

POVERTY, SELF-HELP AND SOCIAL LIFE

founded in 1868, and worked with the CWS from 1876, for example on activities such as organising butter supplies from Cork. The SWCS merged with the CWS in 1973.

The Co-op provided a source of reasonably priced (bulk buying helped, as did the wholesale practice of paying in cash), quality goods; in a world where short weights and adulterated food (such as powdered glass in sugar, white lead in flour, red lead in cheese, and mahogany shavings in tea) was common, the Co-op's guarantees were welcomed. In mining and manufacturing communities it offered an alternative to the exploitative shops operated by the employers where goods were provided 'on tick', and the costs deducted from the wages before the workers got them (although legislation against these truck shops had helped to reduce this exploitation).

The nearby Tranent society⁸² opened in 1862; members joined by purchasing shares of £1 in total, and there seemed to be no limit on the number of shares they could have. Interest was paid on the investment. Poorer members were able to pay for their shares at 6d a week (so took 40 weeks to pay), but they could not benefit from the quarterly dividend until they had paid the complete £1.

When the Tranent society decided that they needed to buy a shop, they did not want to take on a loan, and so the cost of the shares was increased to £2, the same arrangement as before being employed by the poorer members. At the time a miner's average wage was 2/6 a week, so it would take eight weeks for the miner to earn £2. For funding the second shop, the share price was increased to £5.

The credit available to each member depended on the value of the shares held, with the credit offered matching their investment, so it was offset against a member's own money, and cleared once the 'divi' paid out. Each member's book was coded so that the shopkeepers knew how much credit they could be offered. In Tranent, this was the means by which ordinary people managed to save for events such as weddings and the buying of extras at Christmas; it also enabled them to afford death insurance. The fear of penury that followed a death in the family was a very real one.

Most co-ops observed how nearby co-ops worked and adopted the best practices from them in their own shops. The Tranent Co-op seems unusual in several ways; most co-ops stuck with the £1 shares, and most offered no credit. Modern co-ops still have the £1 share today, and individuals can invest up to £20,000; while it was acceptable to have more than a

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single share, there was only one vote per person. In general it was possible to pay for your share by instalments; however at the end of the quarter (or half-year) the store took what would have been paid in the dividend or 'divi', and that went towards the share cost. The 'divi' could be taken as cash or added to one's share capital. Often the 'divi' payouts coincided with a time of year when the need was greatest – when winter clothing was required or for school uniforms.

The original Rochdale principles were very anti-credit; trading was always in cash, and so people were encouraged away from the previous truck-shop practice of always being one week in arrears.

As time went on, the Co-ops expanded into many other areas of life, and often employed their own members. The Scottish society had a factory at Shieldhall, Glasgow, that produced foods (like semolina and custard), metalware and furniture.

Different co-ops adopted friendly society-type benefits at different times. The CWS introduced a 'sick and burial club', which ran from 1887–1908, thereafter 2d was collected each week from employees. In 1920, the Musselburgh and Fisherrow Co-operative Society agreed to enter the Collective Life Assurance Scheme, whereby a small percentage of the cost of any purchases was collected, and entitled their next of kin to claim death benefit.⁸³

By the late 1920s, most co-ops were under compulsory union membership, which ensured that every member had sickness, death and unemployment benefit. Most co-ops gave credit to miners and their families during the 1926 general strike. Prestonpans adopted collective life assurance in 1923.

Like many of the larger employers in the area, the Co-op supported a range of social and leisure activities for its workers and their families. The Scottish Co-operative Woman's Guild was formed in 1892, and was linked to the Scottish Labour Party until the first world war. There were 12,000 members of the guild by 1913;⁸⁴ it was effective in promoting the role of women, and also provided education for them. The Co-op guild supported the temperance societies, including the Band of Hope.

*Prestonpans Co-op*⁸⁵

One significant addition to the town was the Prestonpans Co-operative Society,⁸⁶ which was registered in 1869 (it became part of Scottish Midland Co-operative Society in

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1994). Its workforce was considerable and its very ethos supported workers and customers.

The Co-operative Society in Prestonpans moved into new premises at Beach House (purchased for £1150 in February 1898) in August 1899; celebrations began with the 100th psalm 'accompanied by Messrs Miller & Richard's brass band'. Chairman Joseph White gave a brief history⁸⁷ – with the store beginning in what was later a plumber's, moving into the old Parochial Grammar School and erecting the bakery there, and then purchasing and converting Beach House. The society's motto was 'the greatest good for the greatest number'. At this time the 'shops are arranged with grocery and drapery departments under one roof, the bakery adjoining the grocery and communicating therewith. The fleshing department has a separate entrance ... also stabling for four horses, with hay and straw lofts'. The band played on as tea was served to members, while delegates, management and committee retreated to the hall for dinner. One visiting store representative, Mr Taylor of St Cuthbert's store, commented that 'Edinburgh had pauperised itself by accepting Mr Carnegie's gift and that, great as the gifts of Mr McEwan and Mr Usher to the city were, they were nothing in comparison to what co-operation was doing for the people. During the last two years, St Cuthbert's had returned to its members upwards of a quarter of a million of money and not a word said about it'.

Prestonpans Co-op's half-yearly general meetings were held in the Free Church hall, an indication of where the society's loyalties lay at the time. The Golden Jubilee celebrations were reported at length in *The Scottish Co-operator* of 4 July 1919. This account revealed that the early days of the society were beset by internal squabbles and the inevitable instability that followed. This only ceased with the appointment of David McCairn as secretary (1869–1915), David Fraser as treasurer (1869–1911) and Peter Robertson as manager (1873–1903). From 1871 there was a healthy social aspect to the society, with the annual 'do' an event of note right until the beginning of the war in 1914. In 1912 a dairy was opened, and later a piggery. Redundant earlier premises were recycled into housing, and in 1918, the society purchased Castle Park estate, with the intent of converting the house into workmen's houses and to build more on the grounds, as well as a bowling green for members and the public. By 1925 it was estimated that the society served some 1060 members; from at least 1918 there was an annual picnic organised for the employees.

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They went to Gifford that year and on a motor tour of southern Scotland in 1920.

