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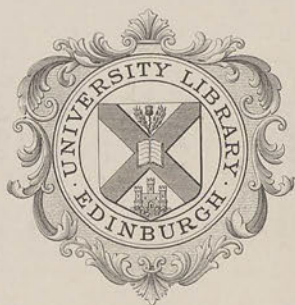
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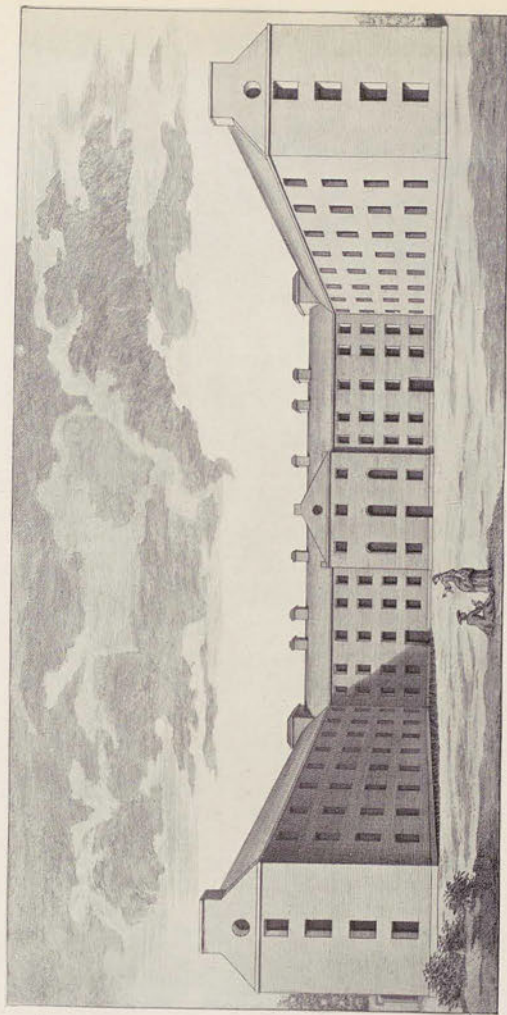
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THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Issued to Members  
January 1939

THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD TOWN OF LONDON



THE EDINBURGH CHARITY WORKHOUSE  
From Maithland's *History of Edinburgh*, 1753

29612

THE BOOK OF THE  
**OLD EDINBURGH**  
**CLUB**

TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME



**EDINBURGH**

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THE ROYAL EXCHANGE AND OTHER  
CITY IMPROVEMENTS<sup>1</sup>

IN one of the strong-rooms of the City Chambers there is an age-worn small folio of between two and three hundred pages, bound in dark leather, and labelled in modern handwriting: 'Minute-Book of Commissioners for carrying out City Improvements, 1752-1761.' In view of the dates, it is obvious that the volume contains the record only of the first stage of those portentous 'improvements' that were to find their consummation in the building of the North Bridge and the formation of the New Town.<sup>2</sup> There are incidental and vague references to the former of these projects, while the latter is foreshadowed in a widespread desire for an extension of the royalty to the north. But the subject-matter is largely concerned with what was the chief public work in Edinburgh for the period 1752-61, *i.e.* the building of the Royal Exchange.

The story of this 'city improvement' has been told in admirable outline by Robert Miller, Lord Dean of Guild, in *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh* (1895), but in the 'Minute-Book of Commissioners for carrying out City Improvements, 1752-1761' there is presented the official

<sup>1</sup> The subject-matter of this article is derived almost entirely from the 'Minute-Book of Commissioners for carrying out City Improvements, 1752-1761.' The writer is aware that certain portions of the narrative conflict to some extent with the testimony of other authorities. Nevertheless, he thinks it important that the point of view of the Commissioners should be known, and his aim has been to present it accurately and impartially.

<sup>2</sup> It should be explained that this Commission was only one of several set up in Edinburgh under Acts of Parliament, since the Corporation itself did not promote 'improvements' of that sort.

account together with a mass of detail, especially on the financial side. Much of this material is more confusing than enlightening, and an attempt to galvanise it into life would serve no useful purpose. But there are a few episodes connected with the erection of the Royal Exchange worthy of reproduction because of the light they shed on our municipal history when great public works were being planned under the supremely able and inspiring leadership of Lord Provost Drummond, the cumulative result of which was the creation of modern Edinburgh.

## I

The history of the Royal Exchange is that of a structure erected to fulfil a definite object and utilised for another. As originally planned, the Italianated building on the north side of High Street, opposite the Mercat Cross, was to provide the merchants of Edinburgh with an Exchange, but so tenaciously did they cling to the time-honoured practice of bargaining at the Cross that the term 'Exchange' became a misnomer. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the building which the merchants despised was adapted by the Corporation of Edinburgh for their requirements, and ever since has been the municipal headquarters. In recent years there have been extensive structural alterations, including the erection of two wings which, if they witness to the remarkable expansiveness of local administration, have reduced the building formerly known as the Royal Exchange from a whole to a part.

When the 'age of secular interests' supplanted the theocratic views of life that had survived in Scotland from the times of the Reformation and the Covenant, thus bringing about a complete breach with the past, it was in Edinburgh, as Masson points out, that 'the various elements of Scottish life at this time were seen in closest contact and their most

intimate union or antagonism.' In speculative thought, in literature and art, in the growth of almost every branch of practical knowledge, Edinburgh was the citadel, the place where the intellectual prowess of the Scottish race was seen at its best. In this city the things of the mind were assessed at their true value and led to an outpouring of the national spirit which has never ceased to attract the critical and disciplined intelligence.

After the suppression of the Jacobite rising of 1745-46 Edinburgh entered upon a period of industrial and commercial prosperity. The causes cannot here be discussed, but it is a well-established fact that the stagnation in trade which had been particularly marked after the Union of 1707 was succeeded by a rapid and widespread revival of commerce and manufactures. Merchants who had formerly confined themselves to relatively small transactions now embarked upon bold enterprises. And with the larger outlook and the spirit of adventure came the consciousness that the trading system which had sufficed for the day of small things was no longer adequate. New and more up-to-date means must be employed if the full harvest was to be reaped. Thus Edinburgh merchants were driven to the conclusion that the time had come when they must rid themselves of the bondage of ideas which were a legacy from a long-distant past and adopt others more in conformity with the needs of their own day. Hence the series of public works, the carrying out of which was so commendable a feature of the Edinburgh of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

To the Convention of Royal Burghs belongs the distinction of having initiated the scheme for city improvements. In 1752 that body took two practical steps: it published a pamphlet entitled 'Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh,' and it appointed a committee to consider a remit 'touching the purchasing an area for a public forum or exchange at the Cross of Edinburgh,'

and 'erecting a building on the ruins on the south side of the Parliament Close, containing a Borough Room, providing proper repositories for the public records of the nation, and . . . other useful works.' The committee reported favourably, and the Convention signified their 'hearty approval of the said schemes,' and requested its members 'to lay the same before the town-councils of their respective boroughs' with a view 'to eliciting subscriptions in aid.' Further, the members were 'to acquaint the Lord Provost of Edinburgh with the resolutions which their town-councils came to.' Meanwhile a paper was to be drawn up and circulated throughout the kingdom containing 'a full account of these schemes.'

This publication was the 'Proposals' which, after envisaging the prevailing state of affairs, sketches in detail the various city improvements that were being projected. We read: 'Since the year 1746, when the rebellion was suppressed, a most surprising resolution has happened in the affairs of this country. The whole system of our trade, husbandry, and manufactures, which had hitherto proceeded only by slow degrees, now began to advance with such a rapid and general progression, as almost exceeds the bounds of probability.' Edinburgh, as the capital, must be foremost in partaking of the benefits of this boom in trade, and in order that this might be done it was necessary that the city should be provided with a suitable Exchange.

The 'Proposals' makes clear the formidable nature of the public works contemplated. The extension of the royalty, the erection of an Exchange, the opening up of thoroughfares on the north and south and connecting them with bridges, the building of the New Town and of houses beyond the Flodden Wall, the transformation of the North Loch into an ornamental canal—such were the schemes outlined. Nor were they visionary enterprises, for with the exception of the ornamental canal, all were given effect to.

Under the 'Proposals' the 'conduct and direction of the whole scheme' was 'lodged in thirty-three directors,' usually designated Commissioners. Three of these were chosen by the Senators of the College of Justice, two by the Barons of the Exchequer, three by the Faculty of Advocates, three by the Clerks to the Signet, eight by the Magistrates and Town Council (the Lord Provost, Dean of Guild, Treasurer and Deacon-Convener of the Trades were directors *ex officio*), and ten by those who subscribed to the extent of £5. It was also decided that the expense of the proposed works should be defrayed by a national contribution. Formerly, the city had to be responsible for the cost of erecting all public buildings within its bounds, but it was now to be relieved even of the expense of buildings that were purely local. Considering that the Royal Exchange, the first of the public works to be undertaken, was intended for the sole benefit of the Edinburgh merchants, it is astonishing to learn that subscriptions came pouring in not only from all parts of Scotland but from the Scottish population resident in England, notably in London where the intensive efforts of Lord Provost Drummond met with marked success.

## II

As 'powerful motives' prompted the erection of the Exchange, so chance, says the writer of the 'Proposals,' has 'furnished us with the finest opportunity of carrying it into execution. Several of the principal parts of the town are now lying in ruins. Many of the old houses are decaying; several have already been pulled down, and probably more will soon be in the same condition. If this opportunity be neglected, all hopes of remedying the inconveniences of this city are at an end' (p. 24). Strong reasons impelled towards the selection of a site on the north side of High Street, facing

the Cross. In the first place, this portion of the Old Town contained an extensive area of ruinous buildings which would require to be cleared before long, and in the next, 'the principal part of the high street, that on which there is necessarily always the greatest repair, is so encumbered and narrowed with piles of stones, that it is very incommodious to the inhabitants.' Furthermore, it was high time that the unsavoury associations of the place were obliterated. Mary King's Close, which bounded the site on the west, had not been inhabited for a whole century, and was a disreputable quarter, as Sir Daniel Wilson reminds us in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*. Here the last dregs of the plague secreted themselves, and the place was believed by the populace to be haunted. In short, the evil traditions of Mary King's Close were such that it is said to have been 'deserted latterly by all but the powers of darkness.' In this squalid quarter, then, was reared the earliest of the 'city improvements'—the Royal Exchange.

The first record in the Minute-Book of the Commissioners is dated 20th November 1752, when a meeting of the representatives of the various public bodies, 'for carrying on the intended improvements in the city,' was held. At the head of the Town Council contingent was the Lord Provost (William Alexander), ably supported by George Drummond, who had occupied the chief civic office for the third time in the years 1750-51. Drummond may well be regarded as the leading spirit of the whole movement. He it was who wrote the letter (printed in the *Scots Magazine*, lxiv. p. 467) commending the 'Proposals,' and was indefatigable in raising subscriptions. The Lords of Session were represented by Lord Drummond, a prime mover in most Edinburgh schemes of his day; the Faculty of Advocates by 'Mr. Alex. Boswel,' the father of Dr. Johnson's biographer and better known as Lord Auchinleck, and 'Mr. Gilbert Elliot,' afterwards the third baronet of Minto, and eminent as a statesman, philo-

sopher and poet. The representatives of the Clerks to the Signet, again, were John McKenzie and Hew Crawford. The latter's town house was in Cant's Close and his country one at Redbraes, near Bonnington, the mansion of which (now demolished) he built. To these directors, chosen by the various public bodies, were added other ten selected by ninety-one subscribers of £5 and upwards. The choice of the votes fell upon the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Argyll, the Marquess of Tweeddale, the Earls of Morton and Hopetoun, the Lord Justice-Clerk (Lord Milton), Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Bart., James Dewar of Vogrie, and John Forrest, merchant in Edinburgh.

On 4th December 1752 the Commissioners appointed a committee 'to consider the state of the subscriptions, the several buildings to be erected, and the communications to be made with what shall to them appear necessary towards the erection thereof.'

At an early stage, when the financial position was by no means stable, the Commissioners bought up property in order to clear the site for the Exchange. Not only so, but they entered into negotiations, somewhat prematurely, with regard to another of their proposed schemes, viz., the making of new approaches to the city from the north and south. In February 1753 we hear of a committee, of which Lords Kames and Minto were members, reporting on what purchases were necessary 'near the Cross' and immediately to the south thereof, so that a passage might be constructed through 'Elphinston's land' for wheeled carriages. The committee advised the removal of the west gable of Arthur Reid's 'land,' and intimated the willingness of the Royal Bank to yield a part of their property for widening the passage provided they received in return two old houses adjoining. As the site of the premises which the Royal Bank then occupied are now covered by the City Police Chambers, it is obvious that the 'Elphinston's land' here referred to is

not to be identified with Elphinstone House<sup>1</sup> at the foot of South Gray's Close, a structure that only disappeared a few years ago. But the interesting point is that the original idea was to make the communication to the south in the vicinity of the Cross and considerably to the west of the thoroughfare which now goes by the name of South Bridge.

### III

We have seen that the public works contemplated were to be paid for by voluntary subscription. From the outset that great citizen, George Drummond, took charge of this part of the scheme and was unwearying in raising money in various quarters. So early as 1752 we find the promoters recommending Drummond, 'who had that matter so much at heart,' to use 'his utmost endeavours to procure further subscriptions in England or other places where there is any prospect of success.' That Drummond should attempt to collect money in England for public works to be set up in Edinburgh may well be surprising, but it is to be presumed that the appeal would be made to Scotsmen resident south of the Border, and more especially to those who had an intimate connection with the Scottish capital. On 18th December 1752 it was reported that the subscriptions, including those of the Convention of Royal Burghs and the Clerks to the Signet, amounted to nearly £6000, a big sum in those days. But an enormous effort was still necessary. In 1753 the promoters resolved 'to indemnify Mr. Drummond of the expense he may be put to in the publick service,' as well they might, for nothing could curb his enthusiasm. In 1753 he was again in London, where he was assisted in his crusade by James Ker, the representative of Edinburgh

<sup>1</sup> This mansion has usually been regarded as the town house of the Lords Elphinstone, but the titles give no support to such a view. As matter of fact, the property at one time belonged to a lawyer named Elphinstone.

in Parliament. An intensive effort was also in progress in Scotland. Subscription forms were dispatched to every county, 'and in order to dispose them to contribute liberally, it was absolutely necessary that Mr. Drummond's applications should be assisted by some of the Directors of higher rank' recommending the matter 'to some Gentlemen of distinction and publick spirit in each County, and that all endeavours should be used with the heritors of this and the counties of East and West Lothian to prevail with them to show a good example to the other counties.'

Up to this point the Directors were not too sanguine, the subscriptions being 'much less than what was hoped for.' Still there was no cause for serious misgiving, in view of the fact that 'great numbers of persons of the first consideration' had, even before receiving subscription forms, 'expressed their willingness to sign.' Moreover, locally the money had been coming in fairly satisfactorily, and it was hoped that the generosity of the Incorporations, particularly Mary's Chapel (twenty of whose members had subscribed ten guineas each), would influence 'people of higher rank' to increase their subscriptions. In addition, Drummond reported 'a great disposition among all our Countrymen (in London) to Contribute,' while liberal subscriptions were confidently expected 'from our Countrymen out of Britain, in the different places where they have settled.' So the Directors wormed their way to the conclusion that 'the small sum that yet's signed need be no discouragement to the board to give a beginning to the work.'

The first step was the drafting of a bill to Parliament for facilitating the purchase of property at the Cross in order to obtain a site for the Exchange, as well as to secure ground for 'opening an easy communication with the high street from the north, south and west.' The committee entrusted with this work were the Lord Provost, Lords Kames and Drummore, Alexander Boswell, and Sir Alexander

Dick of Prestonfield. But the person directly responsible was Robert Craigie, who was to become Lord President, and, according to Lord Woodhouselee, a lawyer of great acumen, knowledge and industry. The bill was ready in January 1753. A clause was afterwards added authorising the Town Council 'to make such purchases as should be deemed necessary for the improvement of the harbour of Leith.' Ultimately, however, this clause was omitted on the ground that it formed no part of the original proposals, and was therefore not mentioned in the appeal for subscriptions. But the merchants of Edinburgh opposed this course, and eventually it was left to the Town Council to embody the matter of Leith harbour in a separate bill.

Whether there was any opposition to the bill the Minute-Book does not disclose. There is mention, however, of Thomas Rigg of Morton, Archibald Murray of Murrayfield, Andrew Chalmer, writer in Edinburgh, William Robertson of Ladykirk (the owner of the mansion of Hillhousefield at Bonnington), John Kennedy, surgeon in Edinburgh, and James Home of Gammelshiel, being furnished with copies of the bill, which seems to indicate that they had their doubts.

The bill was passed in 1753, and is described as an Act 'for erecting several publick buildings in the City of Edinburgh,' and to empower the trustees mentioned therein to purchase lands for that purpose, and also for widening and enlarging the streets of the said city and certain avenues leading thereunto. The thirty-three trustees were constituted Commissioners. They were to meet in the Laigh council-house (the New Tolbooth), and to hold at least four stated meetings annually.

The Commissioners were empowered to purchase at a valuation the ground and houses necessary for the erection of the Exchange. The area is described as bounded by the Writers' Court on the west, the stone land (Fairholm's) immediately below Allan's Close on the east, the High Street

on the south, and the North Loch on the north, being one hundred and fifty feet from east to west, and 'comprehending the whole houses and ground northward from the said south-boundary to the North Loch.'<sup>1</sup> The area also included Mary King's Close, Stewart's Close, and Allan's Close.

## IV

The earlier portion of the Minute-Book of the Commissioners is mainly taken up with the negotiations for the purchase of the properties. The Commissioners devolved the power of contracting on the Town Council, the rights to all the areas to be purchased being 'taken to the community' until they were disposed of, and thus replaced the sums advanced for carrying on the works. An act of Town Council, dated 29th August 1753, authorised purchases to the extent of £11,749, 6s. 8d. at least, which sum was charged to the undertakers, who bound themselves to carry out the contract for £19,707, 16s. 4d. But the Magistrates engaged to advance to them £18,000, for which interest at four per cent should be paid.<sup>2</sup>

The labours of the Commissioners, as regards the building of the Exchange, were lightened by the fact that Bailie Gavin Hamilton and James Armour, the chief proprietors, sold their properties at the price which they paid for them, and were thanked for their 'generous publick spiritedness.' In addition, Gavin Hamilton had the refusal of any shop or warehouse in the Exchange that would suit 'his convenience.' The other proprietors were less tractable, though for this circumstance the Commissioners seem to have been prepared. 'It is not to be expected that among so many proprietors as the area of the Exchange belongs to, some

<sup>1</sup> *Contract of Agreement for building an Exchange in the City of Edinburgh between the Magistrates and Town Council and the Tradesmen, 1754, p. 3.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

wrong-headed Covetous men won't be found who will insist on an extravagant price.' Moreover, there might be other causes operating against the Commissioners. 'Some of these areas probably belong to minors, who, it may be, have no body who can act in their affairs. Some of the proprietors may be out of the kingdom and can't be treated with, and some of the subjects, it may be, are in the hands of Creditors.'

The Town Council, however, eased the situation by giving the town's security to the owners of property in the area to be purchased, as well as by arranging matters so that clear rights would be given to prospective buyers of the tenements to be erected there. The Council also applied to the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank for a loan of £5000 from each free of interest till the Commissioners could dispose of the houses that were to be built. Both applications were granted in return for the town's security. Neil Munro, commenting on this transaction in his *History of the Royal Bank* (p. 114), says: 'The amount of this credit can hardly be regarded as excessive considering that what was involved was the first step in the creation of the "Modern Athens," though Lord Provost Alexander and his council could not possibly have visualised the ultimate results of their schemes for improvement and decoration.'

On 21st August 1753 Drummond gave in a long report of a committee appointed to consider estimates submitted by John and Robert Adam, architects, and by the 'Gentlemen belonging to Mary's Chappel,' when it was unanimously resolved that Messrs. Adam's 'shall be the plan according to which the Exchange is to be built.' But while the plan of the brothers Adam was adopted, their estimate for erecting the Exchange, amounting to £25,484, was rejected in favour of that of the 'Gentlemen of Mary's Chappel' which, besides being lower, was made additionally attractive by an agreement to pay four per cent for the money advanced to them while the Exchange was being built. Accordingly it was

decided that the 'Gentlemen of Mary's Chappel' should be 'the undertakers for executing the Exchange agreeable to the aforesaid plan.' They were to work under the instructions of the Town Council, who were to be responsible to the public for this 'and all the subsequent works to be carried on for the improvement of the city.' But as it was not intended that the town should run any risk, or that its ordinary revenue should be burdened thereby, the Commissioners agreed to make over all the money subscribed for the execution of the various public works.

The sum for which the undertakers agreed to build the Exchange, according to a revised plan, and on the assumption that the central portion was made the Custom House, was £15,128, 16s. 2d. But in the event of the portion of the Exchange reserved for the Custom House being converted into dwellings, the whole building was to be finished for £14,830, 5s. 2d., which, added to the estimated value of the area (£10,000), made the total charge £24,830, 5s. 2d.

## V

The foundation-stone of the Royal Exchange was laid on 13th September 1753. But for some unexplained reason no progress was made for nine months. Not till June 1754 was it announced that 'the building of the Edinburgh Exchange is now to go on.' The contract was drawn up between the Town Council and the Deacons of the Crafts (to whom the Commissioners had entrusted the superintendence of the work) and the undertakers—Patrick Jamieson, mason, Alexander Peter, George Stevenson, John Moubray, wrights, and John Fergus, architect—'all Burgesses, Freemen, Members of Mary's Chapel of Edinburgh.'

The Exchange was to consist of 'a body of a house 111½ ft. in length from out to out, and 51½ ft. broad over

walls in the centre line . . . and two wings or jambs projecting forwards to the south from the ends of said body, 131 ft. each, for forming the east and west sides of the Square, with a range of buildings on the south along the sides of the street, 19 ft. high from the level of the court . . . [with] an entry in the centre of 10 ft. wide . . . all to form a square court of 83 ft. from south to north, exclusive of a piazza of 13 ft. deep . . . and 89 ft. wide from east to west.' This piazza was intended to accommodate the merchants, and to serve as their meeting-place instead of the Cross.

When the building was completed it was to contain 'Firstly, ten shops on a line with the street, with rooms over them; secondly, four shops behind the range to the street, with rooms over them; thirdly, seven shops within the Square, with rooms over them; fourthly, ten laigh shops to the street; fifthly, eleven laigh shops within the court; sixthly, two houses on the east wing; seventhly, one house on the west wing; eighthly, other three houses, whereof two on the south end of the wings to the street, and one on the north of the east wing; ninthly, two printing-houses; tenthly, four dwelling-houses under the level of the court; eleventhly, three coffee-houses; and twelfthly and lastly, a custom-house.'<sup>1</sup>

The properties were to be sold as they were completed, and titles given to them by the Magistrates, who were to receive the purchase money under conditions which guaranteed them against loss. Forty per cent of all receipts were to be handed over to the Magistrates to reimburse them for the purchase of the area. The remaining sixty per cent was to be handed over on account of the advances, and the undertakers were to make good any balance 'within twelve months after the foresaid term of Whitsunday in the year 1762, at which time the whole buildings are to be compleatly finished, and that whether all the houses or shops are sold

<sup>1</sup> *Contract of Agreement*, pp. 11-12.

or remain unsold, with a fifth part more of penalty in case of failzie.'

The Custom House, which formed the central portion of the Exchange and was valued at nearly £6000, was retained by the Magistrates in their own hands, the twenty rooms used for this purpose being held from them by the Government at a rent of £360 a year. All the rest of the property was controlled by the undertakers, except an office for the Chamberlain, described in 1766 as 'a shop in the front of the New Exchange.' The square of the Exchange was never finally completed, an old building in Writers' Court, used by the Writers to His Majesty's Signet, being incorporated with the western side.<sup>1</sup>

During most of the time occupied in erecting the Exchange the financial problem was acutely felt. In July 1754 the Commissioners called upon the subscribers to pay 'forthwith' at least 'one-half of the sums promised.' More stringent measures were adopted in November, when it was found necessary not only to call in the whole of the sums subscribed but to begin a fresh campaign for more money. The need 'to collect further subscriptions both in England and this country' was urgent, so that as 'little encroachment as possible may be made upon the credits in the banks.' In this work Drummond, who had again been called to the Provostship, took a leading part, being asked 'to do his utmost to procure further subscriptions both in this country and in England, or where else there are hopes of success.'

## VI

On 31st July 1755 a petition came before the Commissioners which, if not intrinsically important, at least shed a curious light on the liability of fire in old Edinburgh when buildings of all sorts were piled close and high. The petitioners

<sup>1</sup> Robert Miller, *Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, p. 118.



were the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance against Losses by Fire, who pointed out that when the bill for erecting certain public buildings in the city was being drafted, they requested the insertion of a clause for securing the interests of their organisation, which was done. Since then, however, the directors were apprehensive that they had not foreseen 'every danger or question' to which their society 'might become liable in the course of the execution of the Act.'

Adverting to the prevailing conditions, the directors stressed the fact that no place in Edinburgh was 'more exposed to accidents of fire' than where 'the new Exchange is to be built, arising not only from the height and Closeness of the Buildings, but also from their being all built of Timber and lying in a very irregular manner.' Consequently, 'there was no place in the whole city where Insurances were made to so high an extent as there.' Moreover, most of the proprietors in this area helped to form the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance and were insured to a 'very high value.' Two great timber lands fronting High Street at the head of Pearson's Close and Allan's Close, together with some houses at the back, were insured with the Society for £2000. Owing to changed circumstances these tenements were now little better than ruins, and the directors felt that till new buildings were erected in their place and new insurance policies made out, the Society ought not to be answerable for the consequences of an outbreak of fire. While the hazard of fire was greatly increased by the actual condition of the buildings, they were a 'mere area' according to the Act. Then follows an illuminating passage:

'The Great Security from fire in the City of Edinburgh arises from this Circumstance, that the inhabitants in every Tenement are so numerous that some of them must be continually astir or awake, and so a fire can come no great Length before it is discovered. The alarm is presently taken and given, and thereby very often the fatal Consequences prevented, and therefore the throwing two great Timber lands

almost entirely waste in reality and fact increases the danger from fire tho' at first view it might be thought to Lessen it. And this must hold the more especially when the few Inhabitants left are of the lower Class—Keepers of Dramshops and Cellars, where from the nature of their Business and the nature of their Company, Riot and Carelessness most prevail. Besides that in these Cellars and Shops the vents are for most part such as are commonly called Stolen vents. This is in a particular manner the Case with the Tenements now under consideration. . . . It was obvious . . . that if a fire was to happen in either of these two Tenements it could not be expected that People . . . would take any care to preserve or Save these Tenements. . . . They would be considered as Subjects that coming down at any rate, there was no great matter how they came down. And with respect to the Eastmost of these two Tenements, it could not be expected That if it was on fire any body would venture near it because it is covered with a Leaden roof which could not fail to intimidate the hardiest workman. . . .

If the Commissioners had . . . ordered the undertakers for building the new Exchange to have proceeded in the precise terms of their contract they would now have been taking down these Timber buildings to the street, in order to have built the new front Shops. . . . In that case there would have been no need for this Application. But as the Commissioners have been pleased to allow the undertakers to build the Back parts of the Exchange before the fore parts . . . the Memorialists judged it incumbent on them to make this application.'

Briefly, the prayer of the petition was that the two timber tenements be demolished, or that the Commissioners declare that no claim could be made against the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance for the insured portions in the event of their being destroyed by fire. The Commissioners agreed to consider the petition, but the Minute-Book does not record their decision.

## VII

Meanwhile matters were not going well as regards the financial aspect. The salient factor of the situation was that the Town Council failed to implement its agreement for the

advance of £18,000 to the undertakers, who were compelled to borrow at five per cent. Unfortunately there was no fund from which the town's indebtedness to the undertakers could be paid. To make matters worse, the credit in the banks was almost exhausted, while the recovery of arrears of subscriptions was uncertain. In this plight, the undertakers were allowed to apply the money accruing from the sale of certain houses and shops, amounting to £4675, towards completing the erection of the Exchange.

How parlous was their state was brought home to the Commissioners at a meeting on 14th August 1759, when a memorial was presented by them, recalling the fact that owing to the erection of the Exchange being 'a very bulky and expensive undertaking,' the Magistrates had bound themselves to advance the memorialists a sum not exceeding £18,000 (payable in instalments at sundry periods) with which to carry on the work. By contract the sum of £12,950 fell due whenever the roof was put on the whole building. The undertakers were also entitled to the sum of £1010 at the end of each half-year thereafter till the total sum of £18,000 was paid up. Relying on these commitments, the undertakers had prosecuted the work 'with the greatest Exactness and Expedition' and had 'even made greater progress than was Expected,' so much so that they were confident of completing the Exchange buildings 'long before Whitsunday 1762,' the date mentioned in the contract.

The roof was upon the whole building by March 1758, so that the undertakers were then entitled by contract to £12,950. And if to this be added the sum of £1010 due at Martinmas 1758 and a similar amount payable at Whitsunday 1759, the total sum now due by the Magistrates amounted to no less than £14,970. The undertakers, on the other hand, had expended £17,335 to date, but all they had received from the town was £4100. Happily this paltry sum was eked out by the price of certain houses and shops, amounting to

£6130, 3s. 3d., which the Commissioners had allowed them to retain. The total therefore received by the undertakers was £10,230, 3s. 3d. to answer an expenditure of £17,335.

Notwithstanding this wholly unsatisfactory state of affairs, the undertakers continued to carry on operations 'with a very great Number of hands.' But they were 'due several Bills which they cannot retire unless they get some further supply of money.' Accordingly they applied to the Commissioners to sanction their retention of a further sum of £3080 obtained by them from the sale of more shops and houses. This was agreed to.

But there was the further problem of how to secure the sums due by the undertakers to the Commissioners. A committee appointed by the latter, after conferring with the Town Council, recommended, on 16th November 1761, that the Magistrates should authorise their agent to 'Register the Contract and to Raise and Execute an Inhibition upon it against the Undertakers.' Another proposal was that the Town Council should notify 'the severall Purchasers of Buildings in the New Exchange,' who had not yet paid the full price or any part of it, to make no further payments to the undertakers, since the latter had no right to the houses and shops they had sold until their part of the contract was implemented.

The case for the undertakers was presented by Bailie James Stuart. The contractors, it was explained, found 'a great slowness in the Inhabitants and others to purchase Sundry of the Subjects as now rebuilt' at the values fixed by the contract. This militated against the undertakers, who suggested that the unsold property should be disposed of by public roup at a tenth part below the contracted values, the money thus obtained being applied to 'sinking their debt *pro tanto* to the Good Town or Commissioners for Publick Works.' This course was ultimately approved by the Commissioners, though it was stipulated that the pay-

ments accruing therefrom were not to 'prejudge the town or Commissioners of whatever balance may be justly due to the undertakers in terms of the contract.'

The last recorded entry in the Minute-Book of the Commissioners is dated 23rd November 1761, when there was submitted a statement of the debts due by the undertakers to the public, as at the previous Martinmas. The cash advanced them by the Town Council between 27th July 1754 and 24th August 1756 amounted (as has already been stated) to £4100. To this fell to be added a remittance of £250 from Provost Drummond, likewise the price of the areas, as per contract—£11,749, 6s. 8d. The undertakers formally acknowledged that they had no claims for 'compensation or deduction therefrom except the several allowances insisted on or demanded by us in terms of four accounts lodged by us with the Trustees, which we hope they will, in respect of our great sufferings by this undertaking, agree to allow in whole or in part towards the extinction *pro tanto* of the debt due by us to the publick.'

The Commissioners remitted the matter to a committee, but in the meantime the undertakers were to proceed with the disposal of the unsold property, 'so as the prices may be recovered and applied for lessening the debt contracted for advancing the scheme of the Royal Exchange, [for] which the Undertakers by their own representations appear now to have been so ill Qualified.' The Minute was signed by Provost Drummond.

## VIII

While our narrative, so far as the Minute-Book of the Commissioners is concerned, thus terminates abruptly, it is possible to round off the story of the building of the Royal Exchange from other authentic sources. The undertakers shouldered a heavier burden than they were able to carry. Like the promoters of the scheme, they were infatuated with

the idea that once the Exchange was in existence the merchants of Edinburgh would, as a matter of course, repair to it, as a place incomparably superior to the old for the transaction of their business. But the belief was ill-founded. So far from being attracted to the new Exchange, they seem to have had a rooted objection to doing business there, preferring their old haunts in the vicinity of the Cross. Anyhow the merchants never resorted to any extent to the piazza on the north side of the courtyard, and, as a result, many of the shops and houses at the Exchange which had been valued on the assumption that their nearness to the headquarters of the merchants would enhance their attractiveness, were disposed of for sums considerably lower than the valuation.

In the long run, however, the Royal Exchange proved an important commercial asset for the town. When, in 1764, the undertakers intimated to the Town Council that they were unable to pay the balance of £2006 due by them, it was resolved 'to expose the properties still unsold by Public Roup at one-sixth less than the present price, and, if not sold, to be exposed in another month at one-sixth less than the reduced price.' This measure seems to have been effective, for by January 1765 all the remaining properties had been sold. There was now a surplus which it was proposed to devote to the North Bridge scheme. It was reported that the purchase money of the buildings would not only be sufficient to clear the money obtained from the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank as well as other commitments, but would leave a free fund of £211, 14s. 5½d. There was also the acknowledged balance due to the public by the undertakers, while the unrecovered subscriptions reached the sum of £1175, 16s. 6d. These sums and funds the Commissioners made over to the Town Council.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, impossible to state precisely how far the North Bridge scheme benefited, for it would appear that many of

<sup>1</sup> Robert Miller, *Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, pp. 118-19.

the subscriptions towards the building of the Exchange which remained outstanding were never recovered.

Ultimately the sum of £2006 claimed from the undertakers was spread over three years on security being given by them, and on 6th August 1766 a full discharge of all moneys and balances due was granted to them in return for bonds from four of their number, amounting to £501, 10s. each. With this transaction ends the story of the erection of the Royal Exchange.<sup>1</sup>

## IX

From the first, the building of the Exchange was bound up with the advancement of another public work, even more ambitious—the making of an ‘Avenue to the City from the North,’ as the promoters quaintly described their proposed undertaking. When a plan of the Exchange prepared by the Town Council was laid before the Commissioners on 18th December 1752, the writer of the Minutes made the following entry: ‘It will give general satisfaction and have a very good effect in promoting the subscription if the Directors are pleased to enter upon the making of the Avenue to the City from the North as soon as the season will admit of it.’ It was therefore the clearly declared intention of the Commissioners that the two schemes should proceed simultaneously.

The new thoroughfare, it was proposed, ‘should be through the land adjoining to Mill’s [Myne] square on the East, and should be carried from thence in a line running North East into the enclosure which lies North from the Orphan Hospital, and from thence in a Straight line to Leith, having the Steeple of the New Church of Edinburgh to the South West and the Steeple of the Church of South Leith on the North East bearing on one Another in this direction—almost in a straight line.’

<sup>1</sup> Robert Miller, *Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, p. 119.

This description is by no means easy to follow. In particular, what exactly is meant by ‘the Steeple of the New Church of Edinburgh to the South-West’? It can hardly be the Tron Kirk that is referred to. At first sight that may seem a natural supposition, but a moment’s reflection will make clear the erroneousness of such a view, for in the middle of the eighteenth century the Tron Kirk could not justly be described as ‘New,’ considering that by that time it had existed for upwards of a century.<sup>1</sup> Be that as it may, the description affords convincing proof that at this stage there was no thought of a New Town on the farther side of the valley containing the North Loch. The sole object of the proposed thoroughfare was to render easier access to the Port of Leith.

But it was not till December 1754 that the North Bridge project assumed definite shape. This arose from a memorial presented to the Town Council by the Governor and Directors of the Musical Society of Edinburgh and the Managers of the Ladies Assembly requesting ground ‘to the west of the passage intended from the High Street to the north’ on which to erect ‘an Assembly and Concert room.’ This matter has already been dealt with in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (vol. xix. pp. 56, 223-4), but further reference seems justified on the ground that the incident is told from the point of view of the Commissioners for City Improvements and supplements in some interesting particulars the previous accounts.

The memorial, which is signed by Sir Hew Dalrymple, Governor, and other office-bearers of the Musical Society, sets forth:

‘It had been long and justly complained that the two rooms in this City wherein the Musical Society and the Ladies Assembly meet are too narrow and confin’d, and by no means proper for accommo-

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested as a probable explanation that as the Tron Church was on various occasions used as a centre for directions, the word ‘New’ may be a mistake for ‘Tron.’

dating the great number of persons of distinction that generally resort to these entertainments. The Memorialists therefore had been at a good dale [*sic*] of pains to find out a convenient Area for building two rooms for these purposes. That the Good Town was proprietor of several old houses and a large Area to the west of Hart's Close, a part of which the Memorialists apprehended would be extremely proper for their purpose. And by a plan of these buildings it appeared they would no ways hurt the street intended from the head of Hart's Close to the North, nor the Market which the Magistrates and Council have wisely destined to be kept upon the Area betwixt that Close and Halkerston's Wynd. The present undertaking being so intimately connected with the real interest and prosperity of the Good Town, as it will not only be highly ornamental but also increase a perpetual fund of Charity, and induce people of distinction to resort to the City, the Memorialists apprehended they needed use few Arguments to a town Council so noted as the present for that publick spirit to comply with their request in granting them the foresaid piece of ground for the buildings above-mentioned. And that they will take such measures as to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council shall seem most expedient for opening a passage at the head of Hart's Close, of which they are also proprietors, as the foresaid buildings are intended to be begun as soon as the season of the year will permit.'

On 23rd December 1754 Lord Kames reported on behalf of a committee which had been appointed to consider the petition. After inspecting the ground, the committee were of opinion that it was 'the only convenient place where the passage can be made from the high street to the fields on the north.' Lord Kames explained how it was proposed to form 'the street or passage across the North loch.' The length from High Street to an abutment to be built for 'a bridge that is proposed to be cast over the Lane leading from Leith wynd port by the back of the flesh mercat to the Castlehill was about 470 feet.' The bridge was to be '150 feet long, 25 feet wide in the Clear, and 20 feet high to the spring of the Arch, which Arch should be a semi-circle or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet high more, or  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet in whole from the level of the street to the underside of said Arch.' Further, the 'street or passage

across the North loch' was to be formed of the 'rubbish' collected from the demolition of the Cap and Feather 'land,' and from other parts of the city. The rubbish was to form a sloping bank at each side and on the top was to be a road from 40 to 50 feet wide. To prevent the rubbish 'from spreading out upon Halkerston's wynd to the east or the Area upon the north side of the low flesh mercat to the west,' what were called 'wing walls' were to be erected at each side of the sloping bank. These would be 20 feet high 'next to the bridge and 6 or 8 feet at the upper ends next to the houses.' The 'wing walls' were to be sufficiently thick 'to resist the pressure of the said banks.' Finally, the entrance to the proposed bridge would be on the site of the Cap and Feather 'land.' From there would begin 'a handsome passage for Carriages in the Centre, and a foot passage on each side of it leading to a street of thirty feet wide all the way from thence to the bridge to be built on the north.'

## X

Here we have adumbrated a scheme for bridging the North Loch which is certainly confusing. So far as can be made out, there was a subordinate enterprise for the construction of a 'Lane' (*i.e.* road) which, beginning at Leith Wynd, close to the top of the Canongate, was to curve north of the Fleshmarket, and terminate at Castlehill. On Edgar's Plan of Edinburgh (1765) the Lawnmarket end of the 'Lane' is indicated by dotted lines, which can be traced to the rear of the high tenements facing the Mound. For the strengthening of the proposed 'Lane,' there were to be sloping banks protected with 'wing walls'! Along the top was to be a roadway from 40 to 50 feet broad, and the span of the arch of the North Bridge through which the 'Lane' was to pass was to measure 25 feet. These particulars apply not to the North Bridge proper, but to the 'Lane,' the ostensible object of

which was to provide a more convenient way for Leith-bound traffic approaching the city from the west.<sup>1</sup>

Later on in the report, however, we seem to come upon a definite reference to the North Bridge which was ultimately erected, for it is stated that the buildings that the Musical Society and the Ladies Assembly proposed to erect were to be situated *west* of the street leading from the area formerly occupied by the Cap and Feather Close 'to the bridge to be built on the north.' The site selected by these societies was therefore bounded by the new street alluded to on the east, by Mylne's Square on the south, and by the Fleshmarket on the west. The buildings were to extend 170 feet northwards, leaving a space of 125 feet between them and the bridge. It may be added that when the bridge was decided upon, the Town Council purchased numerous properties (all set out in the Minute-Book of the Commissioners) occupying what was to be the southern approach. The total outlay on these buildings was £1156, 16s. 1d.

The Commissioners adopted the recommendation of their committee that the petition of the Musical Society and the Ladies Assembly should be granted 'upon their paying the value of the Areas already purchased and those to be purchased upon which the buildings for their accommodation are to be erected.' On the other hand, the Commissioners resolved 'to proceed with all convenient speed to execute the passage agreeable to the plan mentioned.' The houses in the Cap and Feather Close, which had been purchased from Bailie Robert Bailie, were to be pulled down, and that as soon as there were funds, the two societies would repay the town what they had advanced for Bailie's property.

Hardly, however, had the prayer of the petition been granted than the Musical Society and Ladies Assembly intimated that difficulties had occurred which rendered the

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to Mr. Frank C. Mears, A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., for having shed light on a problem which had been somewhat baffling.

execution of their scheme impracticable. What these difficulties were the Minute-Book of the Commissioners does not tell us, but we know them from other sources. Robert Adam had been asked to report, and had given it as his opinion that, owing to the 'present declivities and the cast earth that must be raised there to bring the new pretended street to a proper level, there would inevitably be so much useless building sunk under ground as would eat up the greatest part of the fund.'<sup>1</sup> The decision was belated, for the scheme was already in progress. The tenants in the Cap and Feather Close and adjoining tenements had already been warned to remove, while Thomas Cleland, saddler, who was proprietor of a house above the entry to the Cap and Feather Close, had purchased another. The Commissioners therefore were under the necessity of purchasing Cleland's new property.

At this point the record of the proceedings of the Commissioners for carrying out City Improvements, 1752-1761, with reference to the North Bridge, come to an end. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state of affairs connected with the erection of the Royal Exchange, they devoted much attention to this, the second of their public works, believing that it was 'much wished for and desired by all Ranks and Degrees of people.' But while the North Bridge scheme was 'the most requisite and of the highest importance,' it was gradually borne in upon the Commissioners that nothing substantial could be done until an Act of Parliament was obtained for extending the royalty 'over all those Grounds which will lye contiguous to that passage from Edinburgh to Leith.' Eventually it was agreed to make application to Parliament, and the curtain is rung down with Provost Drummond and Lords Milton, Kames, Minto, Auchinleck and Prestongrange engaged in drafting the bill.

