor, Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton and was confirmed in the Great Seal.¹⁵⁹

6.21. The 1715 - the end of the Setons

- 6.21.1. So much for God, but what about the King? On 6th September 1715 after the death of Queen Anne and the succession of George I of Hanover, The Earl of Mar raised the royal standard at Braemar in favour of the Old Pretender, now James III and VIII.
- 6.21.2. On the 12th October, the Jacobite officer, Brigadier William Mackintosh of Borlum crossed the Forth and after an abortive attempt to hold Leith, fell back on Seaton house, the seat of Sir George's cousin, the Earl of Winton.¹⁶⁰ Borlum there 'entrenched the avenues and fortified the gates' and saw off a party of volunteer horse sent to stop him. On the 18th of October orders came to Borlum to march south. With him went George Seton, 5th Earl of Winton, the head of the name of Seton, with his own small troop of horse. It included at

¹⁵⁷ William Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, selected from hitherto inedited mss*, 1909, vol 2, p.221.

¹⁵⁸ William Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, selected from hitherto inedited mss*, 1909, vol 2, p.212

¹⁵⁹ Great Seal, March 1706, C2/82 f.69; sasine following on this: RS27/71/278.

¹⁶⁰ George Charles, *History Of The Transactions In The Years, 1715-16, And 1745-46*, 1816, p.301, Daniel Szechi, *1715: the Great Jacobite Rebellion*, pp.172-3

least two other Seton lairds from East Lothian.¹⁶¹ On the 1st of November, they invaded England.¹⁶²

- 6.21.3. The English Jacobites failed to rise up and within a fortnight the tiny Jacobite army of 1,400 men, were surrounded and forced to surrender after an abortive stand at Preston in Lancashire. Among the prisoners was a George Seton of Garleton.
- 6.21.4. Until now it's generally been assumed that this was young George, Sir George's heir, as in his mid-twenties he would seem a more likely candidate for going off to war than his fifty-year old father (particularly as he is known to have later lived in exile and died at Versailles in 1769).¹⁶³ However the sources which list the prisoners after Preston, (such as the *London Gazette*) and which list those sent to Newgate prison distinguish other younger sons from their fathers, but do not mark the prisoner taken at Preston as 'George Seton younger', nor do they generally or consistently make use of the 'Sir' when listing prisoners which would help distinguish young George from his father.
- 6.21.5. On the other hand, two deeds written in London in 1716 carefully do make this distinction because they're signed by Sir George of Garleton and they involve matters relating to George Seton younger, who is not recorded in documents as 'of Garleton' until after his father's death which occurs sometime between June 1718 and 2nd May 1720.¹⁶⁴
- 6.21.6. These documents providing for his family show that it's old Sir George, the rake and apostate, who we can definitely place in London.
- 6.21.7. And we can go further, the witnesses to the deeds tie him firmly to the Jacobite prisoners in Newgate. The 12th September deed was witnessed by James Mossman, late servant to the deceased John Hall, now servant to George Seton of Barnes. Both Hall, who was executed at Tyburn that July and Seton of Barnes (who was still in prison), were held at Newgate.¹⁶⁵ And there was another George Seton in Newgate, besides Barnes, who can be followed along with other Scottish lairds captured at Preston.¹⁶⁶ This would appear to be our Sir George Seton.
- 6.21.8. If so, he was one of the captives led in triumph, pinioned with cords, through the streets of London on December 10th 1715, as the Hanoverian mob huzza'd loudly. And he then found himself having to pay through the nose for the most basic of prison accommodation in

¹⁶¹ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25123>, George Lockhart, *The Lockhart papers: containing memoirs and commentaries upon the affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715*, 1817, vol. 1, p.492, London Gazette, No. 5388, published on the 6 December 1715, <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/5388>, List of prisoners printed by James Moncur, Edinburgh 1715, . *Remains, Historical & Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*, (Chetham Society,) vol 5, pp.159-160.

¹⁶² Daniel Szechi, *1715: the Great Jacobite Rebellion*, p.174

¹⁶³ e.g. *Scots Peerage*, vol. viii, p.600, based on Peter Rae, *The History of the Rebellion, Rais'd against His Majesty King George I. By the friends of the Popish Pretender*, 1746, p.325.

¹⁶⁴ The 1716 dispositions survive through being mentioned in Sasine 12th May, 1725, and being registered in RS27/87/214, Deed of Disposition 18 Aug 1721, RD2/115 f.199, dead by 2nd May 1720, as evidenced by RS27/91/220, still alive on 20th June 1718, as he writes a disposition mentioned in RS27/99/164.

¹⁶⁵ M. D. Sankey, *Jacobite prisoners of the 1715 rebellion*, pp.86-7. *The Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate: Giving an account of their Daily Behaviour... taken from a Diary kept by a Gentleman in the Same Prison*, London, 1717. p30, George Seton of Barnes was not released till January 1717.

¹⁶⁶ *The Historical Register: containing an impartial relation of all transactions Foreign and Domestick*, 1716-38, p.449, ; *The Secret History*, p28 - see below.

Newgate which could cost at the top end, as much as £5 sterling a week - enough to put you up in St James's Square or Piccadilly if you weren't in jail.¹⁶⁷ Still according to Daniel Defoe who wrote the little pamphlet *The History of the Press Yard*, the Rebel prisoners didn't lack for female visitors or admiration, which must have pleased Sir George if he stayed true to past form. But keeping up appearances in jail was expensive, 'For long there was nothing among them but "flaunting apparel, venison pasties, hams, chickens, and other costly meats.' and the best French wine, 'was an ordinary regale'.¹⁶⁸ But then came the trials, the condemnations for treason and the first executions, such as that of Mr Hall (whose servant signed Sir George's deed) and gloom descended on the little Jacobite community - punctuated by desperate escape attempts - as they contemplated what lay in store for them.¹⁶⁹

- 6.21.9. Perhaps this is why Sir George made the closest thing we have for him to a will that September in London - a disposition to his younger children Margaret gets 5,000 marks, Barbara junior, 4,000 marks, Mary 3000, John 1500, Andrew 1,500. George the heir is to be otherwise provided for.¹⁷⁰
- 6.21.10. Sir George (if we have correctly identified him) too had to face his trial, but it didn't come until November 30th 1716 when a George Seton who clearly isn't George Seton of Barnes, but who is being tried among other Scottish lairds taken at Preston was taken before a special commission of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster. Luckily by now the government mood had changed. The administration no longer wanted blood, there had been enough of that, and George and 13 others were discharged without punishment.¹⁷¹
- 6.21.11. There is no sign of attainder, or of the estates being forfeited.¹⁷² We can't even be sure that Sir George was stripped of his title, there is no record of that. And as he did not evade justice, there would be nothing to stop him taking full advantage of the indemnity act which came the following year in July to recover his property and station.
- 6.21.12. However the government didn't need to attain him and forfeit his estates as another lengthy spell in prison on top of the usual debts was enough to finally ruin him.
- 6.21.13. On the 8th December 1716, before Alexander Hall, coach maker, and James Greenham, both inhabitants of London, Sir George Seton finally signed Garleton away in a disposition.