The Golden Jubilee was marked by a Band Competition on 7 June, followed by a Gala Day a couple of weeks later, complete with skipping competition and football match; the adults' celebrations were to be marked with a social event in the autumn. The society's Diamond Jubilee was held in January 1929, and Belfield's pottery produced a commemorative teapot, perhaps the memento valued at 10/- mentioned in the account? The aim was that 'no one connected with the society will be forgotten'. A social and dance were held in the Town Hall in January. One recollection of the time was that the bank had stopped the society's credit, which was only reinstated because of the esteem in which treasurer William Fraser was held.

As the population grew, so did the society; the new Cuthill store opened in 1925,⁸⁸ with music from the Prestongrange silver band and tea afterwards in the parish church hall. The Preston branch opened in 1926, followed by drapery at Cuthill in 1927, and hairdressing and confectionary in the High Street in 1926.

'As the Co-operative grew it began to take over other premises such as Cooper's joinery in Kirk Street and the Borland drapery and house. Front Street [was] where Mrs Gray had a sub-post office and Mrs Nisbet sold groceries and cheques [sic] from the co-operative to poor families, collecting the money on pay day. For taking this risk Mrs Nisbet received a dividend from the Co-op. Another option for the less-well-off was to contribute to the Co-op savings scheme which allowed them to buy goods on credit that could be paid off weekly using a 'store book'.⁸⁹

In 1948⁹⁰ the Prestonpans Co-operative Society employed over 100 people. These were distributed amongst its various outlets thus: four grocery shops (34 employees); two butchers' shops (11); one confectionary and fruit shop (two); a gents' hairdressing saloon (two); a modern bakery (12); a boot and a boot repairing shop (four); a drapery (four); a hardware shop; a painting department (nine); a joinery & undertaking department (two); a smithy (two). There were also eight transport workers, three packers, two cleaners, and 14 clerks, as well as seven motor and three horse-drawn vans.

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In Prestonpans, there was still a Co-op youth club active in the 1950s; the society had also constructed a bowling green, and rented it to the Castle Park bowling club. Most of the members were also members of the Co-op society.

4.3 The mineworkers' story

Prestonpans' long history of mining began in the 12th century and lasted until the 1960s. The twin industries of coal mining and salt panning ran side-by-side; following legislation of 1606, both sets of workers (and their families) were tied by a type of serfdom to their place of work. If they ran away they were pursued and punished, although the 18th century kirk session records recount the tale of one miner from another parish whose behaviour was so awful that 'his' parish (and his owner) did not want him back. At the same time the miners were a workforce of noted belligerence, with no compunction about striking, knowing that their owners had no alternative workforce on which to draw. Whatley comments that 'miners, nominally serfs, had an effective trade union system which enabled them to resist pressure by the mine owners to increase output'.⁹¹

The desperate need for more workers forced through the Emancipation Act of 1774, and this meant that new workers from 1 July 1775 were not held under serfdom; the ruling was extended to existing serfs when serfdom was abolished entirely in 1799.⁹²

Women were banned from underground working in 1842; the resultant lower incomes for families meant that miners became more vulnerable to threats of dismissal from the mine owners. Nevertheless, the miners found ways of presenting a united front to mine owners, forming 'combinations' or unions (long deemed illegal by owners). Coal mining moved into the industrial age from c 1818; by 1837 it seems that all Lothian's colliers were members of the Dalkeith Union.⁹³ One of the key roles of the combinations was to collect contributions from the workers (1/6 a week in 1837), which were then used to fund sickness benefits. The Scottish Federation did not introduce funeral benefit until 1895. No provision was made for periods of unemployment although later, limited funds were drawn on to sustain members during strikes. The Insurance Act 1911 provided free medical care for employees; miners, but not their families, were included. By 1925 there were reports of the annual general meetings of the Prestonpans branch of the Scottish Miners' Friendly Society; David Allan

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was the secretary, and Robert Stein the sick visitor. Prestonlinks Colliery had an employees' Sick & Accident Fund certainly between 1920–24, if not longer.

Various groups⁹⁴ were formed then closed, attracting members during good times, and losing them through bad. These included the Coal & Iron Miners' Association (1855–63); the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish Free Miners' Society (1860s)–70; the Mid and East Lothian Association and the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association (M&ELMA) finally settled as the latter in 1889 (with one branch at Prestongrange).

The 1890s saw the mining industry in the eastern coalfields at its most intensive, and most mines had an average of over 400 workers. In 1899 M&ELMA joined a Scottish Federation, itself becoming the Coal Conciliation Board for Scotland. In 1914 M&ELMA became part of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers (NUSM) and members were able to participate in the range of friendly society schemes offered by the NUSM. Previously the association had supported its own funeral benefit scheme. Branch delegates of M&ELMA in 1918 were Alex Murray (Prestongrange) and Joe Colquhoun (Prestonlinks). The association lasted until 1944/5 when it was succeeded by the National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish area).

The mining community was well known for its strong ties of comradeship and community. This was particularly evident during the number of strikes that occurred⁹⁵ (including 1894, 1912, 1921, 1926, 1984/5), when mining communities shared their limited resources; in 1926 a soup kitchen was run from Cuthill school,⁹⁶ itself only opened in 1901. Janet Naysmith recalled:

'My husband, father and two brothers were on strike again for seven months in 1926... soup kitchens were situated in the basement of Bank House and various events were organised to aid mining families such as night-time concerts which could last till midnight. Being young we did not fully realise the hardships our parents were subjected to. Yet again the miners returned to work worse off'.⁹⁷

More happily, the community ethos was also manifest in the building of miners' welfare institutes, in social clubs and groups, and in galas that often continue today under the auspices of the local communities. In 1922 the Prestongrange

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gala day saw 1200 children being entertained at Bankfoot with processions, bands and sports. Outings, too, were a regular social event; in 1925 700 went to Dunfermline, taking the silver and pipe bands with them. On weekday evenings, chara-banc trips to the Borders, Dumfries and Lanark were common. In 1952 the Coal Industry Social & Welfare Organisation (CISWO) took on the caring role within mining communities.

The social responsibilities, and the responses, of the local landowners were varied: c1908 'Lady Susan Grant-Suttie would visit the church families. If at times things were hard for the miners' families, we children would be sent to the kitchen door of Prestoungrange House for a pitcher of roast dripping'.⁹⁸ Other support came from the wider community; for example Dr McEwan Senior was running first aid classes for miners from c1910, and in 1916, a plot of wasteland near the links colliery was being used for gardens for mine employees.