W. FORBES GRAY.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xix. p. 56.

#### A NOTE ON THE HOPETOUN MONUMENT

AT the east side of St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, there formerly stood for many years a rural refreshment house called 'Peace and Plenty.' Here in a garden, if the weather permitted, visitors would sit and enjoy strawberries and cream. When this area became vacant, it was bought by Sir Laurence Dundas, Bart., of Kerse, Stirlingshire, and in 1772-74 he built on the site a mansion which was known as Dundas House. Sir Laurence had been Commissary-General to the British Army in Flanders. At his death in 1781 the house passed into the possession of Lord Dundas, his son and heir. In 1794-95 the house and ground were bought by the Government and converted into the principal Office of Excise for Scotland, and as such it remained till 1825, when it was sold to the Royal Bank of Scotland for £35,300.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Hope, fourth Earl of Hopetoun, was Governor of the Bank from 1820<sup>2</sup> till his death in Paris on 27th August 1823.<sup>3</sup> As a soldier he had served with great distinction in the West Indies, Holland, Egypt, the Walcheren Expedition, and the Peninsula,<sup>4</sup> and in 1819 he attained to the rank of general.<sup>5</sup> Three months after his death advertisements appeared in *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, calling a Public Meeting for all who wished to commemorate Hopetoun by a 'permanent record' of their respect for him. These were signed by a large number of notable persons, including James Gibson

<sup>1</sup> Neil Munro, *The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland 1727-1927*, Privately Printed (1928), pp. 187-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, ii. (1861), p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> Neil Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

#### A NOTE ON THE HOPETOUN MONUMENT 29

Craig, Robert Dundas, Alexander Henderson (the Lord Provost), Gilbert Innes, Francis Jeffrey, and Walter Scott. The Meeting took place on 3rd December in the Waterloo Tavern. General Sir David Baird, 'the companion in arms of his much regretted friend,' presided. Resolutions were moved by the Earl of Rosslyn and seconded by Lieut.-General Sir John Oswald. One resolution was adopted, that subscription papers for a memorial should be immediately circulated, and that 'a Committee should be appointed in London as well as Edinburgh, to superintend the progress of the subscription.' Another resolution stated that Gilbert Innes of Stow was to be the Treasurer and James Gibson Craig the Secretary.<sup>1</sup> Innes remained Deputy-Governor of the Bank from 1794 to 1837.<sup>2</sup> Others chiefly concerned in the project were Sir William Rae, Lord Advocate, and a Director of the Bank 1816-43,<sup>3</sup> and James Hope, W.S., who became Keeper of the Signet 1850-82.<sup>4</sup>

The sculptor whom the Committee decided upon to execute the work was Thomas Campbell (1790-1858). Campbell was born in Edinburgh of humble circumstances and received a meagre education. Serving an apprenticeship to a marble-cutter, he showed such marked ability that he went to London to study at the Royal Academy. Later, with financial help, he passed some time in Rome, where he produced various works and associated with Italian and German artists. In 1829-30 he returned to England and settled for the rest of his life in London. He worked in both bronze and marble, and among his productions are a monument to the Duchess of Buccleuch at Boughton; a statue of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle; one of the Duke of Wellington at Dalkeith

<sup>1</sup> *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, 25th and 28th November, 2nd and 5th December 1823.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet* (1890), p. 102. See also p. 33, note 5.

Palace<sup>1</sup>; and a bust of Sir James Gibson Craig<sup>2</sup> in the Library of the Writers to His Majesty's Signet, Edinburgh.

At what date Campbell commenced work on the Hopetoun Monument I have not been able to ascertain, but the agreement with him was evidently made some time in 1824. It was to be an equestrian statue. By 1829 it would seem that the figures of Hopetoun and his horse (as distinct from the entire Monument) were completed, for, on his way back to London, the sculptor wrote from Florence on 1st September 1829 to inform Gibson Craig that the statue was being conveyed to England by the Admiralty transport. 'The Hopetoun group was exhibited at Rome,' he said, ' & was praised as much as I ever could wish; I have nothing to desire but that it may be placed in an advantageous situation.' He hopes that it may be approved by those who have given him this opportunity 'of taking my place amongst the sculptors of the *City of the Arts*' (i.e. Edinburgh).<sup>3</sup>

On 14th January 1830 Sir William Rae reports to Gibson Craig that it is now necessary to mark on the ground the exact spot where the statue will be placed and the space it will occupy. He adds that (Archibald) Elliot, the Bank architect, is to be informed as to the height.<sup>4</sup> On another sheet the measurements are given thus:

MEASUREMENTS OF STATUE<sup>5</sup>

	F. In.
Height of Figure . . . . .	10 . 3
Breadth across the Shoulders . . . . .	3 . 1½

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii. (1908), pp. 848-49.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Gibson Craig (1765-1850), politician; Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, 1786-1850; born James Gibson and took the name Craig on inheriting Riccarton, Midlothian, 1823; created a baronet in 1831.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 590, no. 1722, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 146, f. 10, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

<sup>5</sup> MS. 146, f. 12, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

Depth from the bended Knee to the Back . . . . .	} F. In.	3 . 4
Size of the Plinth on which the Figure stands . . . . .		
		3 . 1½ Sqre.

## PROPOSED PEDESTAL

Height . . . . .	10 -"
Diameter of Ditto . . . . .	3 . 9½

## HEIGHT OF THE WHOLE

Height of Pedestal . . . . .	10 -"
D of Plinth . . . . .	1 -"
D of Figure . . . . .	10 . 3
	21 . 3

A whole year intervenes until the correspondence is resumed.<sup>1</sup> On 15th January 1831 from '28 Leicester Square,' London, Campbell sends Gibson Craig an outline sketch of 'the two fronts' for the inscription, which, he suggests, ought to be short. Through the interest of the Duke of Gordon,<sup>2</sup> he is busy on the work at Woolwich Arsenal, and he expects to complete it in time for its erection at Edinburgh in the spring.<sup>3</sup> For the writing of the inscription Gibson

<sup>1</sup> For permission to quote from Sir James Gibson Craig's letters I am indebted to Mrs. J. Gibson Craig Lucy, Hollam House, Titchfield, Hants.

<sup>2</sup> George Gordon (1770-1836), fifth and last Duke of Gordon.

<sup>3</sup> Extracted from the collection of letters of Sir Walter Scott's correspondents in the possession of Sir Hugh Walpole, who has kindly given me permission to use this extract and others which follow.



Craig approaches Sir Walter Scott on 1st February, asking him for a specimen of what he thinks should be adopted.<sup>1</sup> Another correspondent appears in the person of John Mayne, the Scottish poet and joint-editor of *The Star*. It is not clear how he came to be an interested party, but to him Sir Walter writes from Abbotsford on 25th February: 'I am quite ready to do my best in the matter of lord Hop[e]toun's In[s]cription,' but he waits to receive from the Committee a little hand sketch, giving the allotted space—'I would like also to know the character of the place pitched on as the situation.'<sup>2</sup> A letter from Gibson Craig of 7th March is acknowledged by Campbell on the 14th, when he says that he has already forwarded a drawing of the group—'the Warrior is dismounted, and in a state of repose, his right hand leaning on the shoulder of the Horse, & the left grasping his sword.'<sup>3</sup>

On 14th April there comes an interesting communication from Scott's publisher, Robert Cadell, with whom Scott has been in touch about the matter. 'I find,' Cadell says, 'my friend Mr. Wood (Peerage of Scotland) has the best outline of Lord Hopetoun's career. Mr. Wood was an old friend of Lord Hopetoun and drew up a Memoir of him some years ago, I send it with this—altho in MS. it is as easily read as a printed page. . . . The Monument is to be placed in St. Andrew

<sup>1</sup> The Walpole Collection. As early as 1st October 1823 a letter, from someone unknown to Scott, recalls Hopetoun's fine character and suggests that Scott might think of writing about him. 'His Country did all justice to his high talents in his profession, but the beauties of character can be blended only by the hand which can draw from fiction the bold touches that form a Bertrand or a Marmion, & then soften them into the tear in which "There was less of earth, & more of heaven."'—Walpole Collection.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 587, no. 1226, from the Watson Bequest, deposited in the Nat. Lib. of Scotland by the Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> The Walpole Collection. Gibson Craig transmitted this letter to Scott along with a sketch plan from Campbell. Beneath the plan is written: 'The dotted lines shew the space for the Inscription, which is to occupy the same situation on both sides of the Pedestal.'

Square, in the front of the present Royal Bank.'<sup>1</sup> It had been originally intended that it should be set up in Charlotte Square.<sup>2</sup> To Cadell on the 25th or 26th April Scott replies that he hopes to send the inscription shortly, but James Ballantyne (his printer) 'must set it up being indispensable at all those niceties of spaces, blocks, divisions & the style-lapidary.'<sup>3</sup>

During April and May further letters pass, Scott sending a draft and expressing willingness to shorten the inscription if necessary. By 26th May he receives the proofs, but he has not heard if the inscription answers the purpose.<sup>4</sup> Then in a letter, postmarked 'June 10, 1831,' James Hope,<sup>5</sup> Jr., solicits Scott for the inscription as he has been applied to by Campbell, who is anxious to get the Monument finished off. 'The Statue is finished, and he is keeping 7 Frenchmen in London to cast the Pedestal.' Campbell is afraid the work will be spoilt if the inscription is 'put on afterwards (or chiseled out) down here according to the Taste of the "Athenians."' <sup>6</sup>

The proof sheet of what seems to be Scott's first outline is thus printed: 'Erected to the Memory of John, Fourth Earl of Hopetoun, by his grateful countrymen, who, resisting the various blandishments held forth to his acceptance by

<sup>1</sup> The Walpole Collection. 'Mr. Wood' is, of course, John Philip Wood (*d.* 1838), the well-known Scottish antiquary and genealogist, who edited Sir Robert Douglas's *The Peerage of Scotland* in 1813. Apparently this MS. Memoir, which is in the possession of J. P. Wood's great-granddaughter, Miss Marguerite Wood, Ph.D., was never published. It is written in a clear, distinct hand, which confirms Cadell's comment on its easy legibility.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, 1831-1832*, ed. by Sir Herbert Grierson, assisted by Davidson Cook, W. M. Parker, etc., Centenary Edition, vol. xii. (1937), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Letters in the possession of H. J. Stevenson, Esq., Braehead, Corstorphine, Edinburgh, who has kindly permitted me to give this passing reference to what they contain.

<sup>5</sup> James Hope (1803-82) was the third son of the Right Hon. Charles Hope (1763-1851), of Granton, Lord President of the Court of Session. See also *supra*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> The Walpole Collection.

exalted rank, a liberal fortune, and a well-cultivated mind, nay, even those afforded by the purest domestic affection, in his early youth dedicated himself to the military service of his native country, during a long, bloody, and eventful war of twenty years, never sheathed his sword till a complete triumph was achieved for his country, and the war was ended by the peace of Paris in 1815, which seemed to assure lasting repose to Europe. Then at length, when his country seemed not likely for a long time to need his services, he rendered up the life which he had preserved through many perils both of wounds and climate, dying in profound peace in the year M.DCCC.XXIII. in the country where he had often led the British forces, often as a conqueror, always as a hero, leaving the name of no one more honoured among the followers of Wellington. His peaceful and social talents were so admirably mingled with those of his profession, as to authorize the words of the Latin poet,—

—Cui Pudor et Justitia rara,  
Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas,  
Quando ullum invenient parem? <sup>1</sup>

M.DCCC.XXXI.<sup>2</sup>

On this proof sheet, which is docketed 'April 1831,' Scott has made three corrections, whereas the original MS. (on the back of which he has written: 'Mr. Ballantyn[e] will set up this according to his own tast[e]. It may be much shortend'; and another hand has written in pencil: 'Preserve this copy very carefully for Mr. Cadell') contains about half a dozen corrections and no punctuation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Carmina* (I. xxiv.), which, in translation, reads: 'When shall Honour, and Justice's sister, Loyalty unshaken, and candid Truth e'er find a peer to him?' 'Justitia rara' should be 'Justitiae soror'; 'invenient' should be 'inveniet.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 1583, ff. 54, 55, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

*Excerpt*  
To the Memory of Sir Walter  
Scott of Hopetoun  
By his great-grand-son  
Ballantyn who  
among the various standards  
has borne to his country  
By  
which such a liberal fortune  
and  
a well-cultivated mind  
may ever have  
afforded  
By the peaceful domestic affection  
in his country  
dedicated himself to the military service  
of  
the nation  
During the long bloody and arduous war  
of twenty years  
never sheathed his sword till a complete  
triumph  
was achieved for his country  
& the war was ended by the peace of Paris  
in  
1815  
when he seemed to assure lasting repose to Europe  
Then at length  
when his country seemed not likely for a long time  
to need his services  
he rendered up the life which he had preserved  
through many perils  
both of wounds and climate  
dying in profound peace  
in the country where he had often  
led the British forces  
often as a conqueror  
always as a hero  
leaving the name of no one more honoured  
among the followers of Wellington  
His peaceful and social talents  
were so admirably  
mingled with those of his profession  
as to authorize  
the words of the Latin poet  
—Cui Pudor et Justitia rara  
Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas  
Quando ullum invenient parem?  
Date of Review

DRAFT OF SIR WALTER SCOTT'S INSCRIPTION  
FOR HOPETOUN MONUMENT

Evidently this first draft was discarded. On 9th November Gilbert Innes reports to Campbell that the English inscription is 'to be in the front for the information of the unlearned, the Latin one in the Rear, opposite to the Bank.'<sup>1</sup> This arrangement was adhered to, as may be seen in the two forms carved on the Monument. As regards the English form, it is interesting to compare the above draft with the actual wording chiselled on the front of the pedestal:

To  
 John, fourth Earl of Hopetoun,  
 erected by the gratitude of his countrymen,  
 who loved and revered in his person the assembled virtues  
 of distant periods of History ;  
 the unshaken patriotism of the ancient Roman ;  
 the spirit of Honour, and Gentleness, and Courtesy  
 proper to the Age of Chivalry ;  
 together with skill in the Art of War,  
 worthy of the companion of  
 Abercrombie, Moore and Wellington.

On the back of the pedestal the Latin inscription runs :

Memoriæ sacrum  
 Joannis Comitis de Hopetoun Quarti  
 in quo uno enituerunt diversissimorum temporum virtutes  
 mirabiliter coniunctæ  
 ut neque priscum civem romanum amor patriæ et constantia  
 neque nobilem inferioris ævi militem  
 morum comitas et gratia et intemerata fides  
 magis distinguerent  
 neque deesset porro egregia bellicæ artis nostræ peritia  
 Wellington commilitone ac socio haud indigna  
 virum tot nominibus carum scoti sui  
 desiderio ac reverentia prosequentes  
 M. P. C.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. 146, f. 20, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Monumentum Posuerunt Condiderunt.

During 1831-34 Campbell was a thorn in the flesh to the Committee. All that time the sculptor not only put off completing the Monument, but continued to ask for payments in advance. On 9th November 1831 he was admonished by Gilbert Innes. £1000 has been remitted to Messrs. Coutts's Bank, of which £500 is to be put to Campbell's credit—'some of the Committee objected to your getting more Money you having already got £3500 to Account, & as they alledge, nothing yet brought forward to justify such an advance.' On the 21st Gibson Craig tells him 'there is a great outcry agst. you for delay in finishing the Monument.' Later, in letters of 1832-34, Gibson Craig repeatedly reprimands him. The delay will injure his reputation, and he cannot expect to receive any more money to account till the Monument be really erected. Campbell must have felt rather chagrined when he got Gibson Craig's letter of 22nd September 1832, in which he writes: 'Sir Walter Scott died yesterday. A Meeting is proposed . . . to consider of erecting a Monument to his Memory. . . . You might have had a chance of being employed—but your extreme dilatoriness in the Hopetoun Monument VERY GREATLY lessens it. If you mean at all to redeem your character, you shd. make some public announcement, when the Hopetoun Monument will, to a *certainty*, be put up.'<sup>1</sup>

By 4th July 1834 Gibson Craig becomes exasperated at the undue delay—'there really seems to be no end to it. . . . If the Monument be put on board [*i.e.* transhipped from London] by the 25th, I shall do what I can to keep you right with the Committee. If not, I must give up all further concern with it.'<sup>2</sup>

At last the Monument was unveiled in the morning of Saturday, 13th September 1834, and on Wednesday, the 17th, *The Scotsman* reported that 'numerous spectators were

<sup>1</sup> MS. 146, ff. 20-34, *passim*, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 146, f. 41, Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

gathered around it . . . when it was first exhibited to the public. The costume of the earl is that of a Roman Consul, and he is standing beside his horse, and the animal, wearied apparently, is in the act of rubbing his head against his leg.'

The statue is worked in bronze but the pedestal appears to be of some other kind of metal. Those who go to look at it to-day will be struck with the want of proportion between the large size of the Earl's figure and the comparative smallness of the horse's, but they will be impressed by the majestic and imposing attitude of the Earl as well as by the calm and dignity of his facial expression. Among the forty or more public statues which are to be seen in Edinburgh, this one should not be overlooked, for it represents a type of sculpture which was much favoured in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. It has thus an historical, if not an aesthetic, value.

W. M. PARKER.

THE EDINBURGH CHARITY WORKHOUSE,  
1740-1845

THE foundation of the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse falls between two picturesque episodes in the city's history, the Porteous Riot and the 'Forty-five. It was one of the fruits of that forward movement in Edinburgh municipal life which led to the foundation of the Royal Infirmary, the erection of the Exchange in the High Street, and ultimately to the building of the New Town. In the early eighteenth century, the administration of the poor law in Scottish burghs was still governed by the old statute of 1579, which entrusted the care of the urban poor to the magistrates, with power to stent or rate the inhabitants for the relief of the indigent. Hitherto the magistrates had discharged their duties very perfunctorily. The power to rate was seldom resorted to, and in Edinburgh the funds for the relief of the poor were derived mainly from church collections and were administered by the kirk-sessions. But some special branches of poor law work, especially the care of illegitimate children, were performed by an official appointed by the Town Council, called the Kirk Treasurer. This official survived down to 1845, his functions latterly being discharged by the Treasurer of the Charity Workhouse.

The movement which issued in the foundation of the Charity Workhouse sprang from discontent with the existing methods of poor relief. The town had long been afflicted with a plague of beggars, and this evil, it was held, could only be stamped out if a central building were provided in which the city poor could be housed and set to work. Already a charity workhouse had been established in 1731 in connection with the charity in Leith Wynd known as

THE EDINBURGH CHARITY WORKHOUSE 39

Paul's Work, but it was far too small for the purpose. In 1739 a more ambitious effort was made to provide an institution worthy of the city. After lengthy negotiations, an agreement was signed in 1740 between the Town Council and the kirk-sessions, the chief provisions of which were as follows:

- (a) The parties to the contract agreed to construct by means of voluntary contributions a workhouse for the employment and maintenance of the city poor, for the care of orphans and foundlings, and for the granting of out-pensions not exceeding £200 yearly.
- (b) The parties further agreed to pool the different items of poor law revenue already existing in the town into a common fund for the upkeep of the workhouse. These included
  1. the collections at church doors;
  2. a yearly grant of £200 from the Town Council;
  3. a two per cent poor rate to be levied by the Council on the inhabitants;
  4. a miscellaneous collection of payments, *e.g.* fornication fines, fees for burial warrants, for green turfs, for marriages not solemnized in church, one-third of the dues of the dead or passing bell, etc.;
  5. legacies, mortified money and voluntary subscriptions.

The government of the house was placed in the hands of nearly a hundred managers elected by the Town Council, the kirk-sessions, the guildry, the incorporated trades, the Court of Session, the Faculty of Advocates, the Writers to the Signet, the Episcopal clergy, the College of Physicians and the University. From these was chosen an executive committee of fifteen, meeting weekly. The officials of the house included a treasurer, a house-mistress, a butler, a surgeon, a chaplain, etc. In the nineteenth century the office of chaplain was combined with that of house-governor.

A suitable site for the new workhouse was soon found. About fifty years earlier a rather handsome building had

been erected as a Bedlam in the triangle now formed by Bristo Street, Teviot Row and Forrest Road. It stood just inside the extension of the Flodden Wall which was made on this side of the city in the early seventeenth century. This was the institution in which Madge Wildfire was confined and to which she refers in her song :

' In the bonny cells of Bedlam  
Ere I was ane and twenty  
I had hempen bracelets strong  
And merry whips ding-dong  
And prayer and fasting plenty.'

A persistent but erroneous tradition has made this building the headquarters of the Darien Company, a tradition which is perpetuated by a stone tablet on the wall of the tenement now occupying the site of what was for long known as Darien House. But Dr. Insh has shown that the head office of the Darien Company was in Mylne Square, near the Tron Church. At the time of which we are speaking, the Bedlam seems still to have been used for its original purpose, but the extensive grounds surrounding it, known as the 'Grass Yard,' were let to a tenant. Steps were taken to have this lease cancelled, and the foundations of the new workhouse were laid on the site of the present drill-hall in Forrest Road. It was completed and opened in 1743. Architecturally, the building had no charm or distinction. It was four storeys in height, with two wings and a gabled centre, lit by three tall, arched windows. Within the grounds stood a number of other buildings connected with the workhouse. The original Bedlam was now used as an infirmary for the sick and a hospice for the children. South of it there was erected in 1746 a new Bedlam with twenty-one cells for lunatics and an apartment which was used as a house of correction. On the west side of this new building was a 'textoratory' or weaving school, built in 1748. Between these buildings and the workhouse was a

handsome garden, divided by a path which led to a postern gate in the city wall, giving entrance to 'Hope's Park' or the Meadows. At this gate hung a collection box with the charitable text which must always make a peculiar appeal to the economic instincts of Scotsmen, *He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.*<sup>1</sup>

The main source of the history of the Charity Workhouse is the series of minute-books of the managers, for long preserved at Craiglockhart Poorhouse and now stored in the Public Assistance Offices at Castle Terrace. Unfortunately there are big gaps in the records,<sup>2</sup> but by using the Town Council Minutes and other sources, the story of the institution can be pieced together.

The workhouse proper was the home of the aged and impotent poor, and was capable of accommodating about 400 persons. The inmates wore a kind of uniform, at first drabish coloured and then blue to make it less distinguishable.<sup>3</sup> The regime inside the institution was a spartan one. The diet was spare—porridge for breakfast and supper, and broth and bread for dinner. A flesh dinner was provided once a week and on special occasions. In 1838 the managers noted with satisfaction that the cost of food worked out at 2½d. per day per person. Breaches of discipline were punished by the forfeiture of a meal or of food for a day. It was an offence to leave the house without permission, or to bring in intoxicating liquors, or to curse and swear, or to fail to attend divine service, which was performed morning and evening. The inmates on the whole were well behaved, though there were occasional outbreaks of turbulence. In

<sup>1</sup> There is a picture of the Charity Workhouse in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (see frontispiece) and in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. ii. The latter is reproduced in Mr. D. Robertson's *Princes Street Proprietors*, in which there is an excellent article on the Charity Workhouse.

<sup>2</sup> The minute-books for 1768-1808, 1826-34 and 1843-45 are missing.

<sup>3</sup> Pictures of the uniform for men, women and children will be found in Robertson, *The Princes Street Proprietors*.

the early days of the institution, the paupers were all employed on some kind of labour. The women carded, spun and wove linen, and the men practised their crafts for the benefit of the house. About £100 a year accrued to the poor fund from this source. But the advent of the factory system and the decay of domestic industry gradually made impracticable this method of utilising pauper labour. Latterly no work at all was done in the workhouse, except the making of clothing for the inmates and a little sewing and knitting by the women for themselves. The house-governor, in his evidence before the Poor Law Commission of 1844, stated that the men had once been put to breaking whinstones, 'but one Irish labourer would have done more than all of them put together,' and the experiment was abandoned. As the average age of the inmates was sixty-two or sixty-three, and a third of them were over seventy, little was to be gained by setting them to hard physical toil. But the managers were reluctant to admit this, and more than once made clumsy and sometimes inhumane efforts to re-establish a labour system.

The out-pensioners of the institution eventually numbered about 1000 families or 2000 persons. Though the limit of £200 imposed on this kind of expenditure by the agreement of 1740 had soon to be exceeded, the allowances remained miserably small. The highest pension was 3s. a week, and that was only granted in exceptional circumstances to widows with large families. The usual rate was 1d. or 1½d. a day. Yet to pay even these meagre pittance absorbed nearly half the revenue of the workhouse.

Of the other institutions attached to the workhouse, the correction house can be dismissed in a few words. It was constructed in 1748 at the request of the magistrates, who were under an obligation to provide a correction house for the city. The old correction house in Leith Wynd had become ruinous. The Council agreed to furnish and equip

the part of the Bedlam set aside for this purpose, to pay certain sums for its upkeep, and to allow 1½d. a day for each criminal lodged in it. The managers undertook to clothe the criminals, to provide them each with a pound of oatmeal per day, and to pay them half the proceeds of their labour. This arrangement held good until 1791, when a special bridewell was built for the city and county on the Calton Hill, to which the criminals from the workhouse were transferred.

The Children's Hospital was capable of taking in about 200 children and about 200 more were boarded out. Those in the institution received an elementary education until they were old enough to be apprenticed to a trade or put out to service. The curriculum was not extensive. The main subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism and scripture history. Geography was added later, but the managers turned down a proposal to teach physical science. At first the instruction was given by the chaplain, but after 1825, when the office of chaplain was united with that of house-governor, a regular schoolmaster was appointed with an assistant. The first to receive the appointment was the Reverend Lachlan M'Lean, presumably a 'stickit minister.' He held office till 1842, and his letter of resignation, fully transcribed in the Minutes, is a pleasant example of the epistolary style of the old Scots dominie :

'Can I regard but with the deepest interest and unchanging sympathy an establishment in which I have passed no inconsiderable portion of my earthly pilgrimage. To you and my brother office-bearers, I offer my love ; in your behalf my prayers shall unceasingly and most fervently be made, that you may be happy in this world, and that we may meet where the unavoidable but painful separations of time shall no longer dissolve ties which years of constant and harmonious intercourse have in my case rendered almost a part of existence itself.'

The managers were greatly pleased with this letter, and decided to present Mr. M'Lean with a Bible and psalm-book,

or with some theological work which he might choose to the value of £5. But this was evidently much less than the worthy dominie had expected, and his letter of acknowledgment breathes quite a different strain. Addressing the Treasurer, he wrote :

'Permit me to request that you will present my sincere thanks to the managers of the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse for the kind and truly flattering manner in which they have spoken of my services as chaplain to Bedlam and headmaster of the Children's Hospital. In reference to the latter situation, however, without dwelling upon the many extra scholastic services required of me for the last ten months, I would simply state that about four years ago, additional duties were imposed on me—but no additional salary (though admitted to be justly due) accompanied the change. Of late years, the number of children has increased from between 150 and 160 to 250, but my salary, though often proposed to be augmented, has remained stationary to the very last. Such being the case, while thanking the managers for the ten pounds voted to me, I may be permitted respectfully to observe that I regard that sum not in the light in which it has been represented in the public prints as a gratuity, but, as was distinctly explained by several of the managers, a remuneration (whether adequate or inadequate, it is not for me to determine) for extra services which have never been rewarded and for great additional labour which has received no recompense.'

Mr. M'Lean's salary, it may be noted, was £50 with board, plus £10 for his services as chaplain to Bedlam. His successor obtained £100 with free house, coal and candles.

From 1836 onwards the question of accommodation for the children gave the managers much trouble. In that year the roadway at Teviot Row was widened, which necessitated the demolition of part of the Bedlam. The managers resolved to house the dislodged lunatics in the Children's Hospital and to find accommodation for the children outside. Opportunely, at this time, the Orphan Hospital moved out to its present situation at the Dean, and left vacant its old building under the North Bridge on the site of the present Waverley Station.

This the managers decided to lease and use as a children's hospital. It was an unfortunate decision. The building, besides being too small, was damp and unhealthy, and in the next few years the death-rate among the children shot up alarmingly. The medical officer of the workhouse made vigorous representations, but by this time the workhouse finances were in a hopeless tangle and the managers could not face the expense of a new building. So until its demolition in 1845 to make way for the railway, the old Orphan Hospital continued to house the children of the workhouse.

Lastly, we come to the Bedlam, erected in 1748 and several times extended. It contained cells for paying patients as well as for paupers. Here the poet Fergusson died on 16th October 1774. The accounts of his death do not throw much light on the treatment meted out to patients in the institution. We are told that he lay on a straw bed and suffered much from the bitter cold. But there is every reason to believe that the inhumane methods which were practised in all asylums before Pinel and Tuke rationalised the treatment of lunacy were common in the Edinburgh Bedlam. As late as 1826 the inhabitants of Teviot Row had to complain of the yells of a female maniac who was chained to a tree in the Bedlam grounds. This complaint stung the managers to a spirited retort. The following is the letter of reply, which, the Minutes assure us, was composed on the spot :

'I am instructed to inform you that were it a proper measure, the managers of the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse would court the most public and frequent inspection of the lunatic establishment under their charge, but so far is this improper, both morally and medically considered, that they depute their power to a very small committee and to two medical gentlemen, one of whom makes a daily visit and more frequently as occasion requires.

The management presume to affirm that the establishment is in every view of the case as perfect as their means in respect of funds,



buildings and airing grounds enable them to make it. That the airing grounds are overlooked by houses in the neighbourhood is a sad misfortune for which the managers are not answerable. On this point it seems very pertinent to state that in consequence of two windows at the easter end of Teviot Row being almost continuously crowded with idle lads whose view it was to irritate the female patients immediately in their view, particularly on the Lord's Day, an expensive screen wall of brickwork was put up a few months ago so as to mask these windows, and a view of the ground where the female is said to have been tied to a tree can now only be obtained from two high gable windows in a very oblique direction and from the upper pane of the upper windows in Teviot Row. There are also two windows in Park Street from which the male patients are much annoyed, but as they are less irritable than the females, and as the distance is far greater, the nuisance is less felt. The woman above mentioned is an incurable furious maniac, and as it would be hard to immure her at all times in a house, requires always to be bound, as well for her own safety as that of others; but it may be asserted that this coercion is as gentle as the nature of the case admits; indeed, in the whole establishment, there is not a vestige of the means of harsh treatment to be found.

It is quite true that the unhappy female maniac alluded to, and several others, are prone to utter very harassing but unmeaning cries, but until means shall be devised for persuading a maniac to be silent or a more retired situation is found for the establishment, the inhabitants of Teviot Row must, as their fathers were, be subjected to this occasional annoyance.'

A few months later one of the managers, having visited the Bedlam, reported that he was 'quite astonished at the cleanliness and comfort of the inmates,' and referring to the circumstance of a woman being strapped to a tree, declared 'it was the only situation in which she could have the benefit of fresh air, that it appeared to be an act of kindness to the unfortunate lunatic, and, in his opinion, the inhabitants of Teviot Row had no cause to complain.' This complacent view, however, was not shared by Dr. Smith, the workhouse doctor, a specialist in lunacy. In numerous reports he

emphasised the unsuitableness of the Bedlam for its purpose, pointed out that the dampness of the building spread disease, and that the accommodation was too limited to permit any classification or intelligent treatment of the patients, while there was the further drawback that the whole district was rapidly being built over so that the Bedlam grounds were overlooked on all sides. By this time Edinburgh had a second and much superior asylum at Morningside, opened in 1813, largely through the efforts of Dr. Andrew Duncan, one of the pioneers of the humane treatment of the insane. Hitherto the institution, despite the protests of the Town Council, had been reserved for paying patients. It was not till 1836 that the directors took steps to provide accommodation for paupers. The new buildings were opened in 1842, whereupon the Town Council entered into an agreement by which, in return for a contribution towards the cost of building and an annual payment for each pauper, the directors undertook to accommodate all the lunatic poor of Edinburgh. Instructions were then sent to the workhouse managers to transfer their pauper lunatics to Morningside. But this the managers refused to do. They alleged that the Town Council had no right to make such an agreement without their consent, nor to dictate to them in any way how they should discharge their duties. The quarrel grew high and bitter, and eventually, as we shall see, the Council could find no solution of the difficulty except to secure from the Court of Session a reduction of the agreement of 1740 and resume into their own hands the management of the workhouse. Owing to this dispute, it was not till 1844 that the pauper lunatics were transferred to Morningside.

In conclusion, something should be said of the involved financial history of the Charity Workhouse. During most of its career it had to struggle hopelessly with inadequate monetary resources. One cause of this chronic financial embarrassment was the exemption from poor rates enjoyed

by a wealthy section of the Edinburgh citizens. By a custom dating back to the sixteenth century, the members of the College of Justice paid no rates. The term 'College of Justice' covered not only the judges, but the advocates, the solicitors and their clerks; that is, all the legal fraternity of Edinburgh. The privilege was shared by members of the king's household (including the royal tradesmen) and by professors of the University. In this way about a sixth of the total rental of Edinburgh was not liable for rates. There might have been some shadow of an excuse for this exemption in the days when the government of the town was a monopoly of the merchants and craftsmen. But the Municipal Reform Act of 1833 had conferred the municipal franchise on the lawyers and thrown open to them all the offices of the magistracy. In 1842 Edinburgh had a civic head who paid no poor rates. This was Sir James Forrest, advocate, after whom Forrest Road is named, the Lord Provost who slept in with his bailies on the famous morning when the young Queen Victoria landed at Granton.

Numerous attempts were made to get rid of this anomaly, but the lawyers clung tenaciously to their invidious privilege. They adroitly availed themselves of the opposition offered by one school of poor law reformers to any kind of compulsory poor rate, and they contrived to mix up their cause with that of the Annuity Tax, imposed for the maintenance of the city churches, from which they were also exempted, and which was objected to by the dissenters. By representing themselves as the champions of the church establishment, the lawyers succeeded in retaining their privileged position down to the middle of the nineteenth century. In the Minutes of the workhouse managers it is recorded that a Writer to the Signet actually paid poor rates once by mistake, but immediately put in a claim for a refund. On another occasion it was discovered that an applicant for admission to the workhouse was a Writer to the Signet fallen on evil days. This

gave the managers what they considered a great opportunity. They at once entered on a correspondence with the Society of Writers to the Signet, arguing that a person who had never paid poor rates had no claim to relief from the workhouse, and suggesting that the Society should accept responsibility for their unfortunate member. But it was no use. They were only wasting time and paper. The Writers to the Signet simply sat tight and refused to do anything, and the broken member of their profession had to be received into the institution to whose support his brethren refused to make any contribution.

The point of view of the lawyer class is amusingly illustrated in Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, published in 1779. Arnot, whose shrunken figure is familiar to us from Kay's *Portraits*, was an advocate and enjoyed the exemption in question:

'The moment that compulsion takes place (he declared) charitable motives are at an end. The poor laws in England are almost equally pernicious to those who pay and those who receive the benefit. Upon the wealthy and industrious, they are gross oppression; to the indigent labourer they are enticement to idleness and debauchery; to a set of rapacious managers for the poor, they are alone acceptable; as to them they are a fund of peculation, gluttony and drunkenness. This very circumstance which ought in a double manner to render poor rates odious and abominable, has in many places been a motive towards their establishment. The citizens of Edinburgh are often exposed to undue attempts to saddle them with unnecessary impositions. It is rare that many years elapse without a proposal for a new tax upon them, as if the exigencies of the state did not require them to be taxed sufficiently.'<sup>1</sup>

The institution of charity workhouses, Arnot dismissed in summary fashion. They are, he said, 'the most uncomfortable for the poor, the most productive of vice, and the most expensive to the public of any mode of provision invented

<sup>1</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1779, p. 555.

for the support of the indigent.' They 'strip the mind alike of every motive to action and source of pleasure.'<sup>1</sup>

Another source of financial trouble was the successive extensions of the city boundaries which took place from 1767 onwards. When the workhouse was founded, the area of the ancient royal burgh (the ancient royalty) was confined within the limits of the Flodden Wall and the Nor' Loch. The Canongate was nominally an independent burgh with a charity workhouse of its own. The area which became later the site of the New Town was divided between the parishes of St. Cuthbert's and South Leith, the first of which had also a charity workhouse. As the city boundaries were extended, the parishes from which land was taken had to be indemnified. Thus in 1809 a part of St. Cuthbert's was taken over, and the Town Council agreed to pay the managers of St. Cuthbert's Workhouse £250 a year for five years and £300 a year thereafter. By a provision in the Extension Act, the Council might recoup itself for these payments from the proceeds of poor rates levied on any part of the extended royalty. No advantage was taken of this provision until 1821, when the workhouse managers were astounded to receive from the City Chamberlain a demand for the £300 paid yearly to St. Cuthbert's along with arrears since 1809, which now amounted with interest to over £6000. The managers protested, but they were helpless because the Council could always pay itself by stopping its annual contribution to the workhouse. Accordingly the managers had no choice but to shoulder this inconveniently heavy burden.

Other difficulties arose over the liability of the inhabitants of the extended royalty for poor rates. Were these payable to the old parish or to the new or to both? Over this question some tremendous legal battles were fought. One of the most intriguing decisions was that issued by the Court of Session in 1838 in regard to the Hillside lands to

<sup>1</sup> Arnot, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

the north of the Calton Hill. It was decided that householders in this district should pay double poor rates, to Edinburgh and South Leith, a decision which for long held up building in this district. As streets like Windsor Street, upper Brunswick Street and Hillside Crescent show, it had been intended to make this quarter a continuation of the West End. But this purpose had to be abandoned, and when building was resumed at the end of the nineteenth century, the area was covered with middle- and working-class houses.

Meanwhile, amidst all these financial embarrassments, the workhouse managers had to contend with an increasing burden of pauperism, which in the early nineteenth century assumed alarming proportions as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the Highland Clearances, and the influx of Irish immigrants. Of these three causes, the managers attributed most of their troubles to the Irish invasion. Till 1838 Ireland had no poor law, and the managers spoke as if the Irish came to Scotland with no other purpose than to establish a settlement and share in the bounty of the Edinburgh workhouse. That the wretchedness of the Irish colony in the Cowgate was unspeakable, we have ample evidence. To the Poor Law Commissioners of 1844, Bishop Gillis, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, declared: 'I have seen the most wretched state of human destitution among them that it is possible to conceive. I have been called on to baptize a child in a miserable garret, where the mother was lying on the floor without an article of furniture in the place, and have been obliged to borrow a bucket of water to perform the baptism.' Still there can be no doubt that the managers exaggerated the burden imposed on them by Irish pauperism. In 1844, out of 414 inmates in the house, only twenty-five hailed from the Emerald Isle. The Irish indeed seem to have had a difficulty in getting relief. The managers prided themselves on refusing it wherever possible. In this



connection, one unfortunate episode provided Carlyle with a striking passage in his *Past and Present*. An Irish widow with three children was denied help by the Charity Workhouse. Reduced to the verge of starvation, she took typhus, died and infected the whole close in which she lived, with the result that seventeen other persons died also. On which Carlyle grimly comments :

'The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, "Behold, I am sinking bare of help; ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us; ye must help me!" They answer "No; impossible; thou art no sister of ours." But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus fever kills *them*; they actually were her brothers, though denying it! Had human creature ever to go lower for a proof!'

It was not, however, the workhouse managers who were killed by the typhus, as one might infer from Carlyle's account, but poor creatures as destitute and unfortunate as the Irish widow herself, who had probably helped her with the proverbial charity of the poor to each other.

The religion of the Irish was a constant source of discord. The Roman Catholic clergy were anxious that provision should be made for the instruction of Irish children in the workhouse in the doctrines of their faith, and that every facility should be provided to Roman Catholic inmates for the practice of their religion. The managers were most unsympathetic. Their attitude can be gathered from the report of a meeting on 17th January 1842. Mr. Doud, a Roman Catholic representative, moved that 'children be educated in the creed of their parents, or in the case of orphans, their god-parents, and that clergymen should have access to the House for giving religious assistance or instruction to children at all times of the day.' The following is the report of the debate in next day's *Edinburgh Advertiser* :

'Mr. Hutchen said he had a decided objection to giving a free right of admission to popish priests.

Mr. Doud demurred to the term "popish priests."

Mr. Hutchen said he gave things their proper names and spoke what was true. Whenever any inmate wished to see a minister or priest, he had only to say that he wished to see such and such a person. Why should there be another rule making it permissive that a Roman Catholic priest should come into this house and go through all his flummery and nonsense?

Mr. Doud objected.

Mr. Hutchen said he believed that the whole Roman Catholic religion was flummery. Such was his feeling.

Mr. John Robertson protested.

The Lord Provost (Sir James Forrest) said he was anxious to prevent the use of any irregular expressions in the course of the discussion; but he thought there had been nothing very irregular in Mr. Hutchen's observations. Mr. Hutchen did not attack Mr. Doud personally; he merely attacked a system of belief which by all the authorities and in all the institutions of this country had been declared to be not according to the word of God, founded on error and maintained by delusion. That was recognised in all the national institutions as a determination to which the government and authorities of the country had deliberately come with regard to that system.

Mr. Jack begged to mention a single fact. With respect to the Roman Catholics in the house, nine-tenths of them were Irish. His conviction from personal observation was that if these people were allowed to act according to their own views and feelings, they would never dream of objecting to being instructed in the Protestant religion. If nobody interfered with them, they would read their Bibles with the greatest pleasure. The curse of these people was that there was a set of individuals in this place and perhaps in other places, who would not suffer them to rest but were perpetually agitating them and others, who would do them good if they had the power.

Disapproval was carried by 31 votes to 4.'

In the early years of the nineteenth century the financial position of the workhouse improved somewhat. In 1813 the Town Council was at last induced to double its annual contribution and to raise the compulsory poor rate from two to five per cent. A period of relative financial ease followed, but then in 1832 came the terrible cholera epidemic, during

which the managers heavily overspent their revenue and accumulated a debt which ultimately swelled to £14,000. After this the financial affairs of the workhouse became fearfully involved. The managers called on the Council to impose a special rate for the extinction of the debt. But by this time the city was in the hands of trustees for its own debt, and the Council felt itself precluded from incurring further liabilities. When the managers took legal advice on the point, they were told by Duncan McNeill, advocate, afterwards Lord Colonsay, that though the Council might rate to clear off a deficit incurred in the previous year, it had no power to rate for a deficit which had been allowed to accumulate over a series of years. How the future Lord President of the Court of Session imagined the debt would ever be paid is a little difficult to conceive. Meanwhile the creditors of the workhouse, who were mainly the banks, were pressing for payment and threatening action against individual managers. In 1840 they arrested the proceeds of the poor rate. But the managers promptly countered this move by threatening to resign in a body, and the arrestments were lifted. In the end the question became mixed up with the quarrel between the managers and the Town Council over the transfer of pauper lunatics to Morningside. The Council had raised an action in the courts for a reduction of the contract of 1740. To this the managers, of course, were opposed, but after negotiations they agreed to withdraw their opposition if the Council would relieve them of responsibility for the workhouse debt. On this basis a compromise was arranged. A private bill was promoted in Parliament and passed in 1843, giving the Council power to rate for the extinction of the workhouse debt, and in the following year the Court of Session pronounced, with consent of the parties concerned, the reduction of the agreement of 1740. The Council proceeded to take over the management of the workhouse, and an interesting chapter in the

history of poor law administration in Edinburgh came to an end.

The later history of the workhouse can be briefly summarised. The Council did not retain control of it long. In 1845 the new Poor Law Act placed the control of Scottish poor relief in the hands of a new local body, the parochial board, which in rated burghs was to consist of representatives of the Town Council, the kirk-sessions and the ratepayers. Thus almost immediately the Town Council had to hand over the Charity Workhouse to the Edinburgh Parochial Board. For the next fifteen years it served as the Edinburgh Poorhouse. Then when in 1870 the present institution was opened on Craiglockhart Hill, the buildings and the site were sold. The Charity Workhouse was almost immediately demolished to make way for a new volunteer drill-hall. Thus vanished the last visible reminder of an institution which for over a century had played a notable part in the lives of Edinburgh citizens.

ARTHUR BIRNIE.

#### EASTER AND WESTER CROFTS OF BRISTO<sup>1</sup>

THE eastern portion of the burgh of barony known as Portsburgh comprehended an area immediately in the rear of the Flodden Wall which, as early as the sixteenth century, went by the name of Bristo. A more ancient name was the Gallowgate. At any rate, Maitland found the district so described in a charter in the archives of Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup> and arrived at the plausible conclusion that the name originated from the fact that the road to the gibbet on the Burgh Muir passed that way. But in early documentary and printed sources the area is usually designated the Easter and Wester Crofts of Bristo.