¹⁶⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Press-Yard*, 1717, p.65

¹⁶⁸ *The Secret History of the Rebels*, p.7, Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Press-Yard*, 1717, p.65.

¹⁶⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Press-Yard*, 1717, pp.65-7

¹⁷⁰ Deed of division, RD2/115, 18 Aug 1721, f.199. but made in 'London 12th September 1716 'before these witnesses Robert Withers servant to Thomas Golding indweller in London, James Mossman, late servant to the deceased John Hall, now servant to George Seton of Barnes.'

¹⁷¹ *The Historical Register: containing an impartial relation of all transactions Foreign and Domestick*, 1716-38, p.449, Nov 30th 1716, 'The court for tryal of the Preston prisoners sat at Westminster according to their last adjournment and discharged the 14 following - Mr George Seton, Mr Francis Congletoun, Mr Alexander Congleton Mr Thomas Anderson, William Dundas gent. William Dundas merchant, Mr Alexander Foster, Mr William Dalmahoy, Mr Edward Maxwell, Mr Gabriel Robertson of Guy, Mr Daniel Hall, Mr George Skinner, Mr Lyon, Mr Charles Maxwell, Mr Stewart', (Nov 30th 1716) ; *The Secret History*, p28. Court of Common Pleas, John, Struthers, *The history of Scotland: from the Union to the abolition of the Heritable Jurisdictions*, Volume 1., 1828, p. 432

¹⁷² Unlike those of George Seton, Earl of Wintoun and others.

- 6.21.14. Both Garleton Noble and Garleton-Alexander went to his neighbour back home in Haddingtonshire: Mr John Baird of Newbyth younger. All that was saved were some liferents - annual incomes paid to his children and to Barbara. But the lands and the castle had gone.
- 6.21.15. Just as their Royalism had finished the Towers, Jacobitism had finished the Setons.
- 6.21.16. The chain by which the lands then go is from John Baird to Thomas Goldie on 19 June 1718, and Goldie doesn't hold onto them for long either but sells within seven years to Col. Francis Charteris of Amisfield, the famous gambler and rake - a contemporary of old Sir George (whom he may have fought against as deputy lieutenant of Lancaster during the Jacobite rebellion in 1715).¹⁷³
- 6.21.17. Though he owned the property, it's highly doubtful that Charteris ever resided here or gave it much thought. It was very different for the Setons of Garleton, this was the core of their barony and the centre of their world, but for Charteris, who had a habit of snapping up properties when he was owed money, it was probably just another investment.¹⁷⁴
- 6.21.18. From this final sale, it becomes clear that Goldie has been paying an annual income (liferent) to 'Sir George Seton now of Garmilton' therein designed George Seton younger' since he bought the lands. Now if this is the case, then the title didn't go in the 1715, and some attempt has been made to keep an interest in the lands for young Sir George who has by now succeeded his father, but it looks as if on this date of 12th of May 1725 at the 'manor place of Garleton' 1725, the last Seton cord is finally cut.
- 6.21.19. Sir George Seton 'now of Garmilton' died in Versailles 9 March 1769.¹⁷⁵
- 6.21.20. He could have been out in the 1715 rebellion and it may be that his father's presence in London settling affairs for his children and signing away the lands is purely coincidental and has led us astray. But we have no primary evidence yet which indubitably links him to the rebellion. It could be that as a landless laird with only a small life-rent left to him it was simply more affordable for him to seek a future in France and as Catholic who is never recorded as denying his faith, it would certainly have been more congenial.
- 6.21.21. But Garleton's Catholic connection apparently wasn't over yet - there's a strange coda. Garleton has its own ghost story.

6.22. Miss Hepburn has a visitor

- 6.22.1. James Miller, the Haddington poet and antiquarian who wrote *St. Baldred of the Bass: a Pictish legend* collected a ghost story about Garleton, which concerned someone who had been resident there within living memory of his times in 1824:
- 6.22.2. Rather more than fifty years ago, an old maiden lady, of good family, [Miss Janet Hepburn, sister to Colonel Hepburn of Luffness and Congalton], was the tenant of one of the now decayed wings of the mansion-house of Garleton. She is described as a tall thin figure, who wore a black silk cloak and bonnet, and walked with a large cane, ornamented with a gold

¹⁷³ RS27/99/164, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5175>

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5175>

¹⁷⁵ Robert Seton, *An Old Family: The Setons of Scotland and America*, 1899, p. p.147

chain and tassel. She had also a great deal of eccentricity in her conduct; for she often walked at dead of night and early dawn, till she was so wetted by the dews and the long dank grass, that, on her return home, she had to shift her clothes or go to bed. Add to this, that she had the misfortune to be a papist, and was very ostensible in her devotions; so that we need not wonder that she was regarded by the superstitious of the neighbourhood with no small degree of terror and aversion.

