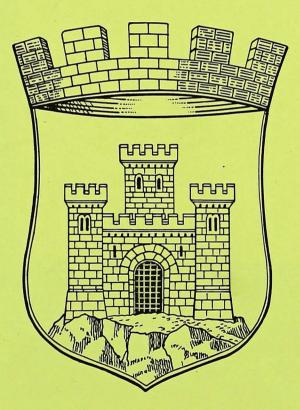
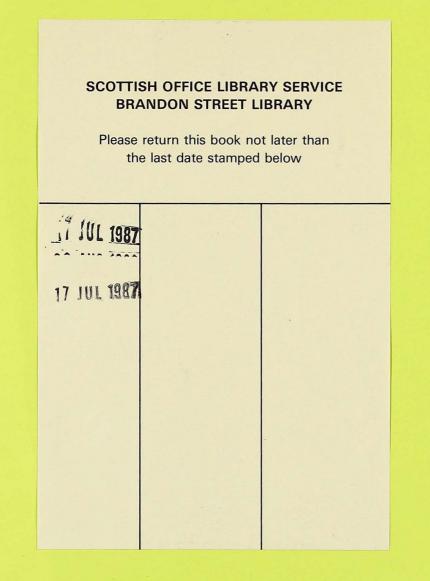
Historic DUNBAR the archaeological implications of development



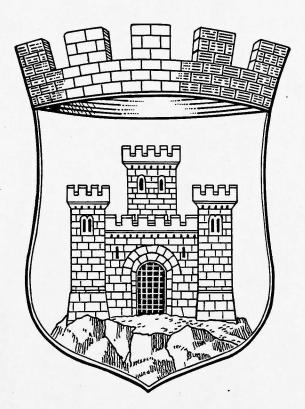
Anne Turner Simpson Sylvia Stevenson Scottish Burgh Survey 1981



Historic DUNBAR

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the archaeological implications of development



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PREFACE

This report of the history and archaeology of the former burgh of Dunbar is one of a series of such reports on the historic towns of Scotland. The reports have been commissioned by the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Scottish Development Department with a view to providing the necessary background information upon which to base a policy for urban research in the future. They are also aimed at providing local authority planning departments with the historical and archaeological information necessary to enable them to assess the archaeological implications of any planning applications.

Each report contains an historical report compiled by Anne Turner Simpson with an archaeological report and a series of illustrative plans compiled by Sylvia Stevenson and drawn by Derek Shaw. The reports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were developed at various periods of their history up to approximately 1800, and to locate within those areas sites which are of particular historical importance. Areas of 19th century growth and modern suburbs have not been examined.

The survey team would like to acknowledge the help and support of Lothian Region: Mr. D.G.B. Duncan, Director of Physical Planning for East Lothian District Council, and members of his staff, specifically Mr. J. Smith and Mr. McLean; the staff of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey, Edinburgh; and the Historic Buildings Branch of the Scottish Development Department. The survey team would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. W. Lindsay and the staff of the Urban Excavation Unit, especially Mr. J. Wordsworth; Miss Fuller of the Dunbar Public Library; Miss C. Johnston of the Local History Centre, Haddington Public Library; Mr. S.A. Bunyan for kindly reading the historical script, and Professor Leslie Alcock and Mr. Eric Talbot who supervised the project at Glasgow University.

Note:- The views expressed herein are those of the survey team, freely given, and do not necessarily represent official policy.

Cover:- The Coat of Arms of the burgh of Dunbar as depicted in Bute, MacPhail and Lonsdale, 1897, 105.

History

INTRODUCTION

<u>Site</u>: The town of Dunbar is strategically located at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, eleven miles east-by-north-east of Haddington and nearly twelve miles east-by-south-east of North Berwick.

<u>Place Name</u>: Duncan (1975, 26) agrees with Watson that the placename Dunbar is probably British <u>din-bar</u> 'summit fort' (Watson, 1926, 141).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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<u>Burgh Status</u>: Dunbar appears to have been a baronial burgh of the thirteenth century which possibly lost its privileges during the Wars of Independence (Pryde, 1965, 40). David II in 1370 granted a 'free burgh' at Dunbar to the Earl of March (who was also the Earl of Dunbar) which presumably was forfeited to the crown in 1434 on deprivation of the earl (Pryde, 1965, 40). The thirteenth-century baronial burgh became a royal burgh by a charter of 16 August 1445 and there were confirmations in 1555 and 1603 (RMS, iv, 999; vi, 1418). It attended Parliament regularly from 1469 and was represented at the first recorded meeting of the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1552 (Pryde, 1965, 25).

<u>Medieval</u>: Although there might have been prehistoric settlement in the area, Dunbar was first mentioned in the early eighth-century <u>Life of</u> <u>Wilfrid</u>. In 680, after visiting Rome, Wilfrid returned to England and was ultimately imprisoned at Dunbar (<u>in urbem Dynbaer</u>) following the rejection of a case which he stated before a Northumbrian synod. Dunbar remained a part of Northumbria for a few centuries. It was burned by Kenneth MacAlpin, the first King to rule both Scots and Picts, about 843 (ES, i, 288). Despite this, there is evidence to suggest that Dunbar remaining an administrative centre, or a shire-centre as identified by Professor Barrow (1973, 66-67), up to the twelfth century. The earl-dom of Dunbar was created in 1072 when Malcolm III granted it to Cospatrick, the deprived Earl of Northumbria, in the hands of whose family it remained until 1435 (Bunyan, n.d.,n.p.).

Despite being of strategic importance (located as it was at the mouth of the Firth of Forth), Dunbar did not develop to any great size in the middle ages. In his 1216 invasion of Scotland, King John was said to have burned Haddington 'and destroyed with devouring flame Dunbar, and other towns in those parts' (ES, ii, 407). Dunbar played a role in the early stages of the Wars of Independence. In a battle sited at NT 6750 7604 (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, References NT 67 NE 28), a Scottish force marching to relieve the besieged Dunbar Castle was completely routed by an English force under the Earl Warenne in April 1296. Following the English defeat at Bannockburn in 1314 Edward II was chased to Dunbar 'where he boarded a small boat and sailed ignominiously south' (Nicholson, 1974, 90).

Early Modern: Two sixteenth-century visitors to Dunbar gave conflicting accounts of the town they saw. A frenchman, Jean de Beauqui, writing in 1548/9 noted that Dunbar was 'accommodated with so many of the good things which profit the life of man, that if the town were enclosed with walls...we might reckon it to be among the most beautiful of towns in the aisles of the oceans' (Brown, 1891, 67). Fynes Moryson, writing at the end of the century in 1598 observed that the towns lay in ruins 'and seemed of little moment as well as from the poverty of the small number of inhabitants' (Miller, 1830, 233). Dunbar had suffered in the Hertford invasion of 1544 and again from Shrewsbury in 1548 after the battle of Pinkie when he wrote English authorities that Dunbar was 'burning handsomely' (Calendar of State Papers, i, 119). As Jean de Beauqui's observations proceeded this event it is difficult to measure the extent of the English incursions.