The term Bristo now denotes merely a thoroughfare, but two centuries ago applied to lands covering from a dozen to fifteen acres. These were divided from north to south into two unequal portions by the Potterrow, which formed part of the jurisdiction of Portsburgh. Not much is known of the Bristo district in pre-Reformation times. Nor is this to be wondered at, since there could be little communication between the town and the rural parts that lay to the south in view of the existence of so effective a barrier as the Flodden Wall. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the power-

<sup>1</sup> This article (which has been prepared for the press by Mr. W. Forbes Gray) is based mainly on manuscript notes compiled by the late John Smith, F.S.A.Scot., author of *Old Scottish Clockmakers*. As far as possible, the subject-matter has been verified, some mis-statements corrected, much supplementary material incorporated, and the whole worked up into a narrative.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Edinburgh*, 1753, p. 172. In the Newbattle monastic charters preserved in the General Register House there is one, dated 1444, which makes mention of a 'Gallowgate,' and conveys the impression that it was situated *within* the burgh.

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ful family of Touris of Inverleith were superiors of the lands of Bristo, as they were of Wester Portsburgh and the lordship of Dalry. The main printed source of information for this period of our story is the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*, a work of reference known to every student of Scots history. There one comes across nearly a score of entries referring to the Touris family and their connection with the lands of Bristo. The charters with three exceptions are granted by Sir George Touris of Garmiltoun, knight, as superior. The records of these transferences of land are for the most part illuminating, for, besides mentioning the names of successive owners of a variety of properties, they furnish descriptions of the lands, define their boundaries, and in not a few instances tell us the names of adjacent proprietors. We are thus enabled to form some sort of a mental picture of the general appearance of this part of Edinburgh in the sixteenth and earlier half of the seventeenth century.

The charters recorded as having been granted by John Touris of Inverleith are dated 19th May 1598 and 1st March 1599. The first was in favour of Thomas Hislop, shoemaker and burgess of Edinburgh, and Elizabeth Callendar, his wife, and referred to a piece of land in the west croft of Bristo, with garden and draw-well, 'between the fore tenement and back garden of the late Mathew Callendar on the west, the fore and back land of Alexander Crawford, shoemaker, burgess of Edinburgh, on the east, the lands of Mathew Carmichael and the Horsewynd on the north, with a garden called the "south yaird" . . . lying between the garden of the said Mathew Callendar, formerly occupied by Archibald White, on the north, the said west croft of Bristo on the south and west, and the lands of the late Mathew Carmichael on the east.' On the same day sasine was given to Hislop and his wife in terms of the above charter, but they resigned the lands forthwith and a new charter, also dated 19th May 1598, of this piece of land was granted by John Touris in favour of Thomas

Davidson, merchant and burges of Jedburgh. Davidson also acquired from John Touris on 1st March 1598-99 another piece of land in the west croft, lying on the south side of the Horse Wynd, which had been resigned by Isobella, Susanna, and Elizabeth, daughters and heirs of Robert Strudgeon, scabbard-maker in the Potterrow. The two pieces of land, also a garden in Bristo, passed to Davidson's son and heir, George (who was a skinner and burges of Edinburgh), on 28th August 1607. Six years later, 27th January 1613, a charter was granted by Sir George Touris of Garmiltoun, knight, baron of Inverleith, who had now become superior of Easter Portsburgh, in favour of George Davidson and Margaret Corsbie, his future spouse. Sasine relating to Davidson's subjects was given on the same date.

Previously, on 4th September 1610, Sir George had granted a charter to John Aytoun, gardener, and dweller in the town ('ville') of Potterraw *alias* Bristo, and Jonet Dryburne, his spouse, and to the longer liver of them in conjunct fee, of a piece of land in the west croft of Bristo, containing a yard occupied by George Congiltoun,<sup>1</sup> a house occupied by Patrick Gledstanes, and a house occupied by John Donaldson and by Congiltoun 'with privilege of draw-well in back court.' This land, which formerly belonged to Walter Carmichael, then to Mathew, his son and heir, and subsequently to Charles Strudgeon, sheath-maker, was situated between the lands of Mathew Callendar on the west and north, those of Anthony Brussett on the south, and the public way on the east. Sasine, in terms of Sir George Touris' charter, was given on 8th September 1610, and on 4th April 1621 Aytoun's son, Robert, was infert in the land in the west croft of Bristo formerly held by his father, who had died in the interval. Another sasine in

<sup>1</sup> On 3rd May 1634 the piece of land containing Congiltoun's garden (or yard) was alienated in a charter by Sir George Touris in favour of John Kennedy, 'lie fischmunger' in Edinburgh. Sasine was given to Kennedy, who in turn gave sasine to his wife, Agnes Kellie. *Laing Charters*, No. 2141.

favour of Robert Aytoun<sup>1</sup> and Cristina Aird, his spouse, in conjunct fee, was given on 18th April, and again on 27th June 1627. A grant of the same lands was made on 28th June 1627 to James Ker, merchant in the Potterrow, and Mariota Chalmer, his wife. After Ker's death the lands passed (5th April 1635) to Andrew Ker, indweller in Dundee, his brother and nearest lawful heir. The next stage was reached on 18th February 1637 when Andrew Ker resigned 'that tenement of land containing four low dwelling houses lying in the Potterraw beside Edinburgh' into the hands of Sir George Touris, the superior, who, in terms of Ker's resignation, granted a fresh charter to George Deans, advocate. On 27th September 1662, his son, Robert Deans, who was now the owner, made a disposition of the ground in favour of John Lauder,<sup>2</sup> merchant, burges of Edinburgh, this disposition being confirmed by a charter by Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, provost, and the bailies on 11th September 1663.

Some interesting topographical particulars are also brought out in a charter granted by Sir George Touris on 14th January 1625 to James Rae, merchant, burges of Edinburgh. Rae, we are told, became proprietor of 'that north part of the granter's west croft of Bristo, lying between James Rae's garden on the south, the yard of the heirs of the late Mr. Alexander Peibles, advocate, on west, and James Rae's yard, with an old waste land or "lyme-hoillis" belonging to Robert Dunlop's heirs on north, bounded by a line from the corner or "cunzie-neuk" of Rae's yard to the corner or "cunzie-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Aytoun on 21st November 1637 gave to his son John 'a piece of land in the Wester Croft of Bristo.' Sasine was recorded on 8th January 1638. *Laing Charters*, No. 2228.

<sup>2</sup> Lauder is probably the person who, in an Act of Parliament, is styled 'John Lauder of Newington, merchant, burges of Edinburgh.' He married, as his second wife, Isobel Eleis (or Ellis), daughter of Alexander Eleis of Mortonhall and Margaret Udward (also called Edward), granddaughter of the famous Nicol Edward, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1592. Lord Fountainhall was the eldest son of John Lauder. The latter was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1688.

neuk" of Peibles' yard . . . on the south; and on the west from south to north by the wall of said west yard.' The portion of the Wester Croft thus acquired by James Rae formerly belonged to David Norie, merchant burges, and Katherine Mungall, his wife, who had resigned the same. Sasine was given to Rae on 26th August 1625. In 1629 Rae resigned 'certain lands and tenements in Bristo,' which are fully described in another writ, for new infestment. The charter by Sir George Touris is dated 14th January 1629, and grants to Rae, in terms of the above resignation, 'two pieces of land<sup>1</sup> of the granter's west croft of Bristo, viz.: all and whole one piece of the foreland or tenement of the said west croft of Bristo, back and fore, etc., garden adjacent, occupied by Richard Forrest, Luke Lyn, John Wallace, Robert Stevenson, and John Schaw, with the lime-house, lime-pots, and clay-hole in the garden, etc., formerly belonging to the late Mathew Callendar, shoemaker, lying between the west gable of [Callendar's] house and the bark-loft built on the same, and formerly belonging to the late Thomas Davidson, father of George Davidson, on the east, the tenement of land of the late Mathew Carmichael on the west, the lands and garden of the late Mathew Callendar, now George Davidson's, on the south, and the Horsewynd on the north; also another piece of the said west croft, with the draw-well, lying and containing as follows:—all and whole a tenement of land . . . with bark-loft, built and formerly occupied by the late Archibald White, shoemaker, with a back close and back land on the west and east sides of the close, with bark-holes, lime-holes, etc. . . . the Horsewynd being the northern boundary; and also a garden called the Southyard . . . lying between the garden of the said Mathew Callendar, formerly occupied by Archibald White, on the north, the said west croft of Bristo on the south and west, and the lands of the late Mathew Carmichael on the east.'

<sup>1</sup> The first piece of land had originally belonged to the Strudgeon sisters, already mentioned.

On 1st June 1631 James Rae resigned his various tenements in Bristo in favour of his eldest son, who bore the same name; and a fresh charter was granted. In a Precept of *Clare Constat* by Archibald Tod, provost, and the four bailies, in favour of James Rae, younger, with reference to the lands and tenements left him by his father, the following names of adjoining proprietors are added:—'David Norie's yard is described as bounded by the lands of Thomas Corstane, and of the late George Deans, on east, of John Hilstoun and the late Richard Howieson on the south, of Sir Adam Hepburn and John Davie on the east, the Horsewynd leading from Society Port to Potterraw being on north.' A close belonging to Janet Adamson and James Dodds is also referred to, 'the dyke quhair the athorne growis, or somerhous' being one part of the boundary. Particular directions are given as to partition walls. The sasine infesting James Rae, younger, in the above tenements is dated 1st October 1655, and recorded 19th October.

Under date, 2nd January 1656, there is mention of a charter by Andrew Ramsay (afterwards Sir Andrew of Abbotshall), provost, with the bailies, as the later superiors of the barony of Portsburgh, granting to Alexander Heriot, maltman in Wester Bristo, son and heir of the late Henry Heriot, indweller there, and to Barbara Heriot, his spouse, three pieces of land of the west croft of Bristo, bounded by the ground of the late Robert Gorgie, now of William Hilstoun's heirs, on north, the late Gilbert Campbell's land, now of William Sinclair's heirs, on south, the street on east, and the Wester Croft on west, with an annualrent of 30s. Scots from the lands.

The long story of properties in the Wester Croft of Bristo, as reflected in the pages of the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*, closes with a document, dated 25th March 1685, by George Drummond of Milnab, provost (not to be confused with his much greater namesake of the eighteenth century who on six



occasions occupied the chair of the Chief Magistrate), and the bailies, narrating an adjudication obtained on 27th March 1684, at the instance of Margaret Anderson, relict of Nicolas Corsbie, merchant in Prestonpans, against Robert Hynd, brewer, burghess of Edinburgh, and Euphemia Watson, his spouse, and also against the magistrates as superiors. In terms of the adjudication, Margaret Anderson was granted 'the close of houses, comprehending halls, chambers, stables, byres, brew-houses, coach-houses, etc., belonging to the said Robert Hynd and his wife, lying in Bristo, without the Society port of Edinburgh, between the tenements and lands formerly belonging to Gideon Lithgow, printer, on north, the lands of Simon Moffat, dweller in Bristo, on south, the gardens of Arthur Stratton, writer, on east, and the common street on west.'

The final mention in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters* of Sir George Touris of Garmiltoun, knight, baron of Inverleith, as superior of the Wester Croft of Bristo, is in 1637. About 1646 the lands in this district were sold (probably by Sir George Touris) to Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble, who is referred to as an 'adjoining proprietor' in the charter granted in 1631 to James Rae, the younger, already quoted. Sir Adam, who was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session in 1641 and was knighted by Charles I, was an active Covenanter, being a member of the various committees of the Estates. When the Scots army entered England in 1643, in support of the English parliamentary forces, Hepburn acted as Commissary-General. In 1650 he attended Charles II at Perth, and served on the committee entrusted with the arrangements for the coronation. Sir Adam was captured at Alyth by Cromwell's troops and sent a prisoner to England.<sup>1</sup>

On 7th July 1648 the Town Council 'concludit a bargane' with Hepburn 'for the superiority of the Potterraw and West Port for the Touns use.' Payment (according to Maitland,

<sup>1</sup> Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 311.

it amounted to 27,500 merks Scots<sup>1</sup>) was ordered to be made to Hepburn and bonds given for money borrowed for that purpose.<sup>2</sup> Apparently it was thought that Sir Adam was a good friend to the town, for on 14th March 1649 the magistrates and council, 'being verie sensible of many guid offices done to them be Sir Adam Hepburne of Humble . . . and in particular in purchasing to them the superioritie of the Potterraw and West port,' granted to him and his family 'that seat in the Grayfrier kirk right befor the second pillar on the east end and north side of the said kirk.' Furthermore, the bailies were instructed 'to have a special cair that the said Sir Adam and his familie have frie passage in and out at the Societie port to and fra this brugh to his hous in Bristo at all lawfull tymes of day and night. And that the saids porteris present and to come be commandit to doe the same that the said Sir Adam and his familie have no just cause to complean.'<sup>3</sup> Hepburn appears to have retained certain portions of the Wester Croft of Bristo, for a sasine, recorded 13th June 1666, infests Helen Hepburn, niece and heir to Sir Adam, in a strip of ground extending from the south side of what is now Lothian Street northwards to Bristo Port.

When the Touris family were superiors of the lands of Bristo they took an important step in the industrial development of the district by settling craftsmen there who were unable to gain admission to the various incorporations of the city. The majority of the workmen took up their abode on the east side of Potterrow, where they thrived in business and eventually formed two new incorporations, to whom the Touris family granted Seals of Cause. Both bodies prospered, and one of them still survives—the Incorporation of Tailors of Easter Portsburgh. In 1673 these craftsmen erected a

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1642-1655, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

convening hall that stood until near the end of the nineteenth century. It was situated at the northern end of Potterrow, on the east side, and was reached by a short circular stair. Over the doorway was a carved stone tablet bearing the insignia of the craft and a verse from the metrical version of the 133rd Psalm, beginning: 'Behold, how good a thing it is.' The other craft was the Incorporation of Cordiners (or Shoemakers) of Easter Portsburgh. Their convening hall disappeared many years ago, but approximately it stood where Potterrow is intersected by Marshall Street. On the site was afterwards reared a tenement (now also gone) in the front wall of which was inserted a relic of this craft of cordiners in the shape of a tablet, on which was carved a crown and a cutting knife, the date 1682, and a verse from Proverbs, chap. xix. verse 17: 'He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again.'

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century building operations on the lands of Bristo were of no great extent. The Easter Croft, though the larger area, contained fewer buildings than the Wester, which may have been due to the fact that it was less accessible. The latter was bounded by Potterrow on the east and the thoroughfare now named Bristo Street on the west. The Wester Croft was in fact a triangular area having its base on the north (represented to-day by Lothian Street) and its apex at the junction of Potterrow and Bristo Street. It was therefore admirably adapted for houses. Moreover the Wester Croft could be quickly reached through Potterrow and Bristo Ports. A further recommendation was that there were fine green spaces on the west, for George Square was still unbuilt.

Among the first buildings to be erected on the Wester Croft was a large mansion which stood close to the north-west corner of Lothian Street. On 29th August 1677 Alexander Walker disposed of the site to James Scott, portioner of

Bristo, in life rent, and to his son William, in fee. The latter, who taught Greek in the College of Edinburgh, built thereon a mansion, which he sold in 1708 for 12,000 merks to Mary Erskine, 'relict of James Hair, druggist,' who, with 'the assistance of several noble and generous Benefactors,' erected in its stead the Merchant Maiden Hospital.<sup>1</sup> In 1694 Mrs. Hair had mortgaged 10,000 merks to the Merchant Company for the 'maintenance of burges children of the female sex.'<sup>2</sup> The hospital, which occupied a portion of the east side of Bristo Place, was in constant use until 1816, when the charity was removed to Lauriston. Excellent representations of this building with its crow-stepped gables and pedimented dormers, each crowned with a thistle, will be found in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* and in Storer's *Views in Edinburgh*. In the former work allusion is made to Mary Erskine and the other benefactors having purchased 'the great Lodgings, Houses and Yards in Bristo for Accommodation of the Children of the said Hospital' (p. 461).

Adjoining the Merchant Maiden Hospital on the north was the George Inn, immortalised in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* and fully described in vol. xiv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. In the rear of these buildings was a garden which extended nearly as far as Potterrow Port, the produce of which is said to have been consumed by the inmates of the Merchant Maiden Hospital. At the east end of the garden there stood in the eighteenth century a three-storey mansion with coach-house and stables, the approach to which was through a semi-circular gateway close to the Flodden Wall. In an inventory in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*, under date 25th January 1753, some interesting particulars of this mansion are given. It was situated on the west side of Potterrow at the northern end and belonged originally to James Anderson, Writer to the Signet. As the editor of the

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Alex. Heron, *History of Merchant Company of Edinburgh*, 1903, p. 49.

*Diplomata Scotiae*, and the intimate correspondent of Captain John Slezer, compiler of *Theatrum Scotiae*, and Ralph Thoresby, the topographer, Anderson was rather a noted personage.<sup>1</sup>

Born in Edinburgh in 1662, he was the son of one of the Covenanting ministers who underwent imprisonment on the Bass Rock. Anderson qualified as a Writer to the Signet, but relinquished the legal profession in order to pursue antiquarian and genealogical studies which with him were a ruling passion. Hence the cause of the financial distress from which he was seldom free. The greater part of his life was devoted laboriously to collecting facsimiles of Scottish charters and other muniments. In the last Scottish Parliament attention was directed to Anderson's formidable undertaking with the object of rendering him monetary assistance. On 12th February 1707 a committee reported to the legislature that 'Mr. James Anderson has made as great advance in the said matter as the time and difficulty in the performance could permit, and that his learned industry in a matter so useful, undertaken on the recommendation of Parliament, deserves further encouragement. . . .' But before anything practical could be done, the Scottish Parliament was no more, and Anderson had to rest content with a recommendation of his case to the Parliament at Westminster. Soon after the Union he removed to London, where he busied himself, partly in completing his great work, and partly in trying to make the Government realise that his researches into the history of Scotland were worthy of financial aid. But his appeals were in vain.

There seemed, however, to be compensation in his appointment in 1715 as Postmaster-General for Scotland, the duties of which necessitated his return to Edinburgh. But he only retained the post for eighteen months, though he continued to draw the salary in the form of a pension. Relieved from official cares, Anderson resumed work on the *Diplomata*

<sup>1</sup> See article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

*Scotiae*, finishing the collections only a few days before his death, April 1728. But other eleven years elapsed before Anderson's *magnum opus* was given to the world by Thomas Ruddiman, the scholar-printer. A subordinate though more popular work was a treatise vindicating the independence of Scotland, in which certain documents, purporting to demonstrate the supremacy of the crown of England, were shown to be forgeries.

But Anderson is perhaps best remembered by the fact that he was the friend of Sir Richard Steele of *Tatler* fame, and very probably his landlord when the essayist made his temporary abode in Edinburgh for the purpose of fulfilling his duties as a commissioner for the Forfeited Estates. At any rate, an interesting correspondence took place between them as to the securing of a house. Steele, who had made Anderson's acquaintance in London, wrote to the Edinburgh antiquary in March 1717-18 offering to engage a house of Anderson's for six months. The letter<sup>1</sup> is in the following terms:

'SIR,—Sir Henry Houghton (M.P. for Preston) has been so kind as to communicate to me your offer (of the house in which Collonell Guest lived) to him. You tell him that you and he shall not disagree, and he recommends me to stand in the same place of favour to be your tenant. I will, if you please to accept of me, take the house from the fifteenth of May next, for six months. Be pleased to take notice of the receipt of this, and let me know upon what terms I am to have the house furnished for a family. I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

RICHARD STEELE.'

Anderson at once accepted the offer.

'Your own character and the recommendation of Sr Henry Houghton' (he replies to Steele) 'gives you a just (claim?) of a hearty welcome to my house and little garden which I shall have ready

<sup>1</sup> James Maidment, *Analecta Scotica* (Series I), p. 16. The correspondence was drawn upon by G. A. Aitken in his *Life of Richard Steele*, 2 vols., 1889. See pp. 184-87 in vol. ii. and others referred to in the index. The originals of the letters quoted from Maidment are in the National Library of Scotland.

furnished for you by the 15<sup>th</sup> of May next, Coll. Guest being to move before that time. . . . Be pleased to let me know what beds you will have occasion for and if you bring coach or chariot, that I may look for a coach-house, there being only a stable for 2 horses belonging to the house. I hope the known goodness of y<sup>e</sup> air of the house will be to your lady's liking, as it was to Lady Houghton and M<sup>rs</sup> Guest, and I believe the place will be not the less agreeable to you, that in the neighbourhood I have a little Muse wherein is some furniture which I presume may afford you diversion at spare time. . . .<sup>1</sup>

At the end of July Steele was still in London, and could not tell Anderson when he would be able to start for Edinburgh. He requests Anderson, however, 'to place in the habitation with which you have obliged me any plain laborious woman (an old one I had rather have) to keep the goods in order.' Whenever his 'great affair' is finished Steele promises to take the road for Scotland, though he will not bring his coach because of his wife's inability to accompany him.<sup>2</sup> In December, by which time Steele had been and gone, Anderson was making strenuous efforts to obtain the £10 of rent due by his tenant. Apparently the money was forthcoming in the end, for in June 1719 Steele was proposing to take the house again, 'on the same terms for the same space of time.'<sup>3</sup> In the following summer Steele was arranging with Anderson for the hire of Professor Scott's house for his use in Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup>

Then in 1721 we find Anderson sending Steele a description of his library, which evidently straitened means had compelled him to dispose of. The editor of the *Diplomata Scotica* apologised for having made so large a collection, he being 'a private man, and having a numerous family.' But he thought

<sup>1</sup> The draft of this letter was in the collection of MSS. in the possession of James Maidment (Mr. Wills's papers).

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Aitken, *Life of Richard Steele*, vol. ii. p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, i. 17. Professor Scott, as we have seen, sold a mansion in the Wester Croft to Mary Erskine, 'relict of James Hair, druggist,' who erected in its stead the Merchant Maiden Hospital. See p. 64-5.

knowledge of the history of Scotland was important, and that so many works relating to it should not be dispersed. Steele seems to have petitioned the House of Commons in the hope that Anderson's library might be purchased for the nation.<sup>1</sup>

But to return to Steele's tenancy of Anderson's property. The correspondence between the *Tatler* essayist and the Edinburgh antiquary and genealogist presents what in journalistic phraseology is called an intriguing situation. Was the house which Steele occupied during his stay in Edinburgh in the latter part of 1718 Anderson's three-storey mansion with coach-house and stables which stood at the north-west corner of the Potterrow and had a semi-circular entrance near the Flodden Wall? Direct evidence is, unfortunately, not available, but after consideration of the whole circumstances, it is difficult to evade the conclusion that it was. And if this assumption be justified, another interesting fact emerges from the correspondence, namely, that Anderson's house in the Potterrow was previously tenanted by 'Collonell Guest,' whom we recognise as having, in the 'Forty-five, defended Edinburgh Castle against Prince Charles Edward.

Anderson at some unascertained date, though it must have been before 1728, the year of his death, disposed his house in the Wester Croft to Sir Walter Pringle of Newhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Newhall. This much esteemed judge died in 1736.<sup>2</sup>

From Sir Walter Pringle the subjects descended to his son, Robert, who sold them on 28th April 1737 to Archibald, Duke of Douglas, sasine being given in the following July. Elevated to ducal rank at the age of nine, the Duke of Douglas, at the close of the last Scots Parliament, bore the Crown from the Parliament House to Edinburgh Castle. He was a Hanoverian, and unfeignedly loyal during the risings of 1715 and 1745. In

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Aitken, *Life of Richard Steele*, vol. ii. pp. 256-57.

<sup>2</sup> Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 496.

the second Jacobite rebellion Douglas Castle in Lanarkshire was occupied by the Highlanders on their return from Derby. Thirteen years later it was destroyed by fire, and an ornate building (recently demolished) was built by the Duke from plans prepared by Robert Adam. The Duke was poorly educated and, more serious, his sanity was doubted. In 1725, in a fit of jealousy, he killed his cousin, Captain John Ker, when a guest at Douglas Castle. As for his cruel treatment of his only sister, Lady Jane Douglas (of Douglas Cause fame), it is matter of common knowledge. The Duke died at Queensberry House in the Canongate in 1761, when the title became extinct.

The Duke of Douglas had his town house in the Wester Croft of Bristo for sixteen years. It is shown in Edgar's plan of Edinburgh (1765). Surrounded by a large and well-wooded garden, it extended northwards to a narrow thoroughfare running between Potterrow and Bristo Port and dividing the wall of the property from the Town Wall. On 25th January 1753 the Duke disposed his property in the Wester Croft to William, Lord Braco, as testified by a document of that date signed by the Duke at Douglas Castle.<sup>1</sup> A member of the Duff family, he was elevated in 1735 to the peerage of Ireland, as Baron Braco of Kilbryde, Co. Cavan, and advanced to a viscounty and earldom in 1759, by the titles of Viscount Macduff and Earl Fife. His Lordship (who died in September 1763) married as his second wife Jean, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart. After his death, the Countess continued to reside in the mansion, re-naming it Fife House.

<sup>1</sup> Enclosed in the inventory, which contains most of the writs of lands in Bristo in the *Calendar of the Living Charters*, is an obligation, dated 7th July 1730, by Charles Milne, proprietor of the tenement at the Potterrow Port, that as Lord Newhall had agreed with him to put up two doors 'in the common vennell betwix his lodging on the west and mine on the east,' to keep the vennell clean, he declares that his putting up the two doors is without prejudice to his Lordship's interest, and that he will furnish keys for the doors, the vennell being mutual.

How long she occupied the house cannot be stated, but in 1773 it was possessed by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Macdonald, Bart., with whom Dr. Johnson and Boswell dined. Shortly thereafter Sir Alexander removed to St. Andrew Square, and Fife House in Potterrow knew no more titled occupants. The construction of the South Bridge, followed by the opening up of a new thoroughfare on the line of what is now Lothian Street, resulted in many changes. Ainslie's map (1804) shows the north side built on as far as Brighton Street. Fife House seems to have been demolished soon afterwards.

The south side of Lothian Street was erected later and, as can be seen to this day, the original plan was departed from at the west end, of which more presently. On the ground now occupied by the tenements there formerly stood a flourishing linen manufactory owned by Neil Macvicar, a relative of the celebrated minister of St. Cuthbert's of the same name, and Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1802-04. The premises extended southwards from Lothian Street,<sup>1</sup> had a frontage of about 240 feet, and covered nearly an acre. After Macvicar's death in 1813 the whole property was advertised for sale. The announcement pointed out that the subjects afforded space 'for a lane of inferior houses entering from the Potterrow' with a frontage of about 300 feet. Macvicar lived in a house adjoining his works, the stone for which was mostly derived 'from a quarry on the ground.' This building, which was pulled down in 1934, formed the central feature of a small court reached latterly from 6 Lothian Street.

On the site of Macvicar's linen manufactory and the adjacent ground were erected, during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the tenements on the south side of Lothian Street, already referred to. At the west end, behind the lofty tenement at the corner of Bristo Street, there is a

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the titles of certain properties that part of what is now Lothian Street formerly went by the name of Macvicar Place.

gap caused by a break in the original building plan, and, in place of the lofty line of the tenements, there is a low structure, slightly recessed, and exhibiting as its most prominent features a gable end with a steeply pitched roof, partly tiled and partly slated, and an enormous chimney stack at the right-hand side. The whole building is decidedly quaint, and looks like an old farmhouse which somehow has become stranded amid urban surroundings. Immediately in front is a bookseller's shop, one storey in height, through which one must pass to reach the old building behind. As a matter of fact, the two structures are now conjoined and form a single bookselling establishment. Mounting a stair in the older portion of the premises, one reaches an apartment over the doorway of which is a stone lintel bearing the deeply incised initials, 'W. D.-M. A.,' and the date 1725. The former letters stand for William Denholm, barber, burgess of Edinburgh, who received sasine (recorded 11th June 1725) of certain tenements and yards in the Wester Croft. The other initials are those of Denholm's wife, Margaret Anderson, who was granted the dwelling-house and an annuity of two hundred merks Scots furth of the above-mentioned lands (21st August 1725), but it is doubtful if she received any benefit as Denholm was in financial difficulties before his death in 1751.

Denholm's ground extended southwards to the rear of the Woolpack Inn. In his time the house was entered from Bristo Street and had a grass plot facing westwards. It consisted of three storeys and ten fire rooms, one of which possessed a marble mantelpiece. In 1739 it was the town house of James, second Earl of Rosebery. About 1766 Denholm's trustees sold the ground at the southern end of the property and on it was erected the picturesque three-storey building (No. 7 Bristo Street) which still exists. A contemporary document makes clear that it was owned by James Hamilton, goldsmith. The house is stated to occupy the ground betwixt the tenement which belonged to Patrick Malcolm, stabler in Bristo, on the

south, the tenement, coal house and yard on the east and north owned by Denholm's trustees, and 'the king's high street leading to the Windmill on the west.' Malcolm's premises were the Woolpack Inn, which in a rebuilt form is still to the fore. Occupied continuously as a hostelry since 1741, the Woolpack Inn was in olden times the quarters of the Carlisle carriers. Malcolm died in 1748, and the business was carried on by his widow, Elizabeth Nicolson, till 1775. In 1820 the Woolpack was owned by Mrs. Sherlock and in 1823 by John Williamson, who gave the establishment the name of the Woolpack Inn. The building is therefore very much older than the name it bears.

Next to the Woolpack Inn on the south is a tenement (now 14 Bristo Street) with an arched entrance giving access to what has long been known as Dickson's Court. Here stood in 1773 a brick cottage of five rooms which was owned by Thomas Wood of Warriston, the father of 'Lang Sandy Wood' (1725-1807), the famous and highly popular Edinburgh surgeon whose lineaments may be seen in Kay's *Original Portraits*. Byron, it may be added, held 'Lang Sandy' in high esteem and introduced him into a fragment of a fifth canto of *Childe Harold*:

'Oh! for an hour of him who knew no feud,  
The octogenarian chief, the kind old Sandy Wood!'

Wood's cottage had a frontage of 43 feet, and to the west there was a pleasing view over green fields, this portion of Bristo Street being then unbuilt on.

Immediately south of Thomas Wood's cottage and fronting Bristo Street was a lofty tenement which was long known as the Seceders' Land. This building, which still survives, though its demolition is foreshadowed, was well named, having been erected by the Seceders who formed Bristo congregation in 1738. Viewed from the University Union or the M'Ewan Hall, this block of buildings has a decidedly old-world appear-

74 EASTER AND WESTER CROFTS OF BRISTO

ance. The severely plain exterior of four storeys is pierced by rows of large windows and surmounted by a broadly sloping gable-end with four small windows (the central ones with circular tops) and a rather prominent chimney stack. Underneath is an arched opening which for almost two centuries gave access to the Bristo Meeting-house, as it was called, perhaps the most historic Dissenting place of worship in Scotland, intimately connected, as it was, with the beginnings of the Secession and the labours of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine. Within the walls of the original building took place, in 1747, the 'Breach' which gave rise to Burghers and Anti-burghers, and in the later building (now the Pollock Memorial Hall in connection with Edinburgh University) was witnessed the reunion of these sects in 1820, likewise the first Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, a denomination originating out of the union in 1847 of the Secession and Relief bodies. Furthermore, Bristo was the oldest of the Secession congregations, and from it sprang nearly a score of churches within the city itself, while it contributed largely to the formation of congregations so far afield as Slateford and South Queensferry.

But to quit the realm of ecclesiastical history and return to the Seceders' Land.<sup>1</sup> In 1741 the Seceders purchased from Arthur Straiton, barber, burgess of Edinburgh, 'half ane acre of the Ground presently possessed by William Borthwicke, Gardner in Bristo, and the Thatch houses to the Street of Bristo, Lying betwixt Midletoun's house and your own Tenament.' The sum paid for the half-acre and the thatched dwellings was £100 stg., with three guineas to Straiton's spouse, and 'half a guinea Dead earnest' on gaining possession. The thatched houses, one storey high, were pulled down, and in their stead was erected the four-storey tenement

<sup>1</sup> Most of the following particulars are derived from *Memorials of Bristo Church* (1879), which contains a history of the congregation derived largely from the records and from other sources not readily accessible.



SECEDERS' LAND, BRISTO STREET

referred to. The first flat was for a period the manse of the Bristo Seceders, and in it dwelt the redoubtable Adam Gib, the first minister of the congregation.

The original Meeting-house was erected on the north side of the ground acquired from Straiton. The building was about ninety feet long—a plain, low, narrow structure, with heavy galleries reached by outside stairs, numerous table seats, and a clumsy pulpit fitted with a huge canopy which was held in position by iron rods fixed to the front wall. On each side of the pulpit was a large window, and there were two rows of smaller ones. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the first Bristo Meeting-house had become dilapidated and otherwise inconvenient. Accordingly it was resolved to erect a new place of worship, partly on the original site, at a cost of £4084. The foundation stone was laid in 1803 and the congregation took possession on 8th July 1804. For more than one hundred and thirty years the members of Bristo continued to worship in this building, but the migration in the present century of a large part of the surrounding population, together with clearances on an extended scale, caused the membership to decline, and in 1937 the building became the property of Edinburgh University.

Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century that portion of Marshall Street extending from Bristo Street to Potterrow was the site of two narrow thoroughfares known as Middleton's Entry and Hamilton's Entry. Lined with tall tenements, Hamilton's Entry curved northwards and joined Middleton's which connected with Potterrow opposite an arched opening leading into Hay Street, a portion of which, together with the pend, was cleared away in 1935. Hamilton's Entry took its name from one Thomas Hamilton, mason, burgess of Edinburgh, who, on 25th December 1690, upon disposition by his wife, Agnes Naper (sometime spouse to Simeon Moffat, indweller in Wester Bristo, thereafter of William Livingston, wright, burgess of Edinburgh), received



sasine (recorded 19th January 1691) of two parcels of land in the Wester Croft, with the houses and biggings thereon and pertinents. Hamilton added further buildings, and his widow continued his operations. Walter Scott, it is interesting to recall, attended a school in Hamilton's Entry kept by John Luckmore, a friend of his father, at whose table he was a weekly guest.<sup>1</sup>

Middleton's Entry, which was the more important of the two thoroughfares, was of later date. At all events, we hear of James Middleton erecting a house there about 1741, and of a sasine (recorded 11th April 1743) to Mrs. Johanna Swift, widow of Thomas Broughton, one of the Commissioners of Excise, of the fourth storey of a new tenement built by James Middleton in Potterrow. The Edinburgh directories show that from 1773-74 onwards Middleton's Entry was a residential quarter for well-to-do citizens.<sup>2</sup> At the Potterrow end was a small court containing a public well and what was known as the Cross of Bristo. Unfortunately the only scrap of information that has been gleaned about the latter structure is contained in a Precept of *Clare Constat*, granted by the magistrates and dated 10th September 1656, with reference to a ground annual. In this document mention is made of a piece of land in the Wester Croft being bounded on the west by the lands of the Cross of Bristo.

We come now to General's Entry, a narrow opening on the east side of Bristo Street and midway between Marshall Street and Chapel Street. In this enclosure are two modern brick tenements which form the base of a triangular piece of ground having frontages both to Bristo Street and Potterrow. Before their erection the site was occupied by a block of seventeenth-century buildings, in one of which Mrs. M'Lehose

<sup>1</sup> Wilmot Harrison, *Memorable Edinburgh Houses*, new ed., 1898, revised and enlarged by Oliphant Smeaton, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> One of the principal hiring establishments for Sedan chairs was in Middleton's Entry, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. ix. p. 212.

(Burns's 'Clarinda') lived during the poet's memorable visit to Edinburgh in the winter of 1786-87.

A sasine, recorded 4th November 1709, speaks of one John Diksone having 'buildit and biggit' two houses in General's Entry, which had two entrances, one from Potterrow and the other from 'the highway leading from the Society (or Bristo) Port.' Diksone was a maltman, a bailie of Easter Portsburgh, and the accredited representative of the Touris family in the Bristo district. His name is perpetuated on a large semi-circular pediment inserted in the outer wall of the modern brick tenements. The stone is weather-worn, but it bears a shield with Diksone's armorial crest. Diksone made his Will and Testament in June 1663 and died in September following. He nominated his only son John as his executor, and left to Jonnet Oisburne, 'my loveing spouse,' the 'thrid pairt of the insyct and pleinsching of my dwelling house . . . and ane blak kow that is yitt uncalved, that is presentlie in the park of Haly-rudhouse and the haill croft of wheitt and beir presentlie growing upone the loaning pertaining to the toune of Edinburgh.'

Between 1709 and 1724 the houses belonging to Diksone were converted into a lodging for Major-General Joseph Wightman, and it was probably this circumstance that led to that portion of Bristo Street being called 'General's Entry.' In 1712 Wightman was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and on the outbreak of Mar's rebellion in 1715, he with 1800 men took post at Stirling where Argyll joined him. At the battle of Sheriffmuir he commanded the centre division of the Hanoverian army,<sup>1</sup> and wrote an account of the engagement which was printed in *A History of the late Rebellion* by Robert Patten.<sup>2</sup> In earlier times Wightman had

<sup>1</sup> Article in *Dictionary of National Biography*, first supplement.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of this work is: *A History of the late Rebellion*, 'with Original Papers and the Characters of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen concerned in it; by the Rev. Mr. Robert Patten, formerly Chaplain to Mr. Forster.' It was published in two editions in the same year (1717), the second being enlarged. Two later editions were published in 1745.

served in Marlborough's campaigns, and was mentioned in one of the Duke's dispatches as 'a very careful, diligent officer.'<sup>1</sup>

Wightman's lodging in the Wester Croft was afterwards owned by Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland, Bart., one of the Principal Clerks of Session. On 12th May 1738 a sasine was recorded in favour of his second wife, Dame Sidney Sinclair, daughter of John Sinclair of Ulbster, of the whole property, but reserving his life interest in it. Sir John died in 1743, and his widow, by a disposition dated 5th April 1754, conveyed the property in favour of her eldest son, Captain Hugh Dalrymple. It is thus described in the sasine, recorded 5th September:

'All and hail that great lodging in the Potterraw of Edinburgh, back and fore, sometime possessit in two distinct houses and now joynd in one. As also a laigh house adjacent thereto, with the yeard and bowling green and a laigh room and high room belonging to the said bowling green, with the stable and coachhouse and the well within the closs, presently covered and shut up . . . all sometye possessit by Major-Generall Wightman, and as the same are presently possessit by the said Dam (*sic*) Sidney Sinclair . . . being parts and portions of that peice of land of the west croft of Bristo and of the houses . . . and pertinents which of old belonged to William Morison, indweller in Potterraw, . . . and are parts . . . which of old belonged to the deceast Nicoll Reid. . .'

Captain Hugh Dalrymple, who inherited from his father the barony of Fordell, married Lady Helen, daughter of James,

<sup>1</sup> Wightman took part in the military operations connected with the defence of Edinburgh in 1715. Several references to him are contained in the *Warrender Letters* (Scottish History Society, 1935). 'Keep a correspondence with Gen. Wightman' is an instruction by Sir George Warrender, Bart., the Lord Provost, to the magistrates. At the celebration of the King's birthday in May 1715 Wightman, we learn, 'ordered severall dragoons and other foot souldiers to . . . walk up the streets of Edinburgh in a most decent maner.' The General was also 'pleas'd to call them and distinguished the companies as they pass'd by.' We hear, too, that Wightman 'earnestly intreated the magestrats to come to his solemnity (royal birthday celebration) he was to have att the Abbay (Holyrood),' which the magistrates agreed to.

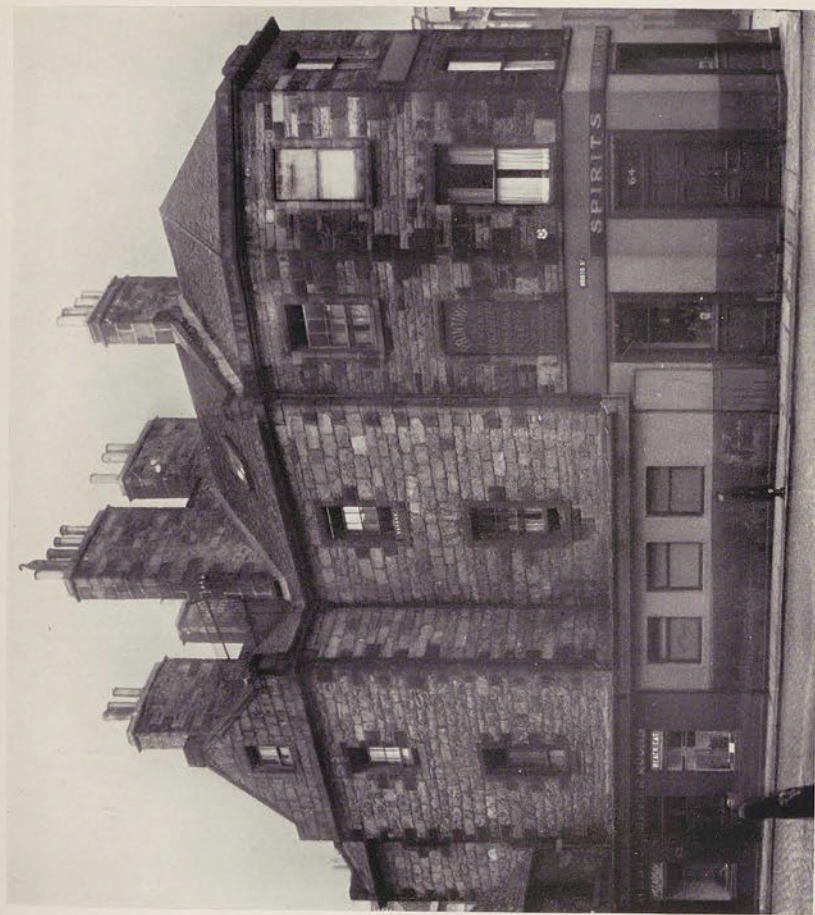
fourth Earl of Wemyss. On 10th September 1754 (the year of the marriage) sasine was recorded in her favour of an annuity of £300 stg. furth of the barony of Fordell, and the great lodging in Potterrow.

For some obscure reason Captain Dalrymple afterwards built himself a new residence at the south end of the triangular area where Potterrow and Bristo Street meet. Dalrymple House, for such was its name, still survives but is greatly altered externally. At first, the main entrance was on the street level and faced due south, but in or about 1813 the ground floor was converted into shops and a new entrance to the upper floors provided on the Potterrow side, the doorway of which is reached by a broad outside stair. The elevation of Dalrymple House is somewhat singular, its projecting wings, together with the outlying portion to the south, causing it to be known locally as the 'Ace of Clubs,' though its resemblance to the playing card of that name was more apparent formerly than now. Having no family of his own, Captain Dalrymple bequeathed the mansion (in which he resided till his death in 1784), likewise Fordell and the estate of Clelland in Lanarkshire, to his nephew, Sir William Dalrymple of Cousland, Bart. The latter did not, however, long survive, and on 14th January 1786 Dalrymple House was advertised for sale. It was described as

'That large dwelling house lately possessed by the deceast Captain Dalrymple of Fordell, lying at the south end of the Potterrow, consisting of three storeys and garrets, with an area or open court adjoining, 46 feet by 36 feet, containing a coachhouse with a hay loft and stalls for five horses. On the ground storey . . . there is a large kitchen, servants' hall, housekeeper's room, dressing room, several closets and cellars with catacombs. The second storey consists of a large dining room, drawing room, a large bed chamber, closets and other conveniences. The third or attic storey consists of three large bed chambers with closets, etc. The garret storey consists of three rooms not yet finished.'

In 1790 Dalrymple House was tenanted by William Charles Little of Liberton, who, on 17th April 1786, received the freedom of the city and a piece of plate for the generous gift of the 'springs' on his property by way of supplementing the water supply. In 1792 he assumed the name of Gilmour, and henceforth was known as William Charles Little Gilmour of Liberton and Craigmillar. With his death in 1797 ended the history of Dalrymple House as a private residence. In 1813 the mansion was again offered for sale in pretty much the same terms as those of 1786, but it was suggested to the prospective buyer that the ground floor might be utilised for shops. This was done, and, as already stated, considerable structural alterations had consequently to be made. It was at this period that the upper portion of the building was divided into small houses. But notwithstanding the transformation of Dalrymple House, some of its former dignity is still to be seen in its spacious rooms and lofty ceilings, though, curiously enough, there is a marked absence of decorative effect both inside and out.