Welfare Institutes

The creation of these was included in the Mining Industries Act 1920; a penny was raised for every ton of coal produced, and the monies were used to pay for welfare institutes. The funds were extended by a further levy in 1926, which was to be used to fund the building of pit-head baths. Both institutes in Prestonpans opened in 1925.

Prestonlinks Institute was known as the East Institute; it was situated at the eastern end of Prestonpans next to the football ground. It had a large billiard room, a games hall, a ladies' room and a committee room,⁹⁹ together with offices and a caretaker's house. It was proposed that baths could be added later. In 1917, this busy pit had 1100 employees. Prestonlinks closed in February 1964 and the institute sometime after.

The brick and roughcast Prestongrange Welfare Institute – the West Institute – was located at Bankfoot, Cuthill, on the road that ran north from the East Lodge of Prestongrange House. The provision of education was a key aim and the institute had a reading and recreation room, as well as a billiard room with two tables, and a large hall that could accommodate 400. Nearby was a house for the caretaker.

At the opening it was commented that it was to be hoped that the gambling spirit would not be part of the games played at the institute.¹⁰⁰

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One of the earliest uses for the institutes was as soup kitchens during the strike; miners' wives could use the kitchen facilities (their own were often minimal), and for perhaps the first time there was suitable accommodation for dances, weddings and other functions. In the 1930s concerts were held there. In spite of the earlier intentions, it was not until September 1952 that pit-head baths opened at Prestongrange. Those at the Links seem to have opened earlier. The end came when the mining industry finished in the 1960s; Prestongrange pit closed in December 1962. Quite what happened to the institute is unclear; from 1978–83, the Salvation Army used it for their meetings, and by 1984, it had become derelict. Sometime after that it was demolished.

Bands and sports groups

In 1887, Prestongrange fielded a *cricket team* against Strathear. Team members were P Whitecross, J Govan, P Thomson, G Thallon, A Tait, W Sheppard, J Wood, J Rennie, R Frazer, E Johnstone and A Mitchell. In 1888 the team played against Cliftonville and later against Musselburgh, and in 1900 against Newbattle.

In 1918 *Prestonlinks Colliery Band* was founded; once the Links Pit closed in 1962 the band continued under a number of different names, merging with the Dalkeith burgh band as the Dalkeith & Monktonhall Colliery Band in 1987. It continues to entertain today, recently celebrating 80 years of music-making.¹⁰¹

Prestonlinks Pipe Band was formed in 1922; it continues today as the Royal British Legion Pipe Band, after the last Lothian link with coal mining disappeared in 1999 with the closure of Monktonhall.¹⁰²

Prestongrange Colliery Band, conducted by Mr R Malcolm, was fifth in a contest for the championships of Scotland in 1925.

The *Star of the East Flute Band* was formed in May 1925.¹⁰³

Galas

Both pits held galas, and these were the highlight of the summer for local children: Janet Naysmith again, c1914

'I will not forget our first Grange miners' gala held there [Prestongrange] when we were given tea and a bag of sticky buns. Prize races were organised at the event ...

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The miners at Prestonlinks had a gala day of their own which allowed me to have another shot at winning a prize'

The Grange gala was held at Cuthill Park. The two mining community galas were combined for the first time on 24 June 1946, as a gala for the district, held in the field of Prestonpans public school.

4.4 Fishermen

As well as the sailors' friendly society, the fishermen were unionised. From 5 May 1899 the group was to be known as the East & West of Scotland Fishermen's Association. They met at the Free Church hall.

5 IMPROVEMENT THROUGH LEGISLATION

From the middle of the 19th century, central government was increasingly willing to take on a role in the social and economic matters throughout Britain. *Some* examples of the legislation enacted relating to the poor, the sick and the needy, as well as the able-bodied poor, are given below.

The Poor

- 1844 Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act – introduced Boards of Supervision
- 1885 Part of the Medical Relief Grant for Scotland could be used to encourage the employment of trained nurses in the parish poorhouses; this was the start of nursing as an accepted profession
- 1894 The Local Government (Scotland) Act set up the Local Government Board, which took over responsibility for the operation of the Poor Law from the Board of Supervision.
- 1906–14 The Liberal Government introduced a raft of legislation, all of which was targeted at improving the lot of the poor and destitute; however, they kept the poor law legislation in place to ensure that those who still did not benefit from the new legislation were provided for including:

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- 1908 Old Age Pensions Act; limited pensions were introduced; these were fairly restrictive, providing a maximum of 5/- a week for the 'poor but deserving' aged 70+. They were also non-contributory and means tested.
- 1925 More pension legislation followed in 1919 Widows', Orphaned and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act; the latter were paid from age 65, and widow's benefits were introduced.
- 1937 The Children & Young People's (Scotland) Act 1937; this was the first legislation that recognised the need for children to be in the care of a fit person, as well as the need for delinquency to be addressed. It was the forerunner of the Kilbrandon Report 1964 which looked at 'those juveniles alleged to have committed crimes or offences, children in need of care and protection, children who are refractory or beyond parental control and who are persistent truants.'¹⁰⁴
- 1945 The Family Allowance Act provided funds to help families.
- 1980 State Retirement Pension to increase in line with prices, not earnings

The Mentally Ill

- 1855 Royal Commission on Lunacy was set up, and the first mental health legislation enacted. The General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland followed.
- 1857 The Lunacy (Scotland) Act; this was followed with amendments in 1862 and 1866. This legislation lasted until 1913.
It made it possible for patients to be admitted into asylums as 'voluntary boarders' and was designed to promote more positive and enlightened attitudes towards the humane care and welfare of the mentally ill.
- 1885 Beginning of use of trained nurses in asylums
- 1907 Introduction of three-year training programme for nurses.
- 1913 The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy Act
- 1913-60 The General Board of Control (Lunacy)

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- 1960– date The Mental Welfare Commission. Under this was enacted the Mental Health (Scotland) Act 1984, and the Adults with Incapacity (Scotland) Act 2000.

The Sick

- 1867 Public Health (Scotland) Act.
1875 Public Health Act enabled local authorities to set up hospitals out of the rates.
1911 Insurance Act – free medical service for all employees.
1919 Registration of Nurses Act; England and Scotland set up separate General Nursing Councils.
1925 State Registration for Nurses began.
1948 National Health Service.
Since when the NHS has provided for the sick, including taking over from the Queen's Nursing Association, a national organisation that had been operating in Prestonpans since 1899.