- 6.22.3. Having sauntered out one morning till near sunrise, she sat down on the Craggy Hill, when "an odd-looking man," as she termed him, approached her. She waved her cane to keep off the intruder, who, after muttering something, went away. The lady immediately returned home; but, during the day, could not banish the unwelcome visitor from her thoughts. At night, after locking the outer door, and placing the key below her pillow, she went to bed, as usual, at a late hour. In vain she endeavoured to compose herself to sleep, and to dissipate the troublous thoughts that rose in her mind; at length she heard the outer door open, and a heavy foot come tramping up the creaking stairs; something opened the door, and entered the room adjoining to her bed-closet; the door of the latter next opened, and she again beheld the unwelcome visitor—the spectre of the morning.
- 6.22.4. She was only able to articulate, "Who comes there?" when the stranger replied, "This is my native place, and I have a long history to tell you!" The lady, thinking the intruder was a robber, pointed to a small box containing her keys, and bade him take what he wanted, and begone. The mysterious personage still wished to speak; but as she waved her hand, and inclined not to listen, he disappeared. As he retired, she again heard the heavy foot tramping down the creaking stairs, till the slashing of the outer door announced his exit.
- 6.22.5. Although the lady passed a sleepless night, she was unwilling to disturb the inmates of her house, which consisted only of a maiden lady and a domestic. Next morning, when the servant came for the key of the outer door, she told her what had happened, and that she imagined robbers had been in the house. The maid had also the imperfect recollection of some noise; but it was like the noise of a dream. At her lady's desire she immediately went to the press where the family plate was deposited, but found it unmolested; the silver wine-cup stood on the mantelpiece, below the crucifix, untouched, and the outer door remained fast: in short, every thing stood in its place, as on the preceding evening.
- 6.22.6. It was the impression of the less superstitious part of the neighbourhood, that the old maiden lady was superannuated, and that the ghastly visitant was the creature of a dream. Be this as it may, on that very day twelvemonth, the Lady of Garleton was seized with a convulsive fit in the evening, and expired about the same hour at midnight that she had had an interview with the unwelcome visitor. I have only to add, that the person from whom I had the preceding story is of unquestionable veracity; and that she had often heard it from the lady's own lips.
- 6.22.7. The ruins of the mansion-house stand at the foot of Garleton hills, a fine miniature specimen of Highland scenery. Amidst scenes like these, the author of Douglas poured forth his immortal strains to the midnight air. Upon a sequestered dell, nearly opposite Kilduff, called Ravensdale, or, more familiarly, Watty's Howe, Mr Home pursued his declamatory studies, to the no small terror of the benighted traveller, who hence conjectured that the place was haunted.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ James, Miller, *St. Baldred of the Bass: a Pictish legend*, 1824, p.283

- 6.22.8. Janet Hepburn was real, she did indeed die at Garleton and her date of death is identifiable:
- 6.22.9. At Garleton, Mrs Janet Hepburn, daughter of the deceased Mr James Hepburn of Keith about March 16th 1784 - Scots Magazine
- 6.22.10. The family mentioned in the ghost story are indeed that line of Hepburns who succeeded to Keith.¹⁷⁷ The tale is interesting though, because if its circumstantial details are true, then this means the property was lived in up to about 1783, though it was much neglected and two 'maiden ladies' and a servant is hardly the kind of establishment it would have carried under the Seton baronets with their large families, their priests and retainers. Yet it had retained the imprint of its Catholic history. The *Gazetteer for Scotland* of 1803, in its entry for Athelstaneford, also speaks of how 'the ruins of Garleton House still retains some of its ancient magnificence.'¹⁷⁸
- 6.22.11. You can't help wondering who the ghost could have been. I hope it wasn't Sir George, condemned to wander Garleton forever sneaking into ladies bedrooms for renouncing his faith in a vain attempt to save his castle and he certainly would have a long history to tell you. If you do see him, ask him if he was out in the '15! We'd like to know!

6.23. Postscript: When was the castle abandoned?

- 6.23.1. James Miller's tale of the Ghost and Miss Hepburn is dated 'rather more than fifty years' before he published it in 1824 and so her living as a tenant 'in one of the now [1824] decayed wings of the mansion house of Garleton' can be dated to roughly around 1770.
- 6.23.2. We also know that Miss Hepburn died at Garleton in 1784 which provides us with a firm terminal date for her occupation of the property.
- 6.23.3. However the Map of the Three Lothians published by the Armstrongs in 1773¹⁷⁹ clearly shows the castle site as 'ruins' and the 1803 *Gazetteer for Scotland* and 1851-6 Ordnance Survey confirms this - so Miller's 'the ruins of the of the manor house' could apply to both 1824 when he was writing and c.1770 when Miss Hepburn encountered her spectral visitor.
- 6.23.4. And by the time MacGibbon and Ross visited the site in their grand survey of Scottish architecture in the 1880s we know that only the SW hall-house was still inhabitable and had become accommodation for agricultural labourers¹⁸⁰.
- 6.23.5. Other than Miss Hepburn we have found no evidence of occupation in the mid-to-later eighteenth century and it would appear that the various people who owned the property after Sir George Seton sold it were absentee landlords who collected whatever rents they could from the tenants and by the 1770s were also renting out 'a wing' of the 'old mansion-house'.
- 6.23.6. Given that the castle appears to have been a large L-shaped tower house and thus didn't have what in an eighteenth century house would have been called 'wings', the most probable conclusion is that it quickly decayed after the Seton's left it - but that at least one

¹⁷⁷ *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Volume 13, p.210, Dirleton Parish

¹⁷⁸ *The Gazetteer for Scotland*, Dundee 1803.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix

¹⁸⁰ MacGibbon and Ross vol 4, p.190

of the two detached 'lodges' or hall houses remained in good enough order to be occupied by a person of quality (Miss Hepburn) and her small household.

- 6.23.7. We haven't been able to discover when the NW hall-house was demolished to make way for the now existing buildings but it had certainly gone and been replaced before MacGibbon and Ross's visit in the 1880s, which suggests that it too rapidly decayed to a state when it was not even considered suitable accommodation for Victorian farm labourers.
- 6.23.8. It is thus at least a reasonable assumption that Miss Hepburn's home was the surviving SW lodge and remained in reasonable order at least until her death and was still habitable a century later.



Plate 20: The north elevation with platform providing entrance to the workers cottages

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 7.1. Garleton Castle is a significant complex of buildings that has a fascinating and long history of occupation. The southwest lodge is a fine example – albeit truncated, of a late 16th century structure.
- 7.2. The main fabric of the building dates to the 1590s and many of the original features, including the gun-loops are retained without alteration. The 2 vaulted chambers are also little altered from their original form, having only the floor levels raised during the conversion to workers cottages above.
- 7.3. The building itself bears testimony to the fortunes of the families who owned Garleton from the 16th century Setons to the present day Wemyss and March Estate.
- 7.4. The interior space, on the first and second floors, with the exception of the central flue partition is of later 19th and 20th century construction, with thin brick walls and fireplace ranges sub-dividing the larger east and west rooms, thus obscuring their original form. In addition, the unity of the building as a single liveable structure has been divided by the conversion and thus altered the movement and flow.
- 7.5. The south elevation has seen the blocking of large windows which darkens the rooms that would once have been filled with much more natural light.
- 7.6. The upper attic space in the now truncated building contains no natural lighting whatsoever and given the presence of a more modern roof it may have once had either roof lights or dormers.
- 7.7. The blockings on each level divide a building where no divisions would have originally been intended. Further questions must also be asked regarding the stair tower and how it works with each floor level. Further examination of this space can only be made once the rubble filled interior is cleared and made safe.
- 7.8. Excavation within the 2 vaulted chambers has located the original floor surfaces for the building and dated the infill to the late 19th or perhaps early 20th century. This would mean that removal of the infill material should require little archaeological supervision until within 10-20 cms of the floor surfaces.
- 7.9. Further building recording will be required within the stair tower and within the vaulted chambers once emptied to the desired new level, as this will expose further features relating to the original 16th century construction.