The Easter Croft, which now claims attention, was much larger than the Wester but, as already mentioned, contained fewer buildings, probably because it was less easy of access. When, early in the eighteenth century, it first comes into the records, Sir James Nicolson of Lasswade, Bart., was the superior. This family, whose name is commemorated in Nicolson Street and Nicolson Square, originated with one James Nicolson, writer in Edinburgh, who died in 1580. His son, John, who was an advocate, acquired in 1592 the lands of Dryden in Lasswade parish, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Edward Henryson, whose imposing tombstone in Greyfriars Churchyard is well known. The son of this laird of Dryden, who bore the same Christian name as his father, was in 1629 created a baronet of Nova Scotia, with the designation 'of Lasswade.' He died in 1651. The successor to the baronetcy was his



MANSION OF CAPTAIN HUGH DALRYMPLE OF FORDEIL, AT THE JUNCTION OF POTTERROW AND BRISTO STREET

grandson, John. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Dick of Braid, and represented Edinburgh in the Scots Parliament. The owner of the Easter Croft of Bristo was Sir James, the seventh baronet, who succeeded to the title in 1693. He married, first, Isabel, daughter of Henry Simpson, a Northumbrian laird, and, second, Elizabeth, daughter of James Carnegy of Craigo.

Sir James Nicolson received from Rev. John Wood sasine (recorded 16th July 1713) of 'that tenement of land, under and above, with the closs and area belonging thereto presently possest be Dame Elizabeth Trotter, Lady Nicolson . . . all lying and bounded in manner following, viz. :—the yaird and bowling green possest be William Reid, gardener, belonging to the said Mr. John Wood, to the west therof, the riggs and aickers of land belonging to the airs of umquhill — Howison, minister of Inveresk, and the tenement and yaird sometye belonging to — to the south therof . . . the highway leading from the toun wall to the crackling house and Craigmiller on the east therof (and) the highway or vennel leading from the Potterraw Port to the Pleasants and town wall, on the north.'

Elizabeth, Lady Nicolson, died in 1723, but her son, Sir James, was in possession during her lifetime. At any rate, he bought some waste ground on the east side of Potterrow. The area had been occupied with tenements, but these were demolished in 1715-16. Near the south-west corner of South College Street Sir James built himself a mansion which, when advertised to let in 1755, was described as 'the biggest house on the east side near the Potterrow Port' and consisting of 'three storeys and garrets, all well finished, being pleasantly situated amongst gardens, with a garden belonging thereto.' It is a rather vague description, but with it we must rest content.

Sir James Nicolson made considerable additions to his original holding in the Easter Croft, principally to the south and east. One of his purchases was that portion of ground

extending from Brown Street to near Beaumont Place and stretching eastwards to Dumbiedykes. He also acquired three and a half acres on which Simon Square, Richmond Lane and West Richmond Street were afterwards built. Further, he owned the south-west corner of West Nicolson Street, likewise Gray's Court, on the west side of Nicolson Street. Collectively these additions outwith the Easter Croft were nearly as large as the property granted to him by his mother.

After the death of her husband in 1743, Lady Nicolson proved herself even more enterprising in the development of the property in the Easter Croft. In 1749 she feued the ground on which Alison Square was built. But her most important achievement was the construction of Nicolson Street and Nicolson Square, both of which involved marked curtailment of the grounds in which her mansion<sup>1</sup> stood. Not only so, but the making of the 'New Road' through her park soon rendered her residence at the northern end of her property inconvenient. There were, however, compensating advantages in the profits she derived from feuing the ground bordering each side of the proposed new thoroughfare, which for the present was to terminate at the southern end of her policies, namely, where West Nicolson Street and West Richmond Street are now.

In Edgar's map of 1765 Lady Nicolson's park, which lay between Potterrow and the Pleasance, is intersected by the 'New Road,' at the northern end of which, as already pointed out, stood the earlier of two mansions occupied by her. Situated a short distance to the south of the Flodden Wall, its surroundings at the time of which we write were for the most part rural. Looking south-east the only building in

<sup>1</sup> 'One of the first houses from top to bottom, then reckoned fine and fashionable, was built on a property to the south of the City Wall, called from the name of the proprietor, Lady Nicolson's House. My grandfather rented it one year. . . . We the lads of the College used to play at football on the grounds now covered' with buildings. *Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie* (the 'Man of Feeling'), ed. by H. W. Thompson, 1927, p. 49.

sight was the Riding School, or to give the official but puzzling title—the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises. The Riding School, with its pseudo-classical front of the sixteenth-century Italian Palladio, occupied the site of the present Surgeons' Hall.<sup>1</sup> Built on slightly elevated ground, the front of the mansion overlooked the new roadway, in the centre of which Lady Nicolson erected a columnar monument to the memory of her husband. Arnot tells us that it was a Corinthian pillar, 25 feet 2 inches high, and that on the base was an inscription in Latin and English setting forth that Lady Nicolson, having been left the adjacent ground by her husband, had, out of regard to his memory, planned a street which was to run through the property and to be called 'Nicolson Street.'<sup>2</sup> When the South Bridge scheme was completed and linked up (c. 1800) with the new road through Lady Nicolson's park, the pillar, which stood opposite to the Empire Theatre, was found to be an obstruction, and was removed. The hope was expressed that the monument to Sir James Nicolson would be re-erected in the square which also bears his name, but this was never done. For a time the unwanted memorial lay in the yard of the Riding School, and then it was broken up, much to the regret of Lord Cockburn and other leading citizens.<sup>3</sup>

In 1755 Lady Nicolson's mansion was advertised to let. Subsequently she removed from the northern to the southern end of her property where she built herself a new residence. It stood between West Nicolson Street and West Richmond Street, and, facing down Nicolson Street, formed a terminal to the 'New Road.' Clearly, Lady Nicolson was unable to visualise a state of things when Nicolson Street would form but a small portion of the main avenue from the city to the

<sup>1</sup> See 'An Eighteenth-Century Riding School,' by W. Forbes Gray, in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xx. pp. 111-159.

<sup>2</sup> Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, new ed. 1816, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, new ed. 1874, pp. 6-7.

south. Considering that the later Nicolson House effectually prevented further efforts to open up the city in that direction, it is surprising that it was allowed to remain for upwards of a quarter of a century, and long after Lady Nicolson had passed away. Her death took place about 1767, when the mansion was advertised to let. It was described as that 'large and commodious house on the south side of Edinburgh called Nicolson House, consisting of three storeys and garrets, four rooms on each storey, with hall and a good staircase.' We are further informed that the mansion is 'finely situated, being quite detached from other buildings and surrounded with garden ground, has a fine view of the sea, and looks down Nicolson Street.' The grounds extended westwards to Palmer's Buildings and southwards to the Crosscauseway. How uncertain was the future of this neighbourhood is impressively shown by the fact that so late as 1814 the disposal of the site of Nicolson House was still in doubt. In that year an effort was made to sell by private bargain 'the area in Nicolson Street on which Nicolson House formerly stood, the property of Mr. Carnegie, the Superior of the street. There is one front of about 90 feet facing Nicolson Street and another to the great road which is about to be opened leading from Nicolson Street to George Square.' The 'Mr. Carnegie' mentioned as superior was Thomas Carnegie of Craigo, nephew of Lady Nicolson. In 1763 she executed in his favour a decret of entail of 'all lands, tenements, and other heritable subjects' belonging to her at her death.

One of Sir James Nicolson's earliest attempts at developing his property was the feuing, about 1730, to Alexander Young, brewer, Potterrow, of the ground lying between the southern end of that thoroughfare and Nicolson Street. Here Young erected, close to his brewery, a three-storey tenement of the L-shaped type. Then, towards the end of the eighteenth century, a row of buildings was erected to the north of Young's premises. These buildings, which were demolished in 1935,

were reached through an arched opening at Simson's Court, Potterrow. An advertisement, dated 11th February 1799, offering them for sale, mentions an old house on the south side of the court, and adjoining the block referred to, 'as at present occupied by Mr. Simson, wright,' which accounts for the origin of the name of the court.

But by far the most interesting house in this neighbourhood, and one, happily, which has so far escaped the house-breaker, is Chapel House. Situated at the far end of Potterrow and standing well back from the street, this substantial building, with its row of massive stone vases or urns arranged equidistantly along the line of the roof, looks a trifle forlorn. Yet that it was a house with some pretensions to grandeur is plainly evident from the remains of the avenue by which it was approached—an avenue which can still boast of a huge gateway flanked by pillars, on the top of which rest large stone balls. The gateway, however, does not occupy its original site, having been taken down in 1937 and rebuilt a few yards farther back in order that the entrance to Potterrow might be widened.

Chapel House was built early in the eighteenth century by Robert Frame, mason in Potterrow. The ground was feued from Sir James Nicolson, the over superiors being the Governors of Heriot's Hospital. In a sasine, recorded 22nd August 1755, to Alexander Palmer, wright and picture-framer at the Windmill, and Mary Milner, his spouse, allusion is made to 'that piece or parcel of garden ground . . . with the large house lately built by Robert Frame upon the said ground . . . and now belonging to his son Richard.' Palmer became proprietor of Chapel House and let it to a succession of aristocratic tenants, including Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple of Bargeny and North Berwick; Sir Patrick Inglis, Bart.; and the partners in the firm of Inglis, Horner and Company, linen manufacturers. In later times, Chapel House became the permanent home of the Horner family, of which the two

famous members were Francis (1778-1817), the noted Whig politician and parliamentarian, and his brother Leonard (1785-1864), who rose to distinction as a geologist and educational reformer. Leonard Horner founded the Edinburgh School of Arts (now Heriot-Watt College), assisted in originating the Edinburgh Academy and the London Institution, and became Warden of London University at its opening. In the first half of the nineteenth century Andrew Melrose, founder of the firm of tea merchants, lived in Chapel House, together with thirty apprentices. In 1856 the mansion was converted into a maternity hospital and, after serving that purpose for many years, was sold to John Miller Richard, typesetter, in whose family it still remains.

Alexander Palmer, the proprietor of Chapel House, erected the block of buildings on the north side of West Nicolson Street which still goes by his name, and in which he resided. After his death Palmer's Buildings were occupied by Donald Smith, banker, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1806-08. Smith married Palmer's daughter Ann, and the only son of the union, Alexander, was a partner in the firm of Smith, Kinnear and Company, bankers. He died, aged thirty-five, on 9th March 1833, under tragic circumstances, his death being caused through the collapse of a floor in the house of Lord Eldin in Picardy Place during the sale of his Lordship's pictures. Alexander Smith was the only person killed, but a number were injured.

Davie Street, a short thoroughfare linking West Richmond Street with Simon Square, and having a row of high tenements on the west side, derived its name from a person to whom Lady Nicolson, in 1760, sold part of the ground between her mansion at the far end of the 'New Road' and the Royal Public Dispensary in West Richmond Street. On this site Davie erected a large establishment for the manufacture of sal-ammoniac and other chemical products. In this venture he had for partner no less a person than James Hutton, who,

before he became a founder of geology, devoted himself to the study of agriculture and chemistry. The enterprise, which was carried on till Davie's death in 1812, was the first manufactory of its kind in Britain. The works occupied half an acre, and, as there was a ready sale for the output, Davie became rich enough to purchase fresh ground in the locality, as well as Lady Nicolson's mansion, in which he lived for some time. At his death the ground in West Richmond Street was offered for sale with the proviso that a cross street was to be formed. This, as has been indicated, was called Davie Street, the west side of which still remains in much its original state.

The Royal Public Dispensary, a plain-looking building which was demolished a few months ago (the charity having removed to up-to-date premises opposite), marked the limit of Davie's property on the east. One of the earliest medical charities in Edinburgh, it owed its inception in 1776 mainly to the beneficent influence of Dr. Andrew Duncan (1744-1828), Professor of the Theory of Medicine in Edinburgh University. From then till now the sick poor of the city have been provided with advice, assistance and medicines, free of charge. The managers of the Dispensary appear to have bought the site from Davie. The foundation stone was laid in July 1780. Beneath it was deposited a medal, on which was engraved a figure of the goddess of Health with the words *Salus Publica* for a legend. Under the foundation stone was also placed a glass, hermetically sealed, containing an account of the charity, to which were prefixed the following lines from Pope's *Essay on Man*:

'In faith and hope the world will disagree  
But all mankind's concern is charity:  
All must be false, that thwarts this one great end;  
And all of God, that bless mankind, or mend.'<sup>1</sup>

At the south-west corner of West Nicolson Street, at the point where it joins Chapel Street, there is an old-fashioned

<sup>1</sup> See *Caledonian Mercury*, July 15, 1780.

house, the west front of which is covered by a luxuriant pear tree. This building, long since converted into the office of a firm of distillers, has an interesting history. On 9th March 1756 sasine was given by William Reid to Sir James Fergusson, who from 1735 sat on the Bench as Lord Kilkerran, and was 'undoubtedly one of the ablest lawyers of his time.'<sup>1</sup> The area measured 60 feet from north to south, and 279 feet on south side and 249 feet on the north. It was 'bounded by the King's Highway leading from the Potterraw to the Sheens (Sciennes) upon the west and south; by the lands "feued to Mr. James Mackenzie, minister," on the south-east'; by the 'park belonging to Dame Elizabeth Carnegie and avenew leading thereto from the said high street (Nicolson Street) on north-east and north . . . together with the whole houses and other buildings erected by the said William Reid or his authors . . . as the same are now enclosed and possessed by Sir James Fergusson.'

Sir James also had a 'tack' of the land to the west of the mansion, which is now a part of the burying ground of Buccleuch Parish Church, his object being to preserve his view of what must have been at that time quite a country aspect, George Square not having yet been built. This ground was acquired scarcely two months after the purchase of the mansion. The sasine, following on disposition by Jean Hamilton, widow of Hugh Cleghorn, brewer, contains some interesting particulars:

'All and Whole the reservoir or well for receiving and preserving the water which runs from the Burrow (Loch) or Meadow, Together with the area or space of ground around the said well upon which the building called the Windmill presently stands, extending the said area and reservoir in circumference without the present wall of the said Wind Miln to one hundred and eight feet or thereby, as also the whole stones and others below the surface within the said well, with liberty to build upon the said area and well at pleasure.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, *Life of Kames*, 2nd ed. 1814, vol. i. pp. 52-3.

<sup>2</sup> The Windmill was demolished before 1768, as appears from a writ quoted on p. 232 of vol. x. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

Hardly, however, had Sir James Fergusson entered into possession when he died, 20th January 1759. In 1771 William, thirteenth Earl of Glencairn, Governor of Dumbarton Castle, was tenant, and for a few years previous to 1783 the house was occupied by Alicia Johnston, widow of William Baird of Newbyth and mother of the gallant Sir David Baird, the hero of Seringapatam. Then in 1790 the property was purchased by Sir Alexander Stirling of St. Albans, who had succeeded his cousin as fifth baronet of Glorat in 1771. He died in the following year, but his widow (who, before her marriage, was Mary Willis of Rochester)<sup>1</sup> continued to reside there under the designation of the Dowager Lady Stirling. On her death in 1814, aged ninety, the house was advertised for sale. It was recommended on the score of its being large and commodious, and replete with coachhouse, four-stalled stable, cowhouse, and other conveniences.

The Stirlings of Glorat are a branch of the Stirlings of Keir. The first of the family was Sir John Striveling of Craigharnard, Comptroller to James IV. In 1508 he acquired the lands of Glorat, and settled them on his second son, William. This William and his son and successor, George, were Keepers of Dumbarton Castle, the latter defending the fortress on two occasions. During the civil wars Sir Mungo Stirling and his son, George, were staunch supporters of the Stuart cause, and, because of their services and sufferings, Charles II conferred a baronetcy on the latter.<sup>2</sup> Several members of the family were buried in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, their tombstone being one of the few saved from the fire in January 1845. It now rests against the north wall of the church. The memorial, which is much decayed, does not bear the names of either Sir Alexander or Lady Stirling (the occupants of the mansion in West Nicolson Street), who are buried elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Wm. Fraser, *Stirlings of Keir* (1858), p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.



90 EASTER AND WESTER CROFTS OF BRISTO

In 1818 the house became the property of John Watt, tobacconist. It was again sold in 1823, this time to Andrew Usher, the father of the donor of the Usher Hall. The latter was born in the house, the various flats of which are still well preserved.

This completes the survey of the principal properties comprehended within the Easter and Wester Crofts of Bristo.

JOHN SMITH.

THE INCORPORATION OF THE TAILORS  
OF THE CANONGATE

THE Incorporation of the Tailors of the Canongate apparently originated in the sixteenth century; its existence terminated with the decease of the last member in 1877. Its records are now in the possession of the National Library of Scotland, and comprise complete Minutes from 1744 to the end of its career, transcripts of documents of earlier date, and a large quantity of account books, correspondence, etc. for the later period. On these the following paper is chiefly based.

I

The earliest documentary evidence of incorporation is a Seal of Cause granted on 20th May 1546 by Robert, Commendator of Holyroodhouse, as Superior of the Burgh of Canongate, to 'Thomas Allanson, Dekyn and Kirk Master of the Tailzeour Craft within our Brugh of Cannongait and certain masters of the same craft.' It ratifies 'certain gude Statutes Articles and Rules' which they have 'devisit and ordeinit for lovin of God, honour of realm, worship and profit of all leiges, augmentation of divine service at the altar in the Abbey, and for eschewing of insufficient craftsmen of their occupation.' Jurisdiction is extended over 'all persons of Taylzeour Craft in Leith, St. Leonards gait and Barony of Brochton' on whom the payment of 'sicklyke profits and dewties' as in Canongate may be enforced by the Baillies of Brochton; the money so received is to be 'warrit upon the reparation of the altar and chaplain and divine service.'

Details of administration are contained in a Seal of Cause

granted three years later (22nd May 1549) by the Bailie Council and Community of the Canongate, confirming rules made by the craft, as 'conformable to equity polity and the rule of other good towns.' These include an insistence that everyone of the craft must first be a freeman and burgess; they prescribe a six years' apprenticeship, with ten shillings entry money, examination by three of the best Masters before admission; and impose admission fees 'for the altar' of £2 for a freeman's son, £3 for a 'prentice, £4 for others, and a weekly payment of a penny in respect of 'buih' from each Master. These rules were endorsed by the Abbot in November 1554.

Meantime the Tailors had (22nd May 1546) made an agreement with the other three crafts then recognised—Hammermen, Baxters, and Cordners—to concur under penalty in 'all manner of actions, disorderis, or debates to the defence' of their rights, and to settle their own disputes and deal with their own offenders ('all falt and cryme avoydit and emendit among the said Maisters except theft or blude, and none prosecutit before the Court of Consistory'). In February 1610 they were parties to the well-known Agreement with the same parties, by which a Deacon Convener was to be elected annually in rotation from the crafts, and arbitration in disputes was to be exercised by a Court of Four Deacons and Four Masters.<sup>1</sup> To this we may assign the origin of the 'Conveenery of the Canongate,' to which frequent reference is made. Other four trades were admitted subsequently, the Barbers and Wig-makers so late as 1772. The Conveenery appears to have been in practice mainly an advisory body, and to have lacked adequate finance for effective action.

Here, as in Scottish economic development in general, the Reformation seems to have made little practical difference. As will be illustrated in detail, a close connection was main-

<sup>1</sup> This Agreement was expounded by Dr. Annie Cameron in an article included in vol. xiv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

tained with the local churches, and the few surviving documents referring to the Age of Transition indicate the preservation of the mediaeval polity. A 'Protest' of 1619 by the Craft against an increase of fee 'astrictit' from apprentices on admission to burgess-ship was apparently sustained, and in 1645, tailors of the West Water of Leith, cited by the Incorporation before the Baron Bailie of Brochtoun, recognised their liability and submitted to its control through an overseer for 'the said bounds where they dwell' and to an annual payment of twenty shillings.

After the Revolution of 1688, the 'Ancient Rights Charters and Seals of Causes' of the Taylors and other Crafts received royal confirmation (22nd July 1690) and a general ratification from the Scots Estates (23rd August). The close geographical and social connection of the Canongate with Edinburgh, and its political dependence since the latter acquired the Superiority in 1639, had meantime of necessity brought the practitioners of the craft into close relations with their fellows in the capital. Friction was frequent, and even in the sixteenth century attempted encroachments by Edinburgh rivals were contested. In 1584 Edinburgh Council ratified Articles proposed by the Deacon of Tailors and others penalising unfreemen, including those in 'Cannogait' who took up work there. The failure to become burgesses of those resident 'in the heid of the Cannogait upon the touns syde thereof . . . as if the samen were a place na wayis belonging to the liberty of the brugh, being without the ports' was censured by the Edinburgh Council on several occasions during the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> At some date prior to 1723 (at which date a copy was printed which survives in a mutilated condition) rules were drawn up to govern the relations of the Edinburgh and Canongate Incorporations. There were eight articles, of which

<sup>1</sup> Examples of disputes are given in J. Mackay's *History of Canongate*, pp. 131-33, and Sir J. D. Marwick's *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, e.g. pp. 180-81, 187-88.

the latter four are extant; they give procedure for dealing with disputes, and impose penalties for seizure of goods and for false declaration (a blank copy of the form prescribed is appended). To discourage litigiousness, complaints are to be judged only by the four Bailies of Edinburgh or the Dean of Guild.

In 1709 the Deacon of the Tailors, representing the Incorporations, gave in a Petition to the Bailies of Canongate, for ratification of their right to judge in matters solely regarding their own Incorporation, according to the 'union contract' of 1610. This was accorded, subject to unsettled difficulties being referable to the magistrates.

## II

It appears from subsequent references that the Incorporation became bankrupt in 1743, but it was reconstituted forthwith, and soon re-established itself. Its recovery is implicitly though not explicitly marked by the commencement of the first of the three extant Minute Books, with an entry of 13th November 1744. Minutes throughout are formal, perhaps because usually drafted by a law agent; while sometimes prolix in enunciating 'Acts' or recounting procedure, they are jejune in expressing policy or opinion, which has usually to be inferred. A description of the structure and functions of the Incorporation during the recorded period of its vigorous operation, till just after the end of the century, will now be attempted, and will occupy the main part of this paper; its decline and extinction in the course of the nineteenth century will then be briefly outlined, and their causes analysed and illustrated.

## III

The Incorporation at this period had an average membership of about fifty, usually described as 'tailzeours' or

'taylors'; a sub-craft of 'staymakers,' much in the minority, was also included. No such variety of technique as existed in the case of the Hammermen<sup>1</sup> is indicated; indeed the records are singularly barren on the technical side. A few women are occasionally included in the list of members, but seem to have had no active part in its affairs; they were usually widows who kept up payment of dues to qualify for benefit.

The Incorporation was administered by a Deacon, a 'Box-master' (from 1798 denominated Treasurer), a 'Little' or 'Second' Boxmaster, two Senior Masters, a Clerk, an Oversman, and an Officer. A Committee was appointed annually; though 'commonly termed the number of twelve,' it was in practice variable in size. Its Minutes are occasionally recorded. The Clerk, who compiled the Minutes, was usually a Writer—fortunately for their legibility; in 1749 he was awarded a honorarium of 30s. per annum. From 1786, however, for some years the duty was undertaken voluntarily by a member, for reasons of economy. The 'Oversman' had supervision over the craftsmen of North Leith, which was a dependency of the Canongate. The post of Officer, which carried a small salary, was apparently something of a sinecure, as it was usually assigned to some veteran, *e.g.* the ex-Deacons William Fala (or fala) (1753) and Alexander Monteith, 'a worthy old member' (1771). The latter received 10s. 'in compliment, to enable him to remove from Leith to Canongate,' but survived little more than a year; a principal duty was to give each member personal 'warning' of meetings and funerals.

Elections took place annually at 'Belton' (Beltane), the traditional name of the May term. The ritual was that the retiring Deacon nominated his successor, 'taking him by the hand,' but other names were added to the leet, and the official

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Marguerite Wood on the *Hammermen of the Canongate* in vols. xix. and xx.

nominee was by no means always successful; commonly the retiring head was reinstated for a second year. Refusal to take office was penalised by a fine. Boxmasters had to produce a guarantor, outwith the trade, on assuming office; and at the expiry of their term had to receive a formal discharge, granted only after audit by an *ad hoc* committee. At least one who refused to pay over the balance found due, was successfully sued (1749).

There were regular meetings at the four terms (the others being Candlemas, Lammas and Martinmas), when the quarterly dues were collected, and payments made to beneficiaries, as recorded in 'the Book apart' (Account Book). Sometimes these stated sessions, so far as reported, were purely formal; at others, business of varied complexion was discussed. Other meetings were held at need; sometimes, in urgent matters, within a few days of one another.

Prior to their bankruptcy, the Tailors like other Incorporations presumably met on their own premises, but thereafter, even in their greatest prosperity, never acquired a regular Hall—in dismal contrast with the fame of that in the Cowgate—though some project is hinted at in a cryptic reference in 1808 to 'having been disappointed of our convening house.' Meetings were held for some years in the house of Alex. Monteith, sometime Deacon; in 1738 a 'year's sett' was taken of the Shoemakers' Convening House; in 1783 they became tenants of the Mason's Lodge, and in 1792 transferred their patronage to the Hammermen.

The only reference to time of meeting is given in a decision of November 1822 to change the hour from 6 to 7 p.m.; in 1815 a threepenny fine for lateness was introduced, but there is no record of its exaction.

Meetings were formally constituted, it seems, by prayer, though this is definitely stated in the Minutes on only a few late occasions, and, rather ironically, a form of prayer was inserted in the book only after the period of decadence had

commenced.<sup>1</sup> Members were 'warned' personally overnight; unexcused absence involved a fine. Breach of peace was penalised by a fine of £10 Scots, extrusion for a year, and apology before readmission (1756). By 'taking instruments' dissatisfied members might record their protest against resolutions adopted; the prevailing sin of litigiousness caused some such protests to be carried further outside. Resolutions, grandiloquently styled 'Acts,' insisting on payment of entry money, of quarterly dues and of fines, were as frequent and about as ineffective as those of the Scots Estates themselves.

The constitution and rules of the Incorporation were modified from time to time (*e.g.* 1791, 1814, 1825), and on adoption the new regulations were recorded in the Minutes and signed by members; latterly they were printed for circulation.<sup>2</sup> No copy of those in force at the outset of the minuted period is extant. No special procedure, other than notice of motion, was apparently required for constitutional change.

#### IV

The mediaeval system, then, so far survived that at nearly every meeting one or more applications for membership were received. These were usually remitted to 'essay masters,' two chosen by the 'Petitioner,' two by the 'Trade,' and on their favourable report (given almost without exception, so that the seriousness of the test cannot be assessed, while no description of its character is available), and on payment of entrance fees, according to the scale in force at the time, the applicant was admitted at next meeting. A few specimens of 'petitions' survive, and the regular formula for admission is usually quoted in full:

'The Craft admitted and received A. B. freeman of this Incorporation with full power to him to follow forth use and exerce his trade of Taylor (Staymaker) within the whole

<sup>1</sup> The 'Prayer' is quoted in Appendix II.; *cf.* Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> The rules are given in full in Appendix III.

bounds thereof as fully and freely in every respect as any other freeman might or can do at present or could do at any time heretofore.' In the case of North Leith residents, the licence might be only for 'foresaid district of North Leith . . . within the bounds aforesaid.' Staymakers were recognised as a separate branch of the craft.

'Intrants' had to take the following oath:—

'I protest before God in the presence of the Deacon and his brethren that I profess the Protestant religion, That I shall be a true loyal and faithful subject to the King's Majesty, That I shall obey our Superiors the Magistrates of the Canongate, the Deacon of this Incorporation and his officers for the time being in all things lawful and honest, That I shall not conceal any unfreeman's work under colour of my own nor take my Neighbour's House without his consent, Nor do any Act or Deed directly or indirectly to the Prejudice of this Incorporation. For the Performance of all which help me God.'

Occasionally an entrant evinced scruples against taking the oath in full, apparently on grounds of its Erastian tendency. A notable case was that of John Kemp (1751), whose re-election as Boxmaster in 1758 was on this account the subject of protest; three years later, however, he was chosen Deacon. James Smith, who had passed his essay as 'properly qualified to serve the lieges' (Nov. 1762), refused the oath, but eighteen months later withdrew his objection and was admitted.

In 1759 the admission of a candidate was opposed on the ground that he had been a resetter, and that his membership would therefore be especially injurious to a society then preoccupied with 'wiping off our reproach and re-establishing our reputation.' The objectors obtained an 'interlocutor' from the Canongate magistrates, but despite their protest the suspect was admitted and seems to have established his integrity and proved a satisfactory member.

The earliest extant table of dues dates from the recon-

stitution in November 1744, when the admission fee is stated as £8. A fuller statement was made in December 1746 *à propos* of a campaign to enrol defaulters. £6 was then the standard rate for an entrant; if he were the son of a member (Freeman) he got off with £20 Scots; if duly apprenticed to a member, with £30 Scots. For the subordinate 'freedom of North Leith,' the corresponding figures were £40, £12, and £18 Scots respectively; and for 'Pleasands' (the suburb of the Pleasance) £20 Scots. (The long survival as 'money of account' of the obsolete Scots currency is noticeable.) In May 1747 the ordinary fee was raised to £10, by 19 votes to 5; the minority protested against such a high figure, as discouraging entrants and due to the special interest of some members to 'debar persons to hurt their business' (*i.e.* restrict competition). It was reduced to £8 in March 1751, in an attempt to increase membership, and so relieve the inadequacy of the poor fund. In 1773 it was further reduced to £6 for non-apprentices. Owing to difficulties of exaction—a frequent subject of 'legislation,' *e.g.* 1766—one half of the 'upset' money was henceforth to be paid with the petition for admission, the other half when the 'essay' was reported upon. The revised rules of 1791 and of 1825 contain elaborate tables of dues, varying at the earlier date from £6, 10s. to two guineas, and at the latter, from £10 to £3, 10s.<sup>1</sup>

Members were liable for quarterly payments of sixpence, 'for the use of the poor'; this was nominally raised to a shilling in 1765, and the increase was reaffirmed in 1776; but actual payments of the higher figure are recorded only from 1785, when 14 out of 34 paid the higher figure; in 1798-99, payments of two shillings were made by 25 out of 48. In the eighteenth century, quarterly receipts averaged about one pound, and were distributed forthwith.

Other sources of income were fines for absence from meetings, and from the funerals of members and their families.

<sup>1</sup> The rules are given in full in Appendix III.

Neither was very lucrative, especially as many of the defaulters were still less forthcoming with their cash than with their presence. Attendances were particularly small just before the bankruptcy, when the holding of nine meetings within eight months afforded some excuse for delinquency. The tendency to live outwith the burgh, obvious in the early nineteenth century, and affording an interesting analogy with the housing changes of the early twentieth, made regular attendance more difficult to cultivate. The high percentage of funerals of children reflects the sinister prevalence of infantile mortality.

The Incorporation had formerly possessed 'a timber tenement on the south side of Canongate a little below Canongate Cross,' and in 1685 obtained warrant from the Dean of Guild to erect 'an additional building westward.' As all their heritable property was conveyed to trustees on behoof of creditors in the bankruptcy of 1743, they had for some time no revenue-producing assets, save such of their church seats as they 'set' to others (*v. infra*). By 1758, however, sufficient balance had been accumulated to enable £10 to be lent on security to an Edinburgh merchant, and by the end of the century they were earning interest on bills on deposit with the banking house of Sir William Forbes. Whether from a native pride in possession of realty, or from desire for what was rather optimistically considered a profitable investment, they decided in 1799 to lay out their surplus in the purchase of a two-storey house; they were able to pay £250 down, the balance was advanced by members, and the debt with interest was cleared off by May 1803. Subsequently other purchases were made, and an appreciable sum received in rents; a member was appointed as factor.

The principal expenditure was on 'monies given to the poor.' The first extant entry, for the quarter day August 1749, records a total grant of twelve shillings, in sums of 1s. 6d., 2s., 2s. 6d., five of the recipients being women. The

sums paid frequently 'superexpended' contemporary receipts for the purpose. Recipients included two ex-Deacons, Carmichael, who from 1751 to 1761 received quarterly payments varying from 3s. to 8s., and Callender, who between 1756 and 1761 intermittently received £1, 6s. or £1, 4s. per annum. Otherwise, beneficiaries were nearly all women, one of the longest-lived being Mary Adams, who survived till 1768 on one shilling per quarter. The contentious ex-Boxmaster Tyrie was on the roll for six shillings from 1766 to 1774. Numbers diminished considerably from the 'seventies, when payments virtually constituted a Widows' Fund; the relicts of Deacons Monteith (1774-84) and Fala (1776-88) were included.

There were recurrent obligations to the church, and when they became property owners, to the municipality. For any exceptional expenditure—*e.g.* for expenses of the frequent lawsuits, or for charitable or public purposes—a preference was exhibited for voluntary subscriptions, though an advance might be made from the common fund, which indeed for some time was too exiguous to withstand any extra drain. Even for the purchase of a new mortcloth in 1763 an appeal was made to the generosity of individuals, and in 1778 a subscription list was issued in support of the raising of Volunteers. In paying their share of costs of dispute with journeymen in the following year, they decreed that as far as possible the outlay should be reimbursed by individual subscriptions of from five to fifteen shillings.

The earlier accounts were sometimes very irregularly kept, and include jottings on various points. Owing to the heavy drain on their finances, all present bound themselves by signature to a decision that no member should be entitled to any relief unless fully paid up (5th April 1757). This finding was frequently appealed to in subsequent cases, though occasionally disregard was connived at, on compassionate ground—*e.g.* Alex. Monteith, whose long services certainly merited it, was in advanced age awarded relief. Even the

troublesome Tyrie was given an extra two shillings on account of 'distress' (August 1771).

Their bankruptcy raised involved legal issues. They presented a Memorial in 1749 to Henry Home, advocate, for his 'opinion,' in which they affirmed that they had become indebted to creditors 'in sums far above the value of their Estate.' The then members had 'concurred in a Deed denuding themselves as well as the Incorporation of the whole heritable and movable effects belonging to the Incorporation in favour of William Wilson, writer in Edinburgh, as Trustee for creditors, . . . never doubting to be troubled after their surrender.' Some of the creditors, however, persisted with claims against them, so they cited precedents to demonstrate the non-liability of individuals. They subsequently appealed against an adverse decision by Lord Elchies.

A further point which gave trouble for some time was the liability of members admitted after reconstitution; so late as 1765, Hugh Kinloch (admitted 1760), on his appointment as Boxmaster, 'took instruments' against any application of funds for debts incurred before the bankruptcy or through processes arising. The most persistent difficulty, however, was occasioned by the conduct of James Tyrie, who had been Boxmaster when the 'affairs of the corporation went into confusion.' During the decade 1757-66 he usually headed the list of 'absents' and was chronically in default with his dues; when present he persistently protested against decisions, and at length entered into what his colleagues (whose indignation is for once reflected in the usually dispassionate Minutes) described as 'an illegal and malicious process against the trade' for debts alleged to be due to him (1756). The dispute dragged on till November 1766, when Tyrie, 'incumbered with want and infirmities,' agreed to 'discharge' of his claims, on the defendants agreeing 'to inroll me in their Roll of Bountys for such a sum as my indigence requires or their funds will allow.'

In general, it may be said that their proneness to litigation was one of the most expensive and injurious characteristics of the Incorporation. It would be an exaggeration to say that it proved ruinous in a financial sense, since they ended solvent; but the North Leith, Kirkwood and Boyes cases, subsequently referred to, not only involved expense disproportionate to any gain that could possibly be achieved, but doubtless discouraged prospective members and precluded more satisfactory application of resources. It is little wonder that there were recurrent protests, sometimes met by the rather feeble compromise of a voluntary levy.

In 1798 an innovation of great future importance was made in the financial arrangements; whether its effects were designed or foreseen is from the barrenness of the Minutes impossible to determine. It took the form of the institution of a New Fund for Widows and Disabled; regulations governing it were finally adopted in February 1799, and were amended in 1803. Participation was not incumbent on all members, but became general. The chief provisions at the outset were that entrants were to pay £1 per annum for four years, and thereafter two shillings per quarter; no benefit was to be paid within five years of entrance; it was then to be at the rate of £6 per annum. Amendments of 1803 further exemplified the insurance principle, by confining admission to 'persons enjoying good health and under forty years of age.' These rules were made more stringent in 1807, when it was further stipulated that entrants must be of 'prudent behavior.'<sup>1</sup> By April 1804, 45 members had completed the necessary premiums.

With the decline of numbers, the premiums for this Fund became almost the sole source of income (apart from rents of property), and it was a fine legal point how far it was distinguishable from the general revenues of the Incorporation. A Memorial drawn up on their behalf in 1849 indeed asserted

<sup>1</sup> The Rules of the Widows' Fund are given in Appendix IV.

that all their properties now really belonged to the Widows' Fund, all their proper funds having been exhausted. Payments were made into and from one general account. This view was not disputed by Counsel (May 1850).

The existence of the Fund virtually if implicitly transformed the character of the organisation from, in part, a charitable to, in the main, a provident society, since, as was expressly stated in the Memorial, 'regular provision as a matter of right, not of bounty' for those qualified was inaugurated by its establishment.

In 1820, owing to the low state of the revenue, widows' pensions were reduced from £10 (awarded in 1814) to £6. Next year, however, income amounted to £148, of which just over £100 was derived from rents; and expenditure to £108, four-fifths of this being devoted to the widows. The rules of 1825 continued the widows' pensions at £6, and granted the same sum to disabled members and to orphan children, though annuities might be reduced in financial stress; this was actually done in 1828, when there was a debit balance. After the serious loss incurred in fighting the Boyes' case, drastic cuts were made in 1836; but in 1845 annuities were again raised to £3, in 1850 to £4, in 1852 to £6, in 1861 to £17, in 1864 to £50, and in 1867 to £75. These rapid increases were made after valuations by an accountant, which by regulations of 1854 were to be made at intervals of at most seven years. At the death of the last member in 1877, it seems that there remained about £400 in shares of the Scottish Wagon Co., and a similar amount in Edinburgh Corporation Bonds. As the accounts are left open, it does not appear what ultimately became of this balance.

## V

We turn from questions of structure and procedure to the more substantial but obscure topic of the powers and duties actually exercised by the Incorporation. It may be assumed

that, as has been said of the Crafts in general, in its origins it 'mingled the opposing ideas of brotherhood and exclusive privilege,'<sup>1</sup> enforced a monopoly of the practice of the trade for its own members, and supervised their activities. In the mid-eighteenth century, Scotland was just meeting the sudden impact of new forces on a social order that had remained essentially mediaeval. With regard to tailoring, it is noteworthy that little change in technique took place, relatively little even in organisation; it remained in general a small-scale handicraft industry until the days of Montague Burton. Though its own annals are silent, it appears from other evidence that there was some development of ready-made tailoring, and of 'domestic' work in the homes of employees, as notoriously was the case in London, Leeds and elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; the multiple business was apparently introduced into Edinburgh by Hyam's of Leeds about the middle of the nineteenth century.

As already indicated, admissions to the Incorporation according to traditional forms were regular when the surviving Minutes commence. The succession of son to father is quite common, but hereditary membership was evidently unusual enough to be commented upon when James Brown was admitted in February 1777. Not only was he complimented on an 'essay fairly and elegantly wrought and executed,' but was hailed as 'eminently entitled to the freedom, taking along with his qualifications the eminent services of his many ancestors.' He was apparently of the third generation then in membership; his father, usually referred to as James Brown jr., had been Deacon and Bailie, and served the Incorporation in several capacities.

The acquisition of recruits continued steadily till the end of the century, after which it rapidly fell off. Powers of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Cameron, *ut sup.*

<sup>2</sup> An account of these will be found in *Select Documents; the Tailoring Trade*, ed. by F. W. Galton (1896).



'discharging and debarring all unfreemen' from the practice of the craft were enforced well on in the eighteenth century. Instances are detailed where search was made in the houses and shops of suspects. A warrant was, *e.g.*, granted by the Bailies (29th Jan. 1754) 'to seize and carry off the pieces of work wrought or aworking' by eleven unfreemen, and 'to bring them to justice for such Ineroachment and offences.' It was alleged that offenders hid the cloth or stored it with neighbours.

A detailed account of another case gives information regarding the actual wares, as to which little is said otherwise. On Tuesday, 9th December 1755, about midday, 'before the lads were loosing from work,' representatives of the Incorporation with the Burgh Officer 'entered the workhouse or shop of Robert Anderson on the north side of the Back of Canongate' and found him and two men 'working on a suit of scarlet cloaths mounted with a gold chain, and did also see on a chair beside them a suite of Blue Cloaths trimmed in the same way.' Two days later Charles Caire was found working in his house in Fleshmercat Close 'at a pair New Breeches and a suit of Laced Livery lying beside him.' Fines were claimed from both, and prohibition of their exercising the trade 'without a Toleration or a composition for so doing.' Anderson *in absentia* was 'unlawed in the sum of £5 of contumacy' and a warrant granted to 'incarcerate him within the Tolbooth,' but after several adjournments he made his peace, and the case was 'superceded pro loco et tempore.' On 20th December, Carr, who had denied the charge, was found liable to ten shillings damages, and to be imprisoned till he paid same and gave caution to refrain from future transgression; which he did on Christmas Day.

The technique of the trade was also involved in a case decided in their favour (30th Nov. 1772 to 7th Jan. 1773) as to whether 'stay and habitmakers' came within their jurisdiction. The Incorporation pleaded that the exemption of

these classes would 'strike against its very being,' as 'Habit-making which is only a new or upstart name for making cloaths or habits to persons and which is synonymous for taylor or clothsmaker, as well as Staymaking has since the memory of men been always taken and held as a species or part and pertinent of the taylor craft.' Two similar cases received the same verdict.

In these cases incidental reference has been made to a practice which had grown up by which working at the trade was 'tollerat' to residents—sometimes described as 'stall-angers'—who without receiving the rights and privileges of membership paid a lesser fee for the concession. On what grounds, and to what classes precisely, this 'soft option' was granted, is by no means clear. A meeting in December 1746, on being informed that several were encroaching on their privileges without 'entering or making compositions for toleration,' expressed a preference for making efforts to secure compliance rather than 'bring them to justice'; but in default was prepared to proceed against them. Complaint was accordingly lodged with the Bailies against three women mantua makers; these were 'decerned against' for five shillings sterling each.

Interesting analogies are afforded by the experience of the corresponding craft in Aberdeen, where eventually, after much resistance, a 'toleration' was given to women mantua (or mantle) makers. The craft subsequently sustained four years' litigation (1817-21) against infringers of its privileges. The Canongate Tailors, however, unduly disparaged the analogy, and declined a petition from Aberdeen 'to reimburse part of the great expense they have been at to preserve and support their priviledges.'<sup>1</sup>

Associates might and occasionally did subsequently aspire to full membership (*e.g.* 1747, 1750, 1766), and were sometimes, because of their experience, exempted from the usual test of

<sup>1</sup> E. Bain, *Merchant and Craft Gilds, Aberdeen*, pp. 256-67, 262-63.

proficiency (*e.g.* December 1770). Wm. Mackenzie was in August 1746 granted 'toleration to work' on payment of a guinea; in May 1750 he made a payment of £5 for further permission, without privileges of church seat and poor box; this was to be treated as an instalment if he completed the full fee later on, which he did in April 1766.