Dunbar participated actively in national taxation organised by the Convention of Royal Burghs from 1535 onwards. Her first payment was £32 10s as opposed to Haddington's £101 5s and North Berwick's lowly £11 5s (RCRB, i, 514, 515). In 1550, contributing towards the cost of an embassy to the Emperor, Dunbar paid sixteen crowns, well behind Edinburgh's contribution of 600 crowns and Haddington's seventy-two crowns, but placed well above North Berwick's contribution of eight crowns (RCRB, i, 519). The end of the century found little change with Dunbar in 1597 paying ten shillings to Haddington's thirty-eight (RCRB, ii, 10).

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Dunbar, possibly ruined by the effects of repeated English invasions, did not gain much prosperity in the first half of the seventeenth century. Many overseas trading ports suffered when King James VI and his court moved to London in 1603, but the Civil Wars of the 1640s also took their toll. In 1645 the burgh was ordered to entertain twelve men monthly for the army and pay a stent of £108, while its near neighbour North Berwick was stented at a rate of £36 and was ordered to supply four men monthly (APS, VI, i, 352b). Later Parliament decided on a rate of £198 for Dunbar and this brought cries of protest from Edinburgh as being too low. Her position on national taxation roles was clearly well behind that of the capital: in 1649, Dunbar was stented at a rate of £1 2s compared with £36 for Edinburgh (RCRB, iii, 33). Many people fled to Dunbar in 1650 on the approach of Cromwellian troops who successfully engaged the Scots General Leslie outside the town. Tucker, a Cromwellian government official, described the burgh as a 'village' and noted that apart from herring, salt was the principal item of export (Marwick, 1881, 18).

Herring was a minor success story for Dunbar in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As early as 1641 a complaint came before Parliament concerning herring works there. John Ray, writing in 1661 observed the number of people who flocked to Dunbar for the herring fishing 'sometimes to the number of 20,000' (Brown, 1891, 232). Herring did however prove to be an unstable industry. Reporting to the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1692 it was related that the town had sixteen or seventeen herring boats which proves 'extraordinarie unprofitable by the decaying of their herring fishing' (RCRB, iv, 631). In the same report foreign trade was described as almost non-existent while a third of the town's dwelling houses were ruinous and uninhabited (RCRB, iv, 631).

<u>Eighteenth Century</u>: Despite the gloom of the 1692 report and the reluctance of the inhabitants to accept Union (APS, XI, 338b), by 1745 an English medical officer with Cumberland's troops reported that the houses in Dunbar were built with stone and covered with slate. The town's markets he continued were well supplied with provisions 'by reason of a weekly market which is held here' (Miller, 1830, 233). Her position on the stent roll which had stood at eight shillings in 1718 had improved by two shillings in 1730 and 1737 (RCRB, v, 196, 507, 631). Dunbar's suburbs boasted red herring houses, granaries, maltbarns, as well as a timber yard and a brew house (DBM, B.18/3.1, passim). In the town were established a number of trades which included that of a wigmaker (DBM, B.18/3. 1) and a watch and clock maker who in 1775, as an Edinburgh journeyman, had applied to the town council to take up residence in Dunbar to carry out his trade (DTC Minutes, B.18/13.6). The first printing press to be established in East Lothian was set up in Dunbar in 1775 through the

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auspices of a resident merchant (Fish, 1938, 27), while seven years earlier a branch of the British Linen Bank opened in the town (Martin, 1894, 118).

In addition to linen, Dunbar exported corn, and imported timber, flax and iron (Kemp, 1887, 323). The fortunes of the herring fishing teetered back and forth throughout the century. Both Bishop Pococke and another English observer writing in 1774 noted the unstable nature of the industry. The reporter in the <u>Statistical Account</u> wrote that the herring trade 'was formerly more considerable and regular'. He speaks of its great benefit to the town, but adds nevertheless 'for several years past, it has become very precarious and uncertain' (Withrington and Grant, 1975, ii, 471). By 1752 the first whale fishing company had been established in Dunbar and by the end of the century was so profitable that an English visitor wrote 'the town of Dunbar is considerably engaged in the Greenland Fishery and we found the smell of whale blubber extremely offensive' (Fish, 1929-30, 33).

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

<u>Street Layout</u>: Dunbar grew up around the protection of a castle located near the head of a spacious High Street which was the continuation of the coastal route from Berwick. The route continued to Edinburgh via West Port and Delisle Street, while present-day Westgate led to the nearby port and village of Belhaven. A short street, Sea Port (now Victoria Street) at the head of High Street provided an approach to the harbour and sands of Dunbar.

The morphology of Dunbar is complicated by the existence of a number of minor streets which either branch off the High Street and its main arteries or lie parallel to it. Present-day Church Street (and its continuation Castle Street) and Lamer Street are roughly parallel to the High Street and were both in existence by the eighteenth century. 'Church Street - Castle Street' as its modern name implies, probably provided a secondary access to the old Castle (via Sea Port and Castle Gate) from the parish church. (A theory proposed by Mr.Stephen Bunyan, Dunbar implies that Church Street - Castle Street was the original nucleus of the burgh, High Street being a later addition. This has yet to be proved archaeologically). Lamer Street, hugging the shore line, afforded an approach to the old harbour. In and among the two parallel streets are a number of minor vennels and wynds whose eighteenth-century names - Fishergate, Craw's Wynd, Kirk Style and Fleshmarket - do not exist today.

<u>Market Area</u>: The market area of Dunbar is as yet undetermined. It is possible that it was located at the head of High Street and extending into Sea Port. The town boasted a market cross from the second half of the fourteenth century (Miller, 1830, 229) until 1736 when the magistrates and council ordered its removal as being 'a common nuisance by obstructing the passage on the streets' (Fish, 1929-30, 37). Stones from the cross were later used to construct a well (Fish, 1929-30, 37). The cross which stands outside Dunbar Town House is in all likelihood a composite cross made up of skewputs which are possibly relics of the old parish church and a shaft originally belonging to the 'castle cross' (RCAM, 1924, 28).

<u>Defences</u>: Both Defoe and the Duke of Cumberland's medical officer noted the presence of a much-decayed wall which encircled the town. It is believed that the wall was erected following the Act of Parliament of 1503, but Jean de Beauqui's observations noted above make it clear that by 1548/9 there was no town wall. Thus when the wall was erected, and indeed when it was removed remains a mystery. In recent years portions of the wall sited at NT 6803 7877 and NT 6806 7880 have come to light (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, NT 67 NE 9). One portion abuts the west side of a building known as Bamburgh Tenement and is a substantial eighteen feet high. The much reduced remains of another stretch of walling run approximately east (Watson, 1949-50, 212).