- 7.10. What is still unclear is whether the entrance to the stair tower is from room 1 or room 4. In addition the corbel that angles from the south elevation in room 4 and what it relates to structurally can only be examined once this area has been made safe and cleared.
- 7.11. Exterior works for services along the existing track will not impinge on earlier deposits given that MacGibbon and Ross's illustration clearly shows the ground surface has been raised by 0.50 m.
- 7.12. It is recommended that further building recording takes place in the roof space, the stair tower and the 2 vaulted chambers and link corridor once the dumped rubble infill has been cleared.
- 7.13. Excavation and/or watching brief can be carried out once this clearance reaches within 0.10 m – 0.20 m above the known floor surfaces.
- 7.14. A watching brief is suggested during the excavation for services, though this could be carried out at the same time as the further recording of the interior.
- 7.15. Further historical research that examines the Wemyss and March Estate papers held at Gosford House may provide further information regarding the conversion of this building from the grand lodge house of the Seton's at Garleton Castle to the more prosaic estate worker's cottages.

Appendix 1 Building Feature Register

Feature Type	Description	Location
Wall fabric	Rubble built wall	north external elevation
Platform	Rubble built platform extending from main building	north external elevation
Steps	Steps up to platform 102	north external elevation
Doorway	Older doorway in northeast corner. Rounded surround with basaltic jambs and sandstone lintel.	north external elevation
Window	Small early window. Rounded basaltic surround	north external elevation
Window	Later insertion. Chamfered sandstone surround	north external elevation
Window	Later insertion with partial chamfered sandstone surround and elements of earlier window re-used	north external elevation
Blocking	Random rubble blocking of earlier window	north external elevation
Window	Surviving sandstone east jamb of earlier window	north external elevation
Door	Later chamfered sandstone surround	north external elevation
Door	Later chamfered sandstone surround	north external elevation
Chimney stack	Brick chimney stack on earlier stone flue	north external elevation
Chimney stack	Stone built large open mouthed chimney stack	north external elevation
Chimney stack	Brick built chimney stack on earlier stone flue	north external elevation
Crow-step gables	9 block sandstone crow-steps	north external elevation
Crow-step gables	9 block sandstone crow-steps	north external elevation
Roof	Pantile roof	north external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in northwest corner	north external elevation
Wall fabric	Random rubble - angular medium-large basaltic local stone	east external elevation
Window	Later inserted window. Sandstone chamfered surround	east external elevation

Feature Type	Description	Location
Blocking	Large loose rubble blocking of earlier window	east external elevation
Window	Small slit window. Large sandstone block surround	east external elevation
Window	Small slit window. Chamfered surround. Single iron bar	east external elevation
Blocking/repair	Hand-made bricks forming part of blocking or repair for earlier window. Below 121	east external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in southeast corner	east external elevation
Wall fabric	Random rubble of stair tower - angular medium-large basaltic local stone	south external elevation
Window	Rounded sandstone surround	south external elevation
Window	Possible later re-modelling with mix of sandstone surrounds with lintel chamfer not matching jambs below	south external elevation
Blocking	Crow-stepped gables 115 are laid over this window blocking. Small random rubble	east external elevation
Window	Surviving north jamb of earlier window cut through by crow-stepped gables and window 122	east external elevation
Blocking	Blocking of window 123 with rubble	east external elevation
Wall fabric	Random rubble - angular medium-large basaltic local stone	south external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in southeast corner	south external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in southwest corner	south external elevation
Window	Small rough basalt surround and intact iron bars	south external elevation
Blocking	Course rubble blocking of window on first floor	south external elevation
Window	Rough basaltic surrounds. Heavily damaged and widened	south external elevation
Window	Composite sandstone and basalt surrounds. Lintel shaped with low arch	south external elevation
Window	Inserted chamfered sandstone surrounds and wooden lintel	south external elevation
Window	Surviving east jamb and partial cill of sandstone surround	south external elevation

Feature Type	Description	Location
Window	Surviving sandstone lintel of inserted window cutting 140/143	south external elevation
Blocking	Mixed rubble and brick blocking of window 141	south external elevation
Blocking	Rubble blocking of window 140 cut through by insertion of window 141	south external elevation
Blocking	Cement and brick blocking window 137	south external elevation
Wall fabric	Random rubble - angular medium-large basaltic local stone	West external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in southwest corner	West external elevation
Gun-loop	Local basaltic wide mouthed gun-loop in northwest corner	West external elevation
Opening	Large slap through opening for cart/machinery entrance. Wooden jambs and lintel	West external elevation
Blocking	Rubble blocking of window 150	West external elevation
Window	Large rounded sandstone surrounds with relieving arch above	West external elevation
Blocking	Rubble blocking of doorway between vaulted ground floor chambers	Room 2/4
Passage	Vaulted passageway between rooms 1 & 4	Room 2
Fireplace	Large open fireplace with sandstone voussoirs facing room 1	Room 1
Wall	Random rubble wall dividing vaulted lower chambers. Fireplace 153 to west	West Wall Room 4
Blocking	Brick & cement blocking of fireplace 153	East Wall Room 1
Blocking	Random rubble blocking of entrance into room 3 from room 4, possibly creating fireplace	Southwest corner Room 4
Corbel	Single fine grain sandstone corbel projecting at 45 degree angle and supporting a sloping beam to the northwest	Southwest corner Room 4
Aumbry	Recessed cabinet within width of wall	East Wall Room 4
Wall	Brick built and plastered on the hard dividing wall between entrance halls on first floor	Between Rooms 5 & 9
Wall	Brick built plastered on the hard internal division wall	Between Rooms 5, 6, 8 & Room 7
Stairs	Stairs to second floor marked by scar on	Room 18