Another feature, familiar in the history of the gilds, and one which had a disintegrating effect, was the admission of members not engaged in the trade. This policy, which changed the character and probably preserved the existence of many similar bodies, seems to have been less pursued by the tailors. So late as 1854, in revising their rules after the Act of 1846, they maintained the provision that applicants should have been 'regularly bred to the trade.' The last case noted in which the issue was actually raised and the rule insisted on occurred in 1813, when the firm of T. and R. Gibson, Leith, who had long traded as haberdashers, 'took up the clothier business,' and its partners applied for admission. They were rejected, on the ground of their admitted inability to perform the essay, and afterwards cited before the Bailies. They asserted that precedents existed for admission without passing the test; the final issue does not appear. Certain 'Honorary Members'—merchants in Edinburgh—were in fact admitted in the last years of the eighteenth century (April 1787, April 1797, April 1798). A curious earlier case is that of a cooper, who was admitted as a sort of proxy, having assumed the financial responsibilities of his predecessor, a member who had removed to Orkney; he was to forfeit his privileges if the absentee returned to claim them (1765-66). It seems clear that the last batch of members had acquired other and probably more lucrative sources of income instead of or in addition to the tailoring trade.

Probably—as the Municipal Commissioners of 1835 maintained<sup>1</sup>—the most serious blow to craft monopoly was that

<sup>1</sup> *General Report of Municipal Commissioners* (1835), pp. 78 *et seq.*

given by recurrent legislation in the interests of ex-servicemen. The grant, at the close of hostilities at each stage of the 'Second Hundred Years' War,' to 'King's Freemen' of the right to exercise handicrafts 'greatly diminished the operation of exclusive privileges.' The Tailors were particularly affected by a notorious test case, that of James Kirkwood, who claimed that his three years' service in the Militia gave him benefit of soldiery. The Incorporation not unreasonably held that active service in the field was contemplated by the Statute, but the judicial verdict was in his favour, presumably not so much from appreciation of his rather undistinguished patriotism, as from sympathy with the rising *laissez-faire* interpretation of economic policy (1811).<sup>1</sup>

This judicial bias was also evident in judgments given in other cases to limit the competence of the craft, especially with regard to the geographical boundaries of its jurisdiction and the development of new processes. The latter, as indicated, did not much concern the Tailors, but the spread of population outwith the old bounds of the burgh of Canongate raised issues; *e.g.*, in August 1814 the Court of Session decided that Roxburgh Park (Pleasance) was under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates of Canongate, and tradesmen in the area were accordingly made to comply with the rules of the Incorporation.

From the outset, a further qualification for membership of the Incorporation had been that entrants should be Burgesses of the Canongate. This provision was laid down in the Seal of Cause of 1549, and reiterated in the various revisions of the constitution up to 1854. The abolition of the Burgh by the Act of 1858 made this obviously obsolete, and was at least a technical ground for refusing further admissions. It had not always been adhered to in practice, and in 1798 a letter was received from the magistrates insisting upon its observance. A further reminder from the Burgh Fiscal in

<sup>1</sup> Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

April 1821 was resented; it was resolved that 'Members present do not think themselves bound to become Burgesses of the Canongate before entering with the Incorporation or even after they become Members, unless they reside within the burgh.' This was obviously unconstitutional, but as obviously indicates what was becoming a normal state of affairs, that members not merely resided but carried on business outwith the burgh; e.g. Vallance and Wilson, the last two admitted, lived and traded throughout in the New Town.<sup>1</sup> The change in housing conditions and standards of life which particularly affected the Canongate, through the building of the New Town and other suburbs, and the encroachment of factories and railways, is doubtless one potent factor in the decline of the Incorporation.

## VI

The traditional threefold classification of master, journeyman and apprentice was still in force when our records commence, but was undergoing rapid modification. Not only recruitment to the trade but transmission of its customary technique, was involved in the preservation of the apprenticeship system. As already noted, the Seal of Cause granted in May 1549 had stipulated six years' apprenticeship. Little reference to this topic appears in the Minutes or other records, and the rules confine themselves to stating the fees to be paid by an apprentice on being 'bound' and 'loosed.' Only a minority of those admitted at this period seem to have 'served' with members.

The decline in effectiveness of the system in the crafts generally is deplored by William Creech.<sup>2</sup> He observes in the years 1763 to 1783 a great change in social conditions, of which one sign is that formerly Masters 'took charge of apprentices, and kept them under their eye in their own

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Directory, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> Report by Wm. Creech in *Old Statistical Account*, vi. 610-11.

houses,' but now 'Few Masters would receive apprentices to stay in their houses. If they attended hours of business, masters took no further charge.' How far this was true of the tailors can only be speculated.

Relations with journeymen, on the other hand, afford one of the most fully documented and vitally interesting features of the Incorporation's history. They also give the most significant illustration of the transition to modern 'capitalism.'

For several years an official list of the number of 'servants' kept by members was compiled, beginning in 1737, when 14 members had from one to three each. This was done regularly till February 1743, after which, unfortunately, there are only a few intermittent entries, terminating in August 1750.

Creech remarks that during the latter part of the century 'the wages of journeymen were greatly raised, and disturbances frequently happened for a still further increase.'<sup>1</sup> The latter part of this statement at any rate is amply borne out by detailed references in the Minutes. It was only in 1850 that a regular trade union was organised among Scottish tailors, but the Radical propensities of the craft are notorious, and some of its practitioners, such as Robert Cranston (afterwards founder of the well-known hotels) were active Chartists.<sup>2</sup> Something in the nature of an embryo union must have existed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and there are sporadic references to one or more presumably ephemeral workers' combinations in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth.<sup>3</sup>

From other sources it appears that a strike for advance of wages took place in Edinburgh in 1748; the strikers were indicted at the instance of the Incorporation and under threat of heavy penalties were compelled to 'enact not to be guilty in future.' The repentance was short-lived. The first manifest

<sup>1</sup> Report by Wm. Creech in *Old Statistical Account*, vi. 610-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Glasgow Sentinel*, 1850, *passim*; 'Scottish Chartist Leaders' (*Glasgow Herald*, Feb. 10, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Galton, *ut sup.*

sign of trouble affecting the Canongate is a resolution of 15th March 1758, to support the Edinburgh Incorporation in resisting 'encroachment' by Journeymen, in that they had applied to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to 'have off an hour from the masters twixt nine and ten' and claimed other privileges. A few weeks later (3rd April 1758) it was decided that, under forfeit of privileges, each was to pay at call four shillings for each journeyman in their service (as 'ascertained by their ain honest word'), to assist Edinburgh masters 'to exerce their utmost efforts against the present mutiny and rebellion of the unreasonable journeymen.' It was agreed to pay the expenses of a process against the journeymen from the common fund, and to appoint a representative to the General Committee formed by the Incorporations concerned (24th September 1761). They declined a suggestion by the Lord Ordinary for a private settlement of the dispute, demanding that the Court of Session should give its verdict (19th November 1762).

There is a fleeting reference in February 1770 to 'the present dispute twixt Masters and Journeymen.' On 18th May 1776 further measures were taken. A lengthy preamble narrates the masters' grievances. 'The Corporations of Taylors in Edinburgh and Suburbs, Cannongate, South and North Leith [evidently a 'Grand Alliance'], having for many years past been greatly distressed by the unlawful combinations of the Journeyman Taylors and their Weekly meetings in the publick houses of slate keepers appointed by themselves where amongst other disorderly things they assess themselves and even Journeymen strangers who come to the place, and levy money for supporting schemes to oppress their masters and render it impossible for them to serve the public with the dispatch and propriety necessary on many occasions, unless they comply with their demands however unreasonable.' The Corporation therefore agreed to support a decision of their Edinburgh colleagues to set up an employment office at their

own expense, 'regarding it as a relief to the masters and the public,' and to enjoin masters to use it under penalty of a fine of ten shillings to the keeper. The Deacon was authorised to concur with Edinburgh in an application to the J.P.'s 'or any proper judge,' 'to have this Act enforced and the Clubhouses of the Journeymen discharged.' The 'Act' was to be published in all local newspapers, and a Committee was appointed to take any necessary action.

In this rather clumsily worded manifesto, two points of general interest to the economic historian are noteworthy—the continued resort to judicial fixation of wages and conditions of work, and the initiation by journeymen of their own 'house of call.' The further history of this dispute also reveals some factors of wider moment. It appears that, at the time of the earlier dispute, the Edinburgh Magistrates had made regulations denying journeymen an 'hour of recess,' and ordaining them to work as formerly at a maximum wage of a shilling a day; any refusing to work on these terms without 'some reasonable or sufficient cause to be shown to and allowed by the magistrates' were to be 'punished in terms of the law.' The Edinburgh Corporation obtained 'decreit' of the Court of Session (11th December 1762), approving these rules, and they were endorsed by the Canongate Incorporation in May 1767, and this was approved by the Bailies at the time. Now, however, when they prosecuted one of their members, William Milroy, for paying wages in excess of the authorised figure, he successfully pleaded the invalidity of the regulations in that they had not been minuted; they were now duly recorded. Incidental and rather belated reference is made to 'a general revolt and desertion from their work' on Monday, 27th April 1767, of journeymen who demanded an increase to fifteen pence a day.

A general approval was given in 1777 to new regulations made by the Edinburgh Incorporation, with a reservation insisting on 'one man one vote' instead of a multiple vote

proportioned to the number of employees. The preamble repeats the complaint against 'unlawful combinations raising wages and distressing masters and lieges by refusing to work but upon advanced wages.' The rules reiterate the maximum wage of a shilling, prohibit the employment of another's workman without leave, under a daily fine of 2s. 6d.; prescribe that payment shall depend on performance of work, and is not to be given in full to those who 'loiter at their work'; insist on the prosecution of offenders, and guarantee members the backing of the Incorporation.

There seems, however, to have been some lukewarmness. Milroy was reinstated, and soon after made Boxmaster; protests were made against the funds being used on legal action, and members declined to assist in Edinburgh in further proceedings (March 1778). On 11th May further protest was made against the disloyalty of members who paid higher wages in violation of a 'solemn obligation written upon stamped paper by the clerk,' and of the various decrees already quoted; their liability was asserted for damages and expenses incurred by loyal members through their 'unlawful conduct.' The loyal rather naively concluded by disclaiming responsibility if compelled in self-defence to follow suit.

They were, however, agreed in rejecting a 'slate of prices for working by the piece' submitted by the journeymen in March 1780; and gave a Committee full powers to oppose it as 'attended with detriment and difficulty.' They also paid one-third of the expenses of the lawsuit engaged in by Edinburgh (November 1780). Two years later, while still reluctant to engage in litigation, they supported the Edinburgh Tailors in 'discussing a Bill of Advocation' presented by the Journeymen, and professed the 'utmost desire to have an Interloquy of the Court of Session' settling wages. They were now less confident that their interests were bound up with the Edinburgh Masters, and protested against the 'frivolous and rash' prosecution by the latter's office-bearers of one of their

members for alleged infringement of the journeymen rules (April 1783). The last echo of the protracted dispute is the recording of opposition to a proposed Petition to the J.P.'s desiring an alteration in journeymen's conditions (June 1783).

In Aberdeen also, the journeymen made an 'illegal combination' to raise wages in 1768, and indulged in a strike in 1797. In Edinburgh there was again a strike in 1823 for increased piecework prices, and a House of Call was established<sup>1</sup>; but the Canongate Incorporation seemingly 'cared for none of these things.' Presumably, with the repeal of legal fixation, relations with employees were now regarded as a matter for individual bargaining.

## VII

We may now consider the relations of the Incorporation with other bodies. It has been shown that the Tailors were original members of the Conveenery of the Canongate, and from time to time the activities of the latter are mentioned. Its general method of procedure was to recommend a line of conduct to the affiliated trades on matters of common interest, *e.g.* calls to the ministry and the care of the poor. In 1784 they opposed 'innovations' of unspecified nature in the Conveenery proposed by the Incorporation of Wrights. In February 1806, presumably in the interest of its own always inadequate revenue, the Conveenery proposed to double the fees due to it on entry from members of all eight Incorporations—a master to pay 10s. instead of 5s., an apprentice, 3s. 4d. instead of 1s. 8d. To this no objection was evidently taken. Owing doubtless to the fall in admissions, the Conveenery made in February 1821 a demand for an annual 'affiliation fee' of two guineas; a conditional assent was grudgingly accorded.

Ultimately, owing to financial difficulties and to the frequent lack of a quorum, it was decided, with the approba-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*; Bain, *ut sup.*

tion of the Tailors, to dissolve the Conveenery, and auction its small properties, which consisted mainly in regalia (May 1854). There was the inevitable dissentient minority, in this case the Weavers' Incorporation, which obtained an injunction against these proceedings, but were eventually induced to come to terms (May 1856).

The Tailors also had occasional dealings with other Incorporations individually, chiefly in the way of giving or withholding financial assistance in litigation. After some delay, £1 was donated to the Shoemakers to aid in discharging an account for £70 incurred 'in defending the privileges of the General Incorporation' (April 1776); likewise, in January 1822, £5 was awarded to assist the Bakers in their appeal against an Interlocutor 'materially affecting the whole corporate rights in North Leith.' In January 1812, however, the Wrights were refused assistance, apparently because of the expense just incurred through the Kirkwood case.

The share of the Incorporation in the municipal government of the Canongate is obscure. The 'Sett,' as granted by the Abbots and confirmed by the Crown, included on the Council the Deacons of the Trades; and in 1620 the right of the burgesses to maintain this Sett was legally vindicated against the encroachment of the Superior, Sir William Bellenden.<sup>1</sup> An Act of Council of the Canongate (3rd October 1622) ordained that the Deacons and Brethren of the Four Crafts should have free votes in electing magistrates and council yearly. After the acquisition of the superiority in 1639 by the City of Edinburgh, popular rights seem to have lapsed; the Municipal Commissioners of 1835 are silent on the point. On one occasion indeed, on the initiative of the Conveenery, the 'propriety of the trades being restored to their antient priviledge of being joined in the Magistracy and management of the burgh' was affirmed, and the present magistrates were requested to give recognition to these rights

<sup>1</sup> Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32.

'vested by Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council and acted on by many Acts of the magistrates' (9th December 1817); but no effective steps were taken to implement the claim. The separate existence of the Burgh was terminated by the Edinburgh Municipal Extension Act of 1856. Meantime the newfangled device of Police Commissioners had proved unwelcome. The Edinburgh Police Act of 1805 was condemned as 'burdensome, oppressive and of little utility'; in 1812 its repeal was advocated, and conditional support given to an amending Bill.

In one of the functions of local government, however, the Tailors showed active concern, the care of the poor. By the middle of the century, the notion of a Charity Workhouse was coming to the fore; and on 23rd August 1753 a meeting of the Baron Bailie, Minister, Deacon Convener and other Deacons and Kirk Treasurer, recommended the Deacons to lay particulars of such a scheme before their Incorporations. The Tailors forthwith appointed representatives to 'commune and consort' with the other Incorporations, and ultimately donated £10 (1760). On the opening of the workhouse (1761), each Incorporation received the right to elect two managers annually; this was regularly exercised by the Tailors. The establishment was maintained chiefly by church collections, and at the end of the century entertained over seventy residents, besides giving out relief to another two dozen. The Tailors in 1793 put forward a demand for the segregation of their own poor within the institution.

Here, as elsewhere, the older methods of charity became inadequate, and in 1794 the Tailors supported a proposal for assessment sponsored by the Conveenery, deeming it 'the most equatable and proper method for supporting the poor of the parish.' The reform was, however, not achieved till 1812, when a rate of sixpence was imposed. By Decreeit Arbitral of Professor David Hume (1814), it was established that the 'right and power of assessing for the poor in Canon-

gate belongs to a general Meeting called by and in the name of the Magistrates, and comprising the Bailies, Heritors, Ministers, Kirk Session and Deacons.<sup>1</sup>

In 1819 the Incorporation subscribed two guineas to a 'Society for preventing the Increase of the Fever now prevailing'; the 'voluntary principle' in questions of public health was then unchallenged.

The burgh had a Public Grammar School under the patronage of the Magistrates and Kirk Session.<sup>1</sup> The erection of a new one was proposed in 1756, but the Tailors declined to contribute. In 1846, however, they agreed to support the foundation of a 'Sessional School' at New Street, and lent £200 at five per cent. to the church authorities for the purpose (1849).

#### VIII

The early and intimate associations of the crafts with the Church are well known, and these survived the Reformation. The possession of their own seats was the chief outward and visible sign, and together with the call of ministers and the obligation to share in the upkeep of the fabric, provided the chief instances of conflict as well as of connection.

The Church of the Canongate was collegiate; the patronage of the first charge belonged to the Crown; that of the second, as was confirmed by legal 'opinion' in December 1754, was vested in the Heritors, Kirk Session and Deacons. According to the *Old Statistical Account*, the 'settlement' of the latter was, owing to the number of electors (about 400), 'generally attended with much difficulty and litigation,' as the Minutes fully confirm.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps with the rise of Evangelicalism, the Incorporation members became more urgent in pressing their claims; during vacancies in the first charge in 1753 and in 1783 they actively supported the candidature of the successful nominees.

<sup>1</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, vi. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

The Incorporation, as was usual, made an annual visit in state to the parish kirk after the elections to be 'churched' and to assert their rights. These, however, involved them in financial responsibilities which were less appreciated. They did indeed from time to time, for their own convenience, undertake necessary repairs to their own property; e.g. in December 1746 structural alterations were ordered, to avoid disturbances by 'idle boys,' and in August 1791 a contract for £9, 6s. was given to 'renew the two back seats of the loft, so as to render their seats commodious and the access easy.' In February 1758 the late and present Deacon were formally thanked for improving the amenities of the church. In May 1767 the 'laigh seat' was 'set for the behoof of their many indigent brethren' to one Peter Gilbert, a brewer.

In 1816 the interior of the church was drastically remodelled, much to the detriment of its historic and artistic interest, as 'the places occupied by the Corporations and the gallery ornamented with representations of their insignia were obliterated, doing away with the bonds of attachment which connected many craftsmen with the parish church.'<sup>1</sup> The unsentimental and unaesthetic Tailors, however, approved the new plans, contributed £60 to the cost, and forthwith let the whole of their new accommodation—six pews in the gallery, and six in the area. In 1851 it was reckoned that the average annual income from their seat rents amounted to £1, 5s.

For the ritual funerals of members the Incorporation possessed its own mortcloth, which in August 1763 was found to be 'greatly decayed.' Subscriptions were sought to buy a new one, and were recorded in February 1766, by which time Matthew Hunter had made one 'in compliment'; it was thrifly decided to repair the old one and use it in bad weather (18th April).

There was protracted controversy about 'the property of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. W. R. Fraser, *The Kirk and the Manse* (1857), p. 166; Rev. A. Bonar, *Canongate Ancient and Modern* (1856; 31 pp.).

the church, the administration of the funds arising and the burden of expensive repairs.' In 1772 a 'contract of agreement was at last entered into by the magistrates, kirk session, heritors and deacons of crafts, vesting the said property and administration in fifteen delegates, chosen annually as managers,' including three from the Incorporations.<sup>1</sup> This was endorsed with some hesitation and several dissentients by the Incorporation on 3rd March 1774.

An Act of 1860 abolished the Annuity Tax in Edinburgh, and set up Ecclesiastical Commissioners to administer the City Churches; their responsibilities included the letting of seats. A Private Act of 1867 'uncollegiated' the Canongate Church, and placed it under their jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> In terms of the Act, the buildings had to be put in good order before being handed over; this involved the Tailors in a claim for over £76, in respect of 75 seatings. This charge seems eventually to have been met, and on the new arrangements coming into force, no income or burden henceforth accrued to the Tailors, and their official connection with the church ended.

In 1792 the Canongate Church authorities proposed to erect a 'Chapel of Ease' at New Street, and offered a share in its management to any body contributing £25. The Tailors qualified, and at a meeting in October 1793 their representatives concurred in a stipulation that the minister called must be agreeable to a majority of heads of families. They continued to appoint representatives till the Disruption, when the minister and apparently the bulk of the congregation joined the Free Church.

Owing to North Leith coming within the bounds of their jurisdiction, the Incorporation had rights in its church also. On account of the anomalous status of the latter, these were extraordinarily complex. In May 1628, the Kirk Session granted to the 'tailors' craft of the parochin' the 'laigh seat'

<sup>1</sup> *Old Statistical Account*, vi. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Statutes Relating to Scotland, 1860 and 1867.

No. 6 'under the pillar of repentance, to be repaired by them and closed at both ends with a door'; in return, they were to make a yearly contribution to the stipend. Here, also, the Incorporation attended officially on the second or third Sabbath in May, though the object was piously stated as being 'to hear the Word of God preached in this church as usual.' In August 1754 it was decided that a quorum should attend quarterly to maintain their rights. Chiefly as a source of income their seats came to be let out on 'tack' to the Kirk Session itself. In February 1753 a 21-year lease was entered upon, at 17s. per annum, with reservation of rights for the annual visit. This was renewed in 1774, but in 1782, owing to an increasing demand for accommodation for their own members, one seat was resumed; Mr. Gladstones, grandfather of the well-known statesman, acted for the Session on this occasion.

Here, as in so many places, the old church fell a victim to the material prosperity and bad taste of the early nineteenth century, though the building survived as a warehouse. The erection of a new church produced the most protracted and involved of the numerous lawsuits in which the Incorporation engaged; a lucid and succinct account of the issues and results is given by Mr. David Robertson in his paper on the 'North Leith Case.'<sup>1</sup> Suffice it here to say that the accommodation in the new edifice was inadequate to satisfy all claimants. Eventually the Incorporation accepted a compromise, and agreed to pay £23, 15s. 10d. as their share in expenses (1830). Their rights were subsequently considered burdensome, and in December 1861 it was decided to dispose of the seats. This, however, was not done, and when the affairs of the Incorporation were finally reviewed in 1878, the Church admitted its rights to 23 sittings in three pews; both revenue and costs were trifling, but a liability in emergencies still lay on the Incorporation.

<sup>1</sup> D. Robertson, *The Bailies of Leith* (1915), pp. 50-68; cf. J. Russell, *The Story of Leith* (1922), pp. 164-80.



## IX

As a body, the Tailors intervened little in public affairs. They were apparently so preoccupied with their own reconstruction that no reference to the '45' enlivens the opening pages of their Minute Book. Under the stress of the American Revolt a quarter of a century later, however, they raised subscriptions and made a temporary advance from their funds to assist in raising a company of Volunteers (4th February 1778). Their loyalty, however, was consistent with a prejudice against undue sacrifice, in that they supported the Conveenery in protesting against the quartering of soldiers on tradesmen only, and the exemption of other classes from this doubtful favour (8th August 1780). Becoming unpleasantly aware of the economic consequences of war, they associated themselves with the Conveenery in the appointment of a Committee to consider methods 'to alleviate the distresses of the industrious poor,' and granted £4 for relief purposes (4th February 1783).

In February 1792 they unanimously joined the other Trades in petitioning for the abolition of the slave trade and thanking Wilberforce and his colleagues for their exertions, voting two guineas towards expenses. That this was not due to any general sympathy with reform was indicated by a resolution of 13th December, induced by a letter from the Conveenery, intimating that 'Riots and Tumults was apprehended from the present ferment in the Minds of the People and desirous to know If we was willing to aid the Civil Magistrate in their suppression.' Thereupon 'the Society are sorry to think that at this time designing men are endeavouring to undermine and Destroy our happy Constitution, and they unanimously agree to join with those Respectable Bodies who have already Testified their Loyalty and Attachment to the Present Constitution under which We Injoy so Many Blessings and Priviledges, and to Defend the Same by all thats Dear and

Valuable to Us and to Support the Civil Magistrate all that lye in our power for preserving peace and good order in the Burgh.'

In 1814 the proposed change in the Corn Laws was opposed as 'injurious to the lower classes and having a tendency to hurt and ultimately ruin manufactures.' In March 1829 they petitioned, by seven votes to three, against Catholic Emancipation, but in February 1831 unanimously deleted the 'Protestant Clause' in the oath of admission. They were carried away by the Reforming zeal of the early 'thirties, and very thoroughly ate their rhetoric of forty years earlier in a unanimous petition for the Whig Bill (17th March 1831), and in a protest, with one dissentient, against its rejection by the House of Lords (15th May 1832).

## X

The last fifty years of the Incorporation's existence offer little of general interest. The definite commencement of decline can be assigned to the close of the Napoleonic War. It appears that in 1812 there were four entrants, in 1814 nine; thereafter one each in 1818, 1819, 1827, 1829 and 1831. A last belated enrolment after performance of essay was that of Andrew Lind, son of a member, in February 1845. In December 1849 he was, however, induced to withdraw; he had been refused admission to the Widows' Fund, and after prolonged negotiation he accepted a sum down in discharge of his claims.

Some years earlier, the last and in some ways most disastrous of the numerous lawsuits had been decided against the Incorporation. Andrew Boyes had in February 1830 been expelled on the ground of long-standing arrears in dues; a subsequent offer on his part to pay up had been rejected; he went to the courts, and eventually the Court of Session ordered his reinstatement, with costs of over £126 (February 1836).

The Incorporation submitted evidence in reply to the

questionnaire of the Burgh Commissioners in 1833, but apparently expressed no opinion on its recommendations. The Report of the latter summarises their position in a sentence: 'The tailors have had no prosecutions for a great number of years, but are unwilling to abolish the exclusive privileges without compensation.'<sup>1</sup> They, however, raised no objection to the Act of 14th May 1846 'for the abolition of the exclusive Privilege of Trading in Burghs in Scotland'<sup>2</sup>; it indeed receives only a passing reference in the Minutes. The Act was indeed, so far as they were concerned, little more than an affirmation of an accomplished fact. Under its provisions they continued to exist for another generation as a property-holding benefit society, and, as enjoined, appealed periodically to the Court of Session for sanction of bylaws.

There seems no essential reason why the Incorporation, like other bodies of the kind, should not have survived indefinitely on the new footing. It was, however, apparently resigned to euthanasia. So far from seeking to augment their numbers, the remaining members evidently resolved to enjoy themselves, while they lived, the resources which had been accumulated; those who like Boyes fell into arrears were rigorously excluded, and claims for relief as stringently rejected wherever possible.

Meetings became formal, concerned only with laying out the common good in the most lucrative fashion, while any other outlay was grudged—*e.g.* a large payment as share in repair of Canongate Church was shirked for years (1856-59). The real estate, which gave trouble to keep in good condition and involved vexatious claims, usually resisted, was gradually disposed of, and most of the capital was invested in Edinburgh City Bonds, and in shares of the Scottish Wagon Co., with which the penultimate survivor, Deacon Vallance, had apparently some connection.

<sup>1</sup> *Municipal Commissioners Report* (1835), Local Reports, Part I, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> 9 & 10 Vict. c. 17, in *Acts relating to Scotland*, 1846.

Latterly, a small clique constituted almost a 'racket,' voting themselves ever-increasing pensions from the capital fund, on a sort of 'tontine' principle. In 1850 opinion of counsel was taken as to the legitimacy of dividing up the property among the remaining nine members, since the Incorporation had 'fallen into decay of late years' and was unlikely to revive. Mr. Handyside gave a rather non-committal response. Similar action by a few other Incorporations had been reprehended in the Report of the Municipal Commissioners of 1835<sup>1</sup>; and the archives contain, doubtless for the monition of its own members, documents relating to a suit against the Incorporation of Fleshers by the widow of a member for alleged misappropriation of monies properly pertaining to a Widows' Fund inaugurated in 1808-09 (1838-40).

By 1871 there survived only Deacon George Vallance, 'breeches-maker and glover to the Queen,' West Register Street, admitted in August 1827, and now 71 years old, and Treasurer George Wilson, partner in Wilson and Martin, clothiers, St. Andrew Street, son of a former member; he was admitted in November 1831, and was now 79; owing to his advanced years, the meetings were henceforth held in his house, Ashley Hall, Linlithgow.

After the death of Vallance, on 30th May 1876, Wilson sought to have the residue of the properties made over to himself, and had an elaborate Memorandum prepared, which he submitted with great confidence to Counsel; the latter's opinion was unfavourable, on the ground that the property was essentially that of the Incorporation as such, and that the Crown retained rights as ultimate heir (July 1876). A few months later, the Crown was petitioned to investigate the affairs of the Incorporation, but declined; and at the death of Wilson, on 28th November 1877, matters were left unsettled. The latest item in the records is an Inventory supplied in November 1882 by the Procurator-Fiscal of West Lothian to

<sup>1</sup> *General Report of Municipal Commissioners* (1835), p. 78.

the Queen's Remembrancer. The archives had been carefully preserved during the past century and a half, and references occur repeatedly to their being copies and catalogued, or given into safe custody.

## XI

In summary, it may be said that despite recurrent financial difficulties, and an undue propensity to litigation, the Incorporation had an active and flourishing career during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Its decline in the early nineteenth was due not so much to internal change as to the 'spirit of the age,' the growing tendency to *laissez-faire*, reflected in legislation and judicial decisions, and alterations in social habits and standards of life. Its rather sordid end may be attributed to the growth of oligarchy, facilitated by the smallness of numbers, and peculiar relation of the Canon-gate to the larger burgh which dominated and ultimately absorbed it.

The Incorporations in general suffered from the deficiencies of what sociologists call a 'custom society.' They proved incapable of adaptation to a rapidly changing environment. Now that we are escaping from nineteenth-century economic individualism, only to fall into the hands of the bureaucratic, if not totalitarian state, it may be permissible to regret that a way was not found to continue the organisation of industry on a self-governing basis of voluntary co-operation.

W. H. MARWICK.

The authority for data not otherwise indicated is found in the Minutes and other records as listed in the Appendix.

## APPENDIX

## I

## LIST OF DOCUMENTS OF INCORPORATION OF TAILORS OF CANONGATE

NOW IN POSSESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND.  
Catalogued as MSS. 1957-90.

1957. Printed Rules *re* relations with Tailors of Edinburgh (*ante* 1723), 46 pp. (1-16 missing).  
1958-59. Copies of original charters, seals, etc. of Incorporation, 1438-1796.  
1960. Notarial Copies of Decreet of Sheriff, 1767 etc.  
1961-63. Minute Books 1744-77, 1777-1819, 1820-77.  
1964-65. Minutes of Incorporation Committees, 1828-49, 1850-76.  
1966-67. General Correspondence, Deeds, etc., 1628-1850, 1850-76 (includes Inventory for Queen's Remembrancer, 1882 in 1967; No. 264).  
1968. Case of Andrew Boyes against the Incorporation, 1830-36.  
1969. Roll Book. Absents and Fines, 1731-82.  
1970. (i) Book for 'list of servants,' 1737-50; (ii) List of Quarter Accounts, 1745-67; (iii) Absent Book, 1742-44.  
1971. Ledger of quarterly payments, 1770-1846.  
1972. Account of Monies to the Poor, 1749-96.  
1973. Treasurers' Accounts, 1821-78.  
1974-82. Accounts and Receipts, 1764-1877.  
1983. Reports on Affairs of Incorporation, 1853-76.  
1984-88. Pass and Cheque books, 1856-76.  
1989. Printed Papers, 1809-54.  
1990. Duplicate of 1989.

## II

## FORM OF PRAYER AT CONSTITUTION OF MEETINGS

SUBMITTED BY DEACON, ADOPTED, AND INSCRIBED IN MINUTE BOOK,  
10TH AUGUST 1829.

O Most Gracious God and Loving Father in Christ Jesus: Seeing we are here convened to advise and consult upon those things that

concern our location, We most humbly beseech Thee to be present in Mercy with us: Endue our hearts with Wisdom and Discretion, and so moderate all our affections, that without Grudge, Malice or Partiality we may discreetly and wisely proceed in all things presented to us, as done in the presence of Thy all seeing Eye; and Grant, Lord, that all our Actions and Travels may both begin from Thee, and end through Thee, and so tend to the Glory of Thy Blessed Name, the Weal of this our Calling, and to the profit and comfort of every member of the same, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Saviour, To Whom with Thee the Holy Ghost be all Praise, Glory and Honour, for Ever and Ever. Amen.

## III

## LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE INCORPORATION. 1791

INSCRIBED IN MINUTE BOOK No. 2, P. 52.

1. That any person before he be received a Operative member of the Society shall make an Essay, which must be approved of by four Essay Masters, two of which to be chosen by the Incorporation, and two by himself from amongst the members.

2. That he shall subscribe the Upsett Oath a copy of which is subjoined.

3. That he shall pay into the hands of the Boxmaster for the time being, the Sum specified in the other following pages as the price of his entry.

4. That he shall conform to the Laws and continue to pay Quarterly Accounts regularly, as by being two years behind in paying Quarterly Accounts forfeits all title to receiving any Benefit from the Funds of the society.

## ACTS REGULATING ADMISSION MONEY

Uppsett Money for an Operative Member . . . . .	£6 10 0
To the Conveeny . . . . .	0 5 0
Clerk . . . . .	0 5 0
Officer . . . . .	0 5 0
As a Member of the Canongatehead becoming a freeman with us . . . . .	4 10 0
As a Person carrying on no Taylor trade entering . . . . .	4 4 0
The dues to each as above to a full Freeman . . . . .	0 15 0

A Freeman's son, or who Marries a Freeman's daughter . . . . .	£2 2 0
as Freeman of the Pleasance . . . . .	2 13 4
"    "    North Leith . . . . .	3 6 0
A Free Apprentice on Admission . . . . .	2 10 0
Att his being bound . . . . .	0 6 8
to the Conveeny on his account . . . . .	0 1 8
"    Officer    "    "    . . . . .	0 2 6
Att his being loosed from Apprentice, to Conveeny . . . . .	0 0 10
The Dues of Each on Admission the same as any other Freeman, except North Leith, where the Officer of North Leith gitts the Officers' Fees, and the Conveeny half as a Full Freeman . . . . .	0 12 6
A Freeman of North Leith . . . . .	1 1 0

Each freeman to pay 1s. per quarter to funds, absence when warned forfeits 6d.; absent from burial of any in Incorporation 6d.

## IV

## PLAN OF WIDOWS' FUND

APPROVED AND INSERTED IN MINUTES, 14TH NOVEMBER 1798  
(Vol. II, pp. 79-82) (Summarised)

- Entrants to pay £1 per annum for four years. Fine of 1s 6d. for delay.
- All to pay 2s. per quarter permanently—including beneficiaries.
- No payments during first five years; widows may become beneficiaries by continuing payment meantime.
- Two years' arrears forfeits all benefit; lesser period may be made up by fines or charge of interest.
- Present widows, or widows of non-contributors to new fund, to receive old sum of £2.
- All entrants to see and sign articles.
- A widower marrying out of the Society to pay a guinea.
- Fines of 10s. 6d. and £1 for new members defaulting for one or two years.
- Special levy in case of deficit.
- Deacon and Treasurer to act in regard to Fund.

11. Further year may be added if funds are inadequate after four years.

12. Fund to be used solely for relief.

It was resolved that annual payments of £6 each might be made from this fund to widows and disabled, though this was not inserted in the rules.

## V

## REGULATIONS ADOPTED, 18TH MAY 1814

## MINUTE BOOK II, P. 192

## INCORPORATING 'NEW FUND' RULES

1. 'No person can be admitted a Member of the Incorporation unless he has been regularly bred to the Tailor Business. And any Person desirous of admission must present a petition to that effect which must be considered at a full meeting regularly warned, and if this petition be admitted he shall pay £1, 1s. to be accounted part of his entry money.'

2. If the petition is approved, 'he shall be appointed to make an Essay' (judged by four Masters); if satisfactory, he is to pay Entry Money and House Dues, then take oath and sign book, then he is entitled 'to carry on the Business in all its branches, within the Parish of Canongate, North Leith, and all other places under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates.'

Table of Entry Money.—To Stranger, £15. Freeman's son or son-in-law, £4, 10s. Apprentice who has signed for the Freedom, £6, 15s. To Conveentry, 10s.; Clerk, 10s.; Officer, 10s.

3. Each to pay 1s. quarterly. Two years' arrears forfeit claim.

4. Superannuated and widows receive £2 per an.

5. Absence from funerals or meetings fined 6d., unless with satisfactory excuse. Committee meetings, 1s.

6. Dispute among members to be referred to final decision of arbiter; if resort is made to legal redress, each party to bear his own expenses.

7. Apprentices bound pay 2s., plus 6s. 8d. to Conveentry; on discharge of indenture, 3s. 4d. to each.

8. Widows' Fund Rules ratified; members admitted to be under 40 and in good health; under special circumstances, eligible between 40 and 45 at additional payment of £1 per an.

9. Members of latter to pay £20 to Incorporation on admission, or within five years; five-year qualification required for benefit.

10. One shilling quarterly to be paid to Fund; two years' arrears forfeits claims.

11. Widows in full benefit to get £10 per an. (including £2 from General Fund of Incorporation).

12. Widows may pay up incomplete premiums and so qualify for benefit.

13. Disabled to get £10 per an. (including £2 under Art. 4); as also infant orphans up to age of 12.

14. Levy or reduction of annuities in case of deficit.

15. Widowers to pay £1, 1s. on remarriage.

16. 5 per cent. interest due on arrears; two years' arrears forfeits.

17. Widow forfeits on remarriage or misconduct.

18. Debtors forfeit interest in benefits.

19. Treasurer to give security on assuming office.

20. Rules to be given to and signed by all.

## VI

BYLAWS ADOPTED 1854, AND APPROVED BY COURT  
OF SESSION UNDER ACT OF 1846

## PRINTED FOR DISTRIBUTION. MS. 1983.3. SUMMARISED EXTRACTS

1. Entrants must be regularly bred to craft, of good character, sound body and mind, previously admitted as burgess of Canongate, under 45 years old.

2. Evidence of age and training to be given, medical examination passed, and essay performed.

5. No new apprentice to be taken, previous apprentices must have served five years.

6. Dues variable according to age.

9. Allowances to widows.

9. Annuities at age of 50 after fifteen years' membership.

11. Two stated meetings per year.

12. Annual meeting in May.

27. Rules alterable after notice.

28. Investigation of funds to be held every seven years.

MEDICAL QUACKS IN EDINBURGH IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

THE papers contributed to the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* fall roughly into two classes: those dealing with historical and topographical subjects, and those dealing with matters of social or domestic interest. The present paper belongs to the latter class, and treats of the reactions of the inhabitants to the intermittent visitations of peripatetic quack doctors to the city.

Lord Bacon has remarked that 'the weakness and credulity of men is such, that they will often prefer a mountebank or a witch before a learned physician.' And concerning quacks or mountebanks, Oliver Goldsmith, himself a doctor, has said: 'There is scarcely a disorder against which they are not possessed of an infallible antidote. You will find numbers in every street who by levelling a pill at the part affected promise a certain cure. The doctor solemnly affirms the pill was never found to want success; he produces a list of those who have been rescued from the grave by it; every dead wall is covered by their names, their ability, their amazing cures and places of abode. Few patients can help falling into their hands, unless blasted by lightning, or struck dead by some sudden disorder.'

During the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries, Edinburgh was a happy hunting-ground for many of these wandering practitioners, and that for several reasons. It was by far the largest city in the kingdom, with a population at that time of approximately 40,000 people, all crowded together within an area little larger than that of a modern golf-course. So closely packed were its inhabitants, rich and poor alike, that they were all known to one another, with the

result that the visit of an itinerant quack with his troupe was soon broadcast through the town, and the performances looked forward to with pleasurable anticipation. Apart from the nobility and gentry, who lived in or annually visited the capital, the majority of the people were miserably poor, leading lives of constant drudgery for six days of the week, and on the seventh being compelled to listen to long sermons preached at them by narrow-minded and bigoted clergymen. To these people the arrival of a troupe of mountebanks was a delightful relief from the drab monotony of their existence, while their ignorance and credulity tempted them to part with any little money they had for the very questionable benefit to be derived from consuming pills or potions strongly recommended by a voluble quack. Besides, these quacks or mountebanks (almost invariably they are classed together) exercised their calling by using methods, barefaced and unscrupulous, which no self-respecting qualified doctor would condescend to employ.

Another factor which favoured the popularity of quacks was that during the seventeenth century the medical profession in the city was not well organised, nor were the practitioners, with few exceptions, well equipped to combat diseases and to repair injuries. They had only a very elementary knowledge of anatomy, surgery and chemistry, and their sole qualification was that they had served an apprenticeship with a member of the corporation of surgeons. With the advent of the eighteenth century there was a rapid change for the better in the training of would-be physicians and surgeons. The Royal College of Physicians had been established, and only their licensees could practise as physicians within the bounds of the city. The surgeon apothecaries or family doctors, who practised in the city, were members of the corporation of surgeons, at that time a live body, feeling its way towards the establishment of a training school for its apprentices by the erection of a Chair of Anatomy,

and by having systematic lectures on surgery and chemistry. In 1726 the Town's College established a Faculty of Medicine, which, in a few decades, was to develop into one of the most important medical schools in Europe, attracting students from all parts of the civilised world. In addition, in 1729, the Infirmary opened its doors for the treatment of the poor who were sick or hurt, and this institution also soon became one of the leading hospitals in the country.

One result of these improvements in medical teaching and treatment was that doctors were better equipped to deal with illness, and, in consequence, received wider recognition by the public, so that quacks had to alter their tactics if they wished to attract the classes and the masses and induce them to purchase their much vaunted wares. As we shall see, they dropped the vulgar displays of the mountebanks and sought to secure the attention of the public by claiming to possess a special knowledge of diseases and their cures, and by delivering semi-scientific lectures on the nature of the troubles they professed to treat.

The usual method of procedure by the quacks was to receive the consent of the King or the local authorities to erect a stage in some crowded district (the High Street in Edinburgh, between the head of Blackfriars and Niddry's Wynd, was the favourite stance) on which the mountebanks danced, performed juggling tricks and acted comedies. Once the interest and excitement of the crowd had been secured, the medicine man of the troupe proceeded to extol the virtues of the powders, pills or potions he had to sell, and get them disposed of to a gullible and ignorant public.

One of the earliest of these peripatetic physicians to patronise Edinburgh of whom we have record was one John Pont (Pontchus, Ponthus, Pontus, Ponteous), who traversed the country in 1633, 1643, and again twenty years later. He with his troupe visited Edinburgh, Stirling, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth and St. Andrews, having stage plays, and selling

certain balms, oils and other physical ointments, 'whereof he made great gain.' In Edinburgh he had his stage by the King's warrant at different times, 'at the Mercat Cross, the Nedderbow and in the Cannagait.' In 1663, the Town Council granted 'libertie to Jon Pontus, professor of Physick, to build a stage about Blackfriars Wyndhead for public view, they acting no obscene thing to give offence.' His medicaments, which, on his first visit, were sold for 1 lb., cost, at his second visit, 1 lb. 9 sh. He was then evidently on the crest of the wave of his popularity, for, at the time of his third visit in 1663, they could be purchased for eighteenpence, though we are assured by Nicoll, the Diarist, 'they proved very good and reall.' This is corroborated by the statement that surgeons and apothecaries came from all parts of the kingdom to purchase these and then retail them at a profit. His troupe attracted the crowd by performing comedies and playing the fool, but the *pièce de résistance* was the dancing 'upon a single tow or rop, when the actor danced seven scour (score) tymes at ane tyme without intermission lifting himself and volting six quarters high above his ain heid, and lichtung down upon the tow as punctuallie as gif he had been dancing upon the plane stanes.'<sup>1</sup> Another favourite turn was to have 'a tow affixt from the south side of the Hie Street in Edinburgh to the North side of the street quairon the dancer descended upon his breast, his hands low and stretched out lyke the winges of a fowel.'<sup>1</sup>

Two years later there arrived in Edinburgh another quack or mountebank, John Baptista Quarantine. The Town Council, in its Minute dated 17th November 1665, 'grants Libertie to Jo<sup>n</sup> Baptista Quarantine Physitian to Sett up a stage upon the Hie Street betwix the head of Niddries Wynd and Blackfriars Wynd For the Space of sax weeks tyme for exercise of his airt and Calling in Public veill Q<sup>r</sup> anent this

<sup>1</sup> Nicoll's Diary.

pr<sup>ts</sup> sall be his warrand,' and this is followed by a further Minute dated 10th January 1666 :

'Upon the Petition of Johne Baptista Quarants for a prorogation of the tyme allowed to him for keeping up his Stage, The Counsell Allowis him to keip his stage till the first of Febri and to sell drogs and use cures till that tyme.'