<u>Ports</u>: The town of Dunbar boasted three ports which may date from at least the early sixteenth century (APS, ii, 243). The first stood at the east entry to the High Street, the second at the west end of the West Port and a third on the north side of the foot of the High Street leading to the Harbour (Miller, 1830, 235). In 1687 the town council ordered that the Wynd (or West) Port be taken and rebuilt again one-anda-half feet wider on its east side and one-and-a-half feet higher than it was (DTC Minutes, B.18/13.1.). Nearly eighty years later in 1767 the council ordered the removal of both the East and Kirk Ports and deemed that their stones should be employed in the construction of wells (DTC Minutes, B.18/13.5).

Harbour: Dunbar's first harbour was at Belhaven, a small village slightly to the west of the town. It was in existence as early as 1153 when Gospatrick, Earl of Dunbar, gave the monks of May a toft juxta meum portum

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<u>de Bele</u>, and another early reference occurs in 1369/70 when David II granted the Earl of Dunbar (March) <u>apud Dunbarre liberum burgum...ac</u> <u>liberum portum apud le Bellehaven...cum libero entroitu et exitu navium</u> (Graham, 1966/67, 173). By the mid-sixteenth century harbour facilities at Dunbar appear to have switched from Belhaven to Lamerhaven as the harbour is described as lying <u>ex orientali latere castri de Dunbar</u> RMS, iv, no. 999). In 1574 the burgh was authorized to charge certain customs to the 'building of ane hevin under the town and be east of the Castell thairof' while in 1591 they were excused from attending the Convention of Royal Burghs on condition that a sum of money be employed on repairing the 'decayit harberie' (Graham, 1966-67, 175; RCRB, i, 363).

Although some extensive repairs were carried out in 1655 following a disastrous gale, it is only in the eighteenth century that records of construction appear in any detail (Graham, 1966-67, 175). It is perhaps after part of a pier was wrecked by a storm in 1744 that the harbour was enlarged and deepened and a commodious quay erected (Miller, 1830, 243), but the old harbour had assumed much of its present shape in the second and third decades of the century (Graham, 1966-67, 176). In 1785 a new pier was constructed and a dry dock added shortly thereafter (Miller, 1830, 243).

BUILDINGS

<u>Castle</u>: A castle at Dunbar dates from at least 1296 when a battle was fought for its possession between the Scots and the English. Late in the reign of James III the castle was forfeited and in the following year, 1488, was ordered to be 'cassyne doune' and utterly destroyed (RCAM, 1924, 26). The castle was ordered to be rebuilt in the following reign, at which time additions included a vaulted hall and a chapel dedicated to St.John. A castle blockhouse was added in the reign of James V. French troops in 1560 fortified the castle with earth, but under the terms of the treaty of Leith the fortifications had to be dismantled. In 1567 the castle was finally ordered to be demolished (RCAM, 1921, 27).

The fragmentary castle ruins occupy a very bold situation. The remains are scattered over a rock standing 80 feet above the sea, which surrounds the site on three sides. In 1830 the body of the building measured about 165 feet from east to west and in some places 207 feet from north to south (Miller, 1830, 2). About the middle of the fortress was part of a wall through which there was a gateway surmounted by an armorial bearing. Much of the ruins as described by Miller in 1830 was affected by the channel for the new harbour in 1842 which cut through the site of the Great Hall, while further damage occurred in a gale in October, 1869.

<u>Church</u>: The first mention of a church at Dunbar occurs in the 1176 <u>Taxatio</u> of Lothian (Miller, 1830, 183). The church itself was dedicated apparently to one St. Bey (also known as St.Ann) an obscure, pious female who lived in strict seclusion on the small island of Cumbrae in the Firth of Clyde (Fish, 1929-30, 30). The original building was probably Norman with a western tower. A choir and presbytery were added in the thirteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century the fabric of the church was described as being 'very old' and was 'till lately' in the inside 'especially of the worst and most inconvenient perhaps in Scotland' (Withrington, 1975, ii, 473). A new church was erected on the site of the old one in 1819.

<u>Friary</u>: A House of Trinitarians was founded in 1240 X 1243 by the Countess of Dunbar. It was reputedly not a large house and at the Reformation its revenues were granted by the crown to the bailies and community (Cowan and Easson, 1976). A dovecot in a field known locally as Friar's Croft is said to be the only remains of the Trinitarian Friary. MacGibbon and Ross surmised that the structure might have been the belfry and pigeon house of the monastery dating from a period two or three centuries after the foundation of the friary (1897, 463, 465). The claim that there was a Carmelite Friary at Dunbar might well be a result of confusion with the Trinitarian House.

<u>Tolbooth</u>: Located centrally in the High Street, Dunbar's Town House is a splendid example of the type of Renaissance architecture rendered in Scotland about 1620 (RCAM, 1924, 28). Constructed of local red freestone, on plan the building is oblong with its major axis running north to south. A semi-hexagonal tower containing a staircase on the two lower storeys and a clock chamber on the uppermost storey is a principal feature. The main block of the building is three storeys with dormer windows (RCAM, 1924, 28).

<u>Houses</u>: Miller observed that in Dunbar 'the houses are mostly modern, very few remaining of that Flemish description which stood with their dove-tailed gables to the street' (1830, 231-232). Eighteenth-century Dunbar could boast stone houses with slated roofs (Miller, 1830, 233), and even a barn with a slate roof (DMB, B.18/3.1). Forestairs were also common (DTC Minutes B.18, passim). One of the last houses in Dunbar with an outside stair to be removed was the tenement known as Rock House. Rock house, where John Wesley stayed during his preaching tour of Scotland, was built on a rock in Victoria Street and in addition to its outside stair had the peculiarity of gables which were not even. (Anon, n.d.,25). One of the most imposing mansions to survive in the medieval core is Lauderdale House, formerly called Dunbar house. The mansion was built in <u>1734 by a prominent citizen Provost Fall</u>, who later sold it to the Duke of Lauderdale in 1788 (Green, 1907, 180).

<u>Mill</u>: Little is known of the medieval mill of Dunbar, although by the second half of the seventeenth century the town had two mills which it set in feu (DTC Minutes, B.18/13.1). Both mills were located at West Barns near Belhaven.

Archaeology

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The historic town centre of Dunbar has changed little during the last two centuries. The majority of buildings fronting the <u>High Street</u>, date from the eighteenth century, with some late nineteenth and early twentieth century replacement. Backland development to the west of the <u>High Street</u> is restrained, and although many of the existing buildings pended to the <u>High Street</u> frontages are now derelict, the extremities of most of the burgages are free of development, and property boundaries are largely intact. To the east of the <u>High Street</u>, development took place along <u>Church Street</u> and <u>Castle Street</u> and on the foot of the burgage plots in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the backlands are now derelict, although some clearance has now taken place preparatory to redevelopment.