Feature Type	Description	Location
	east elevation	
Stairs	Stairs to second floor marked by scar on west elevation	Room 19
Wall	Brick built plastered on the hard internal division wall	Between Rooms 9,10,12 & Room 11
Wall	Brick built plastered on the hard internal division wall & extends into original stair tower space	East Wall Room 8
Blocking	Partial brick blocking of window 139 on west side due to insertion of internal walls 160	Southeast Corner Room 7
Fireplace	Sandstone slab fireplace in grate. Later insertion	East Wall Room 11
Fireplace	Sandstone slab fireplace in grate. Later insertion	West Wall Room 17
Wall	Random rubble dividing wall between upper storey rooms	Between Room 17 & 18
Door Jamb	Fine grain chamfered sandstone door jamb 1.85m high with 2 iron door hangers. Sitting on central flue plinth 1.2m above present 2nd floor level.	East Wall Room 17
Wall	Random rubble wall relating to earlier stair tower and doorway 169. Angled towards central flue stack	Between Rooms 17 & 18
Fireplace	Sandstone slab fireplace in grate. Later insertion	East Wall Room 18
Blocking	Lathe & plaster blocking of cupboard formed by blocking of window 150	Southwest Corner Room 7
Doorway	Fine sandstone surround, rounded mouldings between rooms 2 & 4	Room 2/4
Fireplace	Sandstone slab fireplace in grate. Later insertion	West Wall Room 7

Appendix 2 Building Photo Register

Photo No.	Direction To:	Room	Elevation	Description
1	East		West external	Lower half
2	East		West external	Upper half
3	East		West external	Complete
4	North		South external	Lower half - west end
5	North		South external	Upper half - west end
6	North		South external	Complete - west end
7	North		South external	Lower half - central
8	North		South external	Upper half - central
9	North		South external	Complete - central
10	North		South external	Lower half - east end
11	North		South external	Upper half - east end
12	North		South external	Complete - east end
13	North		South external	Entire south elevation
14	West		East external	Lower half - south end
15	West		East external	middle - south end
16	West		East external	Upper half - south end
17	West		East external	Entire east elevation south side of garden wall
18	West		East external	Entire east elevation north side of garden wall
19	South		North	Detail of blocked doorway of garden wall
20	South		North external	Detail of door in northeast corner of building
21	South		North external	General view
22	South		North external	General view
23	South		North external	General view
24	South		North external	General view
25	South		North external	External stairs at northwest corner of building
26	East		West external	Gun loop at southwest corner
27	East		West external	Gun loop at northwest corner
28	North		South external	Gun loop at southwest corner
29	North		South external	Badly damaged window (blocked)
30	North		South external	Upper central stair tower
31	North		South external	Window. N.B. original bars in place
32	North		South external	Gun loop southeast corner
33	West		East external	Gun loop southeast corner
34	North		South	Garden wall. N.B. blocked door &

Photo No.	Direction To:	Room	Elevation	Description
				wall not tied into main structure
35	West		East external	Detail of blocked window with partial brick infill on 1st floor
36	East		West external	Stair tower
37	West		East external	Stair tower
38	North	7	North wall, south elevation	
39	East	7	East wall, west elevation	North end
40	East	7	East wall, west elevation	South end
41	South	7	South wall, west elevation	Horizontal timber beam and break in build to right of staff
42	West	7	West wall, east elevation	South end
43	West	7	West wall, east elevation	North end
44	South	8	South wall, north elevation	Windo Ingo
45	West	8	West wall, east elevation	N.B. brick behind plaster
46	East	6	East wall, west elevation	N.B. scar of staircase
47	South	6	South wall, north elevation	Staff placed at line of partition. Stairs to left. N.B. stair riser top left & shelving scars to right
48	South	14	North elevation	Press
49	North	5	South elevation	Doorway. N.B. rounded door jamb to left
50	North	11	North wall, south elevation	
51	East	11	East wall, west elevation	South end
52	East	11	East wall, west elevation	North end
53	South	11	South wall, north elevation	
54	West	11	West wall, east elevation	South end
55	West	11	West wall, east elevation	North end
56	East	12	East wall, west elevation	

Photo No.	Direction To:	Room	Elevation	Description
57	South	12	South wall, north elevation	
58	Southwest	15		Through room12 into stairtower 15
59	East	12		East window
60	South	12		South window
61	West	12		West window
62	West	10	West wall, east elevation	Stair scar
63	South	10	South wall, north elevation	
64	South	13		Press
65	North	1	North wall, south elevation	West end
66	North	1	North wall, south elevation	Middle
67	North	1	North wall, south elevation	East end
68	East	1	East wall, west elevation	
69	Southwest	1	Detail of fireplace vosoir	
70	South	1	South wall, north elevation	
71	South	1	South wall, north elevation	
72	South	1	South wall, north elevation	
73	West	1	West wall, east elevation	
74	Northeast	2		View into rubble filled room 2 with blocked door to right
75	North	4	North wall, south elevation	West end
76	North	4	North wall, south elevation	East end
77	East	4	East wall, west elevation	
78	South	4	South wall, north elevation	East end
79	South	4	South wall, north elevation	Entrance to stair tower on right
80	West	4	West wall, east	

Photo No.	Direction To:	Room	Elevation	Description
			elevation	
81	South	4		Detail of corbel
82	South	4		Gun loop on south wall, east end
83	South	4		Gun loop on south wall, east end
84	South	4		Window on south wall
85	North	4		Window on north wall
86	East			General view of castle
87	North		South wall, north elevation	Exterior
88	East	Top Floor		Top floor central chimney stack. N.B. Door jamb
89	South	Top Floor		Wallhead of south wall
90	Southeast	Top Floor		Wallhead of south wall
91	North	Top Floor		Wallhead of north wall
92	North	Top Floor		Detail of door
93	West	17		Looking across room
94	West	16		Looking across room 16 to central division
95	East	16		Looking across room 16 to central division
96	Southeast	16	South	
97	Northeast	16	North	



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Appendix 3 Test Pit Context Register

Context	Trench	Type	Description
1001	TP1	Deposit	0.10 m soil surface
1002	TP1	Deposit	0.20 m deep loose angular rubble levelling. Contains 20 th century debris.
1003	TP1	Deposit	Thin 0.02 cm coal and plaster surface with intact leather boot lying directly on it.
1004	TP1	Deposit	0.50 m deep compacted rubble and mortar. Primary infill.
1005	TP1	Deposit	0.05 m earth and charcoal layer.
1006	TP1	Structural	Large sandstone slab extending beyond bounds of test pit but terminating 0.20 m from wall 101. Probable original floor surface at depth of 0.87 m below current floor surface.
1007	TP1	Deposit	At least 0.10 m depth of silty earth, rich with charcoal and clay between slab 1006 and wall 101. Primary use deposit.