Nicoll, in his diary, amplifies this information a little by remarking that Baptista, 'with His Majesty's warrant, came to Edinburgh and erected his stage betwixt Niddries and Blackfriars Wynd Head and there upon several weeks and dayes ventit and sauld his drogs, and medicaments,' naïvely adding, 'for the quhich he receavit a great abundance of money.' Backed as he was by His Majesty's warrant and by the consent of the Town Council, Baptista plied his art and sold his cures, without let or hindrance from the corporation of surgeons in the city.

This quack and his stage disappeared from Edinburgh on the termination of his licence, but ten years later he appears to have applied again to the Town Council for permission to erect his stage and sell his drugs and medicaments. The Deacon of the Guild of Surgeons, Samuel Christie, having got wind of the proposal, immediately convened a special meeting of the Corporation to decide what course they should adopt, as Baptista's activities were prejudicial to the Surgeons' liberties. As a result of their deliberations, the Deacon and one James Clelland were appointed a Committee with full powers to use all their endeavour and diligence in opposing the said Mountebank and to seek the help of their brothers the Apothecaries, adding with Scotch caution the condition that they were to share the expenses of any action between them. At the next meeting of the Calling a week later, the Deacon reported that the Committee had consulted Sir George Mackenzie, 'who had drawn ansers for the Calling and given them into the Town Counsell q<sup>ch</sup> were given up

to the mountebank to sie and anser the next Counsell day.'<sup>1</sup> Meantime, notwithstanding the efforts of the surgeons and apothecaries, John Baptista had erected his stage on his former stance, 'where he vended his drugs, powders and medicaments for the which he received a great amount of money.' On 31st January 1677 the Committee requested the Provost to induce the Council to order the removal of Baptista's stage, as the date of his licence had expired, but the Council declined to do so on the ground that they had no jurisdiction over mountebanks who had received their warrant from the King.

Undaunted by this rebuff, the Deacon next wrote to His Grace the Duke of Lauderdale, Charles's Secretary of State for Scotland, enclosing 'ane supplication to his Majesty craving warrand for debarring not only this Baptista, the mountebank, but also all others q<sup>o</sup> encroache upon the liberties and privileges of the Calling.' To this petition His Majesty replied, 'recommending the Calling to His Majesty's Privie Councill and the Town Councill of Edinburgh, that they should maintaine the Calling in their just rights and privileges and peaceably enjoy their frie exercise thereof.'<sup>1</sup> What was the result of this communication is not recorded, as there is no further reference to Baptista and his troupe either in the Town Council Records or in the Minutes of the College of Surgeons. In the *Privy Council Register*, however, under the date 1st February 1677, we find a Supplication from Joannes Baptista Merentini for an extension of his licence, 'he having still several persons under his cure, whereby he will require some further tyme for effectuating thereof which the Magistrates seem to decline.' To this petition the Lords answered by allowing him to keep up his stage and exercise his said airt until 1st April next, in order that 'having finished the said cures he may the more freele and with greater approbation depart from this citie to some other.'

<sup>1</sup> Royal College of Surgeons' Minutes.



At irregular intervals after Baptista's departure, the city had numerous visits from quacks, mountebanks and astrologers. From Fountainhall's *Historical Observations* we learn that in 1685 James Cathcart, a pretended mathematician and astrologer, issued a broadsheet on entering the city, in which he professed that he was able to solve such difficult questions as the date of the inquirer's wedding or death, what husbands or wives they would get, or whether certain projects the inquirers had in view would be attended by success or disaster. He likewise maintained that he could foretell whether a married woman would present her husband with a boy or a girl, while he also professed to cure many diseases. These claims he fortified by citing texts of scripture allowing an influence of the stars. Fountainhall's comment on these outrageous pretensions was characteristic of the theological outlook of the time: 'It was a piece of great impudence in a Christian commonwealth to avow such an art, for if he had it by magick he was a sorcerer, if not he was an imposter and abuser of the people, which even is death by our 73 Nat. Parliament 1563.'

The same authority informs us that in the following year, 1686, two charlatans, called Dr. Reid and Salvator Moscow, from Sicily, arrived in Edinburgh with a recommendation from His Majesty (by this device avoiding the jurisdiction of the Physicians and Surgeons) to practise their art in the city. They erected their stage, and in their advertisements 'braged of their admirable cures as 64 blind persons restored to sight who had never seen from their birth (which blasphemies outdid our Saviour's real miracles for we read not that he cured so many born blind) with many other extravagant undertakings.'

Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals*, refers to one Cornelius a Tilbourne, a German quack who visited Edinburgh in 1684. He had previously, according to Lamont,<sup>1</sup> been travelling

<sup>1</sup> Lamont, *The Diary* (1649-71).

through Fife, where his mountebanks attracted the crowd by performances on a tight rope like those of John Pont, while he himself disposed of his commodities 'to gaine money.' In April 1684 he applied to the Privy Council for a licence to erect a stage in Edinburgh, a petition which was granted notwithstanding the opposition of the Royal College of Physicians. He came with a medal and chain presented to him by the King, who in London had witnessed him swallowing certain poisons prescribed by the physicians, and counteracting their effect by drinking some antidote, probably a large quantity of oil, but he had expressly barred mercury, aqua-fortis and other corrosive poisons from the trial. In Edinburgh he performed the experiment on his servant, but evidently Edinburgh poisons were more potent, or the antidote less effective than in London, as the servant promptly died.

Some of these travelling quacks combined other business with their medical practice and sale of cures. Dalzell, in his *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*, tells of one Antony Parsons, who, on his arrival in Edinburgh in 1711 from his travels in other countries, took up his abode in the Hammermen's Land at the Magdalene Chapel, near the head of the Cowgate, where he sold his drugs and medicines, and especially his "Orvietan," a famous antidote against infectious distempers and helps barrenness.' The time not occupied with his professional work he devoted to the manufacture and sale of cabinet organs. Even with this extra source of income, however, he was unable to make ends meet, as we find him, in 1714, announcing his departure from the city, and offering a cabinet organ for sale, adding, as an inducement to any purchaser, that he would get the stock of drugs at reduced prices.

In the eighteenth century three generations of a family, called Green, followed the vocation of itinerant quacks, having one or two rope dancers and tumblers, and selling 'valuable

medicines.' While in Edinburgh they had a stage in the Abbey Yard on Saturdays, and at the West Port on Mondays, while the other days of the week were spent at Dalkeith, or Haddington, or some other town in the neighbourhood. Their method of conducting business was a little different from that adopted by other members of the trade, as they introduced a mild gamble in order to foster practice. Members of the public were invited to throw their handkerchiefs containing one or two shillings on to their stage, and these were returned with a quantity of medicine, but into one handkerchief was placed a silver cup to gratify a successful speculator. This family was about the last of this class of practitioner, but they evidently conducted a successful business, as Dr. Green *tertius* was able to drive through the country in a carriage and pair.

It was probably to one of these gentlemen that the following advertisement from the *Evening Courant*, dated 7th December 1728, refers: 'Whereas it hath been advertised that Dr. Edward Green, the famous oculist, is lately returned to the city of Edinburgh, and that besides what he formerly professed he now can perfectly cure stammering or hesitation of speech, He to show his success therein, and at the earnest request of the after-mentioned gentlemen, and for the encouragement of all others that labour under the said impediment, acquaints the world that he hath absolutely cured Mr. Joshua McKenzie, Son of Lieutenant McKenzie of the Castle of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Smith, apprentice to Mr. Smith, Procurator, which hath been performed in the space of three weeks without the least trouble or pain to the patient, to the great satisfaction of themselves and the agreeable surprise of their acquaintances. The public may be satisfied of the veracity hereof by the aforesaid gentlemen, and those that labour under this inconvenience, or have any impediment in the eyes or otherwise, are desired to make immediate application to the Doctor, he resolving not to stay in Edinburgh beyond a month.'

As we mentioned above, the eighteenth century produced a different type of quack from those we have been describing. They were men with a College education in medicine, to whom the prosaic and orthodox methods of practice did not appeal. They loved to appear in the limelight of popularity, to pose as great authorities on medical subjects, and to impress the public with their unique power over disease. They, however, took care not to remain too long in one place, but to pass on before their ignorance and mistakes could be found out.

Such a person was the Prince of Charlatans, John Taylor, M.D., who visited Edinburgh in 1744, and grandiloquently described himself as 'Chevalier John Taylor, Ophthalmiator, Pontifical, Imperial, Regal.' Born at Norwich in 1703, and educated at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, he settled in his native town as a surgeon oculist. Fame and fortune not coming to him as quickly as he thought his abilities deserved, he adopted other tactics and travelled through the country from town to town as a peripatetic oculist, giving lectures on the eye and its diseases, and treating all those who were willing to subject themselves to his care. Gifted with a fine presence, and endowed with a great command of ready speech, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of the successful quack. He visited the important towns in Britain and on the Continent, travelling in state in an equipage suitable to a person of distinction, and accompanied by a large retinue of servants. On entering a town, he had bills and broadsheets printed and distributed, in which he described his many qualifications, mentioned the distinguished people in high places whom he had treated, and added a list of the numerous eye diseases which he was capable of curing. This was followed by a public lecture on 'The Eye,' which was intended for the nobility and gentry. Here is the introduction to a lecture delivered in Oxford:

'The Eye, most illustrious sons of the Muses, most learned Oxonians, whose fame I have heard celebrated in all parts of the globe—

the eye, that most amazing, that stupendous, that comprehending, that incomprehensible, that miraculous organ. The eye is the Proteus of the passions, the herald of the mind, the interpreter of the heart and the window of the soul. The eye has dominion over all things. The eye was made for the world and the world for the eye.'

and so on, a tissue of bombastic nonsense, but no word of the anatomy or diseases of the eye which he professed to describe and treat.

To Edinburgh this extraordinary personage came in the spring of 1744, heralding his arrival from Berwick by an advertisement in the public prints to the effect that 'Dr. John Taylor oculist to his Majesty will arrive at Mrs. Mackenzie's in Writers Court on Friday, 20th April.' On the following Monday he announced 'that a course of lectures on the nature and cure of diseases of the eye will be delivered in the same order as have been given for many years in the Universities abroad and lately in London, to which gentlemen of the Faculty and gentlemen of distinction in this city are invited hereby by John Taylor, M.D., oculist to the King and Fellow of several Colleges of Physicians, who is now at Mrs. Mackenzie's in Writers Court in this city, where the faculty and gentry are free to see daily his method of treating the diseases of sight.'<sup>1</sup>

These lectures were delivered in St. Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd to an audience limited to 300, and tickets of admission were only to be obtained by applying to Dr. Taylor at his lodgings. They were largely attended, not, we fancy, because the gentry in Edinburgh were specially interested in diseases of the eye, but on account of the eccentricity of the lecturer and the pompous style of his language. He appeared dressed in black with a long, light, flowing wig, ascended a scaffold behind a large table raised about two feet from the ground, and covered with a piece of old tapestry, with four plumes (used for hearses) tied to the corners for tassels.

<sup>1</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 23rd April 1744.

The appeal to the Faculty was not without effect, some attending for information and some from curiosity. The astute chevalier promptly made capital out of their presence, as we find in the next advertisement a clause to the effect that the chief of the Faculty was constantly present at his lectures and demonstrations, inferring, of course, that he must be a person of outstanding merit and ability, when physicians and surgeons flocked to his lecture room.

Nor were the ladies omitted from his attentions, and special lectures were given to them in the Assembly Rooms, to which he was very particular that no men on any account would be admitted, but every care would be taken that all would be conducted in the greatest order. The subject first discussed in the ladies' lecture was one that would appeal to the female sex, viz. 'The Beauty of the Eye.' These too seem to have attracted large crowds, as the lecturer was compelled to limit the numbers present, and tickets had to be procured for admission.

He made a special feature of the treatment of the poor who were afflicted with eye troubles, attending them without charge if they came to his lodging before eight o'clock in the morning. He was disturbed, however, that there was no suitable place for operating on these unfortunates, 'as no good ends,' he writes, 'can be obtained unless such as are under care be fully attended and properly provided for.' He thus induced some generously disposed persons to raise a subscription to provide the necessary premises and care. The Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate was secured, which proved a most excellent place for the purpose, with its raised benches for the on-looking public.

He early acquired the good opinion of the Press, which every few days announced that another citizen had recovered his sight through the good offices of Dr. Taylor, Oculist to His Majesty. By the end of May the *Caledonian Mercury* stated, 'so remarkably happy have been his endeavours that

not one instance has as yet appeared, where he has failed of the success he had given hopes of, from the reputation of which a prodigious number of people arrive daily from all parts of Scotland for his assistance.' Shortly after, we learn that since his arrival upwards of 100 persons by his skill had been freed from various defects of sight, among whom were many who had long been deprived of it.

As most of the notices in the public prints were couched more or less in the laudatory language one is familiar with in the advertisements of quacks pushing their wares, one cannot get away from the feeling that they were prompted, if not actually written, by the oculist himself. Still, he must have been a nine days' wonder in the city, for on 23rd May, a little more than a month after his arrival, the Town Council Minutes contain the following item: 'Appointed the Dean of Gild and his Council to receive Doctor John Taylor, His Majesty's oculist, to be burgh and Gild brother of this city in the most ample form.' This was followed at the next meeting of the Council by another Minute stating that 'Baillie James Stewart observing from the last day's Minutes that the Council had appointed the Dean of Gild to admit and receive Dr. John Taylor, his Majesty's oculist, to be burgh and Gild brother in ample form, against which the said Baillie Stewart protested for reasons mentioned in a schedule given and signed by him.' As the schedule has disappeared and there is no further mention of it, we are left to conjecture what were the grounds of the Baillie's protest.

The *Caledonian Mercury* of 12th July contained two communications which threw a very different light on Taylor's work compared with all the previous panegyrics. These were protests published by the Royal College of Physicians and by the Corporation of Surgeons on the unwarrantable claims of Dr. Taylor. They were both very much to the same effect, but whether this was due to collusion between the two bodies,

or whether they were independent statements, it is impossible to say.

The document sent by the Royal College of Physicians was to the following effect:

'Whereas one John Taylor, who designs himself Doctor of Physic and oculist to his Majesty, has inserted in the newspapers of the city several advertisements stuffed with gross injurious falsehoods, and that his lectures have been constantly attended by the Chief of the Faculty in this University; that his operations on the eye have been performed with great skill and uncommon success, and that his methods of cure had been proven by the most eminent of the Faculty;

We, the President, Censors and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, and in vindication of our character, do hereby unanimously declare that not one of the professors of the different branches of medicine in this University ever attended one single lecture of his. That some of our members who were present out of curiosity at any of them have reported that his lectures were exceedingly trifling, that those who were obliged at the desire of people in distress to attend his operations on the eye and witness his methods of cure, or who went out of curiosity, have testified that his operations were the most common, have been attended with very indifferent success, and that many of his patients have had their health much impaired, and their sight made worse from the excessive unnecessary evacuations and other irregular methods of practice. That upon the strictest enquiry very few of his patients own their having received any benefit from his assistance, whereas numbers complain of being worse than before they came into his hands. That in some difficult cases he has proposed absurd and destructive methods of cure, and when opposed by regular physicians, has published that he was hindered from perfecting the cure. That he has undertaken a great many incurables whom even he might have known to be such, promising them thorough cure in a few days. That he had been oppressive to several in low circumstances by demanding exorbitant fees and intending having suits against them for small services or none at all. And notwithstanding his professing to serve the poor gratis, he has by his advertisements induced several poor people to come from remote parts of the country and extorted money from some of them when reduced by the expense

of the journey to the greatest necessity, and dismissed others of them because they could give him nothing.

As the said Taylor has given out that he is to leave this place very soon, we have no other view in publishing this declaration than to prevent many people in other places which he threatens with a visit from being imposed on by so daring a pretender—and appoint the same to be published.<sup>1</sup>

While the protest of the Corporation of Surgeons was along similar lines, a rider was added to the following effect which was to be passed on to the Town Council :

‘The Incorporation of Surgeons humbly presuming that the Hon. Town Council ordered a Burgess Ticket to be made out for Dr. Taylor, oculist to his Majesty, from the generous principle of encouraging virtue and merit, the Corporation is persuaded that the Hon. Council is now convinced from the want of success in his operations and from the general opinion of the proper judges in these matters, how much they have been misled in this particular by wrong information. The Surgeons therefore humbly request the Town Council to do what is in their power to prevent the bad uses which Dr. Taylor may make of that honour, and vindicate the honour of our Society from the imputation of having been aiding in procuring it.’

This memorial, however, the Town Council decided to ignore, the Provost remarking that they had nothing to do with that affair, and ordering that no record of it should be placed in their books.

Early in August Taylor sent to the College of Physicians a reply to their outspoken attack on him. As it was a private communication to a learned society and not intended for publication, it was not couched in the extravagant language he was in the habit of using in his advertisements meant for public consumption. He minimised many of the charges made against him. What they had termed falsehoods he camouflaged as political advertisements, necessary to excite the attention of the multitude. He naïvely professed not to know the difference between a College, a Faculty and a University, but the man who in the course of his travels had

visited most of the important medical schools in Europe, and had announced that he had been honoured in many of these centres, must either have been very ignorant if he had not learned the difference between them, or must have willfully miscalled them. He naturally denied that his methods were either absurd or destructive, and finished up with the equivocal declaration that ‘I did not come to this country to improve my Fortunes, but with a full intention of making ample compensation for what I received by the services I should do, and by freely communicating the fruits of my large experience to all who were willing to accept of them.’

When he announced that he was about to proceed to Glasgow, a local poet took him to task in some Latin verses, coupling his name with that of George Whitefield, the famous Methodist preacher, then in the capital, who was also looked upon as a charlatan by some of the religious bodies in the city. The following is a free translation of the first lines :

‘Farewell George Whitefield and John Taylor, a notorious pair of actors, the one a corruptor of souls, the other a “tailor” of eyes. The one dulls the acuteness of the mind, the other dims the sharpness of the vision. Both have been robbing our country, carrying off money screwed out of the simple and the ingenuous, who now bewail their stupid credulity. That the country may take no more harm these two ought to be banished beyond the seas for their insolence and audacity.

Then follows :

‘The Senses as some modern Teachers say  
Misguide the man, and lead his heart astray,  
Their number if I count aright is five,  
Tho’ some philosophers a sixth contrive.  
All these at once to conquer and subdue  
Is more than any mortal man can do.  
But then for him a ready cure is nigh,  
Let but a Whitefield or a Taylor try  
The one shall deaf the ear, the other blind the eye.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th July 1744.

Before his final departure from the city he published a *Syllabus or exact description of 243 diseases to which the eye and its contiguous parts are subject*, and had the brazen audacity to dedicate it to The President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians (which a few weeks earlier had subjected him to such a trouncing) in grateful remembrance of the attention with which some of the Fellows favoured him both at his Lectures and Methods of practice. Whether this dedication was prompted by genuine gratitude, or in contempt on the part of a notorious charlatan for the ordinary practitioner with his unobtrusive ways, no one can say. In any case, it has to be admitted that it is not a book to be ashamed of, as it shows that Taylor must have had a wide knowledge of different types of ocular diseases, whatever skill he had in the practical treatment of them.

He continued his practice and lectures in Edinburgh with intervals, in which he visited Glasgow, Aberdeen and Perth, until 2nd October, when he finally returned to London. In the spring of 1749 Taylor paid a second visit to the city, but as his methods of procedure, his advertisements, his lectures and his professed interest in the welfare of the poor were similar to those practised in 1744, it is unnecessary to do more than mention this sojourn.

Mr. Boog Watson (to whom I am indebted for valuable assistance in the compilation of this paper) has drawn my attention to a small volume entitled *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse on Several Occasions*, by 'Claudero,' son of Nimrod, the Mighty Hunter (an eighteenth-century pie-taster, notorious in Edinburgh for his scurrilous satires), who describes himself on the title-page as late Secretary to the Chevalier Taylor, his Majesty's Oculist, Ophthalmiator, etc. In this brochure there is a virulent lampoon addressed to the 'Pye Baxters' in the city, who at that time were cheating their customers by supplying pies inferior both in quantity and quality, and

he compares their deception with the practice of this boastful impostor. Here is the first half of the effusion :

'Pye Baxters all, come hear my theme :  
I sing a song, conceal a name :  
From truth my song shall never vary,  
Tho' I was Taylor's secretary :  
And in that post, I tell no fiction,  
I wrote damned lies from Taylor's diction ;—  
Stung with remorse, I scorned his gold,  
Refused my country to blindfold.  
The quack, enraged with much vexation  
Knew well the fate of his oration,  
Which he averred was made in Rome  
Though forged by me and him at home,  
A luscious piece of scand'lous praise  
Among the mob his fame to raise.  
But let the quack dissect the eye,  
And blindfold all who do apply ;  
Let him impose on blind folk's purses  
And cut their eyes and get their curses,  
Boast long of cures performed abroad,  
And call himself a demigod.  
Our faculty of skilled physicians  
Think him unworthy of a license,  
And by them all 'tis understood  
He does more harm than he does good.'

This homely satire throws an interesting sidelight on the character and methods of the Chevalier.

Horace Walpole composed the following epigram on Dr. Taylor :

'Why Taylor, the Quack, calls himself Chevalier,  
'Tis not easy a reason to render,  
Unless he would own what his practice makes clear,  
That at best he is but a Pretender.'

The next quack to whom I should like to draw your attention, Dr. James Graham, one of the most notorious charlatans of the eighteenth century, should be of special

interest to Edinburgh folk, as he was born near the Cowgatehead in 1745, the son of a well-to-do saddler. As a young man he was apprenticed to an apothecary and attended medical classes at the University, but owing to his forwardness and impudence his master and he had to part company. By some chance, now unknown, he attracted the notice of Dr. William Buchan, of *Domestic Medicine* fame, who induced Graham's father to send the young man to Yorkshire, where he himself was practising at the time. In Doncaster, by his handsome appearance and pleasant manner he won the affection of a young lady possessed of a fortune of £1600. With the money he set up an apothecary's shop and adopted the degree of M.D. (though there is no mention of his name in the list of Edinburgh graduates), but owing to his extravagant tastes he in a few years got rid of both his fortune and his wife, who had to return to the family roof-tree.

Of a roving disposition he crossed to the United States and traversed the country as a peripatetic doctor, gaining, by his good figure, plausible manners and ready speech, access to the best society, from whom he acquired a considerable fortune. When in that country he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin, and from him acquired a smattering of electricity and magnetism, agents which he quickly realised might be turned to his own advantage by increasing and impressing his clientele.

He recrossed the Atlantic and visited many cities in Britain and the Continent, cajoling the public with his voluble advertisements in which he boasted of the extraordinary cures he had effected by his wonderful electric and magnetic devices.

The late 'seventies found him back in Edinburgh, where his vaunted cures attracted the attention of Walter Scott's father, who at that time was much concerned over his son's lameness, and determined to give the boy the benefit of Graham's skill. 'The celebrated Dr. Graham,' Scott himself says, 'was an empiric of some skill and great assurance. In

fact, he had a dash of madness in his composition. He had a fine electrical apparatus and used it with skill. I, myself, among others, was subjected to a course of electricity under his charge.'<sup>1</sup> Again, in a letter to Lady Louisa Stuart, dated 31st October 1830, he reverts to the subject when expressing his contempt for magnetism. 'This man Graham,' he writes, 'had then an electrical apparatus of much power. My grandfather, Dr. Rutherford, a Professor at Edinburgh College . . . recommended that this electrical apparatus should be used to benefit my lameness. There was so much suspicion about the operator trying some violent experiment that some cousin or friend, that had little to do at the time, generally attended on the very unpleasant hour I spent in Graham's company. This was not without reason, for the man was a daring experimentalist. He tried ether, and like a predecessor of Mr. St. John,<sup>2</sup> only took an opportunity to pour a very caustic fluid on my limb which gave me extreme pain. Captain Smith, of Kimmerghame, was my friendly guard. He entered at my cries and with much wrath, for he was a fiery old soldier, removed me from the persecution according to medicine.' There is no indication that Scott derived any benefit whatever from this drastic and unpleasant experience at the hands of Dr. Graham.

Thereafter, for a time, the doctor settled in Bath, and in 1780 repaired to London, confident that he would take the city by storm with his magical cures by means of his complicated electrical and magnetic apparatus. He issued numerous pamphlets trumpeting the wonderful effects his treatment had produced on people who had been declared incurable by the heads of the profession, and sounding the praises of his 'Electrical Aether,' his 'Nervous Aethereal Balsam,' his 'Elixir of Life,' and his 'Imperial Pills.'

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.

<sup>2</sup> A notorious London quack in the 'twenties of last century who treated his patients by the application of blistering fluid to their skin.

His great adventure, however, was his Temple of Health, a gorgeous establishment, most lavishly decorated, and furnished regardless of expense. During the day he treated his patients with his imposing and elaborate electrical machines, while the evenings were devoted to lectures on health and procreation, to which he attracted large audiences of the wealthy, the credulous and the curious of both sexes. To keep these audiences select he charged, to begin with, £2, 2s. for admission, and as an extra inducement he had, as his assistant, 'The Goddess of Health,' the beautiful but notorious Emma Lyon, who became better known in later years as Lady Hamilton, the friend of Lord Nelson. When the novelty of his entertainment began to fall off he reduced the admission fee to £1, 1s., and ultimately to 2s. 6d. when his affairs were becoming embarrassed owing to the great expense incurred in maintaining his establishment. As a last resort he opened the door to all and sundry as a show place, charging 1s. for admission.

Among the properties in this extraordinary museum was his 'celestial bed,' a wonderful contraption standing on glass legs and mounted with magnificent hangings, the occupation of which by married people without offspring, he professed, would secure fruitful results. For the use of this fantastic contrivance he made a charge of £100, and quite a number of wealthy foolish Londoners were found willing to pay the price. The 'Elixir of Life,' he pretended, contained ingredients which enabled those who partook of it to live as long as they pleased. Though the price he demanded for this extraordinary concoction was £1000, more than one opulent nobleman was credulous enough to purchase it.

As he gradually lost caste he endeavoured to retrieve his fortunes by advocating the use of earth baths in the treatment of certain complaints, and, in order to attract the public, he admitted them first at £1, 1s., ultimately descending to 1s. to view him and his Goddess of Health immersed

in warm earth up to the chin, their heads beautifully dressed and powdered, looking, one visitor said, 'not unlike two well grown cauliflowers.' Ultimately, in 1782, the place had to be closed down and the contents sold off, and Graham, with what apparatus he could save from the smash, once more repaired to his native city. On 28th July 1783 the following bombastic advertisement appeared in the Edinburgh papers:

'Dr. Graham, President of the Council of Health, and principal director of the Temple of Health, in Pall Mall, near the King's Palace, desires most respectfully to inform the Public that to-morrow, being Tuesday evening, the 29th inst. and the four following evenings at St. Mary's Chapel, Niddries Wynd he will have the honour of delivering a Lecture, Political, Moral, Philosophical and Religious on increasing the number and improving the bodily and mental Faculties of the Human Species—on the means of exciting and rendering permanent the Rational, Temperate and Serene Pleasures of the married state, of preserving youth and personal beauty and loveliness—and of prolonging Bodily Health and serene Mental Brilliancy to the longest possible period of human existence.'

As an extra inducement he intimated, as a rider, that gentlemen or ladies who laboured under complaints or diseases which had not given way to the ordinary or what is called regular practice might have them speedily and radically removed by applying to him at the apartments at Mrs. Thompson's exactly facing the Royal Exchange. His lecture, though well attended, evidently caused a grave scandal in the city owing to its coarseness and indecency, as he was promptly interdicted by the magistrates from again delivering it in public. Accordingly, on the following day, 30th July, Dr. Graham wrote as follows to the papers:

'The Public are respectfully informed that although Dr. Graham's lecture last night was received by a learned, polite and numerous audience with loud and almost continual applause, yet some ignorant, envious, malevolent or interested persons (of the Faculty, it is supposed), having misrepresented it to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, they have thought proper to forbid the Doctor delivering it any more



publicly in Mary's Chapel, to the great detriment of the public in general. Dr. Graham will therefore deliver it privately in his own rooms at Mrs. Thompson's, second floor of the stairs, exactly opposite the Exchange this evening and every evening this week, precisely at half-past eight o'clock.

Dr. Graham humbly calls God to witness, and he defies all mankind to disprove the following fact, namely, that the above lecture is immediately and most powerfully calculated to restrain and discourage all vice, immorality, uncleanness and excess of every kind, warmly inculcating and insisting upon the beauty, necessity and supreme blessedness of temperance, moderation, continency, regularity, self-denial and true religion in the single as well as in the married state.'

In addition to this statement he issued numerous handbills denouncing the high-handed and irregular action of the magistrates. In one of these, Sir Walter Scott tells us, he declared that 'he looked down upon them (the magistrates) as the sun in his meridian glory looks down on the poor, feeble, stinking glimmer of an expiring farthing candle, or as G— himself, in the plenitude of his omnipotence, may regard the insolent bouncings of a few refractory maggots in a rotten cheese.'<sup>1</sup> These tirades so incensed the authorities that, on Wednesday, 6th August, he was committed to the Tolbooth by warrant of the Magistrates on the application of the Procurator-Fiscal in order to stand trial for his injurious publications in the city. Bail was fixed at £1000 Scots. Dr. Graham promptly protested to the Lords against this action on three grounds: (1) that the publications were not criminal, and even if they were, the Magistrates could not be both prosecutors and judges; (2) that the bail demanded was too high; (3) that he ought to be liberated on 'Juratory Caution,' i.e. such bail as a person can find, he swearing that he can procure no better. Their Lordships dismissed the first and third plea, and in regard to the second, fixed the bail at

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.

300 merks. The Magistrates, they said, had fixed a bail suitable to a person in Dr. Graham's circumstances as a physician and doctor, while they, in compliance with the applicant's own request, fixed it to be that of an inferior person. Their Lordships added that they highly approved of the action taken by the Magistrates in committing to prison a person who could be guilty of writing and publishing so infamous a libel as that of which Dr. Graham admitted himself to be the author; indeed they thought the Magistrates would have been remiss in their duties if they had not taken the steps they did.

On 5th August, the day before his apprehension, there appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* this letter addressed to Dr. Graham:

'SIR,—Observing that in your advertisement you allude to the misrepresentation made to the Magistrates of this city by some of the Faculty, I think it a duty I owe to truth and to my own character to aver that whatever others may have been induced to say through envy of your fame and abilities, I for my part have always given you that praise which I think every man of good sense and candour must bestow on you. I attended one of your lectures and declare solemnly that, to the best of my judgment I never heard more excellent practical rules than those delivered. If the aspirations of a Professor of Botany in Edinburgh College can add anything to your credit, you are heartily welcome to make any use you think proper of the name of, Sir, Your most humble servant and well-wisher,  
JOHN HOPE.'

Such a letter from such a source might well have helped to repolish the tarnished reputation of the unfortunate doctor, but the next issue of the paper contained a communication which besmirched it still more by a denial on the part of Professor Hope of ever having attended any of the lectures given by the person who calls himself Dr. Graham. The first letter had certainly been inspired by Graham if not actually written by him, as the phraseology bears a strong resemblance to some of his other frothy productions.

On Sunday, 10th August, while in prison, he preached a sermon, afterwards published, to his fellow prisoners on the text, 'All Flesh is Grass' (Isaiah xl. 6), in which he maintained that the prophet used the term flesh to signify food, and that the term grass embraced the whole vegetable world. From this he argued that man's proper nourishment should be entirely vegetarian. The consumption of flesh in any form, he said, produced disobedience, violence and enormities of every kind, which have corrupted and debased men's souls and bodies. 'God has given us,' he says, 'grace and resolution to abstain totally from flesh and blood, from all liquors but cold water and balsamic milk, and from all inordinate sensual indulgence. Blessed, thrice blessed, is the man who like me abstains from these things, who like me washes his body and limbs every night and morning with pure cold water, who breathes continually, summer and winter, day and night, the free open cool air, and who, with unfeigned, active benevolence towards everything that has life, fears and worships God in sincerity and in truth.' We are told that after the service he treated his audience, fifteen in number, to a good meal, and induced them to attend the Chaplain's service in the afternoon, after which they all adjourned to the doctor's room, where he regaled them with a 'mellow bottle and flowing bowl.'<sup>1</sup>

While in the Tolbooth he issued to the public an appeal which contained 'a full, candid and circumstantial statement of Dr. Graham's case from the moment he last arrived in Edinburgh to the present time, giving an account of Proceedings, Persecutions and Imprisonments more cruel and more shocking to the laws both of God and man than any of those on record of the Portuguese Inquisition.'

On 19th August, Graham was let out on bail, and immediately resumed lecturing in the large room in Bailie Fyfe's Close, opposite Blackfriars Wynd. He now announced as his subject, 'On increasing the number, preserving the Health and excelling

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 11th August 1783.

the Virtue, the Honour and the Happiness of the Human Species at large, especially of the inhabitants of Great Britain.'

As there was no further interference by the authorities, we must conclude that these lectures were not such an outrage on decency as his former efforts.

On 22nd August the Magistrates delivered their judgment against Graham, found him guilty of causing print and publish a scandalous and malicious libel against the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city in their character of Magistrates, and fined him £20 sterling, with a warrant to imprison him till payment was made. Unfortunately the commitment took place just as the people were assembling in Bailie Fyfe's Close to hear his lecture, and when this news came to the meeting, the sum of £20 was quickly raised among the audience, the fine was paid and the lecturer immediately proceeded in triumph to the lecture-room.

On 22nd August he announced that evening to be positively the last on which he would deliver his eccentric lecture, but with showman-like veracity he continued haranguing the public for some time longer. Finally, on 1st September, he publicly pledged his honour that he would never, after the present week, deliver the important lectures in Edinburgh on any account whatever, and that he intended to present to every listener a copy of his book entitled *Guardian of Health, Happiness and Long Life*, or directions medical, moral and philosophical in regard to Rejuvenation, and for the certain prevention of all diseases, for the happiest prolongation of life and for the radical and lasting cure of all diseases hereditary or acquired to which the human body was liable. This book had been issued at £1, 1s., then reduced for the public good to 5s., 'and now it was to be given away gratis as the most valuable and most important present that could be presented to them. Sweeter than honey and far more precious than the finest gold or the most brilliant diamond.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1st September 1783.

By this time he was evidently getting into low water financially, as he had to part with all that remained of his beloved electrical apparatus, which was sold in the third house from the High Street on the South Bridge.

Graham was again in Edinburgh in the winter of 1784-1785, as Sir James Macintosh, in his *Memoirs*, tells us that he made himself conspicuous by exhibiting himself in his earth bath—an exhibition which produced more ridicule than admiration.

In his desire to carry out his ideas regarding fresh air, he got in touch with the lessee of the King's Park for permission to build a house on the top of Arthur's Seat in order to test the utmost degree of cold that our northern climate could afford, but the noble superior of the Park (the Duke of Hamilton) would not listen to the proposal.

Graham was also a faddist as regards dress, believing that many human ailments were caused by wearing woollen clothing, and Kay depicts him crossing the North Bridge in white linen clothes and black stockings, his usual attire. Scott describes him as coming into Greyfriars Church in a suit of white and silver, with a chapeau bras, and his hair marvelously dressed into a sort of double toupee, which divided upon his head like the two tops of Parnassus. His peculiar views in regard to dress and fresh air induced him to sleep on a hair mattress, without blankets, and with the windows wide open.

He practised what he preached regarding food, boasted that on a vegetarian diet he could live on 4d. or 6d. a day, and would sometimes go for several days at a time without any food at all.

The poor man became gradually more and more eccentric until 1787, when he was seized with a religious frenzy, and proclaimed himself as a spiritual messenger from heaven to announce the millennium, and styled himself 'The Servant of the Lord, O.W.L.,' *i.e.* Oh Wonderful Love. His conduct

became so peculiar that the magistrates had to put him under restraint in his own house, from which he was removed to the north of England. He later returned to Edinburgh, living quietly on an annuity of £50, which was left him by a Swiss gentleman who had benefited by his cures.

He died suddenly from the rupture of a blood-vessel in his house in Buccleuch Street, opposite the Archers' Hall, in 1794, at the age of 49, and was buried in an unknown grave in Greyfriars Churchyard.

What are we to make of an eccentric curiosity like this? With all his peculiarities and extravagances he inculcated some precepts with regard to feeding and fresh air which are now almost universally accepted by both the medical profession and the laity. Scott said that he had a streak of madness in his constitution. Horace Walpole, no mean judge of men, called him the dullest of mountebanks; while Southey looked upon him as a religious fanatic. Indeed he had all these characteristics in his psychological make-up, so that after living a life of intense mental and physical strain for many years, he so wore himself out that he was a mental and physical wreck during his latter days.

Graham was one of the last and most notorious quacks who visited Edinburgh during the eighteenth century, but charlatanism did not die with him. The nineteenth century saw more of them pass like meteors across the sky, and we are not done with them yet, for human nature has been the same through the ages and in all classes, so that Bacon's dictum still holds true that 'the weakness and credulity of men is such that they will often prefer a mountebank or a witch before a learned physician.'

ROBERT THIN.<sup>1</sup>

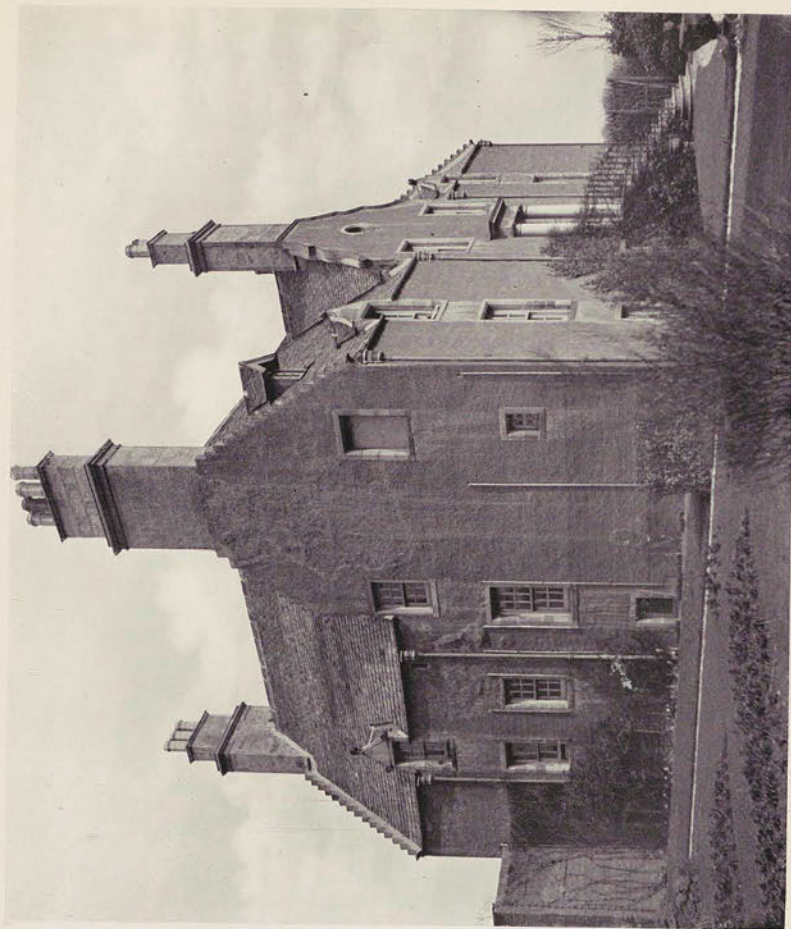
<sup>1</sup> I desire to express my indebtedness to Dr. Charles A. Malcolm, Librarian of the Signet Library, for valuable suggestions in connection with this paper, and for permission to consult books and papers in the Signet Library.

### THE BUILDER OF PILRIG HOUSE

THE present year of 1938 is the tercentenary of the building of Pilrig House, an event which has just been celebrated there by an At Home given by Miss Balfour-Melville to the members of the Balfour family, a large number of whom joined her in the old ancestral home in fittingly commemorating the event. At this function a talk was given on Gilbert Kirkwood, the builder of the quaint and picturesque old mansion in the summer of 1638. His life-story, as far as it can be pieced together from the few incidental and isolated references to him in the local records of his time, forms the subject of this paper.

Few people, it may be, in the Edinburgh of to-day have ever heard of Gilbert Kirkwood, yet, in the older Edinburgh of his own time, he was one of its best known citizens, and held in honour both for his business enterprise and his keen interest in everything that tended to promote the progress and prosperity of the Good Town. His story may be looked on as one of the romances of the industrial life of his day for, from being born in humble circumstances, he rose to be a man of wealth, married his still more wealthy employer's daughter, and became one of the most extensive landowners in the Edinburgh district.

Gilbert Kirkwood was the son of Patrick Kirkwood, the village blacksmith of Colinton. Through the influence of James Foulis, no doubt, Colinton's Laird, he became an apprentice goldsmith with that Laird's second son, George, the founder of the Ravelston Foulises and the Master of the King's Mint. Gilbert Kirkwood became his apprentice in September 1598, when he would be some twelve or thirteen years old. In April 1606, when he had barely reached his



PILRIG HOUSE FROM S.W.  
From a Photo by Mrs. C. Norton

twenty-first year, he, like his master, the Laird of Ravelston, married a Janet Bannatyne who, unlike the Lady of Ravelston, is otherwise unknown to us, for the *Edinburgh Marriage Register* tells us nothing of her beyond her name. Janet Bannatyne was dead before 1621, by which date Kirkwood had married Margaret Foulis, the oldest daughter of the Laird of Ravelston and some fifteen years her husband's junior. In September 1609, in his twenty-fourth year, as the *Burgess Roll* shows us, he became a burgess and guild-brother, and seems to have begun business on his own account soon thereafter. In his growing prosperity he did not forget his poorer relations in Colinton, for in January 1621 he took as one of his own apprentices, Thomas, son of the late Adam Kirkwood, indweller there, and, in all likelihood, a cousin of his own. When this Thomas Kirkwood, in his turn, was made burgess and a member of the goldsmiths' guild, Gilbert Kirkwood became his surety for the installation fees, which, in the case of the wealthiest of Edinburgh's craft guilds as that of the goldsmiths was, were very considerable.

The reign of James VI was a period of heavy burdens of taxation, for the King's income proved insufficient for his needs. Many of the local lairds who had no other source of income than the produce of their estates became financially embarrassed, and there was much transference of land. It was during this time of financial strain—in 1623, to give the precise year—that Gilbert Kirkwood purchased the lands of Pilrig from the Monypenny family, who had held them since the middle of the fifteenth century. Fifteen years later, in 1638, he built the present Pilrig House, whose basement walls, from their strength and thickness and their appearance of incorporating with them portions of an older work, may have formed part of its ancient predecessor, the peel tower on the ridge, that gave us our local place-name of Pilrig. It was L-shaped and entered, as was customary at this period, by a door at the foot of a circular stair

built in a turret which filled up the angle of the building. Over this doorway was placed a carved pediment on which were cut the arms of the builders and their initials, G.K. and M.F., and beneath was inscribed the motto from 2 Corinthians: 'For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God,' a motto chosen, perhaps by Margaret Foulis herself rather than by her husband, as being reminiscent of the family home at Ravelston where a door lintel had carved on it, and still has as part of a garden arbour there, the text from 1 Peter: 'Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house.'

The Laird of Pilrig, like the other landowners of those days around Edinburgh, had a town house in the city as well as a country home outside it. Kirkwood's town house was at the head of Bull's Close on the north side of the High Street, and directly opposite the Tron Church, which was erected in Kirkwood's later years. There his immediate neighbours were the family of Robert Bannatyne, glover, one of several property-owning families of that name in the Edinburgh of Kirkwood's time, but whether they were in any way related to his first wife, Janet Bannatyne, there is no record to show.