The Unemployed

- 1905 The Unemployed Workmen's Act gave local authorities powers to establish labour exchanges and to create work for the unemployed at the ratepayers' expense.
1906 The Workmen's Compensation Act made provision for disablement or death due to certain industrial diseases.
1909 The Labour Exchange Act created a national network of offices through which the unemployed could seek work.
1911 The Unemployed and National Insurance Act brought in a contributory national insurance scheme. This had limited coverage; the death of an employee was not covered. A short-term loss of earnings was covered.
1946 The National Insurance Act.

Education

- 1872 Education (Scotland) Act.
In 1906/07 legislation was introduced to provide free school meals; a school medical service was begun after the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 was introduced.
1918 Education (Scotland) Act.

6 KIRK

6.1 Competing for souls

From c1730, other Scottish Presbyterian churches began to compete with the established Church of Scotland. In many instances, the trigger for discontent in the parish was the issue of patronage; the established church was in thrall to the landowners (and thus the Crown and state) and they decided who was appointed as minister (lay patronage was abolished first in 1649, again in 1690, reinstated under the Patronage Act of 1712 and repealed in 1874).¹⁰⁵ By and large the break-away groups, though each was very different, sought ministerial appointments through congregational elections, and appealed mostly to the working class.

Scottish Presbyterian church history is complex and confusing, with these many 18th century splits and re-unions. These included, for example, 1733 the Seceders (that in 1747 split into Burghers and Anti-burghers); 1761 the Relief Church; 1799 old light and new light (a split of the Seceders); 1820 the United Secession Church brought some of the Burghers and Anti-burghers back together.

In Prestonpans, the influence (or otherwise) of the established church in this period can be assessed from information given in the *Statistical Account* of 1793:

*‘The great body of the people adhere to the established church. About a twentieth part of the whole number are Seceders, of whom nearly two thirds are of the Burgher persuasion. There are 10 or 12 Episcopalians.’*¹⁰⁶

As the total population for the parish was just over 2000 in 1793, about 100 people were seceders. The Burghers probably went to Tranent to worship as there was an active group there from c1740.

By the 1830s it was considered that *‘Dissenters of all denominations and ages amount to 100 individuals’*.¹⁰⁷

The Free Church of Scotland emerged after the Disruption of 1843; it was largely led by the middling classes, and was more egalitarian than the established church, but even it had its problems. Many of the dissenting groups were driven by an evangelistic agenda, and found support in the burgeoning

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urban and industrialised areas. It became increasingly difficult for the established church to maintain its role as arbiter of society and fundraiser in chief. The middle classes – the shopkeepers and professionals – were increasingly drawn to the Free Church and other congregations, taking their funds with them. Claimants of poor relief had to apply to the established church kirk session, even if they did not worship there. John Fowler Hislop, a key member of the Prestonpans community, was a Free Church member; his name arises in many of the records of the period – the session minutes, school board records and so on.

Post-1843, splits and unions continued: in 1847 the United Secession and the Relief Church joined forces as the United Presbyterian Church. In 1898 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church proposed and supported union becoming the United Free Church of Scotland in October 1900. Eventually, the United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland re-united as the Church of Scotland in 1929. In Prestonpans both Preston and Grange churches continued to serve their separate congregations until 1981 when they united as Prestongrange church.

While the established church and its scions were dealing with fractiousness and discontent, other churches were making headway amongst communities. The migrant workforces of the west of Scotland brought their religions with them, and Prestonpans saw an increase in the numbers of Roman Catholics and members of the Orange Order too (see 7 below). Within East Lothian, Methodism was popular, and Episcopalians also maintained a foothold. All these groups were active in their community, holding social meetings and supporting associated groups for both adults and children; each had their own agenda as they impacted on the town's social life.

6.2 Kirk-related leisure

It is difficult to disentangle the social groups of the two main Prestonpans Presbyterian churches – Preston and Grange – especially during the 19th century, as at times each had a group of the same name active at the same time. Where the references come from the kirk session minutes, then it is possible to attribute a group to one or the other church. The information gleaned from newspapers is less clear.

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The established Church of Scotland – Preston Church 1595–1981 (see also 2.2 and 3.1 above)

In 1902, church halls were built in Preston and at Cuthill; these provided venues for fundraisers such as jumble sales.

The *Young Men's Christian Association* (YMCA) was founded across Scotland in 1841; in Prestonpans it existed from c1890 (although possibly not continuously thereafter).

The *Boy's Brigade* was revived in 1899, and it reappeared in the 1930s, when John Buchanan was the first captain, and activities included drills, marching and even boxing one night a week.¹⁰⁸ Their camps included one stay under canvas at Belhaven.

The *Woman's Guild* (formed 1909 see 7.1 below) and Praise Committees co-ordinated congregational social events from at least the 1940s. During the war they formed the Troops' War Comfort Fund (a joint effort between Preston and Grange churches); this ended in September 1945. The guild members also organised choirs and fetes, and the Sunday school picnics, when children went to Prestongrange House in the early days, and later to Roslin and Craigmillar. By the 1920s favourite locations were Eskside and Gullane and, by the 1950s, they ventured to places like Peebles, North Berwick and Burntisland. In more modern times the church supported a broad range of groups for all ages, including the bible class, girl guides, drama group and so on.

The *Boys' or Lads' Club* was started by Dr McEwan and Mr HT Laidlaw in May 1914 with 20 boys aged 10+, who met in the Town Hall. Outings were part of the attraction, a favourite being to Longniddry by bus via Macmerry and Tranent. By 1924, the club was very popular with 200+ members, 80 of whom were in training to be Scouts. In 1947 the club was raised to status of a YMCA.

The *Preston Church Drama Club* grew out of the church *Literary & Debating Society* which itself ended in 1949. The drama club was founded in 1939 and thrived until the end of the 1970s.

The Free Kirk – Grange Church 1843–1929; Church of Scotland 1929–81

In the age of social philanthropy, the evangelising character of the free kirk pervaded all corners of parish life, as the kirk concerned itself with all and sundry. It was very popular in Prestonpans: in its first months there were 162 names on the

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communal roll, and by 1899 the Free Church hall had been extended to provide additional accommodation. Some 300 children of the congregation went for tea and cake to the Manse, and by 1905 the roll had 344 names. Like the established church, the free kirk was obsessed with antenuptial fornication, recording the misdeeds of labourer David Shaw (1864), John Richie and his wife (1867), and Archibald Buchanan, fisherman (1871). The obsession continued into the new century.