2001	TP2	Deposit	0.10 m soil surface
2002	TP2	Deposit	0.35 m of angular rubble including large flat broken sandstone slab no longer <i>in situ</i> (possibly part of original floor surface).
2003	TP2	Deposit	0.15 m of dark cream lime mortar, hard packed.
2004	TP2	Deposit	0.10 m - 0.01 m thick layer of coal dust and anthracite fragments tailing out from east to west away from wall 145.
2005	TP2	Deposit	0.10 m thick mid brown silty clay. Partly overlain by coal 2004.
2006	TP2	Deposit	0.02 m thick of crumbly white lime plaster forming a thick horizontal layer. This may be plaster from walls and ceiling landing directly onto the earth floor below.
2007	TP2	Deposit	0.35 m thick firm mid brown silty clay with no signs of anthropogenic activity. Wall 145 directly butts this layer.
2008	TP2	Natural	Hard mid brown silty clay with frequent angular small fragments of stone, representing a natural glacial till. Excavated to 0.03 m in depth. Partially cut by wall 145 and running under foundations to east.

Appendix 4 Test Pit Photo Register

Photo No.		Direction	Description
1		North	Test Pit 1 - Pre-excavation. N.B. signs of previous disturbance
2		South	Test Pit 2 - Pre-excavation with SE gun loop visible
3		North	Test Pit 1 - After removal of 101 onto rubble layer 102
4		South	Test Pit 2 - After removal of 201 onto rubble layer 202
5			Test Pit 1 - General working shot
6		North	Test Pit 1 - After removal of 102 onto 103. N.B. Tackety boot (hobnail boot) at interface of 102 & 103
7		South	Test Pit 2 - After removal of 102 onto 103. N.B. Large flat stone in southeast corner
8		Northeast	View from platform towards castle from same location as Washington Collection Mid 19th century
9		Northeast	View from platform towards castle from same location as Washington Collection Mid 19th century
10		South	Test Pit 2 showing south wall in southeast corner of vaults. N.B. Mortar & plaster banked up against wall on left
11		East	Test Pit 2 east wall showing depth of test pit & sondage to left. N.B. Wall ends 0.10m above base of sondage. Gun loop above & plaster line clearly visible
12		North	Test Pit 2 south facing section. Rubble 2001 with sondage to right. Mortar 2003, coal 2004, earth, 2005, plaster 2006, earth 2007, natural brash 2008
13		North	Test Pit 1 showing north wall & stone slab floor (1006)
14		North	Test Pit 1 showing north wall & stone slab floor (1006)
15		West	Test Pit 1 east facing elevation showing rubble infill from 1001 - 1005 with slab 1006 beneath & 1007 bottom right of photograph unexcavated

Test Pits



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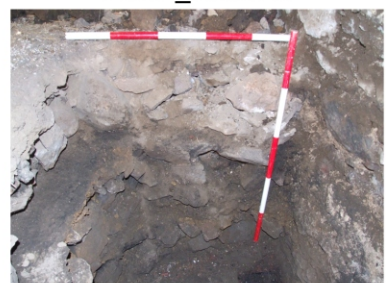
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Appendix 5 Maps

Pont's A new description of the shyres Lothian and Linlithgo 1630

Blaeu's Atlas of Scotland 1654

Adair's Map of East Lothian 1682

Elphinstone's A New and Correct Map of the Lothian's from Mr Adair's Observations 1744

Roy's Military Map of the Lowlands 1750

Armstrongs Map of the Three Lothian's 1773

Ordnance Survey six-inch first edition maps of Scotland 1850-56

The maps reproduced in the appendices are from National Library of Scotland and subject to their copyright restrictions on re-use.

Appendix 6 : 12th March, 1691 Hearth Tax E69/9/2

Athelstaneford parish (One hearth apiece unless stated)

- New Maines belongs to Sir G - there seem to be 8 people there
- Patrick Coupar in Newmaines
- Betrix Hod there
- William Lindsay in farmhouse
 - William Milne there
- Robert Whitehead there
- Robert Reidfoord in Newmains
- John Miller there
- Kathrine Ogilthrie there
- The Laird of Garletoun has 18 hearths
- But there are also:
- William Walker [He's the hind at Garleton - see List of Popish Parents 1704 has five children]
- Edward Buchan [Their gardener - see LPP 1704 has four children]
- Thomas Sandie there
- Adam Innis [LPP 1704 has him as at Germens in the parish of Athelstonefoord, has four children]
- William Heriot, smith there, - two
- Thomas Heriot in Athelstaneford - two
- James Kairnes there (presumably Athelstaneford)
- Walter Gray in garletoun
- John Baikie there - 3
- Thomas Dunlop there
- John Rackstone - 3
- George Martine - 2
- John Broun there
- Andrew Dounie [LPP- cottar, has 3 children]
- Robert Hood there
- William Simpson there
- John Strachan there
- Isobell Gibson there
- John Sandie there
- Charles Young there
- James Brounhill - 2
- Thomas Sinclair there
- John Walker there
- Barbara Duncan there
- Patrick Whyte there
- Richard Whitlaw there
- Charles Houden - 3
- Hugh Christison there
- William Dugion there
- William Knox there
- Alexander Houden there
- John Lamb there
- Marioun Forrester there
- George Walker - 2
- Patrick Shankes there
- William Meikle - smith - 2
- Robert Walker - 2
- Thomas Milne (younger), there
- John Simpsoun there
- James Lyell there
- Thomas Parke there - 2
- Mr Walter Rigg's relict - 4
- John Patersoun in Garletoun
- James Wilson in West Fortoun - two
- James Yule there
- Robert Tait there

Appendix 7 : Lists Of Popish Parents And Their Children

In Various Districts Of Scotland As Given In To The Lords Of The Privy Council And To The Commission Of The General Assembly, MDCCI—MDCCV,

From the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, consisting of original papers and other documents illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland, 1840, p.406

Athelstaneford : The Presbytery of Haddington.

To The Reverend Mr Thomas Wilkie Moderator of the Commission of the Generall Assembly Edinburgh.