The business quarter of the goldsmiths in this older Edinburgh was just west of St. Giles' Church and the Old Tolbooth. It was here that Gilbert Kirkwood had his shop or booth, as George Heriot had before him, and next door was that of George Foulis, his 'gude-faither,' to use his own designation, the Master of the King's Mint. In February 1633 the City Fathers began to 'redd up' the Old Town preparatory to the visit of King Charles I in the following June. In the prospect of this royal visit they felt that part of the town 'whare the goldsmiths' choppes are apone the hie streit to be a plaice not beseaming the credeit of the Toun now at his Majestie's entrie.' They, therefore, ordered George Foulis, Gilbert Kirkwood, and eight others to remove 'of thair owne

consent and the saids buithes to be rased to the grund so that his Majestie salbe rasaivit in the maist magnificent manner that can be devysit.'

In those days Edinburgh was the chief centre in Scotland for goldsmiths. Just after Kirkwood's time the number of goldsmiths in the city was twenty-five, while Glasgow had but five and Aberdeen three. In addition to the ordinary work of their craft, the goldsmiths of those days traded as bankers, money-lenders and money-changers. As their security was almost invariably landed and other real estate their interest, which was by no means moderate, was always secure, and thus they accumulated large funds as the life-story of George Heriot, the 'Jingling Geordie' of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*, shows. Indeed, in February 1624, the Lords of the Council summoned Gilbert Kirkwood and other representatives of the goldsmiths' guild before them 'to answer apone the extraordinair proffeit tane for the leane of money borrowit upon exchange.'

Gilbert Kirkwood by his enterprise and ability built up, what was for so young a man, a most lucrative and successful business. He also took a leading part in all that concerned the welfare of his guild, and in directing and controlling the affairs of the Good Town. Like George Heriot before him, he rose to be Deacon of the goldsmiths' craft, and in 1623, and again in 1624, he was made Deacon-Convener of the city. But we have a still more notable instance of the high estimate of his abilities by his fellow-citizens. In March 1624, following the announcement of George Heriot's death in London the month before, and the official intimation of his great bequest to his native city, along with John Hay, advocate, their Town Clerk, and John Macnaught, a member of a well-known old Edinburgh merchant family, Gilbert Kirkwood was commissioned by the Corporation to go to London to confer with Heriot's English trustees regarding the winding up of his estate, and to arrange for the transfer of his funds. This

commission Kirkwood and his companions successfully accomplished. As a member of the Town Council he was on several occasions its representative at the meetings of the Convention of Royal Burghs, and in 1633, the year of King Charles's visit, he formed one of the city's two Commissioners to Parliament.

The Monypenny family, because of its proximity to Pilrig, worshipped in St. Mary's Church, South Leith, though Pilrig then formed part of the great landward parish of St. Cuthbert. When the estate passed from them to the Kirkwoods the latter followed the Monypenny example. In 1630, however, the lands of Pilrig were disjoined from St. Cuthbert's parish and annexed to that of South Leith. From this date references to the Kirkwoods begin to appear in the South Leith Church *Records*, showing that they regularly attended that church's services. In October 1638, when they had just moved into their new mansion at Pilrig, Gilbert Kirkwood was commissioned by the Kirk Session to make two silver basins and two silver cups for the communion services. These two basins, fittingly inscribed in Latin, are still in the possession of South Leith Church, and are regularly used in its services.

Pilrig never seems to have been without its children who would sport on its lawns looking to the sun and sloping to the Broughton Burn, or seek shade beneath the wide-spreading elms of its grass-grown avenue. There were three Kirkwood children of whom we have record—Gilbert, the only son, and his sisters, Rachel and Jean. Gilbert was five years old when his father purchased Pilrig in 1623. In the autumn of 1639 he attained his majority when he was infefted in the estate as heir to his father, with a clause in the sasine reserving the life-rent to his mother. In the next writ of the property, dated 1643, we find that the elder Kirkwood had died, but in what year between 1639 and 1643 we are not told. A persistent tradition asserts that he died during the great

plague of 1645, but in this writ we have contemporary evidence that he was dead two years before that date. Even then the city was stricken with plague, though it did not at that time rage with the deadly virulence of 1645. Like Alexander Mylne, the sculptor of the so-called Queen Mary sun-dial at Holyrood, Gilbert Kirkwood must have fallen a victim in its early stage. Whether he died at Pilrig or in his city home in the High Street we cannot now tell, for the burial registers of South Leith Parish and Greyfriars Churchyards do not begin until some years after 1643. Gilbert Kirkwood's death comes upon us with a shock, for he seems to have been struck down suddenly in the midst of his days and of his usefulness, but he left behind him a rare record of public service most ably performed.

His widow, Margaret Foulis, continued to reside at Pilrig. From her, 'the Ladie Pilrig,' as the courtesy of the time styled her, the Kirk Session of South Leith Church in 1645 obtained from the Pilrig portion of the Moor of the Canongate supplies of heather to be burnt as a disinfectant in the plague-stricken houses of Leith. But Margaret Foulis's stay at Pilrig after her husband's death was to be brief. Later in the same year the estate was sold to the Douglasses of Kelhead in Dumfriesshire, who continued to hold it for three generations. Margaret Foulis, with her son Gilbert, and her two daughters, Rachel and Jean, then went to reside in her town house in the High Street 'forenent the Salt Trone.' Rachel was married to Mr. William Douglas, advocate, but Jean continued to keep house with her mother until 1657 when she died, as did all the Kirkwoods, early in life. Her will, which nominated her sister, Rachel, as her executrix, is to be found among the *Edinburgh Testaments* in H.M. Register House. Five years later Margaret Foulis, as a Pilrig sasine of 1662 informs us, was to suffer still heavier sorrow, for in that year she lost her only son, Gilbert, who had become a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet,

and who, like his father before him, took an active part in public affairs, for during the troubles arising out of the Church policy of Charles I, as we see from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. 562a, 813a, the young Laird of Pilrig was a member of the Edinburgh War Committee. The fact that he was a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet revealed in the Pilrig sasine of 1662 has not been known to the editor of the large and sumptuous volume entitled *The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet*, giving the early history of the Scottish Signet and a list of the members down to 1936, for among these the name of Gilbert Kirkwood does not occur.

Only once again does the name of Margaret Foulis come into record—in the *Account Book* of her nephew, Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, where we read that she died in Edinburgh on the 30th day of October 1671. She was buried two days later in the Greyfriars Churchyard beneath the great and richly carved tombstone erected to the memory of her father, George Foulis, the Master of the King's Mint, and Janet Bannatyne, 'his dearest spouse,' whose effigies are among its many sculptured adornments. Its long Latin inscription, recording in the most eulogistic terms their piety and their virtues, makes no mention of Margaret Foulis, 'ye Ladie Pilrig,' but along with the date of her burial we find her name recorded in the *Register of Interments*, 1658-1700, where she is erroneously entered as the widow of 'Alexander' Kirkwood of Pildrik (Pilrig).

JOHN RUSSELL.

## THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH

### I

EDINBURGH, in the early eighteenth century, was a city of striking contrasts: for example, if its mediaeval closes had become overbuilt to a degree of density probably never approached elsewhere up to that time, yet on the other hand, the influence of the more spacious life of the Renaissance was beginning to be evidenced by isolated experiments in the new art of formal planning.

For an understanding of the nature of these innovations and so, of the 'New Town' which followed them, it is necessary briefly to consider the lay-out of the ancient Royal Burgh and its relation to its surroundings.

Paradoxically, the 'Old Town' too was once a 'New Town,' systematically planned and laid out in the twelfth century on the narrow ridge which, up till that time unbuilt on, descends eastwards from the Castle Rock towards Holyrood. It was what to-day we call a garden city—based on a broad market-place, 100 feet wide and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a mile long, occupying the crown of the ridge. On either side and running down the slopes towards the parallel northern and southern valleys were the long 'closours' or cultivated plots, from 20 to 25 feet wide and nominally of one rood ( $\frac{1}{4}$  acre) in area, effective occupation of which was a condition of burghship. At the upper end of each plot was the dwelling of the owner, probably in early times gable-ended towards the street, with a passage on one side leading to the ground behind.

During the course of centuries many of the gardens were overbuilt throughout their length, in continuation of the original house, and the passage-way, which was the only



part of the open space left free, took over the name formerly applied to the close as a whole.

This overcrowding was caused by three main influences :

1. The increase of population which followed the recognition of Edinburgh as capital of Scotland.
2. The needs of defence.
3. The fact that exercise of the rights of Burgess-ship involved residence within Burgh.

By the end of the seventeenth century the population had increased probably tenfold over the original numbers. Problems of light and ventilation, water supply and sanitation had become acute, and responsible citizens began to discuss means of relief. These discussions were coloured by experience of London and of continental cities where new streets and squares, formally planned, had opened the way to a new conception of civic life.

In Edinburgh, as has been mentioned above, the new culture had also taken root, though only at isolated points. Nevertheless, that some definite impression had been made is shown by the following extracts from a somewhat naïve account of Edinburgh, such as might be given to-day by 'our correspondent at the front,' which was printed in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of 1745, soon after the news of the Rebellion had reached London.

The selected paragraphs refer in turn to Holyroodhouse, the High Street, Heriot's Hospital, Argyle Square and the Meadows.

'The entrance conducts you from the outer court into a noble inner square court, with piazzas round it.

'Eastward from the Palace is St. Annes Yard, designed to be laid out into garden walks adorned with statues; but the Revolution coming on, attended with a long and expensive war, and afterwards the union with England, prevented its being put in execution.

'Beyond the Cross is the entrance into the Parliament Close. . . .

This is a beautiful and spacious square, having in the middle an equestrian statue of Charles II, which is reckoned the finest of its kind in Europe.

'With regard to the High Street in general, it may be observed that its length and width, beauty and magnificence, are, by travellers, said to be excelled by none in Europe, and it is really far from being equalled in London. One circumstance which renders it the more agreeable, especially to foot-passengers, is the regularity and neatness of the pavement, which is kept in continual repair, so as to be preferable even to the pavement within the posts in Lincolns-Inn-Fields. . . . By this neatness of the pavement the inhabitants are not confined to walk within the posts on each side of the street, as in London, where there would not be sufficient room to contain them.

'On the rising ground, southward of the Grassmarket, stands Heriot's hospital, a most magnificent stone structure, five storeys high. . . . The avenue leading from the Grassmarket to the hospital, is very neatly paved, and adorned with greens on each side, which are enclosed with stone walls about four feet high, and afford convenient places in which the boys follow their usual diversions.

'Eastward of this churchyard (Grey Friars) is the Society Green, so called from a society of brewers to whom it formerly belonged. The buildings round this square were mostly become ruinous, and the north side was occupied by malt-barns.

'But they have lately begun to build new houses there, after the fashion of London, every house being designed for only one family, and the place is now called Argyle Square, in honour of the late Duke. . . .

'A new gate opening to the avenue which leads to Hope Park, or the Meadow, about a quarter of a mile from the city.

'This meadow was formerly a lake, and was first drained by Oliver Cromwell. However, the greater part of it was commonly overflowed in the winter time. But Mr. Hope of Rankeilour took a lease of it about four and twenty years ago from the magistrates of Edinburgh. By the articles, he was obliged, among other improvements which he intended to make, to lay out walks for the pleasure and benefit of the citizens. This gentleman, being eminent for his knowledge in agriculture, executed the design in a very excellent manner, and the walks are adorned with hedges and rows of trees on each side, as is the avenue leading to it from the gate. . . .'

Heriot's Hospital appears to have been the first building of the new type. It was erected in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, complete with the terraces and formal gardens described above, all of them greatly damaged in modern times following the removal of the principal approach from the north to the south.

The new Palace of Holyroodhouse, designed by Sir William Bruce after the Restoration, marked more definitely a departure from the older Scottish tradition, and James VII had intended, as we have seen, to complete the work by laying out the surrounding ground in harmony with the classical architecture of the building. The Revolution of 1688, which closed his short reign, not only put an end to these dreams but delayed for three-quarters of a century the execution of a still greater project, the construction of a New Town of Edinburgh.

This early proposal for a great extension of the city has been touched on by writers from Maitland onward, but none of them appear to have realised the importance of a report, now printed for the first time, made by the Lord Provost to the Town Council following his visit to London in connection with the scheme :

'Edinburgh, the 12th October, 1688 years.

'The said day the Lord Provost reported to the Magistrates and Councill that by vertue of the commission given to him to act for the good Town's interest at Court, he had made it his great study and endeavour to acquitt himself worthie of the trust and confidence reposed in him, And to make it evidently appear that his paines and endeavours had not been ineffectuall, notwithstanding of many unlooked for discouragements and difficulties he mett with, Yet had reason to say that by good assistance he was verie fortunate in procuring gift and grants and transactions and letters in favour of the good Town from his Maj. as certainly cannot but tend to the honor and advantage of the good Town and particular interest of all the comunitie thereof As follows . . .

'As also his Lordship produced ane new gift under his Majestie's

royall hand in favour of the good Town and Comunitie thereof containing several other priviledges not heretofor obtained, as whenever the good Town shall think it convenient to enlarge the bounds thereof by buying in ground without or purchasing closes and tenements within the town or for building bridges or arches for accomplishing any such designs the good Town has not only the priviledge of all these purchest erected in a Royaltie but also in case of the deficiencie of the proprietors who may be obstinat and unwilling to quatt with the houses without exacting upon the Town the good Town has the priviledge of appointing proprietors for that effect als well as the erecting these purchases in a royaltie by which no stop can be put to any such designs as also produced ane letter under his Majestie's royall hand directed to the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Councill ordering and appointing the super plus of the principal sum and annual rents (*i.e.* interest) of umquhile Thomas Moodie his mortification after that the sum contracted for building the church of the Canongate is satisfied and paid, for building of bridges and arches for this noble design for enlarging of the cittie and for which they are hereafter no more to be comptable as likewise there is contained in the forsaid gift ane new right to the good Town of all the cellars and vaults that are digged and built under the high street of the Cittie and suburbs thereof notwithstanding of the same being forfeaulted to the King as being done without his royall warrant or consent all publik streets being his Majestie's rytt of propertie. By which the good Town and the severall proprietors of the cellars and vaults are secured the same being of new disposed to them and surely discharged by his Majesty for all tyme bygane and to come but likeways gives libertie to the Magistrates and Councill for the time being to grant licences for digging and building such cellars and vaults as they shall think fitt upon a favourable composition and to make such acts and statutes for causing the severall heritors on both sides of the streets lay before their houses walks of plaine stones upon their own expenses. And his Lordship furdre declared that if he had not carefully managded the affair of the vaults the gift thereof was designed in favour of ane particular persone who certainly would have given the good Town and the inhabitants a great deal of trouble and disquiet besides extraordinary charges and expenses. And sicklyke his Majestie produced ane letter under his Majestie's royall hand directed to the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Councill requiring them of new to take under

their serious consideration the true circumstances and low condition of his good Town occasioned by many publick accidents and to report the same to his Majesty. By which out of his Royall bountie he will give such orders for their relieff as in his Royall wisdome he shall think fitt. This his Lordship reported was the soumes of which was possible for him to act or doe considering the circumstances of the present time all which papers were produced by him in presence of the whole Councell which after perusal the Councell unanimously approved and declared they were all extraordinary sensible of so great and good services. . . .<sup>1</sup>

and acknowledged his singular care and prudent management of the Town's affairs. The confirmatory Charter, issued at Whitehall, is dated 25th September 1688.

If the Revolution put an end, for the time, to this great project, it is interesting to find Robert Mylne, master mason to Charles II and James II, as later to William and Mary and Queen Anne, engaged within a year or so on two improvement schemes which bore his name—each on a site formerly covered by parallel blocks of tenements standing only a few feet apart.

'These open places or squares called after him, were found to be most popular with the chief denizens of Edinburgh, and many eminent people might be mentioned as having inhabited the tenement erected in 1689 . . . which represents one of the earliest of the improvements in Old Edinburgh, to afford more breathing space to the aristocratic dwellers in the crowded and narrow closes, before the gentry moved across to the green fields on the other side of the Nor' Loch.'<sup>1</sup>

This square has disappeared, but Milne's Court, at the top of the Lawnmarket, still remains in part and has recently been restored by the Corporation.

James's Court, near-by, followed, c. 1727, and soon afterwards Argyle Square, already mentioned, which was

'built by a tailor named Campbell who had rendered some service to John, Duke of Argyle. On the death of George I, the Duke sent

<sup>1</sup> The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland, p. 228.

a special messenger with the news to Campbell who instantly and privately bought up all the black cloth for the general mourning, which he sold at his own price. From profits thus realised he built the Square, and named it Argyle Square, after his patron.'<sup>1</sup>

It was built in part before 1742, and is shown on Edgar's map published in that year.

Then followed Brown Square, in the same district, and Adam Square a little further east, c. 1762.

As a climax to these unrelated experiments, each of them enclosing a space little larger than a tennis court, there was laid out in 1766 the dignified and spacious George Square, where private enterprise set the pace for the civic fathers.

Their problem was a difficult one: on the south, between the Flodden Wall and the newly formed Hope Park, the only good building ground lying within the Royalty had, as we have seen, been partly feued and only patches remained available for development.

To the west lay the Castle and the West Port suburb.

Eastward, the Calton Hill, Holyrood and Arthur Seat blocked the way.

Northward, 'beyond Jordan,' lay a promised land, but outside of the Royalty, and cut off by the deep valley with the stagnant Nor' Loch and the unsavoury shambles in its bed.

## II

Evidence that the great scheme of 1688 had not been forgotten is found in a paper written by the exiled John, eleventh Earl of Mar, in 1728, when he proposed that

'All ways of improving Edinburgh should be thought on: as in particular, making a *large bridge of three arches*, over the ground betwixt the North Loch and Physic Gardens, from the High Street at Liberton's Wynd to the Multersey Hill, where many fine streets might be built, as the inhabitants increased. The access to them would be easy on all hands, and the situation would be agreeable and

<sup>1</sup> Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

convenient, having a noble prospect of all the fine ground towards the sea, the Firth of Forth, and coast of Fife. One long street in a straight line, where the Long Gate is now (Rose Street to-day ?); on one side of it would be a fine opportunity for gardens down to the North Loch, and one, on the other side, towards Broughton. No houses to be on the bridge, the breadth of the North Loch; but selling the places or the ends for houses, and the vaults and arches below for warehouses and cellars, the charge of the bridge might be defrayed.

'Another bridge might also be made on the other side of the town, and almost as useful and commodious as that on the north. The place where it could most easily be made is St. Mary's Wynd, and the Pleasance. The hollow there is not so deep, as where the other bridge is proposed, so that it is thought that two storeys of arches might raise it near the level with the street at the head of St. Mary's Wynd. Betwixt the south end of the Pleasance and the Potter-row, and from thence to Bristo Street, and by the back of the wall at Heriot's Hospital, are fine situations for houses and gardens. There would be fine avenues to the town, and outlets for airing and walking by these bridges; and Edinburgh, from being a bad incommodious situation, would become a very beneficial and convenient one; and to make it still more so, a branch of that river, called the Water of Leith, might, it is thought, be brought from somewhere about Coltbridge, to fill and run through the North Loch, which would be of great advantage to the convenience, beauty, cleanliness, and healthiness of the town.'<sup>1</sup>

Meantime, that others nearer home were thinking about the same problem is shown by a letter sent by the Town Council to Lord Provost Campbell, then in London:

11th January 1720.

'... The good town being now possess of the estate of Lochbank,<sup>2</sup> and the North Loch being rather a nuisance as a convenience to the city, the draining of the loch, and opening an easie communication with that estate will not only improve and add to the estate, but by affording convenient dwellings to a number of persons of note and

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. 335; from vol. viii. *Old Statistical Account*, 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Bearford's Parks. See vol. xiii. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* for a full account of the transaction.

character, their residences which are now at some distance from the city will be fixt to it. Wherefore we judge it will tend much to the benefit of the community if your Lordship can obtain a clause in an Act of Parliament whereby the execution of so good a design may be encouraged and facilitate.' . . .

We may guess at Drummond's hand in this, for he was elected to the Provostship soon afterwards, and later referred to his early interest in the scheme in a conversation quoted in Somerville's memoirs.<sup>1</sup>

'In year 1725 he (Lord Provost Drummond) was preferred to the first station in the Town Council to which he was often re-elected before the year 1766 when he was gathered to his fathers rich in reputation and good works. To his instigation and labours the town of Edinburgh and the country at large are indebted for the institution of the Royal Infirmary, the erection of the Royal Exchange, and a number of other schemes for the improvement of the city. Nor did the operation of his patriotic efforts terminate with his life.

'I (Dr. Somerville) happened one day, when in his company at Dr. Jardine's (minister of the Tron Church, and Drummond's son-in-law) in the uppermost storey of his house in the north corner of the Exchange, to be standing at a window looking out to the opposite side of the North Loch, then called Barefoot's Parks,<sup>2</sup> in which there was not a single house to be seen. "Look at these fields," said Provost Drummond; "you, Mr. Somerville, are a young man, and may probably live, though I will not, to see all these fields covered with houses, forming a splendid and magnificent city. To the accomplishment of this, nothing more is necessary than draining the North Loch, and providing a proper access from the old town. I have never lost sight of this object since the year 1725 when I was first elected Provost. I have met with much opposition and encountered many difficulties, which have retarded success, but I believe that they are at last surmounted, and that this great work will be soon carried into effect."

'The Town Council were then taking in plans and estimates for

<sup>1</sup> *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*. By the Rev. Thomas Somerville, D.D., Edinburgh, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Bearford's Parks.

building the North Bridge, and the North Loch was in progress of being drained.

'The extension of the royalty of the city of Edinburgh, essential to the accomplishment of Provost Drummond's plan of building the North Bridge, and the consequent additions to the city, was long retarded by the opposition of his political antagonists, who called themselves the patriotic party and had the populace and a great number of respectable citizens on their side.'

Drummond had been elected Provost for the second time in 1746, but it was not until 1752, during his third period of office, that the time was felt to be ripe for the launching of the great scheme. In that year there was published a pamphlet, written by Sir Gilbert Elliott and bearing the title '*Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh.*' It begins with an Advertisement to the Reader, stating that on the 8th July 1752 the Convention of Royal Burghs had come to a resolution in favour of the building of an Exchange, a building containing a Borough-room, a place for storing national records as well as other useful works in the City of Edinburgh. The Convention agreed to use every effort to gain the support of the Nation in this laudable undertaking, and to that end a full account was to be drawn up and widely circulated.

The pamphlet is of great interest, but is too long to quote in full. The following summary, however, printed in the *Scots Magazine* of August 1752, will give an idea of its scope and character :

'The narrow limits of the royalty of Edinburgh and the want of certain public buildings and other useful and ornamental accommodations in the city have been long regretted. An opportunity of remedying these inconveniences was often wished for and Providence has now furnished a very fair one. In September last the side wall of a building of six stories high, in which several reputable families lived, gave way all of a sudden, by which a young gentleman was crushed to death and many persons were in the utmost hazard though all but him providentially escaped.

'This accident occasioned a general survey to be made of the condition of the old houses, and such as were insufficient pulled down so that several of the principal parts of town are laid in ruins. Nor was this favourable opportunity let slip. A plan was concerted, and laid before the convention of royal boroughs, who, on 8th July last, passed an act heartily approving of the design, enjoining every member to use his interest with his constituents for promoting it, and to acquaint the Lord Provost of Edinburgh with the resolution which the town-council of his borough shall come to upon it, and recommending to their annual committee to prepare and publish a full account of the scheme. Pursuant to this act, a paper, explaining and recommending the design, was printed about the middle of August, and properly distributed; subscription papers were lodged with the magistrates of all the county-towns, and letters were written to most of the persons of distinction in the nation.

'To the paper was annexed a full copy of the proposals, from which it takes its title, and the afore-mentioned act of the boroughs was prefaced to it.

'The healthfulness of Edinburgh's situation and its neighbourhood to the Forth must no doubt be admitted as very favourable circumstances, but how greatly are these overbalanced by other disadvantages almost without number. Placed on a ridge of a hill it admits but of one good street running from east to west; and even this is tolerably accessible only from one quarter. The closes and wynds leading to north and south, by reason of their steepness, narrowness and dirtiness, can only be considered as so many unavoidable nuisances. Confined by the small compass of the walls and the narrow limits of the royalty, which scarcely extends beyond the walls, the houses stand more crowded than in any other town in Europe and are built to a height that is almost incredible—hence necessarily follow great want of free air, light, cleanliness and every other comfortable accommodation—crowded lands, great stairs like upright streets, constantly dark and dirty—owing to the same narrowness of situation that the principal street is encumbered with the herb market, the fruit market and several others, that the shambles are placed on the side of the North Loch rendering what was originally an ornament to the town a most insufferable nuisance.

'No less observable is the great deficiency of public buildings. If the Parliament-house, the churches and a few hospitals be excepted

we have no others to boast of. There is no exchange for our merchants—no safe repository for our public and private records—no place of meeting for our magistrates and town-council and convention of royal burghs.'

'Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun in his second discourse on the affairs of Scotland (1698) writes, "As the happy situation of London has been a principal cause of the glory and riches of England, so the bad situation of Edinburgh has been one great occasion of the poverty and uncleanness in which the greater part of the people of Scotland live."'

'To enlarge and improve this city, to adorn it with public buildings, which may be a national benefit and thereby to remove, at least in some degree, the inconveniences to which it has hitherto been liable is the object of these proposals.'

'Since 1746, when the Jacobite rebellion was suppressed, a most surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of this country—the whole system of our trade, husbandry and manufactures, which had hitherto proceeded only by slow degrees, now began to advance with such a rapid and general progression as almost exceeds bounds of probability. They are no longer the detached efforts of Aberdeen, of Glasgow, of Dumfries or any other single town, but the united force of the whole nation which seems at length to be exerting itself. Husbandry, manufactures, general commerce and the increase of useful people are become the objects of universal attention.'

'A project for enlarging and beautifying this city could never have been suggested at a more proper juncture. The improvement of the capital must necessarily bear some proportion to the improvement of the country. The meanness of Edinburgh has been too long an obstruction to our improvement and a reproach to Scotland. The increase of our people, the extension of our commerce and the honour of the nation are all concerned in the success of this project. As we have such powerful motives prompting us to undertake it so chance has furnished us with the fairest opportunity of carrying it into execution. Several of the principal parts of the town are now lying in ruins—many of the old houses are decayed—several have already been pulled down and more will soon be in the same condition—the opportunity is not to be neglected.'

'The Magistrates and Town-Council, the College of Justice, and several persons of rank who happened to be in the neighbourhood of this place having at length taken this matter under consideration,

came unanimously to be of opinion that a proper plan should immediately be drawn out, of the improvements proposed to be made and of the methods for carrying it into execution. With this in view Committees were chosen by the Town-Council, by the Lords of Session, the Barons of Exchequer, the Faculty of Advocates and the Clerks to the Signet. It is proposed that there should be 33 Directors, 11 to be chosen by the College of Justice and Barons of Exchequer, 10 by the other subscribers, 8 by the Magistrates and Council; that the Provost for the time and other three of the Magistrates should be Directors in virtue of their office.

'The Committees having had several meetings they concerted and agreed upon certain proposals; the substance of which may be comprehended under the following heads:

1. To build upon the ruins on the north side of the High Street, an exchange, with proper accommodations for our merchants.
2. To erect upon the ruins of the Parliament-Close a large building, containing such accommodations as are still wanting for the Courts of Justice, the royal boroughs, and town-council, offices for the clerks, proper apartments for the several registers, and for the Advocates Library.
3. To obtain an Act of Parliament for extending the royalty; to enlarge and beautify the town, by opening new streets to the north and south, removing the markets and shambles and turning the North-Loch into a canal, with walks and terraces on each side.
4. That expense of these public works should be defrayed by a national contribution.

'This is perhaps the only city pretending to an extensive trade that has no exchange. Our merchants at present meet in the streets.

'The extending of the royalty and enlargement of the town cannot fail to have the greatest influence on the general prosperity of the nation.

'A nation cannot at this day be considerable unless it is opulent—wealth is only to be obtained by trade and commerce and these are only carried on to advantage in populous cities. There also we find the chief objects of pleasure and ambition and there consequently all those will flock whose circumstances can afford it, but can we expect, that persons of fortune in Scotland will exchange the handsome seats they generally possess in the country, for the scanty

lodging, and paltry accommodations they must put up with in Edinburgh. Let us improve and enlarge this city and possibly the superior pleasures of London, which is at a distance, will be compensated at least in some degree by the moderate pleasures of Edinburgh, which is at home. It has been objected, That this project may occasion the centre of the town to be deserted. People of fortune, and of a certain rank will probably choose to build upon the fine fields which lie to the north and south of the town, but men of professions and business of every kind, will still incline to live in the neighbourhood of the exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort; and the number of this last class of men will increase in much greater proportion, than that of the former. The national advantages which a populous capital must necessarily produce are obvious.—A more rapid circulation of money and other commodities, the great spring which gives motion to general industry and improvement.

'The example set by the capital, the nation will soon follow. The certain consequence is, general wealth and prosperity: the number of useful people will increase, rents will rise and public revenue will improve; and, in room of sloth and poverty, will succeed industry and opulence.

'Ancient commerce was all carried on by great and populous cities. Modern commerce was first revived in Venice, Genoa and the other large Italian towns, where the great and opulent were in use to resort. The same observation holds at this day. Holland in particular is little else than a wide extended city, full of inhabitants industrious and indefatigable. Enormous cities indeed are sometimes attended with real disadvantages for which no wealth can make amends, such as vicious luxury, a general degeneration of manners and a loose or neglected police (policy). But let us boldly enlarge Edinburgh to the utmost. As it is not the seat of government it can never become the centre of luxury and vice.'

The scheme for an extension of the city takes definite shape for the first time as the third of the Proposals quoted above, and the pamphlet ends with the following paragraph:

'And whereas an act of parliament will be necessary, in order to annex so much land as shall be thought proper on the north-side of the North-Loch (on which streets are to be laid out and houses to

be built), to the royalty of EDINBURGH, and also some other parts round the city not now under the royalty, That it shall be in the power of the said Directors, to determine when such act of parliament shall be applied for, and to prepare a proper act, and give proper directions for carrying the same through, and for preparing the streets and avenues to lead from the high-town towards the places to be brought under the royalty.'

The next notice of importance appeared in February 1753, where it was reported that a draft Bill which had been prepared was to lie on the Council Table for examination by all interested.

This Bill, which was brought before Parliament early in March, and had been read a second time by the end of that month, was entitled:

'An Act for Erecting several Public Buildings in the City of Edinburgh; and to empower the Trustees therein to be mentioned to purchase Lands for that Purpose; and also for Widening and Enlarging the Streets of the said City, and certain Avenues leading thereto.'

It did not include any provision for the extension of the Royalty presumably because the opposing forces were, as yet, considered to be too strong.

The section bearing on the purchase of property on the line of the approach from the High Street to the proposed north bridge is as follows:

'And for the more commodious Access to the High-street of the said City from the Fields on the North, Be it Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Commissioners, or any seven or more of them, shall have full Power and Authority to agree with the Owners and Occupiers of such Houses and Grounds as lye on the North Side of the High-street of the said City, bounded by the great Tenement of Land opposite to the Trone Church, commonly called Milns-square, and the lower Flesh-market, on the West; the Vennel, or Passage called Halkerston's-wynd, on the East; the High-street of the said City on the South; and the Park or Inclosure commonly called Lord Forglen's Park, on the North Parts; including within the said

Boundaries the Range of Houses commonly called Kincaid's Lands, the House or Tenement commonly called Howick's Land, the Houses on the Side of the North Loch belonging to the Heirs of Charles Robertson, with some ruinous Houses or Stables on the West Side of Halkerston's-wynd, belonging to the Heirs of Robert Reid, Sadler in Edinburgh, and measuring Forty Feet from East to West on the South Boundary fronting the High-street, and widening to the Northward to about Sixty Feet; and to purchase the Premises at such Prices as shall be agreed on between the said Commissioners, or any seven or more of them, and the said Owners and Occupiers respectively; and to order the said Houses, so purchased, to be pulled down, and the Ground or Area to be employed in such manner as the said Commissioners, or any seven or more of them, shall appoint, for rendering the Access to the said City, and High-street thereof, from the North Parts, more easy and commodious.'

### III

While rapid progress was made with the preparations for the building of the Royal Exchange, which had the first place amongst the Proposals, the projects for the new streets and the extension of the town were not so fortunate, and ten years were to elapse before a start was made.

Meantime, in 1759, the scheme for the extension of the Royalty was once again unsuccessfully brought before the Town Council:

'18th April 1759.

'In view of feus and long leases specially of Heriot's and Trinity Hospitals, and building of houses already built or about to be built whereby the burgesses of Edinburgh may be undersold in trade, etc., the Royalty ought to be extended by Act of Parliament, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Lesly and Mr. Scot, architects and land surveyors, are to make a survey, map and plan of lands to be included in the extended Royalty.'

In July 1759 a meeting was convened at which the Heads of what was proposed were laid before the heritors of the shire.

'GENERAL HEADS relating to the intended Enlargement of the Limits of the City of Edinburgh.

'I. That the boundaries of this intended Enlargement of the Limits of the City may comprehend as follows: viz. The lands lying on the north-side of the public road leading from the West-port to the Colt-bridge, and from thence down to Leith, keeping the Water of Leith for the march, including no lands on the north thereof, but such as belong to Heriot's hospital: That South and North-Leith, and the links of Leith, shall be included; and from thence up the coach-road to the Water-gate, including no lands on the east-side of the coach-road, but such as belong to Heriot's hospital and the Trinity hospital: And, as these Limits on the north are pretty extensive, those on the south may be more restricted, but so as to comprehend at least the Meadow, and Bruntsfield's links, which are the property of the City.—It is proposed also, that the Enlargement should comprehend all the feus granted by Heriot's or the Trinity hospital, where the feuars, by their charters, are bound, in the event of an extension of the Royalty of the city of Edinburgh, to bear a proportion of the public burdens and taxes of the City.

'II. That even within these Limits nothing shall be declared by the Act to be included as a part of the City, except such lands as are at present the property of the city of Edinburgh, or which may hereafter become the property of that City: but, that the Trustees to be named in the Act shall have a power of including within the Enlargement of the City, the lands of such heritors, lying within the general Limits aforesaid, as shall, at any time afterwards, be willing to enter into an agreement with the Trustees for that purpose.

'III. That the lands which shall be so included within the Limits of the Town, shall remain subject, as before, to a proportion of the cess imposed upon the county; and that all houses which are now built upon these lands, or which before the date of the Act may be built thereon, shall pay no higher cess, or other public burden, than what they are at present subject to pay.

'IV. That no part of the lands to be included within the Limits of the Town, shall be feued out by the Town-council, without the consent of the Trustees, or a quorum of them.

'V. That no stent, or other public burden, shall be imposed upon these who shall inhabit within the new Limits, without the like consent.



'VI. That persons intending to build, or to take down houses within the new Limits, shall be intitled so to do, upon application to the Trustees, and obtaining their authority; but that, without applying for such authority, every person shall be intitled to build walls or other fences for inclosures, as at present.

'VII. That all the privileges of the corporations, as now exercised within the present Town, shall remain entire and unhurt.—That every person, who shall reside within the new Limits, shall, by such residence, and upon payment of £1 Sterling for a burgess-ticket, become a burgess and free-man within these Limits only, but not within the limits of the present Town; provided, that all burgesses and free-men of the present Town shall be held as burgesses and free-men within the new Limits, by virtue of their present Burgess-tickets, without payment of any sum whatsoever.'

Here follows a list of the Trustees for executing the Act. The concluding paragraph states that these General Heads were thought to be necessary before erecting the bridge over the North Loch; but that they were open to be amended, and public-spirited men were invited to come forward with information or advice in relation to the measure.

The following commentary on the proposals, published in the *Scots Magazine*, 1759, shows how certain interests were likely to be affected and throws curious sidelights on the system of municipal taxation then in vogue—as well as on the opposition which delayed the passing of the Act for the Extension of the Royalty until 1767:

'1. The public revenue now raised from the inhabitants, which consists of the annuity, watch-money, and impost on liquors, will increase in proportion to the increase of the inhabitants. But new churches must be built and endowed, the number of the city-guard or watchmen must be augmented, and streets of the new city and the bridge to be built over the North Loch must be paved and lighted, which will more than counterbalance the increase of these funds.

'The inhabitants in the new city will have a much greater space proportionately than those in the old, as every family in the new city is to have a whole house, which will render a greater number of watchmen necessary; and as the new city is not to be walled, the impost

cannot, as now, be collected at the city gates, but the merchant must pay or give bond for it on importation at Leith, and get a drawback for such parts of it as shall not be considered within the liberties, which will be an embarrassment on trade, and open a door for frauds.

'2. The advantages proposed for the old city are: a free communication to the north and west by a bridge to be erected over the North Loch; and a relief in part of public taxes, from the new city; but the Trustees for the Edinburgh public works had resolved to build a bridge, whether the city Extension should take place or not. So that the advantages arising from the bridge are quite independent of the Extension; and as to relief from taxes, the annuity, watch-money, and impost on liquors having been already considered, the only remaining subject is the Cess. This tax is raised from the land and Royal burghs. The sum to be raised by the burghs, is proportioned on the several burghs by the annual convention, according to the trade and wealth of each. So that the Cess to be paid by Edinburgh must increase in proportion as the trade and wealth increase.

'3. As the inhabitants of the new city are not to be free-men of the old one, the only advantages to be reaped by them are: the convenience of churches; well-paved and well-lighted streets; and security to their persons and houses by an augmentation of the city-guard. But let the valuable considerations, to be paid for these benefits, be considered. The poor artificer, who can at present work in his own cottage upon payment of a small rent, must either pay twenty shillings for his freedom, or remove. The landholder, who now pays only a proportion of the Cess of the county, must pay an additional cess for every house he shall build after date of the Act, while the houses in his neighbourhood, built prior to that period, will be free from that tax.

'No landholder can neither build nor pull down a house, without a licence from the Trustees.

'The nobleman or gentleman who resides in the Limits to be comprehended in the Royalty, is to be loaded with the Town's impost on his foreign liquors—a tax he grudges more than all the taxes he pays, as it comes immediately out of his own pocket, and he thinks it hardship to pay a tax for the support of a city in which he spends his money and enjoys none of the city's privileges; and all the inhabitants of the new city shall pay annuity.'

The 'General Heads' were printed in a pamphlet published on 6th March 1760, with an appendix summarising the criticisms, and giving the Provost's replies, as follows:

'N.B.—At a General Meeting of the Heritors of the County, held upon the 30th July last, in order to consider of this intended Extension, several material particulars, in which the Shire are interested, were properly taken notice of.

'One was, That the City of Edinburgh was at present exempted by law from the quartering of soldiers; and, if the proposed Extension was to have the like privilege, it would throw an additional burden of quartering upon the County.

'As to this, the Lord Provost assured the Meeting, That there was no such intention, and that the new Limits should be subject to the quartering of soldiers as formerly.

'Another particular was mentioned, That if the Extension took place, wine and other liquors, which are now subject to the Town's impost, might, in passing through those new Limits, be made subject to such impost.

'To this the Lord Provost answered, That no wine or other liquors passing through the City at present are subject to the Town's impost, but are allowed to pass, upon getting a permit; and that the like would certainly be the case, if the Extension shall take place.

'A third observation was very properly made, That the Extension should not comprehend any Gentleman's freehold from the Crown; and certainly no such freehold can be included within a Royalty.

'These particulars are taken notice of here, to satisfy the Gentlemen of the County, that every interest of theirs will be most carefully preserved; as the Enlargement proposed is most sincerely meant for the mutual advantage of the County and the City.'

The following quotation from the *Scots Magazine*, of 1763, shows that the decision to build the bridge independently of the Extension of the Royalty, was to be taken seriously. Indeed we may speculate on the possibility that the Lord Provost had decided on this drastic action as the best and perhaps the only way of overcoming the opposition to his greater objective:

'In further prosecution of this scheme, it was proposed, in 1759, to procure an Act of Parliament for an Extension of the Royalty,

and to build a bridge over the North Loch, to open an easy communication between the City and the fields to the north of it. But the County disapproving of the Extension of the Royalty, nothing was then done. A project for building the bridge is now revived, and several preparatory steps have actually been taken for putting it into execution. Early last Spring the Loch was drained, and several labourers have, for some weeks past, been employed in removing mud, etc., to find a proper foundation.'

The mention of the removal of mud in preparation for the bridge suggests that the bed of the valley was in an unsavoury state, and this is confirmed by the mention of the shambles in the first Proposals, and also in the description of the City in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of 1745, where it is stated that—

'On the side of the Loch, the butchers have their slaughter-houses, and the tanners and skimmers their pits.'

This condition persisted for long, as evidenced by some of the earlier engravings of the valley and bridge, and doubtless led first to the erection of buildings, and later to the invasion of the railway—both of which may have been thought to be improvements on the general untidiness.

In 1763 Lord Kames wrote a letter to the Town Council in which he suggested opening up, for feuing, the ground acquired by the town, north of the North Loch, from Heriot's Hospital. He suggested a bridge at the hollowest part, of four arches, 60' 0" wide, the ends to be of earth; at an estimated cost of £3400. The Flesh-markets could be fitted in in two of the arches. There was risk of the town spreading south,<sup>1</sup> out of the Council's jurisdiction: the town should feu the ground to the north. This was approved so far as concerns the bridge. The Committee agreed to consider and report thereon.

About the same time there appeared a long letter in the

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of George Square and Nicolson Street.

Press, which summed up the argument in favour of City Extension, in the following terms :

' . . . The fine arts, from various causes, were long strangers to Scotland. That it was not for want of genius evidently appears from the number of excellent productions, in every science, which have made their appearance in this country since their cultivation ; and now what pleasure must it give to every lover of his country, to observe what a noble enthusiasm is exerted upon husbandry, upon manufactures, upon commerce, and upon literature.

' But among the various articles of improvement, it is perhaps not easy to explain, why our capital city seems to be entirely neglected. It will not be urged as an excuse, either that it is already sufficiently commodious, or that it is incapable of being made more so. Neither ought the improvement of Edinburgh to be considered as a limited object, centering within itself. On the contrary, it ought to be considered as a national concern ; of which no person will doubt, when he considers, that tho' there is a general tendency in our people of rank and fortune, to pass the winter months at least in the capital, yet the inconveniency of a number of the houses, to those who are accustomed to free air and commodious apartments in the country, is a great obstruction to this tendency. At the same time, though Edinburgh ought to be the place for finishing the education of both sexes, yet people are generally averse to educate their children there, because the transition from the stagnating air of the houses, to the cold piercing air of the streets, is noxious to all, but peculiarly so to children bred in the country. And it is certain, that people without number would repair to Edinburgh, to superintend the education of their children, could they be provided with wholesome habitations. . . .'

The writer then makes some observations on the benefits to be derived from a mixed population :

' Such a mixture in a town-society never fails to produce good effects : taste and politeness are communicated by the men of leisure to the men of business, and solidity of judgment by the latter to the former. . . .'

And after noting that 'gardening and agriculture, by inspiring a taste for neatness and elegance, contribute to rectitude of manners,' the writer concludes :

' Here are very cogent motives for enlarging the city of Edinburgh, and for improving it by the addition of commodious houses in a healthful and pleasant situation. What seems most necessary at present, towards accomplishing that important design, is to add to the town, a fine and extensive field to the North, by an easy passage from the High-street, over the lower end of the North-loch ; and as the expence of this passage upon a strict calculation, is not found to exceed 5000 £, there can be no room for doubting, when we consider the great benefit to the nation in general, besides the peculiar advantage to the town in particular, but that there will be found men of public spirit, willing to advance by subscription, double or triple that sum, were it necessary ; especially considering, that they are to have a security beyond all exception for payment, both of their capital and interest. How happy is it for Scotsmen, who have always been famed for the love of their country, to have such an opportunity of exerting their public spirit, without the least detriment to their private interest.'