In January 1884, the free kirk presbytery was calling for assistance in carrying on mission work amongst the miners in the neighbourhood; Grange church had already begun a Sabbath school at Cuthill¹⁰⁹ – where 120 children were on the roll (ten years later the roll was 156), and were cared for by 13 teachers. By 1907, the need for a ‘proper hall’ was seen as hindering mission work at Cuthill, although the suggestion that the Cuthill school could be used for Sabbath meetings was rejected (21 January 1908). In February 1910, the Summerlee Iron Company Ltd granted permission for a new mission hall to be built at the east end of the space between the back of Cuthill and Summerlee Street, at a rental of one shilling a year. (The mission hall was taken over by the military in 1942, and was condemned in 1945).

Groups abounded, and in the late 1880s–90s, the magic lantern show operated by Mr Belfield was a popular entertainment, and was shown to the Bible Club, the Band of Hope and to the *Young Ladies Christian Association* in the Free Church hall. By 1888 this had become the Young Women’s Christian Association, and was another of John Fowler Hislop’s projects. He chaired the group, with Lady Susan Grant Suttie as president. The YWCA lasted at least until the end of the second world war.

Miss Lilius Taylor of Bankton was an active church member, and her work with the *Women’s Foreign Mission Association* is of note.¹¹⁰

The Free Church hall was a popular venue for many meetings, including a Limelight Lecture, by Miss Brown of London, on ‘Slum life in London’¹¹¹ (reported in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* 25 February 1898), and a series of lectures including, perhaps a little surprisingly, one on Witchcraft in 1886.

‘Good works’ societies emerged in the 1860s, including the temperance movement. Supporters included James Belfield and John Fowler Hislop.¹¹²

In 1875 the Edinburgh Band of Hope was formed with the aim of attaching a band to ‘every congregation, mission hall,

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Sabbath school and temperance society.’ The *Band of Hope in Prestonpans* had both junior and senior bands, and in 1884 held a concert in the Free Church hall. The *Prestonpans British Women’s Temperance Association* was established c1876, and had their weekly meetings in the Cuthill Mission hall; by 1925 the group was meeting in the parish church hall.

Grange kirk session proposed and began a *Boys’ Brigade* (29 October 1888); it had evidently ceased at some time, as in 1908, the kirk session approval was given to Mr Edmonston for the organisation of a boys’ brigade, probably based at Cuthill.

In the first decade of the new century, the Free Church doubled its efforts to encourage the non church-going people of *Cuthill*¹¹³ into the kirk. More time was to be devoted to visiting the sick, the idea being that if one could get into the home, there was more chance of success. Sabbath school, bible classes, a children’s service, a Cuthill Boy’s Brigade, and a faith mission were set in train. An early success seems to have been the Cuthill mission church choir that was trained by Mr Grimwood.

By the 1930s, the mission hall was ‘... used at times for the *Sisterhood, Home League, Boys’ Brigade or rehearsal for the Christmas Kinderspiel.*’¹¹⁴

Other churches

Roman Catholic – Parish of St Gabriel’s 1932–date¹¹⁵

From small beginnings, Catholicism grew in Prestonpans after the influx of miners from the west of Scotland, who moved from one Summerlee pit to another at Prestongrange. More came to the parish during the 1950s in search of work. From c1845, Prestonpans was a Mission Station of St John’s in Portobello; in 1907, mass was celebrated in Prestonpans – the first for three centuries. The Passionist Retreat of St Mary’s at Drummohr opened in March 1932 (and closed c1980), and the parish of St Gabriel’s was established at the same time. While Mass was also celebrated at a number of venues within Prestonpans (including at St Gabriel’s Chapel Hall built in 1934), the monastery served as the parish church until 1966, when the new St Gabriel’s Church on West Loan was opened. There were close links between the Passionists and the de la Salle Brothers at St Joseph’s School at Meadowmill (see 3.4. above).

Social activities organised through the church have included Sunday school; men’s and women’s guilds – the latter of which evolved out of the Union of Catholic Mothers and St Anne’s

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Guild; football and badminton teams; boxing and golf clubs; prayer groups; St Vincent de Paul Society (from 1983–date); various youth groups, and the Operetta Group

*St Andrew's Episcopalian Church 1911–date*¹¹⁶

From 1911–1939, St Andrew's was variously run as a mission from other churches in the area. It was then associated with St Peter's, Musselburgh, and remains thus linked to date, having had a period of independence 1959–76. Worship eventually settled at a wooden (later clad in stone) church on the High Street; this was demolished in 1993, the congregation having moved to the former Grange Church in 1992. Today a creche is provided during services, and the church runs a Sunday school, and weekday prayer meetings.

*The Salvation Army 1919–date*¹¹⁷

Established within the parish in 1919, until 1978 the Salvation Army was based on the High Street; from 1978–82, it used the redundant Prestongrange Miners' Institute (now demolished), and from 1983 on, the former Grange church hall. The army leisure groups have varied but have included the Songster Brigade, Women's Home League, Young People's Corps, the Legion (boys' group), Sunbeams (for girls), Sunday school, prayer meetings, brownies, bible study, parents & toddlers, and the junior youth club.

7 THE EMERGENCE OF A SOCIAL LIFE IN THE BURGH

From the latter part of the 19th century onwards, social groups of all sorts emerged in Prestonpans as they did in communities across Scotland. While impossible to cover all of these, a flavour is summarised here; tracking the fate of some has proved impossible, but an up-to-date summary of clubs and societies in the parish today can be found in the *East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account: 1945–2000*.

Holidays gradually became more abundant; in 1864, it seems that the traditional Hansel Monday in the last week of January was still kept in Prestonpans, when the labouring classes and the fisherfolk went shooting on the sands, before

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attending a ball.¹¹⁸ In 1865, there was a move towards an early closing – earlier, that is, than 7pm. In 1885 it was noted that New Year's Day was increasingly seen as a holiday; in 1899 there was a merchants' holiday and by August 1902 this was taken on the same day that the annual regatta was held. In June 1900, when the carters and the Cuthill benevolent society had their processions, many merchants and public workers had a holiday too. They were entertained by the 'usual gathering of hobby horses, merry-go-rounds, high flyers shows and Aunt Sallys which were well patronised.'¹¹⁹ In 1901, 600 people went on an excursion to Aberdeen provided by the Summerlee & Mossend Coal Company, and the following year 700 went by train to Stirling. This latter trip catered also for brickworks employees. In 1902, the annual outing for Co-op employees ventured to Hopetoun.