Right Reverend Sir

The Presbytery of Haddington hath ordered me to send yow ane account of all the Popish children within their bounds, as yow desired in your letter to them. The Account so fully as we can understand is as follows. The Laird of Garleton hath six children viz 4 sones and 2 daughters, his eldest sone who is about 15 or 16 years of age is abroad in France, his eldest daughter is about 13 or 14 years of age and the youngest of his children is about 4 years of age. All his children save his eldest are at home with himself. Edward Buchan Gardiner to the Laird of Garleton hath 4 children 2 sones and 2 daughters, the eldest will be about 18 years and the youngest about 5 or 6. William Walker a hind in the Mains of Garleton hath 5 children his eldest will be about 24 years of age and his youngest about 8 or nine. Andrew Downy who lives in Athelstonefoord hath 3 children the eldest about 18 years, the youngest about 10 or 12. Robert Brounhill Fermer in Athelstonefoord hath only one sucking child. Adam Innes in Germens in the parish of Athelstonefoord hath 4 children the eldest about 20 and the youngest about 8 or 9. Elizabeth Maxwell att Garleton hath 2 daughters the one about 16 or 17 years of age and the other about 14. This is the most full and faithfull account we can give you of the popish children in our bounds which is all from

Right Reverend, your unworthy Brother and humble servant in the Lord,
T. Findlay. Morham

List of Papists within the bounds of the Presbytrie of Haddingtoun 18th May 1704.

This day Mr John Jonkison Minister at Athelstonfoord presented the following list of Papists within his said Paroch as follows.

Sir George Seton of Garletoun.
Barbara Wauchop his Lady.
Andrew, John, Barbara, Margaret and Mary Setons their children, In the town of Athelstanford. their nearest protestant relation is said to be the Earle of Wintoun.

Their servants: Adam Shaw, William Walker, Elizabeth Maxwell Elder & Younger, Helen Douglas and Clara Maxwell

Edward Buckholm Gardiner. [also Buchan as seen in Sir G's disposition]

Bessie Henderson his wife.
John & Barbara Buckholms their children both major.

Robert Brounhill tennant who hes made apostacie within these six years
Elizabeth Miln his wife.
Euphan Walker their servant.
Andrew Dounie, cottar.
Margaret Adamson his wife.
Euphan Dounie their daughter
James Walker servant to Andrew Chisholm, tennant in Muirhouse.

That this is a true list of the papists in the paroch of Athelstanfoord is attested by

Sic Subscribitur
Jo : Jonkison Minister.

Appendix 8 : Towers and Yule wills 1525-1603

Assets	Christian Towers 1525	Alexander Yule 1567	George Towers 1570	Agnes Hepburn 1586	John Towers 1603
Oxen	18	19	16	20	30
Cows, calves and bulls	6	13	7	6	6 +calves
Horses and foals	0	5	0	0	5
Sheep, lambs and rams	135	174	80	110+lambs	280
Bolls wheat	23	80	80	118	78
Bolls oats	24	62	180	150	280
Bolls barley	33	23	60	0	100
Bolls peas	0	6	4	32	35
Overall total of inventory, (after debts but always excluding land/heritage)	?	£637	£1,998	£1,194	£14,773

1. The Yules have horses at their property in 1567 while the Towers don't until the time of John Towers - which indicates that the Yules are more likely to be resident full-time at West Garleton as horses were primarily used for riding and pulling carts to market in the 1500s rather than for ploughing which was usually ox-work.
2. The Yules also have more sheep and cows than the Towers around 1567 - but the Towers evidently have more land under the plough and produce a lot more oats and barley - which **may** indicate that the Towers have better ploughland to the north side of the hills while the Yules may have the scrubrier hillsides to the east of the current West Garleton which would be more suitable for sheep.
3. The big step change in relative wealth happens with John Towers will (and note that there are as many Towers oxen again at Athelstaneford as there are at Garleton - indicating that they had a comparable area of land to farm out there), we now see horses associated with the estate for the first time, the Towers flock of sheep more than doubles and the increase in productivity from 300 bolls of crops in 1586 to 493 bolls in 1603 is more than consistent with the increase in the number of oxen and work horses and should represent a big increase in the land under plough. This would be explained by the acquisition of the additional lands of Mid-Garleton/ Garleton Alexander between 1586 and 1603.

Appendix 9 : Summary Timeline

DATE	Notes
1214-30	Garleton first attested by charter of William Noble of Garleton
c.1232	Ralph Noble son of William inherits Garleton
1233-1241	(Garleton Alexander first attested in charter granting it to Lindsays of Byres)
c.1256	Another Ralph Noble has succeeded to Garleton
1337	Yet another Ralph Noble has his lands of Garleton-Noble forfeited by decree of Edward III
1337-1377	Garleton passes to Napiers
1377	Charter confirms transfer of Garleton-Noble to William Earl of Douglas and Mar
1380	Charter confirms transfer of Garleton-Noble from Douglas to Sir John Towers of Inverleith
1388-9	Sir John Towers dies of wounds received at Otterburn and succeeded by another Sir John
1406	Sir John Towers of Inverleith captured by English pirates with James II at Flamborough Head
1434	Sir John Towers of Inverleith listed in customs dues
1457	William Towers and his wife Alison endow altar of St Mungo at Garleton
1472	William Towers inherits lands of Inverleith etc
1489	Sir John Towers son of William inherits
1514	Alexander Towers succeeds Sir John
1524	Alexander Towers signs bond against Duke of Albany
1525	Sir James Towers succeeds Alexander who leaves some property to his daughter Christian living at Garleton
1528	Right to name priest at chapel of St Mungo granted to Sir James and his wife Margaret
1534	Walter Henderson is priest of chapel of St Mungo
1544	Sir George son of Alexander Towers succeeds James, sack of Edinburgh
1548-9	(Siege of Haddington)
1560	Sir George appointed sommelier and wine steward to royal household
1567	Sir George signs band of notables against Mary Queen of Scots
1570	Death of Sir George – will shows considerable property at Garleton and that further lands have been acquired at Athelstaneford. Succeeded by son Sir John
1586	Agnes Hepburn first wife of Sir John dies at Congalton and leaves £6,120 property at Garleton – Garleton Alexander is also acquired by Towers around this time