Over the last twenty years, earlier properties have been cleared between <u>Castle Street</u> and <u>Lamer Street</u> and redevelopment has taken place within the existing street plan. Further redevelopment is proposed for this eastern part of the town, with housing developments off <u>Lamer Street</u> (NT 680 790), the east side of <u>Church Street</u> (NT 680 788) and between <u>Wood Bush Brae</u> and <u>East Links Road</u> (NT 681 787) (see map 2). Opportunities to monitor development to the east of <u>Castle Street</u>, have regretably been lost.

Sites under immediate threat

The potentially most serious threat to the archaeology of Dunbar, lies in proposals to develop the site of the Trinitarian Friary. Friar's Croft is scheduled for future redevelopment in the Draft Dunbar Local Plan. Recent exploratory work suggests that little remains of the Friary buildings in the immediate vicinity of the tower, however, other questions relating to the location and disposition of ancillary buildings attached to this small Friary remain unanswered. Future development plans suggest that some decision should be made, on the basis of recent excavations, towards the policy to be adopted towards this site, and whether within the limits of the available time and money to authorise a full scale archaeological investigation, or simply to maintain a watching and recording brief throughout the initial stages of building.

Long standing proposals for a tourist complex have been included in the Draft Local Plan, and would involve development along the edge of the present car park at <u>Castle Park</u>. This area has been subject to repeated alteration since the early nineteenth century. The enclosure shown on the 0.S. map of 1854 (0.S. 6" sheet 6, 1854) immediately to the south of the castle is no longer visible. This was probably all that remained of the sixteenth century French re-fortification of the castle (see page 23). Also in the general area to the south of the castle, a kitchen midden composed of animal bones, glazed pottery and unwrought flints was uncovered in the mid-nineteenth century (Sim, 1870-72, 220). Today, the northern half of the park is grassland, and the southern half in front of the old barrack building, is a public car park. Any future development in the light of the aforementioned discoveries, and the cemetery mentioned on page 15, would make a watching brief desirable.

Proposals for housing development in 1983-84 at the foot of backlands between <u>97 and 141 High Street</u> pose a less serious threat, though the <u>Church Street</u> frontage may be on the line of the sixteenth century town wall, and the possibility exists of early development being tracable in the relatively undisturbed backland deposits.

Future Investigation

The policies outlined below are not listed in order of importance, but are intended to provide guide lines for future research as opportunities arise through renovation and redevelopment (see page 16 for full discussion).

- To establish through selective excavation the earliest possible date of pre-burgh settlement. To determine the nature of this settlement and chart its economic and social growth through the early historic periods.
- To establish any evidence for pre-sixteenth century defences. To identify the date of initial building of the stone wall, its course, the relative date of any repairs, and the chronological relationship of the wall with the three known ports.
- 3. To determine any variation in street alignment and width, and any other alteration in plan not already identified.
- 4. To identify the plan and physical nature of town buildings prior to the seventeenth century, and to determine the commercial and industrial usage of buildings other than as dwelling houses, prior to this date.
- 5. If possible, to confirm the site of the pre-nineteenth century

church, to establish its plan and building sequence.

- 6. To recover, in advance of building operations, the plan of the Trinitarian Friary, and confirm respectively the dates of initial construction, later rebuilding and final abandonment. To establish also the extent of the Friar's enclosure by identifying the enclosing wall and associated gates.
- To examine the supposed site of the Carmelite House to either prove or disprove its existence.
- 8. To establish the date of foundation of the Maison Dieu, its affiliation and the plan and extent of the building.
- To determine the building sequence and therefore, relative chronology of the harbour piers, and to identify any associated harbour buildings.
- 10. The castle as a structure threatened by natural agencies, is dealt with under recommendations.

Areas of Archaeological Priority

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From the historical standpoint there are a number of sites in Dunbar which can be immediately labelled as of archaeological interest. For example, documentary evidence identifies the erstwhile site of the Maison Dieu, and there are extant remains of the castle and friary. Of the actual town buildings, however, and the economic and social development of the early burgh, little is known, and there is little material evidence to act as a guide to the areas of greatest potential interest. In this study, therefore, those areas under threat from redevelopment in the near future are outlined in the likely order of importance. It should be borne in mind, however, that future proposed developments not as yet identified could radically change the order of priority identified here.

- 1. This area consists of the site of the Trinitarian Friary (centred at NT 677 788), the importance of which is discussed on pages 9 and 20.
- 2. This area is bounded to the east by the sea coast, to the north by the harbour wall and the castle, to the west by the <u>High Street</u>, and to the south by the <u>Vennel</u>. The castle has been discussed on page 23, and is threatened more by natural than human agency. <u>Castle Park</u> may be under threat by proposals outlined in the Draft Local Plan which are outlined on page 10. Three housing developments are planned for this area. The first and most important, due to commence in 1983-84, will partially

infill burgage plots to the rear of the High Street (NT 679 790). Derelict property facing onto Church Street and cutting back in some cases into the deposits of the rear plots, is in process of being cleared in preparation for this new development. A watching brief in the initial stages of development would be useful in the hope of identifying early domestic or industrial backland development. In addition, there is some doubt as to the direction taken by the town wall; it is possible that it extended along the foot of the High Street burgage plots, and any opportunity to test this hypothesis would be of value. The housing developments proposed for the east and west sides of Lamer Street (NT 680 790) in 1982-83, are of dubious potential. It seems likely that this part of the town only developed with the building of the harbour in the sixteenth century, but work here could be usefully monitored in the hope of identifying the earliest development. A warehouse at the junction of Lamer and Colvin Streets (NT 6803 7910) is scheduled for renovation. The basement area is cut to some depth into the back slope now levelled into Colvin Street and it is likely that few deposits survive. Any work in this basement area or on the foundations of the building may be of interest.

The site of the Old Custom House (NT 6808 7924) which dated from the eighteenth century, has now been redeveloped. Graham (1966-67, 187) reported that this building had been built on an artifically flattened rock surface, a strip of which 2' 8" (0.8m) wide, had been left at a slightly higher level on the north side to provide a foundation for the front. It seems unlikely, therefore, that any traces of pre-eighteenth century building survived on this site prior to redevelopment. Demolition work is currently being carried out on the adjoining warehouse building, but it seems quite likely that this site would be similarly sterile.

Archaeologically, investigation can only be conducted superficially on the existing harbour structure. Opportunities may arise through necessary repairs to examine the masonry, and establish the sequence of building and repair on the east pier, though dating evidence is likely to be rare, apart from what can be gleaned from the more detailed eighteenth century town records.

The <u>Holey Pier</u> (NT 6812 7926), a recessed pier at the harbour entrance constructed in 1785, and the Dry Dock constructed in the same year at NT 6810 7920, were both infilled by the mid-nineteenth century with town rubbish, and any future work in either of these areas would be of limited interest, in the hope of recovering artifacts relating to the life and

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economy of the town in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Bedrock lies very close to the surface north of <u>Victoria Street</u> and before Spott's Granary (NT 6812 7924), and the chances of the survival of archaeological deposits are minimal.