In the 1920s, fishing families often took a month away in the school holidays to favourite places like the Isle of Man and Whitby.¹²⁰

Later still, the Queen's Arms was owned by the two Miss Grants and managed by Mr Pow who also groomed and hired out horses with brakes (buggies). This was very popular with families going on day trips to Gullane and North Berwick.

Nevertheless, life continued to be a struggle for many; in January 1894, the parochial board instructed that a soup kitchen be set up. Sea coal, thrown up on the beaches after a storm, was generally collected for free. In September 1894, two little girls from Cuthill were charged with stealing coal from a wagon, and their parents fined 3/6d or four days' in prison. Others were found guilty of theft for gleaning potato leavings. In 1921, prosecutions were made for the theft of coal and wood from a cart as the effects of the strike took hold.

7.1 The changing role of women

Lady Susan Grant-Suttie began the *Prestonpans Woman's Guild* (an off-shoot of the Church of Scotland), and was its first chairwoman; she died later the same year – 1909.

The *Prestonpans & Cockenzie District Nursing Association* was formed in November 1899 when members of the public were asked to fund a nurse for the district. Reports of the meeting reveal that the guest at the meeting, Miss Guthrie Wright, was 'not allowed to address public meetings at any length' so her speech was read for her by the Rev Mr Iverach.

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Her comments included that 'by employing a Queen's nurse there was to be no pauperising of the people. It preserved their feeling of independence to employ her and added to their comfort'.¹²¹

Affiliation to the *Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses* and to the Scottish branch of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing followed soon after. From 1901, miners at Prestongrange had subscribed 1d a month to support the nurse. The same year, the nurse had visited 170 patients with 2933 visits. Things had evidently moved on from Miss Wright's visit of 1899; by 1901, all the office bearers were female, except for the two reverends, Smith and Iverach. The nurses' group was still in being from 1916–28;¹²² Miss Wilson was appointed district nurse in 1916 (out of 20 applicants). The East Lothian Nursing Federation was constituted in 1932, and the NHS absorbed the association's role in 1948.

From 1921–26, the ladies of Prestonpans had supported the *League of Pity*, which was concerned about the welfare of children, and organised fundraising.

The *Prestonpans Red Cross Society* was evidently in place by 1916, as the group endowed a bed in Rouen Hospital by raising £50 pa. In 1925,¹²³ there was a *Red Cross Society* meeting that considered the forming of a Voluntary Aid Detachment in the burgh. Dr McEwan was in the chair, and Major General Hunter Blair, of Inglisfield, explained the scheme to the meeting; Mrs G Bertram Shields, of Dolphistoun, was appointed commander, Mrs Geo. McEwan was elected assistant commander and Mrs Logan Ayre quartermaster. Dr McEwan was lecturer.

In the 1920s women began to play an increasing role in the political life of the burgh. With the new groups of the *Women's Labour Guild*, the *Woman's Co-op Guild* and the *Eastern Star Order*. It appeared that '*the formation of these latter organisations seemed to make women more independent.*' Janet Naysmith¹²⁴

Some of these had annual meetings and outings – for example in 1925 the Co-op Woman's Guild went on a charabanc trip to Lochgilphead.

Other groups included guides, brownies, which perhaps grew out of earlier church groups. There was no Scottish Women's Rural Institute in the parish.

7.2 For the people, by the people

Only over the later years of the 20th century did the social life of the parish gradually move out of the aegis of the churches, and was increasingly run by interested members themselves. People also sought entertainment further afield, and when the trams came to Prestonpans in 1909, they were well used.

In 1901, Andrew Carnegie¹²⁵ gifted £1000 (later increased to £1500) towards the cost of building a *free library* in Prestonpans. The architect was Mr Allison. The library on Station Road was opened by Dr Hew Morrison in December 1905. There was a reading room, which could accommodate 100 readers, complete with reference section, and lending library of some 3000+ books – for which separate funds were raised; a recreation room and a separate house for the librarian.

Earlier efforts to improve the literary facilities in Prestonpans had begun in the early 1820s, when there was a subscription library. In 1858 a circulating library was started; in 1875 a literary institute was mooted, and in money raised towards this. However, by 1887, the literary group was reduced to just five members. The project eventually manifested itself in the building of the new town hall.

The new *Town Hall* opened in 1897; designed by Peter Whitecross, a Prestonpans architect, it could seat 450. As the records relate, protests from the established church about concerts held in the town hall in March 1844, there was evidently an earlier hall.¹²⁶

Events held included in 1899 a concert with Mr Glass and his ‘ventriloquial séance’ singing and step dancing; and in the same year a lecture on the Transvaal by the Presbyterian minister of Johannesburg. On a Wednesday in February 1902 the merchant’s ball saw 50 couples dancing to music by Mr Aithies’ string band from Tranent. In the 1930s, concert party groups were popular, and the dances soon revived after the war years.

‘The dances, or assemblies as they were also known, generally started at 10pm on Friday nights and could go on until 5.30am. Thus we had just enough time to get home, changed and have something to eat. Most of us had to be at work for 6.30am on the Saturday, which was a half day, thus we could afford to miss out on our beauty sleep. On other weekdays the dances would stop much earlier. At 16 or 17 years old you didn’t seem to get exhausted and could

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*always manage to keep going, one night it would be the drill hall and next the town hall. The entry fee for the dances was threepence for ladies and sixpence for gents.*¹²⁷

The *Gladsmuir Jacobite Club*¹²⁸ was formed in 1899 in Prestonpans and district. Its purpose was to stimulate interest in all things associated with the events of 1745, 'song, story, history and romance', and for 'suitably observing' the anniversary of the battle of Prestonpans. The 155th anniversary was celebrated with a gathering of the members of the club at the old thorn tree; it was noted that the tree was a little past its best, and it was proposed that a memorial be erected.

Other early clubs included the *Prestonpans & Musselburgh Colportage Society* (late 1890s), which met under the eye of Colonel Cadell in the Free Church hall.

The *Mutual Improvement Association (MIA) Conversazione*, for both men and women, was certainly extant in 1886. Readings were given and elocution improved, followed by singing and tea. There was a monthly magazine, and poetry readings.