DATE	Notes
1603	Sir John Towers dies leaving £21,448 is buried in a family sepulchre at Athelstaneford Kirk – our hypothesis is that by this point he has built and is occupying the large L-shaped tower house and two hall-houses at Garleton, Succeeded by his Son Sir George
1611	Marion Crichton Sir John's second wife and widow dies at Garleton leaving £18,857 and violent dispute with Sir George over her funeral and effects referred to Privy Council
1638-40	Sir George initially a Royalist but switches to Covenanters and his son Sir Alexander stands surety for part of the loan raised to fund Covenanting army
1640	Sir George raises a bond of £59,5000 merks on Inverleith lands and signs over Garleton lands to Sir Alexander
1643	Towers switch back to Royalist side, sell Garleton lands to George Seton Earl of Winton for 95,000 merks, Winton assigns them to his younger son Christopher
1648	Christopher Seton and his brother William drown in shipwreck off Dutch Coast
1649	Garleton lands created into the Barony of Athelstaneford for John Seton next youngest son of the Earl of Winton.
1664	John becomes baronet and takes style Sir John Seton of Garleton
1666	(Ruin of the Towers completed when Sir John is convicted of forging the King's signature and sentenced to transportation to the Indies but escapes from prison and disappears into obscurity)
1685	Sir John Seton challenges church court over excommunication of his gardener for Papistry
1686	Sir John's son and heir George targeted in anti-Catholic riot in Edinburgh, Sir John dies and succeeded by George as second Baronet
1689	Jacobite rebellion, Sir George's house of Garleton searched by government forces for arms and horses.
1690	Sir George released from jail on bond of £500 – presumably had been arrested as Jacobite, his brother John and cousin James waylay the government mail packet
1691	Sir George is arrested again for aiding and abetting the Jacobite rebels on Bass Rock, Sir George's household at Garleton is taxed for 18 hearths.
1694	Sir George still under observation
1695	Sir George loses 6,000 merks in a suit from Lady Bellhaven reversing a judgement in favour of his father on the political grounds that as a Papist he had been unduly favoured by the then government
1698	Two Jesuit missionaries are living at Garleton
1704	Sir George and various of his tenants and servants appear in government list of Popish parents and their children
1705	Sir George is caught <i>in flagrante</i> with his mistress in Edinburgh on

DATE	Notes
	New Year's Day and his wife Barbara initiates a scandalous divorce case which results in the dismemberment of his barony of Athelstaneford to pay his ruinous debts
1715	The '15 Rebellion Sir George (or possibly his son and heir George) and various other Setons joins Jacobite army, is captured at Preston and committed to Newgate Prison
1716	Sir George in London signs a deed disposing of his remaining assets to his children and he (or his son) is released from Newgate with other Jacobite prisoners on 30 November and on 8 th December he signs away his last property in Garleton to John Baird of Newbyth
1718-20	(Sir George dies and is succeeded in his baronetcy by George the Younger who appears to choose a life of exile in France)
1718	Garleton sold by John Baird to Thomas Goldie
1725	Goldie sells Garleton to Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield from whom it passes into the family of the Earls of Wemyss
1769	(Sir George Seton the Younger dies at Versailles)
c.1770	Miss Janet Hepburn is living as a tenant in a wing of Garleton's decayed manor house and has a ghostly visitation
1773	The Armstrong's Map of The Lothians shows the castle as 'Ruins'
1783	Miss Hepburn dies at Garleton
1803	The Gazetteer for Scotland describes the ruins of Garleton as showing its former magnificence
1880s	MacGibbon and Ross report that only the SW house remains intact and is being used to accommodate farm labourers

Appendix 10 Artefact List

TRENCH	CONTEXT	DESCRIPTION
TP1	1002	Single complete leather tackety boot.
TP2	2002	White wear ceramic fragments of late 19 th century date and possible 20 th century Staffordshire.
TP2	2002	Fine grain quartzite sandstone fragment of roof tile with nail hole. Original roofing material.

Appendix 11 : Discovery and Excavation Scotland entry

LOCAL AUTHORITY:	East Lothian
PROJECT TITLE/SITE NAME:	Garleton Castle Southwest Lodge
PROJECT CODE:	GC12
PARISH:	ATHELSTANEFORD
NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR:	David Connolly
NAME OF ORGANISATION:	Connolly Heritage Consultancy
TYPE(S) OF PROJECT:	Building Record and test pits
NMRS NO(S):	NT57NW.8
SITE/MONUMENT TYPE(S):	16 th - 20 th century castle lodge and workers cottages
SIGNIFICANT FINDS:	NA
NGR	NT 50943 76697
START DATE (this season)	December 2011
END DATE (this season)	March 2012
PREVIOUS WORK	
MAIN (NARRATIVE) DESCRIPTION:	<p>The main fabric of the structure is dated to the late 16th century and was originally 3 storeys in height, excluding possible attic accommodation. The truncated lodge has then been re-roofed with pantile in the late 20th century and converted to workers cottages during the 18th century, with a further two re-modelling events in the late 19th and mid 20th century.</p> <p>Excluding the major works involved in removing the upper storey, most alterations have taken the form of window blocking and insertion of new windows. In addition, 2 doorways on the first floor have been inserted; accessed by stairs and a large rubble built platform on the north elevation. The two internal test pits confirmed that the ground floor level had been raised considerably (up to 0.75m) with rubble infill. It was also noted that the eastern vaulted chamber floor level is circa 0.60m lower than the western vaulted chamber which seems to have a rough flagstone surface. In addition to the interior infill it is clear that the exterior ground surface has been raised as the MacGibbon & Ross illustration of the site in the later 19th century shows a lower surface level.</p> <p>A full historical research programme was instituted with Louise Yeoman and Roger McCarthy who have outlined a site history stretching from the early 13th century through to the 19th</p>

	<p>century. The findings of this research have constituted a fascinating picture of this site and the various inhabitants of the castle that places the building into its local as well as its wider historical context.</p> <p>The building has undergone major alterations during the four centuries it has been standing and the main fabric retains this story and has potential to return to its original function as a fine residence.</p>
PROPOSED FUTURE WORK:	Examination of the phasing of newly exposed architectural details and watching briefs/excavation of floor surfaces.
CAPTION(S) FOR ILLUSTRS:	--
SPONSOR OR FUNDING BODY:	Wemyss and March Estate
ADDRESS OF MAIN CONTRIBUTOR:	Connolly Heritage Consultancy Old Schoolrooms Luggate Burn, East Lothian, EH41 4QA
EMAIL ADDRESS:	info@bajr.org
ARCHIVE LOCATION (intended/deposited)	Connolly Heritage Consultancy