- 3. The properties fronting the High Street, The Vennel, the sea coast and the church yard, enclose area 3. Relatively little is known of this area archaeologically, and the two proposed housing developments are of dubious potential. However, this area of raised beach has produced a number of reputedly early Christian burials at a relatively shallow depth, e.g. that beneath Clyde Villa (NT 6826 7865) in 1972 (see page 15), and a number of prehistoric sites have also been identified on the east links. This general area is outwith the perimeter of the early burgh as far as is known, and no great importance can be attached to either of these sites. The backlands attached to the High Street properties have rather more infill development than on the west side of the High Street, and street frontages both on the High Street and at the foot of the burgage plots in Church Street, are cut down and back into front and rear deposits respectively. It is unlikely, therefore, that traces of early development will survive, and it is the intermediate backland areas which may have the greatest potential archaeologically.
- 4. This area is not at present threatened by redevelopment, and includes the whole of the west side of the <u>High Street</u> and <u>Station Road</u>. The west <u>High Street</u> frontages, have no obvious cellarage, which may be optimistic for the survival of earlier deposits. Backland development is not as heavy as on the east side of the street, and south of the <u>West</u> <u>Port</u>, the foot of the burgage plots are retained by a wall of considerable height and age (discussed on page 17). The three remaining areas of interest in this section are the sites of the supposed Carmelite Friary (NT 6796 7874), the Maison Dieu (NT 6800 7862), and the relationship of the South Port with the town wall, which has been identified in the proximity of a late sixteenth-century tenement at NT 6803 7877. Any developments in these areas would be of interest archaeologically.

Recommendations

Very little redevelopment is planned for the historic centre of Dunbar. The <u>High Street</u> frontages, their associated backlands, <u>Castle Park</u>, and the harbour area, all lie within a conservation area. Residential development which has taken place, is without the historic centre, to the east of the town. The need to repair, renovate, and replace existing structures and services, may lead in future to disturbance on the street

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frontages and backland, of which the archaeologist can take advantage.

The following recommendations are made therefore in the hope that they will enable the maximum amount of information to be extracted from minimal disturbance.

- a. The renovation of any street fronting or backland buildings could be usefully monitored, especially where structural alteration involving soil disturbance is contemplated inside buildings. In the absence of cellars it is possible that the foundations of earlier properties on the site survive. The possibility also exists that structural remains of early buildings survive beneath a later facade.
- b. Any future road improvements, repairs or extension to existing services, such as gas, electricity and water, which involve trenching could be profitably monitored to identify early frontages, phases of street building, and alterations in street orientation.
- c. In the event of future development in the archaeologically sensitive areas listed above, a policy of selective trial trenching could be usefully adopted in advance of development, to confirm those sites of greatest archaeological potential.
- d. A detailed survey of the castle ruins and rock as a precaution against further damage could usefully be made. In addition, it would be useful to identify any area of the rock which might potentially provide information regarding the early history of the site.

PREVIOUS WORK

Although containing some sites of noted antiquity, little formal excavation has been recorded within the burgh.

In advance of proposed future development on the site of the Trinitarian Friary (NT 677 788), recent investigation has located the robbed wall trenches of the choir and nave of the monastic church with some floor levels (see page 21 for further discussion). Some pottery sherds, of probable fourteenth century date, have been recovered, and some eighteenth century material which assisted the dating of the robbing (ex.inf. J. Wordsworth).

Some chance finds have been made in the town; these cover a wide chronological period and none are unfortunately from a satisfactory archaeological context.

- A long cist grave oriented east-west containing an extended interment accompanied by a wheel thrown round based pot, was found during grave digging operations in the Parish Church yard. (approx. NT 6816 7856). The vessel was tentatively dated to the fourteenth century (Callander, 1921-22, 27).
- 2. A small cemetery (NT 6779) was discovered by workmen in the early nineteenth century close to the castle. The remains had been incoffined and some had polished cap stones decorated with figures, swords and other ornaments. Many loose disarticulated bones were also found, the cemetery having been enclosed by a circular wall, the foundation of which was identified. Possibly a common burying ground for the castle (known to have a chapel in the fifteenth century). The carved stones suggest a possible fourteenth or fifteenth century date. (0.S. Record Card NT 67 NE 26).
- 3. A probable long cist containing an extended skeleton orientated east-west was found in 1972 beneath the floor of <u>2</u>, <u>Clyde Villas</u>, (NT 6825 7865), and was considered of probable early Christian date (0.S. Record Card NT 67 NE 64).
- 4. The upper stone of a quern, a whetstone and a bronze weight of 15 ozs. were found in the mid-nineteenth century while digging out the foundations of a house in the <u>High Street</u>. These objects are now in the collections of the National Museum, Edinburgh (Robertson, 1862-64, 215-216).
- 5. A coin hoard of 290 silver coins of Elizabeth I of England (1558-1603) found during levelling operations in the town in 1773. No exact location, and no information available as to present whereabouts (0.S. Record Card NT 67 NE 66).
- 6. A gold Ecū of Louis XI of France was found in 1871 by workmen engaged in digging the foundations of a house at the <u>Kirkhill</u> (NT 6830 7857). This coin bore comparison to coins in the Dunblane trove, and was not kept by the museum. Present whereabouts unknown (Sim, 1870-72, 509).
- 7. A hoard of Scottish and English coins consisting of two groats, one threepenny piece and three twopenny pieces of Queen Elizabeth I; two English sixpences of James VI; four penny pieces of James VI, and a bodle of William and Mary, were found in the garden of Eden House, Dunbar in the mid-nineteenth century. The hoard is in the collection of the National Museum,Edinburgh). (Innes,1857-60,247).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Early Settlement

Little is known of the earliest medieval settlement at Dunbar. The available historical information is discussed above on page 1. There is little that can be added to this at present as archaeological investigation in the town has been minimal, and there are no chance finds from this early period to provide guide lines to areas of greatest potential.

The Town Walls and Ports

The growing power of the English navy early in the sixteenth century, stimulated the enactment of the burgh law in Scotland, by which it was 'statute and ordanit that all tounis and portis on the sey side sik as Leth, Inverkethin, Kingorne, Disert, Crail and otheris, war spen their commone gudis one of the wallis of thair toune to the sey side with portis of lyme and stane' (McWilliam, c.1975, 36). There is a confusing confliction of evidence relating to the presence of a wall at Dunbar in the sixteenth century. It has been suggested that the surviving stone wall built as a result of the 1503 act, but was this enclosing structure preceded by an earlier defence in earth and timber?, and at what date after 1503, if this act was indeed the chief stimulus to its erection, was the stone wall built?.