Discussion topics ranged far and wide: in 1887 the topic was 'Ought the suffrage to be extended to women' with J. Belfield opposing and Adam Tait supporting. The latter won, but interestingly the ladies present refused to vote. In 1898, the Reform Bill, women's suffrage, Ruskin, whether schoolchildren get their books free, should ladies cycle, should cyclists be taxed, should Prestonpans have free recreation rooms and grounds were all up for discussion. In 1899, the topic of the South African war was discussed. The MIA continued at least until 1902, perhaps longer.

*The Comrades of the Great War Club Ltd.*¹²⁹ was registered at 46 High Street, Prestonpans, on 30 September 1920, and was affiliated to the United Services Fund Club. The comrades' club registration was cancelled on 1 September 1924 when all the club members resigned. It followed the rules set out in the 'Model rules for ex-servicemen's clubs and institutes in Scotland', and was effectively a social club, open from 4–9.30 pm. on weekdays. There were 152 members.

The democratic and non-sectarian *British Legion*¹³⁰ was set up after the 1914–18 war to care for ex-servicemen, many of whom faced starvation and ruin; the Scotland wing was established in 1921 and the Prestonpans branch was formed in 1936, with a ladies' section by the 1950s.¹³¹ Care extended to

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the children of members, who could go on the annual legion bus trip.

In 1925 there was a *Prestonpans Burns Club*; members attended the annual conference in Edinburgh. There were annual Burns competitions for schoolchildren, for singing and recitation.

There was a branch of the *Territorial Army* (TA) in Prestonpans.¹³² The TA began in Britain in 1920; in Prestonpans the 51st Lowland Heavy Regiment emerged in 1939 and used the drill hall until the middle of the 1960s (the building is now used by the Prestonpans Labour Club).

In 1899, the weekly meeting of the local group of *The Christian Endeavour Society* was recorded – ‘tea and sacred solos’.

Politically aligned societies included:

The *National Liberal Association* – in 1886 this was chaired by Dr Ireland and the group met at the Queen’s Arms Hotel.

The Order of the Loyal Orange Lodge

A chance find of a newspaper cutting revealed that on 21 September 1907, the first Orange Lodge of the area – the Inniskilling Purple Guards L.O.L. No 184 – was inaugurated at Prestonpans (although the ceremony took place at the Free Church hall in Cockenzie). It was one of a number of lodges run under the umbrella of the No. 5 John Knox District, Edinburgh, and took members from Prestonpans, Tranent and Cockenzie. The speech given by Alexander Prophet Profit included the advice that members should be ‘very careful who they admitted... for they would find people who said they were Protestant but who all the same were worse than many Roman Catholics [hear, hear] while many others joined the order to see what they could get out of it’.¹³³

However, the official Orange Lodge website suggests that the Order of Orange Lodge was established within the parish c1911. A female lodge – Lily of the East – was formed in Prestonpans in 1922; there were 200 members in the 1960s. Prestonpans District Lodge (44) was part of the new County Grand Lodge of Lanarkshire, the Lothians, Stirlingshire & Fife when it was created in November 1967. Late in 1968, five districts, including Prestonpans, formed the County Grand Lodge of the East. The lodge bought Castle Park House, using it as a Social Club until 1996. In its time, the lodge supported youth meetings and had a flute band. The building was

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demolished, and in 2000 the site lay vacant.

The kirk session minutes of 13 February 1945 provide a small insight: the Orange Lodge was told off by the session as it was running dances on Saturday nights after the business meetings had ended.¹³⁴ Two years later, the lodge had asked that it might use the church hall every first Saturday of the month for the formation of a new chapter.¹³⁵

The Prestonpans Labour Club began c1967.

The *Unionist Association* was recorded having whist drives and dances in 1925.

In 1925, the *League of Private Enterprise* met in the town hall and discussed the 'red menace'; 250 attended, and the speakers criticised socialism.

The Pictures

The cinema played a key role in Prestonpans' social life. In 1899 Scott's Cinematograph visited the town, showing, in the town hall, a film about the life of Christ. Later the 'Scratcher' run by the Codona family attracted full houses,. In 1916 it was said to be 'well lighted and sanitary' with seats at 4d, 5d, and 7d. Star turns, vocals and dancing completed the entertainment on offer. It closed in 1960.

Sport

Football had long been popular, with informal games in the streets; on 11 March 1898 the *Haddingtonshire Courier* reported that eight young men and lads had been charged with playing football in the burgh at the brewery; 'carriages could not get past and it was undoubtedly a bad habit and should be put down'. Despite the lads' claim that the game had been played there for the past 10 to 11 years, they were fined 2/-.

The Scottish Football Association was founded in 1873. While the history of the local football teams is still to be written, a few indicators of the importance of this game to the community have been located. In 1916 a football benefit match was played between Prestonpans & Musselburgh Select and the East of Scotland team, on behalf of the widow and family of Thomas Killen, a well-known Musselburgh Athletic player who was killed at the Front.

The two main teams in the town were Prestongrange

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Athletic and Prestonpans Thistle, and it seems then that the teams emerged out of the sports tradition of the two collieries. Odd though it might seem today, a smoking concert was held by Prestongrange Athletic in 1918.

By the 1930s, Summerlee Thistle, Thorntree United, Wemyss Athletic and the Bing Boys appear to have been the league teams for boys; support was forthcoming from Prestonpans for the Tranent Juniors.

The mining community continued its involvement with football into the 1940s with the formation of Preston Athletic, who took over the pitch vacated by Prestongrange Rovers, close to Prestongrange Colliery. By the 1950s, Preston Athletic were attracting large crowds of supporters. In 1995, Preston Athletic became a member of the Scottish Football Association. Although support for local teams waned after the 1960s, the team is still well supported in the local community and is sponsored, among others, by the Prestoungrange Gothenburg under the traditional Gothenburg Principles.

Rugby is well represented in the area; founded in 1929/30 with Dr Boyle as its first president, Preston Lodge Former Pupils Rugby Football Club continues to enjoy significant success up to the present day, with a number of players having caps for their country. The club encourages the participation of young people (including girls) by running a variety of teams for different age groups.

Golf has long been of importance in the parish, with the Thorntree golfers' ball recorded in the late 1890s – 65 couples dancing to Mr Archibold's Quadrille Band. Thorntree Ladies' Club was extant in 1899. The relationship between the Royal Musselburgh Golf Club, Prestoungrange House and the Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation (CISWO) is more fully explored elsewhere,¹³⁶ but golf and the mining community are closely linked in Prestonpans.