It is possible that the wall was not constructed before the mid-sixteenth century, as a Frenchman (Monsieur Beague) comments on the lack of town fortifications at that date (Miller, 1859, 110). Bleau's Map of East Lothian, dating from 1654, shows no enclosing wall around the town, though North Berwick and Haddington are both indicated as being walled. By the eighteenth century, however, Defoe in 1706 described Dunbar as having been fenced in with 'a strong stone wall...now decayed', a statement corroborated by a medical officer attached to the Duke of Cumberland's army in 1745,who describes Dunbar as 'been fenced in with a stone wall of great strength, though by the frequent batteries it hath of late years received, it is much impaired, and gone to decay'. (Watson, 1949-50, 233). Considering the available evidence.therefore, the wall seems likely to date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

The Ordnance Survey record two fragments of extant walling at NT 6803 7877 and NT 6806 7880, which came to light in 1951, and at present, these are the only positive identifications. A late sixteenth century building standing across the close to the rear of <u>25 High Street</u> (NT 6803 7877) appears to butt against the fragment of town wall. The relationship between the two structures is not, however, very clear, and would bear examination in the hope of establishing closer dating for the latter.

The direction taken by the wall at the junction with Church Street is not known. It is possible that it ran along the foot of the burgage plots of the east High Street properties to join with the sea port at circa NT 6786 7909, but if this is so, it is not clear what arrangements if any, were made to protect the formal harbour which was established by the late sixteenth century. The alignment of the wall on the High Street would place the east port at circa NT 6800 7875. On the west side of the town, there is the curious double wall, which runs for some distance between Delisle Street (NT 6781 7890) and NT 6788 7876. The more easterly of these walls is of considerable height, well built, and retains the accumulated deposits of the burgage plots of properties on the west side of the High Street. The west wall is more ruinous, shows evidence of repeated repair, and is in places of comparable height to the first wall. A curious swelling occurs in the west face at NT 6787 7881, but may not be a part of the original structure. A pedestrian way previously existed between these two walls, but this has now been infilled with rubbish. It is difficult to interpret the purpose of this second wall. The close proximity of the Trinitarian monastery (NT 677 788) might suggest that it was part of the enclosing wall of this house. The depth of deposits behind the first wall, even allowing for a slight rise in ground level, are such that is is possible that this structure has its origins in an enclosing town wall, it is certainly on alignment with the town port which stood until 1768 at the west end of the west port (circa NT 6781 7891).

The brief known history of the ports has been described on page 5. It would appear that these were quite substantial masonry structures, perhaps similar to that surviving in St.Andrews, and the foundations may still be detectable beneath the present street level, at the positions suggested above.

The existence of walls and ports at Dunbar is proven. The archaeological problems lie in identifying the date of initial construction of the stone wall, whether there were any earlier defences; identifying the course of the wall, and any repair or alterations made since the initial development. Additionally, it would be useful to identify the exact site and plan of the three known ports.

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The Town Plan

Dunbar has a basic medieval single street plan, perhaps unusual in that there is now no clearly defined market area. Miller (1859, 244) claimed that the most ancient port of the burgh lay towards the harbour, under cover of the castle, from which it extended gradually southwards. However, since the harbour did not exist as an economic proposition until the sixteenth century (see page 6), and while there may have been a cluster of fishermen's cottages in the general area of <u>Broad Haven</u>, the town proper must have developed in the more sheltered position it still holds, with the main street aligned on the castle. Buildings such as the tolbooth and the St.George Hotel, suggest that the building line on the east side of the <u>High Street</u> at least has been maintained since the early seventeenth century.

<u>Church Street</u>, <u>Castle Street</u>, <u>Colvin Street</u> and <u>Lamer Street</u>, running parallel with the <u>High Street</u>, probably developed after the building of the harbour in the sixteenth century. Development between the backlands of the <u>High Street</u> and the sea coast had certainly been effected by the eighteenth century, though by 1832 (R.B.S. 1832, 107) cartographic sources show no extensive development south of <u>Silver Street</u>.

There are no discernable major alterations to street plan or width within the last two hundred years. Before this date, such information can only be obtained through archaeological investigation.

Early Buildings and Materials.

Evidence regarding the nature of pre-eighteenth century town buildings is sparse. In the High Street only two known buildings pre-date this century, and both are much altered. The tolbooth (NT 6793 7895) described on page 7, has retained essentially its original appearance, though windows have been enlarged on the lower floor, and the rough cast skin was removed in the early years of this century. This building dates from circa 1620. The second building, to the rear of 23 High Street (NT 6803 7878) may be a structure referred to by Miller (1859, 244) as a tenement known as Bamburgh Castle. The building lies parallel with the High Street and occupies the full width of the close, with a pend dividing the basement to provide access to the rear. The primary work of the basement has features which can be related to the sixteenth century. Above the vaults, the building has been modernized, and the only early work which can be identified is a section of modelled plaster freeze, of probable late sixteenth or early seventeenth century date, in a lobby at the head of the modern forestair leading to the upper floor (Watson, 1949-50, 211-212).

The town appears therefore to have had some substantial buildings in the sixteenth century.

The St.George Hotel (NT 6795 7888) originated in the seventeenth century and was renovated circa 1828. It seems probable that some parts of this structure may date from the seventeenth century, and this may be true of other buildings on the <u>High Street</u>.

The lack of evidence relating to physical nature and plan of pre-sixteenth century buildings poses a number of problems for the archaeologist. The existing <u>High Street</u> properties particularly on the east side of the street are dug into the east facing slope, and may therefore have destroyed any trace of earlier building. Backland properties which have remained garden areas for the last few centuries may provide the best source of information on pre-sixteenth century economic and domestic development, and any proposed development in these areas could be usefully monitored.

The Church (NT 581 785)

The present church which dates from the early nineteenth century (see page 7) stands directly on the site of a much earlier structure slightly to the south of the town and outwith the wall and ports.

The first documentary record of a church occurs in the Taxatio of 1176; a second mention occurs in the Chronicle of Melrose, when Adam the parson of Dunbar, is recorded as having died in 1179 (Miller, 1859, 191-192). Miller claims that the pre-nineteenth-century church was multi-period (1859,197), the west end of the church beyond the transept being identified by him as probably the ancient chapel of Dunbar entered through a 'Saxon'(?) arch, with the addition of a Norman tower at the west end, and the east end and south aisle of the transept probably being of this date or early Gothic. In 1819, while taking down the east part of the church, several 'sculptured stones' were found which had been used in building the foundation, this strengthens Miller's view that the east end was an addition to an earlier building if not wholly replacing it.

The <u>Old Statistical Account</u> in the late eighteenth century describes the plan of the old church as exactly in the form of a cross, the body being 100' (30.4m) long, and only 24' (7.3m) wide within the walls,83' (25.3m) at the transepts. This plan is largely borne out by a series of water-colour sketches made at the beginning of the nineteenth century and hanging in the present church.

The church erected in 1819, is considerably larger than its predecessor and probably encompasses the whole area of the earlier building. It is

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probable that no traces remain of the early church. The <u>Old Stati-</u> <u>stical Account</u> (1793, 482) claims that the floor was sunk below the level of the surrounding churchyard, until repairs were made in 1779 which involved the laying of a (?raised) deal floor, and the partitioning of the long body of the church. The earlier floor may still be tracable together with the foundation trenches of the early walls beneath the present church, though underfloor heating pipes set in deep channels cross the present floor, and may have caused disturbance. Equally, there is no clue to the degree of levelling which took place on the site, prior to rebuilding. It may be possible, therefore, should future work be necessary within the church, to identify traces of the earlier building, and to acquire some evidence as to its initial date and development.