There was a *Prestonpans Swimming Club*, and swimming was taught in the sea during the inter-war years. In 1932, the Port Seton Swimming Pond opened and the club decamped to there.

Morrison's Haven Quaiting Club appears between 1888 and 1925.

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There was for a number of years an *annual regatta*; it appears to have existed between 1897 and the 1920s.

The Pennypit sports facility opened in 1970 on the site that was once Northfield colliery, then a sports field.

Other interests were also catered for in the past: sources mention *whippet racing* at Tranent and *homing pigeons*; the *Draughts Association* – an attempt to revive this was made in 1925; *billiards*; and the *badminton* club (1942).

8 CONCLUSION

The experiences of this small, busy, industrial settlement are probably typical of similar parishes across Scotland. People were drawn to Prestonpans by the promise of work, and the population expanded quickly; the social networks already in place probably struggled to cope with the rising demands, and this is reflected in the records that have been consulted. It is clear that the importance of the friendly societies and the Co-op to the community cannot be over-stated. With no state-funded support, there was often very little standing between poverty and outright destitution. Yet alongside this daily struggle emerged a small town community, with its interests evidently reaching beyond the parochial. The Free Church worked at encouraging people to become educated, and many of the key players of the period played a major role in the development of the community. It is clear that, by the beginning of the 20th century, ordinary people were far more aware of the wider world than perhaps was previously thought.

Notes

- ¹ Dingwall, Helen (1994) *Seventeenth century Edinburgh: a demographic study* Scholar Press
- ² Ibid p. 248
- ³ Urquhart, RM (1991) *The Burghs of Scotland; The General Police & Improvement (Scotland) Act 1862* ('The Lindsay Act') Motherwell Scottish Libraries Association p. 6
- ⁴ Prestonpans was never a mediaeval burgh; it split from Tranent in 1606 to become a parish in its own right.
- ⁵ Smout, T C 'The trade of East Lothian at the end of the 17th century' in *East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society Transactions Vol IX* pp. 67–78

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- 6 Aitken, J (2000) *Acheson/Morrison's Haven: what came and went and how?* (Booklet 2) Prestoungrange University Press pp. 39, 40
- 7 Sinclair, John (ed) (this edition Withrington, D & Grant IR 1975) *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799 Volume II: The Lothians* (EP Publishing Ltd) p. 586-589
- 8 Anderson, D (2000) *Sourcing Brickmaking, Salting & Chemicals at Prestoungrange* (Booklet 3) Prestoungrange University Press p. 17
- 9 The range of industries is covered in detail in other booklets in this series, particularly booklets 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12
- 10 Lenmen, Bruce (1997 reprint) *Integration & Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* Edinburgh University Press pp. 19, 20
- 11 Baker, Sonia (2000) *Prestoungrange House* (Booklet 1) Prestoungrange University Press pp. 26, 27
- 12 NAS CH2/307/1 p. 174 1719 is an example
- 13 op cit Sinclair, John (ed) pp. 578
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Penguin op cit Mitchison, R (1974) pp. 67, 68
- 21 Thomson, Adam (1829) *A Cure for Pauperism proposed in a letter to The Rev Thomas Chalmers* document held by the new College Library, University of Edinburgh pp. 16, 17
- 22 op cit, Dingwall, p255 states an average of 8 shillings a week for individuals in 1683
- 23 As many of the friendly societies had their own mortcloths, this cost was largely borne by the poorer in society
- 24 Mitchison, R (1974) 'The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law' in *Past & Present* 1974 pp. 66, 67
- 25 op cit Dingwall, p. 257
- 26 NAS CH2/307/14 Prestonpans Kirk Session Poor Accounts 1732-1741 p. 39
- 27 NAS CH2/307/25 p. 56
- 28 op cit Sinclair John p. 580
- 29 ibid p. 579
- 30 op cit Sinclair, John (ed) pp. 579, 580
- 31 ibid
- 32 NAS CH2/307/20 Prestonpans Kirk Session Poor Accounts 1835-1858 p. 110
- 33 Hopkins, Bob (2004) *A Pride of Panners* (Booklet 18) Prestoungrange University Press pp 54-58; Martine, John (1890, this ed 1999) *Reminiscences & Notices of the Parishes of the County of Haddington* East Lothian Council Library Service p183; McNeill, P (1902) *Prestonpans and Vicinity; historical, ecclesiastical and traditional,*

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- Remploy, Leicester pp. 222–225; op cit Sinclair John p582 from which the first two quotes are taken
- 34 NAS ED13/16
- 35 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 27.3.1885
- 36 op cit Houston & Knox p382 ; Checkland, Olive & Sydney (1989 2nd ed) *Industry & Ethos: Scotland 1832–1914* Edinburgh University Press pp. 99–103
- 37 ibid p. 99
- 38 Mitchison, R (2000) *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: the experience of poverty, 1574–1845* Edinburgh University Press p. 230
- 39 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 4.11.1859
- 40 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 1.1.1868
- 41 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 18.12.1863
- 42 Oral recollection via A. Allan
- 43 The designs are held by the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments in Scotland (RCAHMS), Sir John Sinclair House, 16 Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh
- 44 RCAHMS DPM/1850/3/1/1–10; NO 6 – ground plan (Dick Peddie & McKay collection)
- 45 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 30.1.1863
- 46 NAS GD176/1959 letter of 1883 from Board of Supervision to the inspectors of the poor
- 47 Naysmith (nee Cunningham), Janet ‘As I Remember’ in Prestonpans Local History Society 2001 *Tales of the Pans: a collection of memories from Panners* p. 33
- 48 NAS CO2/97/1 Inveresk Combination Poorhouse Minute Book of the Board 1913–29
- 49 NAS CO2/97/2 Inveresk Combination Poorhouse Minute Book of the Board 1930–44
- 50 Stiven, David ‘Inveresk’ in (1985) *The Third Statistical Account of Midlothian* pp130, 131
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- 54 op cit Hopkins pp. 56–58; *Haddingtonshire Courier* 2.6.16
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- 58 NAS ED13/298 letter (January 1888) to the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission
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62 Information provided by Annemarie Allan
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74 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 22.6.1900
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76 *Haddingtonshire Courier* 20.6.1884
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