The Trinitarian Friary (NT 677 788)

To the rear of the burgage plots on the west side of the <u>High Street</u>, is a field known as <u>Friar's Croft</u>, the site of a house of Trinitarian or Red Friars. This house dates from the first half of the thirteenth century (see page 7) and appears to have been suppressed previous to the Reformation. Between 1528-29, the Friary was granted to a secular chaplain, but in 1529, the brethren were transferred to Peebles, and a letter under the privy seal confirmed the Trinitarians of Peebles in possession of its revenues (Cowan and Easson, 1976, 108). The revenues were granted by the crown after the Reformation in 1567, to the bailies and community of Dunbar (Croal, 1947, 25).

The sole surviving fragment of this house is the belfry of the Energy church (NT 6779 7884). MacGibbon and Ross (1897, 463) suggest that this function was originally combined with that of a pigeon loft, this is not certain, but it does account for the survival of the tower, while the remainder of the buildings have been totally removed. The tower was situated between the choir and the nave. MacGibbon and Ross attribute a fifteenth century date to the structure. On plan, the building is oblong, with the major axis approximately north-south, and measures (on the exterior) 27' 3" (8.3m) by 12' (3.6m). The tower is 30' (9.1m) in height and the east and west faces show scars of the steeply pitched roofs of the nave and choir, arched openings on the same faces giving access to the main body of the church, have been built up, and the present entrance through the south face was previously larger, and would have given access to the cleister.

The site does not appear to have been built upon since the suppression of the Friary in the early sixteenth century, but clearance of the buildings would appear to have been guite rapid, and must have caused considerable disturbance to archaeological deposits. Recent archaeological excavations on the east and west sides of the tower, revealed robbed foundation trenches of walls of both the nave and the choir. Some floor levels survived, a clay floor in the nave, and a floor of alternating green and yellow glazed tiles in the choir (ex.inf.J.Wordsworth). Artifactual evidence suggests that much of the clearance of monastic buildings took place in the sixteenth century and eighteenth century. Pococke, travelling in Scotland in 1760, gives what must be a description of the site. 'a plain tower standing but no other part, and some sheds seem to have been built against it' (Pococke, 1760, 321). There is no reason to suppose that this description is not accurate, and the site must therefore have been cleared before that date. Most of the ceramic evidence obtained from the recent archaeological investigation dates from the fourteenth century, and there is little later material (ex.inf. J. Wordsworth).

Work is at present being carried out in an attempt to locate the gate of the monastery (NT 6777 7887) and to investigate the cloister to the south of the church. <u>Delisle Street</u> was the main route to Edinburgh, and it is logical to suppose that the Trinitarian house would have access from this road. The possibility of partial survival of the old enclosing wall of the monastery has been discussed on page 17. Access from the town is implied by Miller (1859, 193), who claimed that a wynd leading to the Friary lay between the site of the New Inn, and the old Manse (NT 679 787). An old house, situated at the head of this wynd and fronting the <u>High Street</u>, contained a niche in the wall, once a sentinal station of the Blessed Virgin. The marks of a gateway were also reputedly to be distinguished at the foot of the minister's garden, on the left of which was the remains of an alms house about the size of a watch box.

The recent excavations have established the state of survival of the monastic church. The walls here, and probably elsewhere in this small complex have been robbed, but internal floor levels survive and may provide valuable information as to the initial date and phases of rebuilding involved. Later disturbance here at least is minimal, and it seems likely that this is the case elsewhere. The wall on the eastern boundary of the site discussed on page 17, could bear some investigation to establish whether or not the lower courses are contemporary with building at the Friary.

The Carmelite House

Cowan and Easson (1976, 138) have thrown doubt on the past existence of a Carmelite House in Dunbar. The supposed charter of foundation published by Brockie, which identifies the founder as Patrick, Earl of March, and the date of foundation as 28 January, 1263, has been called in question. The Bishop of St.Andrews quoted as giving consent to the house, was in 1263, Gameline (1255-71) and not William Wishartas named in the charter. The site marked by the Ordnance Survey (NT 6796 7874) in 1854 (0.S. 6" sheet 6, 1854), is based on the recovery during digging operations for a new reservoir in 1766, of some Roman 'medals' bearing the inscriptions 'Judea Captiva', (Miller, 1859, 194). The fact that the Carmelites had middle eastern origins doubtless gave rise to speculation that this site was that of the Carmelite Friary recorded in the documentary evidence. There appears to have been no supporting structural evidence. The site is presently occupied by the masonic hall and a garage, and while disturbance has obviously taken place, a watching brief would be valuable in the event of future development. to attempt to either prove or disprove the validity of the existing arguments.

The Maison Dieu

The history of this hospital is rather obscure, but it is mentioned in an undated (probably sixteenth century) record, as associated with the Collegiate church of Dunbar. As 'Lie Masondew', it appears as land leased by the minister and convent of the Trinitarian House at Peebles in 1558, and may have originally been connected with Trinitarian foundation in Dunbar (Cowan and Easson, 1976, 174). In 1728, the remains of what was reputedly the old 'Maison Dieu' were cleared away to allow the construction of a bowling green. No recorded artifactual material was recovered at this time, though in 1818 copper coins of Charles II were found in the bowling green (Miller, 1859, 194). No plan appears to exist recording the appearance of the building at the time of demolition. The site has been recorded as standing approximately where Ashfield Lodge is now situated on Countess Road (NT 6800 7862).

The date of the foundation is not known. If its associations were indeed with the Trinitarian foundation, it could date from circa 1240, and its implied connection with the collegiate church may date from the suppression of the Trinitarian Monastery circa 1529. Any future development proposed in this area, may provide the answer to three basic questions. Firstly, the date of the foundation, secondly, the affiliation of the Maison Dieu, and thirdly, the plan and extent of the building.

The Castle

This rocky outpost on the shore of the Forth, has recorded mention as early as the seventh century, when Wilfrid was imprisoned here, and in the ninth century, a fortification on the site was burnt by Kenneth McAlpine, King of Scotland (Grose, 1789, 83). In 1072, the site was granted to Cospatrick, ancestor of the Earls of March by whom it was held in the succeeding centuries by Malcolm Canmore (Hannah, 1913, 85). A castle was on the site in 1296, and besieged by the English in this year and again in 1338. Because of its strategic importance to invading armies from the south, it was ordered by Parliament to be demolished in 1488, but as demolition denied the English a fortified position, it also left open the Lothians to attack from the sea, and a new castle was therefore begun in 1496 under James IV and completed in 1501 (RCAHMS, 1924, 27). To this defence was added the 'blockhouse' (NT 6779 7929). By 1558, the castle was reported to be full of old buildings and in decay; re-fortification took place by a French garrison in 1560. These improvements were most probably of earth, and when completed, the castle was declared 'mare ample by the dowbill then it was off before and capable of 500 men at least more than it could contain before'. The Treaty of Leith in 1560 ordered the demolition of the recently raised works, and provides a description of what they entailed, 'rampire, counterscarp, great platfourme, flanker and blockhouse'; also mentioned is the ditch from the 'castle cross to the captain's garden', rather strangely, however, no houses are mentioned. After 1567, the castle was finally demolished, and does not seem to have been brought back into use (RCAHMS, 1924, 27).

Since the sixteenth century, the condition of the surviving fragments of the castle and blockhouse have steadily deteriorated, chiefly through the ravages of sea and wind. The construction of the Victoria Harbour in 1842, specifically the blasting of an entrance (NT 678 793) reputedly did much damage to the already ruinous castle (Green, 1907, 185). Today, the remains consist of a gatehouse of fifteenth-century type, and a walled enceinte. Numerous gun loops suggest a relatively late date (RCAHMS, 1924, 26). The battery or blockhouse, previously connected to the castle by a now broken passage 69' (21m) long, is an eroded octagonal shape, still reasonably intact. As late as 1854 (0.S. 6" sheet 6, 1854), a roughly circular banked enclosure immediately to the south of the blockhouse was identifiable on the Ordnance Survey map, and may represent the residue of the demolished mid-sixteenth-century French re-fortification. Indeed, Miller (1859, 11) claims that at that date, part of the foundation of a fort begun in 1560 to accommodate a French garrison, could be traced extending one hundred and thirty six feet (41.4m) to the south of the castle. No trace of this enclosure remains today, and the area has since been terraced and built over, though at present is free of building,(centred at NT 6780 7924)(see page 9).

The main problems regarding the castle are in relation to the early history of the site. The basalt is very close to the surface over much of the area occupied by the present remains, and repeated rebuilding and re-modelling from the thirteenth century onwards, coupled with the reduction in area available for examination through sea erosion and human quarrying, has considerably reduced opportunities to recover physical evidence of early settlement. No recorded excavation has been carried out on this site, and some benefit could be obtained from a detailed survey.

The Harbour

The harbour on the east side of the town is the older of the two basins at Dunbar. The Victoria Harbour (centred at NT 679 793) was built in 1842, and does not directly concern us here.

Dunbar is inhospitably situated to become a port. The coast is littered with off-shore islets and rocky beaches, and easterly storms create a dangerous lee shore for shipping. No formal harbour works appear in the historical record at Dunbar for many years, and it seems highly probable that the more sheltered inlet at Belhaven acted as the port of Dunbar from the twelfth century until the sixteenth century (Graham, 1966-67, 173).

The old harbour, appears to have achieved its present form between circa 1720 and 1757, as Roy's map (1747-55) shows a general plan indistinguishable from that of today. The works consist basically of an east pier, an access channel <u>Broad Haven</u>, (NT 681 793) passing between the pier head and <u>Lamer Island</u>. From the pier head, another pier returns southwest, flanking the channel, and from this entrance, quays are continuous along the west and south sides of the harbour. <u>Lamer Island</u> is linked to the mainland by a causeway (NT 680 792).

No artificial harbour existed at Dunbar in the middle of the sixteenth century as a visiting Frenchman, de Beaugé, remarked that a harbour could easily be made at little cost (1548-49). The first mention of

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harbour works occurs circa 1574 when the burgh was authorized in that year to raise money for this purpose, and repairs to the structure are on record by the end of the sixteenth century (Graham, 1968-69, 234). Logically, a breakwater would have been required from the start on the site of the present east pier to provide protection from north-easterly gales and a reference from the seventeenth century suggests that this was at least in part of timber. 'The bulwark of the herbrie and the timber thairof' which was pulled down during the Cromwellian occupation of the town (Graham, 1968-69, 234). Graham also considers that a causeway to the Lamer Island was amongst the earliest works to afford protection from the west, the rest of the works being added at various dates from 1717 onwards.

Although documentary sources provide a guide to the dates of rebuilding, and repair, there is some difficulty in establishing the building sequence of the harbour works on the ground. Boulders seen in wall footings on the Island Causeway and the <u>East Pier</u>, probably represent the earliest phases of construction; Graham (1966-67, 176) seeks to tie in with this phase a possible rockcut footway which mounts the southeast side of <u>Broad Haven</u> (NT 6810 7925), but such a rockcut feature is virtually impossible to date. Improvements and repairs to the existing structure as recorded in the burgh records continued into the eighteenth century, including the cutting back of rock on which the quays were founded to increase the harbour area, and the widening of the Broad Haven.

The problems to be solved within the limits of the topography and destruction by later works, lie firstly in establishing the building sequence of the harbour piers to achieve the earliest possible relative date, and secondly, in identifying any associated harbour buildings earlier than those known of eighteenth-century date.

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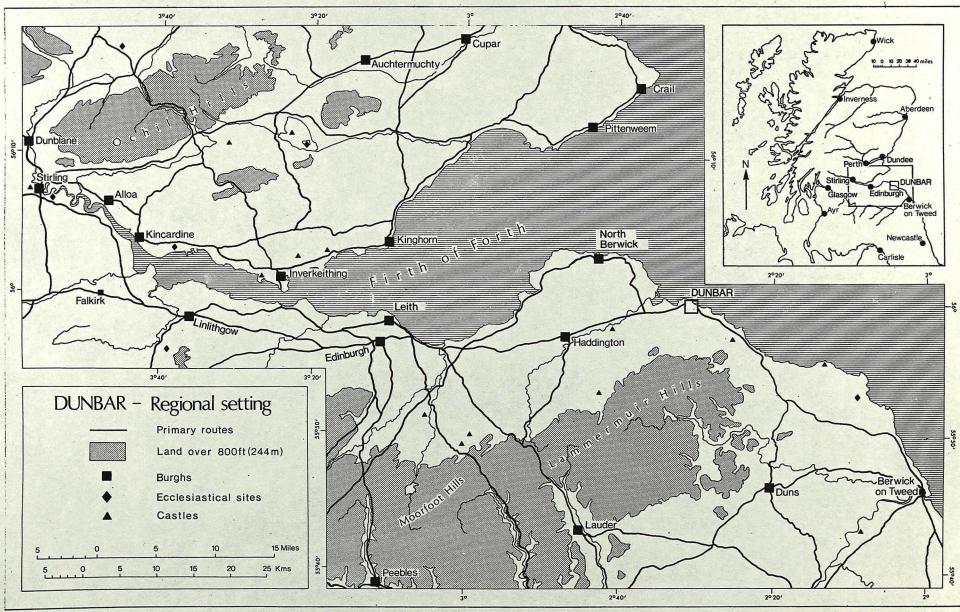
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