All this appears very remote from the life of to-day ; the promoters of the New Town envisaged it as a self-contained suburb for the well-to-do ; there was no thought of provision for business or industry, which indeed, it was clearly stated, would remain centred in the older town across the valley.

## IV

## THE NORTH BRIDGE

The principal conditions governing choice of the site and alignment of the bridge were, first, that it should link conveniently with Leith Walk in addition to giving access to the new building ground and, secondly, that the gradient from the High Street northwards should not be too steep. Some of the arguments for and against the chosen line, which crossed the valley immediately on the west side of the dam of the Nor' Loch, are given in a curious pamphlet, *Edinburgh's Paradise Regained*, published in 1764, of which a copy is preserved in the Edinburgh collection in the Public Library.

The first formal public notice setting forth the intention of the Magistrates and Council to proceed with the work is found in a Press advertisement published on 2nd July 1763 :

‘Advertisement for Contractors of the Bridge :

‘As it is greatly desired, for the public utility, that a road of communication be made betwixt the High-street of Edinburgh, and the adjacent grounds belonging to the City, and the other neighbouring fields, as well as to the Port of Leith, by building a stone bridge over the east end of the North Loch, at least 40 feet wide betwixt the parapets of the said bridge, and upon an equal declivity of one foot in sixteen from the High-street at the Cap and Feather-close, in a straight line to the opposite side leading to Multrees-hill.

‘As the proposal for carrying on the above work was some time ago made to the Town-council, and they having cheerfully agreed to the same, this advertisement is publicly given to all who are willing to undertake the said work, to give in plans, elevations, and estimates, in order to come to an agreement with that person who makes the most rational offer, and it is expected that such plans, estimates, etc., be put into the hands of Mr. George Fraser, Deputy Auditor of the Excise, before the 25th day of July instant, that the work may be commenced this very season. And it is realised that a subscription be forthwith opened, for a voluntary contribution, as well gratuitously as by way of loan, for carrying on the Bridge over the North-loch ; subscriptions will be taken in by the Town clerks of Edinburgh, where any person willing to subscribe will see the conditions, and the proposals upon which they are to lend their money ; and so soon as there shall be a sufficient sum subscribed, the subscribers shall be duly advertised to meet, in order to make choice of proper persons as Trustees, for carrying what is proposed into execution.

‘*N.B.*—A plan of the intended bridge may be seen in the hands of the above Mr. George Fraser, from which any undertaker may make his calcul [*sic*] and proposals.

‘The Magistrates and Council of the city of Edinburgh, hereby intimate to all gentlemen, farmers, and others, that they are at full liberty to take and carry off the dung and fulzie of the North-loch, immediately, and that without payment or other gratuity therefor.’

On 14th September 1763 the Lord Provost reported that suitable stone for the proposed bridge over the North Loch had been found in Bearford's Parks. Also that a search had been made for a foundation in the North Loch, drained some time ago. The mud and dung had been cleared away, and experts who had been asked to examine the trial pit reported that the foundation was good clay. A model of a brander (grid-iron) which was shown them by Mr. John Fraser, and lodged in the hands of Bailie Hutton, being laid on it and two courses of stones laid over it, they considered it fully sufficient to carry any bridge that might be built. Any of them were willing to make use of it if entrusted with the work. They advised building a pier up to within two or three feet of the ashlar, and allowing it to settle. The Dean of Guild and Committee were instructed, on the approval of Council, to enter into contract for the work, and not to exceed £130 sterling.

On 15th October the following News paragraph appeared :

‘A number of workmen have been employed for these two days, in driving pales, in order to prepare for the foundation of the main pier of the intended bridge over the North Loch, the first stone of which is proposed to be laid on Friday next (the 21st October).’

The next News item, on 22nd October, says :

‘Yesterday being appointed for laying the foundation stone of the new bridge over the North-loch, the ancient and honourable fraternity of Free-masons, in order to promote by their influence and example an undertaking so important, and so promisingly advantageous to this city, assembled in the parliament house at two o'clock in the afternoon, from whence about three, they walked in procession down the High-street to the ground, by the way of Leith-wynd, in the following order ; the junior lodges proceeding first :

1. The lodge of Musselburgh Kilwinning.
2. The military lodge of the Duke of Norfolk.
3. The Thistle lodge.
4. Edinburgh St. Andrew's lodge.
5. St. Luke's lodge.
6. St. Giles's lodge.

7. St. David's lodge.
8. Dalkeith lodge.
9. Journeymen Masons lodge.
10. Canongate & Leith, Leith & Canongate.
11. Leith lodge.
12. Canongate Kilwinning lodge.
13. Mary's Chapel lodge.
14. The Grand Lodge.

'All the brethren were new clothed; the masters and wardens of the respective lodges forming the last ranks, in their proper clothing, jewels, and other badges of dignity.

'Immediately preceding the Grand Lodge, walked a body of about thirty of the brethren who sung the whole way several fine airs, accompanied by French-horns, etc.

'Being arrived at the place (a few paces to the northward of the New-port), the brethren formed a large circle round the Grand-lodge, and everything being prepared, the stone was laid with great solemnity and ceremony, by the Right Honourable George Drummond, Esq., Lord Provost of this City, who officiated as Grand-master, in absence of the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin;—the repeated acclamations of the brethren, and of a most numerous concourse of spectators, expressing the pleasure they felt on seeing this noble work at last so happily commenced.—The whole concluded with an anthem, about five o'clock, when the brethren repaired to the Assembly-hall, where this important event was celebrated with that social harmony and joy, which so peculiarly characterises the ancient and honourable craft.—It was computed there were present near 600 brethren.'

Lord Provost Drummond, in his speech, is reported to have said that

'He was only beginning to execute what the Duke of York had suggested so far back as 1681, when residing at Holyrood; but no one from the time of the Revolution had thought of putting into practice those plans which James had formed.'

This extract is taken from the account of his life in vol. iv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, but the original source was not given and has not been traced.

In Anderson's *History of Edinburgh* it is stated that—

'There were put below the stone 3 medals struck for the occasion.



PLATE REMOVED FROM THE PARAPET OF THE OLD NORTH BRIDGE ON ITS DEMOLITION 1844-45, AND RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE CITY CHAMBERS

On one was an elevation of the intended bridge, on another a bust of the present King and on the third the following inscription which was likewise cut upon the stone :

‘ F. D. O. M.  
 Pontus ad Letham Edinb. portum  
 Lapidem hunc fundaminis principium  
 posuit  
 Georgius Drummondus Armiger  
 Urbis Consul  
 Praetorii sui anno duodecimo  
 Die Octb. XXI. A.D. MDCCLXIII.  
 Aerae autem Architectonicae anno  
 VMDCCCLXIII  
 Honorabili Summe colendo viro  
 Carolo Comite de Elgin  
 Apud Scotos Artis hujus Curione maximo  
 Ac Georgii III.  
 Mag. Britan. Fr. et Hib. Reges  
 anno III.  
 Q. D. B. V.

‘ In English thus :

‘ By the favour of Almighty God,  
 George Drummond, Esq.,  
 Lord Provost of this city  
 laid  
 This foundation-stone  
 Of the bridge leading towards Leith,  
 The sea-port of the city of Edinburgh,  
 In the twelfth year of his Provostship,  
 Upon the 21st day of October,  
 In the year of our Lord 1763,  
 and of the era of Masonry 5763,  
 The Right Honourable and Most Worshipful  
 Charles Earl of Elgin  
 being Grand Master Mason of Scotland :  
 And of the reign of George III,  
 King of Gt. Britain, France and Ireland,  
 The third year.  
 Which may the supreme God prosper.’

It will be noted that there is no reference to a 'new town,' still a matter of controversy, and the bridge is described as simply leading to Leith.

That the Lord Provost's course was not an easy one is shown by the further delay which now occurred, and, indirectly, by certain contemporary scurrilous notes found penned on a copy of the 'General Heads' pamphlet. One of these, based on the initial letters at the beginning and end of the lettering on the foundation stone, reads as follows :

'F. D. O. M.  
Foolish Drummond Old Madman.  
'Q. D. B. V.  
Qt. Does Building Vainly.'

A year passed, and on 7th November 1764 it was reported that Mr. Mylne was nominated a member of committee for building the bridge, as he had already a well-digested plan. The Council approved and appointed a Committee consisting of :

The Lord Provost.  
The four Bailies.  
The Dean of Guild.  
The Treasurer.  
Old Bailie Andrew Alison.  
Convener and Deacon, Wm. Mylne.

From this it would appear that the plans on which the first estimates were based had not proved satisfactory, and a new design was asked for in an advertisement, dated 2nd January 1765. After a preamble somewhat similar to the last one, the notice goes on to say :

'This public notice is therefore made, inviting all Architects and others, to give in plans and elevations for making a *communication, by bridge or otherwise*, from the Cap and Feather Close, in a straight line, to the opposite side, leading to the Multrees-hill, upon an equal declivity of one foot in fifteen, to one foot in seventeen. Such persons as intend to give in plans and elevations, must send them sealed,

addressed to the Lord Provost, to the care of Mr. James Tait, or Mr. Alexander Duncan, Depute Town clerks, at the Council-chamber, on or before the first day of February next. Within the plan, upon a separate piece of paper, sealed up, the person offering the plan will write his name ; the seal of which paper is not to be broke up, unless the plan it belongs to is approved and made choice of.

'A plan and section of the ground, where the communication is wanted, may be seen in the hands of the abovementioned Mr. James Tait, or Mr. Alexander Duncan.

'The person whose plan shall be made choice of, will receive, as a reward, thirty guineas, or a gold medal of that value.—When a plan is fixed upon, it will be made public, and intimation will be given in the news papers, inviting Architects or others, to give in proposals for executing the same ; the lowest of which will be preferred, upon sufficient security being found for the execution of the work.

'It is expected that the plans to be given in will be done in such a manner, that the estimates of the expence may be made from them ; and it is required that the breadth of the bridge, betwixt the parapet, be forty feet.

'*N.B.*—The plans not approved of, with papers relative thereto, will be returned to the proprietors.'

The advertisement concludes with a reference to a jury to be appointed to adjudicate on the value of ground and houses to be acquired on the line of the new bridge.

In February and March 1765 further advertisements appeared stating, in regard to the plans for a communication between the High Street and Multrees Hill, that—

'... The Trustees did accordingly meet upon Wednesday the 13th ult. with several other Noblemen and Gentlemen of knowledge and taste in architecture ; and, after examining, with great attention and deliberation, all the plans given in, among which were found several of great merit, they at length gave the preference to the plans marked No. 5 and No. 7. It was then proposed, by several of the Judges, to divide the premium ; but this proposal being contrary to the terms of the advertisement, the same was laid aside. Before determining between the two plans above mentioned, it was unanimously agreed, whatever plan should be preferred, that the bridge

most proper for the town to build, and best calculated for giving an easy access between the High-street and Multrees-hill, was a bridge upon a horizontal line. The question being put, a preference was given to plan No. 7; and, upon breaking up the sealed paper, covering the name of the author of said plan, there was found written, upon a slip of parchment, *David Henderson*, who is entitled to the premium offered by the advertisement.

Architects and others are next asked to give in signed proposals for executing the work according to either of the plans No. 5 or No. 7. The work was to be completed in three years at furthest.

The two plans provided for a roadway with a gradient of one in fifteen or one in seventeen, but Mr. Henderson's was altered to show a bridge 'built upon a horizontal line.'

It would appear that this second attempt to obtain a satisfactory design was causing discussion of a kind familiar to Edinburgh citizens for, on 13th March, a notice appeared cancelling the former ones, and stating that a new proposal had appeared which merited great attention. A week later undertakers were invited to consider the plan No. 8, along with the others, in order to see 'whether the same can be executed upon the city's funds.'

On 17th July 1765 William Mylne's plan, with Mr. Adam's alterations (plan No. 5) was accepted. Building was to be completed in four years.

On 27th August the contract was entered into and included the following principal items: There were to be three arches of 72 feet and two of 20 feet span. The piers were 13 feet 6 inches thick. The length of the bridge, over all, 1134 feet, and the width, 40 feet between the parapets over the arches and 50 feet over the abutments. The height to the springing of the arches was 20 feet, or 56 feet to their crowns, and from the ground to the top of the parapet almost 70 feet.

The spandrel walls were massive, and the lower parts between the arches appear to have been filled in solid; but

unfortunately earth was largely used for the upper part below the roadway, with disastrous results, to be referred to later, in the case of the southern abutment.

The work was to be finished by Martinmas 1769 for a sum of £10,140. But this figure, it is said, was very greatly exceeded.

The plan and elevation of the bridge as finally built are given to a large scale on an engraving attached to the Bill of Suspension and Interdict, 1817, which records the arguments in connection with the new buildings at St. Anne Street and Canal Street, which disappeared towards the end of the last century to make way for the North British Station Hotel.

William Mylne, the designer, was one of the famous family of architects and engineers whose history is traced in that monumental book, *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland*.

He was Deacon of the Masons in 1761-62 when, perhaps, he retired at the time of the first negotiations for the design of the bridge. Whether this be so or not, he reappeared as Deacon and as a member of the Town Council in 1765.

A start having been made the City Chamberlain now began to feel anxious, and hence we find a published request that—

'The Bridge over the North Loch, being now in great forwardness, it is expected, that the subscribers for the public works will order the several balances, due by them, of their subscription money, to be paid in to Hugh Buchan, Chamberlain to the city of Edinburgh, at the Chamberlain's office, in the west front of the New Exchange.'

The third arch was completed by 7th December 1768, and the bridge must have been opened, at least for pedestrian traffic, soon afterwards.

Then occurred the disaster which fulfilled the worst forebodings of the pessimists, when—

'About half-an-hour after 8 in the evening of Thursday, August 3rd, part of the side-walls of the south abutment of the bridge now building

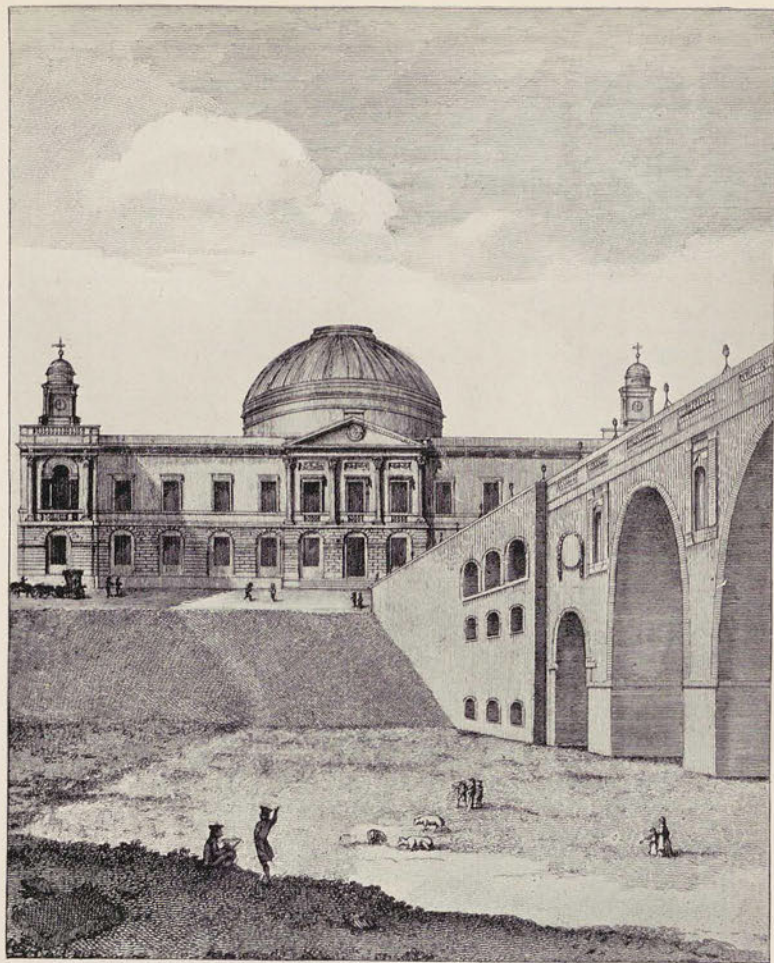


at Edinburgh, gave way of a sudden. As people were constantly passing along this bridge the town was greatly alarmed for it could not be immediately known who had suffered by the disaster, though it was almost certain that several must have suffered, therefore everyone was anxious to know if their friends and acquaintances had escaped. One or two were hurt and five perished, viz. Mr. James Fergus, W.S., Miss Mary Dundas, daughter of Dr. Thomas Dundas, in Stirlingshire, — Lawson, and — Skinner, shoemakers, and David Fyne, flax-dresser, and by digging in the rubbish, the bodies were found at different times. All the arches of the bridge are entire.'

Emergency meetings of the Bridge Committee and Town Council were called without delay, when after discussion a special technical committee, consisting of J. Smeaton, John Adam and John Baxter, was appointed to advise as to the measures to be taken for the present safety and future stability of the structure.

The works and repair, undertaken shortly afterwards by Robert Mylne, are described in the following report published in 1773, which suggests that the difficulties had not entirely been overcome.

'On a surmise of insufficiency in the Edinburgh bridge, lately finished, a proper jury was appointed to inspect it, whose report appeared in newspapers of February 1st, viz. :—The walls and arches of both abutments of the new bridge (excepting the retaining walls of the south end which are of no other use but to keep up the earth, and the retaining wall at the north and next the theatre) were taken down and rebuilt in a most proper and substantial manner. These retaining walls on the south end and the east retaining wall of the north end were not taken down because the inspectors upon oath reported them to be then sufficient. But the magistrates and town-council gave the greatest attention to this matter for the safety of the public, and upon a surmise that the east retaining wall on the south end next Halkerston's Wynd appeared now to be insufficient, the Lord Provost instantly wrote a letter to the Dean of Guild desiring him to inspect that wall which was done. And upon a petition in the name of the procurator-fiscal the Guild Court appointed a jury



THE NORTH BRIDGE AND THE REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH

From Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 1779

of 15 unexceptionable persons, narrowly to inspect those three retaining walls, and they have unanimously, upon oath, returned a verdict giving it as their opinion "with respect to the east retaining wall on the south end next Halkerston's Wynd, from the small arches to the corner of William Home's house, that the said wall is insufficient and dangerous." The Dean of Guild has caused a rail in that part found insufficient, that the public may know the same and take the middle or west side of the bridge opposite to the railing, when passing or repassing, till such time as this retaining wall, which has no connection with the body of the bridge, be made sufficient.'

In 1784 a further examination was ordered because—

'Some people being under apprehension with regard to the security of the bridge upon observing a separation of some of the stones on the parapet walls, the feuars within the extended royalty applied on January 29th to Mr. David Henderson, architect (he and Mr. John Laurie, land-surveyor, having taken an accurate inspection of it in 1769 and made sections of all its parts and upon trying the same over again about a year ago found no alteration whatever), to take the trouble of viewing it again with attention and to compare its present situation with sections formerly taken. Mr. Henderson was likewise empowered to call to his assistance any other person he should think proper. He called to his assistance Mr. John Laurie, Mr. John Wilson, mason, and Mr. Duncan Campbell, mason in Stirling, and gave in a report, February 3rd, that they had examined all the piers of the great arches by trying them with plumb and compared their present state with the observations made in 1769 and repeated about a year ago, and that they found them to stand exactly in the same situation, having neither yielded nor sunk in the least degree since the first inspection, that the small separation that now appears in the parapets is occasioned by the cylindrical arches introduced after the fall of the south abutment, in August 1769, pushing upon the flanks or haunches of the great arches, as is natural the compressibility of matter acted upon by matter must necessarily have occasioned those great arches to subside in a proportional degree to the openings which at present appear in the parapets and which is an unavoidable consequence of that subsiding of the arches, that as these openings cannot be traced lower down than a few feet below the top of the niches where they die away imperceptibly, instead of showing any degree of weakness

show the firmness and stability of the great arches and piers upon which they rest and that as no alteration has happened in the piers since the first trial in 1769, they could with great confidence pronounce that there was not the least cause for any apprehension of danger or suspicion of the fabric.'

F. C. MEARS.  
JOHN RUSSELL.

(To be concluded)

#### THE STORY OF CRAIGENTINNY

THE estate of Craigentenny, which formed one of the component parts of the ancient and historically interesting Barony of Lestalric (now known as Restalrig), only came into geographical prominence about the end of the sixteenth century when, through the extravagances and misdemeanours of the later members of the Logan family, the Barony was gradually being dismembered, after a proud, if not always a respectable, proprietorship of nearly 250 years.

They acquired the Barony through the marriage of Sir Robert Logan with the only daughter and heiress of Sir James de Lestalric, who died in 1382; the last, in the male line, of that noble family, whose ownership extended beyond the limits of written history. It has been generally believed that the earliest date of a document bearing their name blossomed indirectly into local history via a Dunfermline Abbey charter, dated 1198, in which the name of Thomas de Lestalric is indicated as having succeeded his father, Edward, in the Lestalric Barony, but an earlier recorded member is that of Peter de Lestalric, whose son in 1165 founded the chapel of Lestalric.

Craigentenny became detached from the Barony of Restalrig when Sir Robert Logan sold the estate to James Nisbet in or about 1604, when it became a separate and independent Barony. Its name is derived from *Creag-an-teine*, a Gaelic word meaning 'Rock of fire,' and, according to the *Ordnance Gazetteer*, it covered an area of 652 acres; at one time the most extensive sewage-irrigated meadows in Scotland, but now almost entirely covered by bungalows, villas, tenements and dwelling-houses of all sorts and sizes. When composed of little else than meadowland the property

was valued at over £5700 per annum, the meadow produce being sold to dairy farmers at from £16 to £28 per acre, and in one year it realised £44, the grass per acre being estimated at from 50 to 70 tons. Five crops were sometimes cut in a year, according to the authority already quoted, and only two men were required to regulate the sluices and keep the ditches in repair.

The Nisbets derived their surname from the lands of Nisbet, in the parish of Edrom in Berwickshire, and many branches were founded in various parts of Scotland; there were Nisbets of Dalzell, and Nisbets of Carphin in Lanark, of Paxton and Swinewood in Berwick, of Dean and Craigentenny in Edinburgh, of Johnstone in Renfrew, of Spittal in Roxburgh and of Dirleton in Haddington. The Nisbets are also found in Ayrshire, in Donegal and Leitrim in Ireland, and in America where a member of this ubiquitous family in the person of Charles Nisbet, D.D., was President of the Dickenson College in Pennsylvania, who however was born in Haddington in 1736.

The name is undoubtedly of great antiquity and appears frequently among the oldest of Scottish records. On the Ragman-roll the name of Adam Nisbet of that Ilk was adhibited, and the signatory is credited with being the ancestor of the widely spread family of that name; while Alexander Nisbet of Dirleton, the antiquary and writer on speculative and practical heraldry (1672-1728) who was born in the reign of Charles I and died at Dirleton in the reign of George II at the age of 56, was the last male representative in the direct line of the Nisbets of that Ilk.

In the Burgh records of Edinburgh the Nisbets are in evidence as Provosts, Bailies, Councillors and Deacons from about 1574 until 1764, and among the magnates who occupy local prominence the Nisbets of Dean (whose house stood within its own grounds on the site of the present Dean Cemetery) take a high place.

Sir William of Dean had the honour of being Provost of Edinburgh in 1616, and as such occupied the chair at the banquet provided in honour of Ben Jonson on the occasion of his famous visit to Drummond of Hawthornden.

An order in the Council register of 25th September 1618 ordains the Dean of Guild to 'mak Benjamine Jonsoun inglishman burges and gild brother,' and a charge of thirteen pounds, six and eightpence appears 'For writting and gelting of Benjamine Johnestounes burges ticket.' For the banquet, the charge of the treasurer amounted to two hundred and twenty-one pounds, six shillings and eightpence.

James Nisbet, who became the founder of the Craigentenny branch of his family, was the eldest son of Henry Nisbet of Dean and his wife Janet Bannatyne, whose other two sons, William and Patrick, became Lairds of Dean and Dirleton respectively.

James, like his father, was a successful merchant in Edinburgh and was Commissioner for Edinburgh in the Convention of Burghs, of which he was four times chosen Moderator.

As soon as James Nisbet got possession of the grounds he set about erecting the mansion house, nearly 340 years ago, on the side of the old Roman road which passed through Melrose, Inveresk and Craigentenny on its way to the Roman terminus and seaport at Cramond. The mansion, or castle, as it has been usually designated locally, was originally a much less pretentious edifice than the castellated and turreted structure of to-day, it having been added to and much adorned by successive owners.

The Nisbet coat of arms and shield may still be recognised above the original main entrance, and the only other relic of the family to be seen is an inscribed panel in one of the rooms. It was, until quite recently, probably the oldest inhabited house in Edinburgh, and has now been reconditioned, modernised and equipped as a Social Centre for the benefit of

the inhabitants in the Craigentenny-Restalrig-Lochend district and is the only one of the kind in Scotland.

When this line of the Nisbets died out, in 1764, the house and the estate of Craigentenny were acquired by William Miller, a wealthy Edinburgh seedsman, whose premises were situated at the foot of the South Back of the Canongate, now called Holyrood Road, and was only removed when the new approach to Holyrood from Abbeyhill was constructed in 1859, and when all the tenements and gardens comprising St. Ann's Yard were swept away.

The earliest traceable member of the Miller family, who ultimately became proprietors of the lands of Craigentenny, was William Miller (1655-1743), a gardener, and an ardent and zealous adherent of the Society of Friends, whose name has become intimately associated with Hamilton, although his birthplace has not been decisively located, nor any of his ancestral history made public.

The earliest authenticated record preserved of him is the certificate of his marriage, in Quaker form, on 27th January 1680, which reads: 'William Miller, gardener at Newark in the Parish of Kilmacome, and Margaret Cassie, lately of Aberdeen, married at Hamilton in the house of Hew Wood.' To the marriage certificate the names of eighteen witnesses were adhibited. Hamilton was one of the places where the Society of Friends was first settled, and they had established there a small but lively 'meeting,' where Hew Wood, head gardener at Hamilton Palace, was one of the principal pillars.

Margaret Cassie (1655-1702) was a kinswoman of the Barclays of Urie, an influential Mearns family whose chief, Colonel David Barclay, became converted to Quakerism by the Laird of Swinton who, along with Barclay, was confined in Edinburgh Castle soon after the Restoration on a charge of hostility to the Government, but were both released after a short confinement as the charge was found to be groundless. Barclay's eldest son, Robert, also became

attached to 'The Friends' and soon distinguished himself by his zeal in their cause and by publishing several treatises in vindication of their tenets. He travelled with Penn and Fox in England, Holland and Germany disseminating the principles which they had adopted, and he was greeted everywhere with great respect. It may also be added, as a matter of interest in their family history, that the elder Barclay was married to a daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, a son of the Earl of Sutherland, second cousin to King James VI.

Although the exact relationship between Margaret Cassie and the Barclays of Urie has not been discovered, the fact of their kinship is mentioned, as indicative of the worthy stock from whom this widely spread family of Millers have descended.

During the first few years after their marriage, William Miller and Margaret Cassie resided at the New Port, Glasgow, the husband following his vocation as a gardener in that neighbourhood until about 1689, when he removed to take up the important position of hereditary master gardener at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, by appointment of the Duke of Hamilton, who had been granted a charter by the Crown investing him and his heirs male heritable Keepers of Holyroodhouse in succession to John Bothwell, second and last Lord Holyroodhouse.

Miller's household then comprised, in addition to his wife, three sons and his sister, Isabel, of whom very little has been revealed, but it may be inferred she was unmarried, and lived and died at her brother's house. The children of the Millers ultimately numbered eleven, comprising seven sons and four daughters, one son and all the daughters dying in childhood.

To the great sorrow of the Patriarch and all 'The Friends,' the happy and fruitful marriage contracted at Hamilton in 1680 terminated at Holyrood Abbey, on the 25th day of the fifth month, in the year 1702, by the death of Miller's wife, following the birth of her eleventh child. Her devoted

husband declared *inter alia* that 'She was one of the finest women of her age, day and generation,' and that she had borne him ten children. The discrepancy between the number of children stated by the husband and that obtained from the Friends' records is probably due to the first-born, Hew, named after Hew Wood, having died in infancy, and George, the second son, being served heir to his father in 1747, was recognised as the eldest son. He was born at New Port Glasgow in 1682, and died at Edinburgh in 1759. Following in his father's footsteps, he is designated in an old deed as *Hortulanus in Abbatu de Holyrood-house*. On the Duke of Hamilton's estate at Kinneil, in West Lothian, he was gardener for some years, and in 1725 he returned to Edinburgh, where he established a linen manufactory near Bristo, supposed to be in the large house on the east side of Forrest Road, used as part of the Poor's House. He was made a burgess and guild brother in 1727, by right of William Miller, senior, and some time later he received a similar honour from the burgh of Annan. He was a keen Jacobite, and his son George, the founder of the Whitehaven branch of the Millers, recollected his father's house in Edinburgh being searched for Prince Charlie, and he himself being taken out of bed by one of the military searchers. He was twice married, but the only evidence of his first wife's existence was a rather unique epistle, written by her, but neither signed nor dated, to the Duchess of Hamilton, explaining the reason of their leaving Kinneil, and assuring her that they would not depart until another gardener had been secured. She died before 1735, for in that year George again entered matrimony by wedding Ann, relict of Joseph Bunting, yr., by whom she had several children. Jean, the eldest, married outside the Society a mariner named Yates, whose only son, also a seaman, was presumed lost at sea as the ship in which he sailed was posted missing. William, the eldest son, was a hatter in Edinburgh, of which he was made burgess in 1759. A certificate was

signed, in 1785, on his behalf, to Friends at Charleymount, Ireland, but he was in Edinburgh again in 1793, and had married his cousin, Euphim Christy, by whom he had several children of whom nothing is known.

William's younger brother George, born in 1742, has been regarded as the founder of the Whitehaven family. After leaving school at Kendal, he settled down as apprentice to James Wilson, a Friend there, and removed to Whitehaven in 1764, where he established a business as a tanner. He died in 1832 from an attack of cholera at the age of 90.

His son William was for many years a prominent and highly respected citizen of his native town of Whitehaven, having been actively connected with nearly all the public bodies there, notably the Board of Trustees for the town and harbour, of which he was a member for thirty-three years, six of which he was Chairman. He died in 1872 at the age of 88. His eldest son, John Fletcher Miller, F.R.S., was well known in scientific circles especially as a meteorologist. At his death in 1856, at a comparatively early age, he was succeeded by his brother William of Bourbon Grange, Co. Somerset, as head of the Whitehaven branch, and lineal descendant of the Patriarch's eldest surviving son.

Leaving the Patriarch's third son, William, to the last, in the interest of historical sequence we come to Isaac, the fourth son, who has had very little of his early life recorded. It is assumed that he began as a gardener, and in 1721 left Edinburgh for Cumberland, where he soon afterwards applied to Edinburgh Friends for a certificate on account of his approaching marriage with Margaret, daughter of Andrew Jaffray of Kingswell, near Aberdeen, and relict of William Williamson, of Frisington Hall, Cumberland, whom she married in 1701. From this time Isaac's name disappears, except on one occasion, when he visited the Edinburgh annual meeting in 1737 as a Friend from England. His first wife, Margaret Jaffray, was born in 1675, and educated by

her father. When about 19 years of age she displayed a wonderful talent for preaching, and a few years later she was travelling in the ministry with her father in England, Scotland and Ireland. She died at Frisington Hall in 1736, and Isaac married some one known as 'Aunt Sarah,' who survived him, dying in Cumberland when over 100 years of age. Isaac died childless in Whitehaven, on 6th October 1769, at the age of 84.

The fifth son, Hew, second of that name, was the first of the Patriarch's family to be born in Edinburgh, and was, according to tradition, apprenticed to Bartholomew Gibson, King's Smith and Farrier at the Abbey. He is supposed to have died, unmarried, at an early age.

Joseph, the sixth son and tenth child, was a tanner with a flourishing business, and a good reputation in Edinburgh. He was resident in Newcastle from 1717 to 1720, where he learned the art of tanning, and returning to Edinburgh in the latter year he married (1) Patience, daughter of Andrew Jaffray of Kingswells, in 1721, and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Ormston, Merchant, Kelso, in 1727. He had been distrained, to the amount of £17 for annuity tax on his house and tanyard, but six years later he was supervising the building of meeting-houses in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as contributing to their cost. The days of his prosperity now ended, and in 1733 Edinburgh Friends signed a testimony against him. It was suggested at a meeting held about this time, that some of the money contributed by him should be refunded as he was now in indigent circumstances, but the matter was settled by his relations before any action was taken. After his disownment his wife resided at Kelso, along with some of her children, amongst her own people. Joseph predeceased his wife, who died in 1758. Their son Charles, who is referred to as an artist, went to London for a time, but returning to Kelso died there in 1754 at the age of 25.

The seventh son, and eleventh child, Benjamin, was born at the Abbey on the day of his mother's death in May 1702. Blind from birth, he amused himself mostly by bird-catching, at which he was wonderfully dexterous despite his blindness. His nephew George was the companion who most frequently accompanied him on his fowling expeditions. Dying in 1750, seven years after his father, his nephews and nieces, the children of his brother William, were served heirs and portioners.

The third son of the Patriarch was granted the favourite family name of William, and is given here the seventh, instead of the third, place in the chronological order of the family.

He was born at New Port Glasgow on 23rd March 1684, and early associating himself with his father at the Abbey, succeeded in building up an extensive and lucrative business as seedsman and nurseryman at the foot of the South Back of the Canongate. In his list of distinguished customers is the name of Prince Charlie of the '45, who was supplied with five hundred spades for trenching.

Among the other interesting documents preserved in the strong room at Gordonstown is an 'Account of garden seeds, garden tools, etc., furnished to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown by William Miller, December 18th, 1718.' The bill includes seed, in ounces, of silver fir, pine, cypress, pitch-fir, etc., and in pounds, seed of lyme, yew, Scots fir, French furze, and in bushels, walnuts, chesnuts, and acorns, besides, in smaller quantities, peas, beans, radish, onions, and others of the culinary species; spades, scythes, and a garden line—the total cost amounting to over £30. Sir Robert was a regular customer for many years, and in a letter dated from the Abbey of Edinburgh, 24th October 1739, and quoted in *Social Life in Former Days*, Miller addressed Sir Robert in the quaint language of that period, reminding him of some unpaid bills, and adding, 'As accounts, when they lie long over, are apt to be forgot, must request the favour thou will write to thy factor to pay me.'

The minutes of the Friends' monthly meeting at Hamilton in May 1710 contain the first announcement of the approaching marriage of William Miller (who was destined years afterwards to be known as the Auld Quaker) and Anna Adam, which was duly solemnised at Hamilton on 25th June 1710. His wife is described as a Convinced Friend of great weight and influence in Glasgow, where she was born in September 1686, being the eldest daughter of George Adam, by his wife, Eupham Weir, and belonged to the same honourable family as the Adams of Blairadam, and the famous architects of that name. After an exceedingly happy union of about forty-five years, she died in 1754, three years before her husband, and was interred in the burial ground in the Pleasance, where many other members of the Miller family repose.

Of the nine children of William and Anna, three were daughters, the eldest and first-born of the family, Marie (1711-1783), marrying in 1734 John Christie, a 'Friend' from the north of Ireland who, with two of his brothers, settled in Ormiston as bleachers. Their descendants, male and female, are very numerous, and the male branch is genealogically displayed in Burke's *Landed Gentry*. The second daughter, omitting one who died in infancy, was Eupham, who departed from the Friends and married Dr. Mackie of Ormiston, who had had service in the Army. They had a son, William, who became a gentleman farmer and writer on agricultural topics, and who had, besides other daughters, Euphemia, who married John Turnbull, City Chamberlain of Edinburgh, and several sons, some in the Army, and one, Charles, a Church of England clergyman, Chaplain to the Duke of Clarence, and Rector of Quarley, in Hampshire, for half a century.

Ann, the third daughter, not only 'married out,' but is reputed to have 'run away' with Robert Horn, tenant farmer at Fillyside. She, however, became reunited to the Society, and after her husband's death continued to live at

Fillyside Bank. Dying without issue, her possessions, reputed to be valued at £12,000, were bequeathed to three of her nephews, George Miller, William Mackie, and one of the Christies.

George, the youngest son of William and Anna, was born at the Abbey in 1724, and followed the business of a brewer in premises situated near the rambling old house of Meadowflatts, in the King's Park, where he is said to have lived after his father's death in 1757. As a brewer he gained celebrity for the excellence of his brew, and was awarded many prizes by the Brewers' Association, for what was known to the bibulous patrons of Bacchus in those days as 'True Quaker ale with the hat on.' After carrying on the business for a good many years with financial success, and finding that none of his sons were inclined to follow in his footsteps, he retired and settled in the East Neuk of Fife, where he had purchased some land. He has not the reputation of having been a superlatively enthusiastic member of the Society of Friends, but his wife, Hannah Johnson (1724-1792), whom he married in 1753, seems to have inherited all the virtues and enthusiasm of those peace-loving people. She was a daughter of Thomas and Jane Johnson of Thorn, and afterwards of Pall Mall; Jane being one of the Ormistons of Kelso, who apparently had a partiality for amalgamating with the Millers.

Several of George and Hannah's children died in infancy, but three sons and a like number of daughters grew up. Thomas, the eldest surviving son, after taking his M.D. degree at Edinburgh University, died on his way to India. The Army captured William, the youngest son, who obtained a Captain's commission, and died when 25 years old. Jane, the eldest daughter, married 'out' Alexander Walker, a bailie and brewer in the Canongate, and died in 1846, at the age of 88 years.

Annie died in 1831 unmarried, and Hannah, the youngest



child, married a gentleman named Lloyd in Newcastle, and died there in 1830 without issue, leaving her wealth to the children of her sister, Mrs. Walker. The second surviving son, George, born at the Abbey in 1759, was educated at the High School, where he was dux in five years of the six he attended, and was favourite with Dr. Adam, the then head master. While still young, his father, anxious that he should become manager of his estate in Fife, sent him south to study agriculture, but he was not so strongly attracted to farming as had been hoped for. He therefore returned to his native town, and soon afterwards his father died (1784), after selling his property in Fife and leaving his son a comfortable competence at the age of 24. For the next few years he employed himself in Ireland, studying farming superficially, and cultivating the acquaintance of the Christies and others there. Two years after his father's death he settled in Edinburgh and married Ann Tweedie, daughter of Alexander Tweedie, printer in Glasgow, a lady who, when young, came under the spell of John Wesley and joined his communion, entrancing her hearers by the charm of her singing; and soon after her reception into the 'Society of Friends' it was discovered that she had a gift in the ministry, which was exercised to the edification of her friends. She has been described as a very large-hearted, sociable woman, always wishing to be giving, or doing, for the good of others, though perhaps not always with perfect judgment. It was at her suggestion that her husband commenced business, as she 'did not approve of their eating the bread of idleness.' A linen draper's shop was accordingly opened in Bristo Street, but afterwards removed to premises, built by Miller himself, at the Drummond Street corner of Nicolson Street. His wife looked after the money affairs, but kept no books, while her husband was deep among his Greek and Latin authors, or conversing on literary topics with customers of congenial mind, or absent on journeys with ministering Friends. He

was a classical scholar of no mean attainments, as illustrated in stories regarding him, a very artful framer of verses in his native tongue, a consistent and staunch 'Friend,' giving freely and liberally of his time and purse for the good of the Society.

A large family succeeded the loss of their eldest child Hannah, who died when nearly two years old.

The family of George Miller (1759-1831) and Ann Tweedie (1760-1842) consisted of four sons and three daughters, the eldest being Jane, who was born in 1788, and married in 1819, to Robert Leef of Blansby Park, Yorkshire, who had been a resident in Edinburgh for some years, and died suddenly at Dumfries, leaving his widow and two young girls. His body was brought to Edinburgh for burial by his widow's brother William, the engraver. Jane was educated at the York Friends' School for the daughters of 'Friends.' After her return home, and finding conditions not altogether pleasant, she engaged in tutoring at the homes of 'Friends' in various parts of England, up to the time of her marriage, and lived to a very old age.

George, the eldest son, was born in 1790, and as a youth gave promise of a brilliant future, having received a classical education, along with his junior brother Joseph, in David Dent's boarding-school at Cirencester. The bright promise of youth was not sustained as the years passed on, being dimmed by an unstable disposition which produced discomfort in the family circle and nullified all attempts for advancement in business. Some years were spent in the Isle of Man under the care of Dr. Oswald, and for a time he served as Captain's clerk in a sloop of war cruising in the North Sea; and finally he removed to America, and died, on 19th May 1837, at Philadelphia.

Joseph, the second son, born in 1792, was early associated with his father in the linen warehouse, and much had been left to his guidance, with anything but satisfactory results.

A number of openings had been provided for him by members of the family, but in vain. Ultimately he opened business as a bookseller in Bank Street, lodging with his mother at Hope Park Cottage. He is described as of a kindly disposition, but shy and unfit for a business career.

He was the appellant in the Craigentenny will case which lasted for a number of years, before the final decision was issued against him by the House of Lords in 1855, and he died soon afterwards.

Alexander, the third son and fourth child, was born in 1794, and on returning from his school at Leeds, he was apprenticed to a 'Friend' in Edinburgh, a situation which turned out unsatisfactory, and he was afterwards sent to an establishment at Holderness in Yorks, with a view to study farming, but with no better results. A year afterwards he joined a cavalry regiment from which he was bought off and brought home. A few more years of various exploits and he enlisted in the Seventh Hussars shortly before the Battle of Waterloo, and having been bought off again, he escaped from the perils of that famous battle, and established himself as a bleacher at Juniper Green, and finally sailed to the East Indies, where he died when about 30 years of age. He had married Margaret Webster, the daughter of a 'Friend' in Dundee, who died on 3rd March 1872, and thus survived him forty-five years.

William, the youngest and most distinguished of the four brothers, was born in 1796, in a house at Drummond Street corner of Nicolson Street, recently built by his father.

As a child he attended a day school in Edinburgh kept by Andrew Reid, a member of the 'Society of Friends,' but when he attained the age of nine years he was sent, along with his two elder brothers, to Joseph Tatham's at Leeds, then one of the principal boarding-schools in connection with the 'Society of Friends.' In 1807, in company with Alexander,

his elder brother, he left school, and a classical tutor, James Anderson, was engaged to carry on the education of the boys. From childhood he had been fond of drawing, and when only five or six years old, his coloured sketches were viewed with pride. His father, not anxious that he should follow the fine arts, set him to work in the warehouse, but this was found so distasteful that he was allowed, in 1811, to become a pupil of William Archibald, an Edinburgh engraver. He remained with him four years, and then began work on his own account.

In 1819 he had saved sufficient money to enable him to enter as a pupil of George Cooke, one of the most celebrated landscape engravers of his day. The premium was heavy, but with aid from his father he was able to devote himself to his art for a year and a half in Cooke's house at Hackney. His progress was rapid, and he always had on hand as much work as he could conveniently undertake.

In 1833 he married Ellen Cockin (1803-1841), daughter of Richard and Ellen Cockin, Doncaster, by whom he had five children, of which two boys died in infancy. After being a widower for about three years, he united in marriage, on 27th June 1844, with Jane Godfrey (1818-1908), whose acquaintance he made at the Aberdeen general meeting. The step was a happy one, especially for the children, who were cherished most devotedly by their new mother, who brought them in due course two additional children for the family group.

Reverting to a member of the family of William and Anna Adam, who has been diverted from his legitimate place in the chronological tree, it may here be pointed out that the eldest son of William and Anna died in infancy, and as Joseph, the next in seniority, was found 'wanting,' his place, as elder brother, was automatically transferred to the third son, William (1722-1799), who, at his father's death, succeeded to the seed merchant's business, as well

as to all the lands which they had been gradually acquiring at Craigentenny.

William, the first of this Miller family, was known as 'The Patriarch' among 'The Friends,' and he was highly respected and esteemed by them all. At that time the Quakers were shamefully persecuted and often brutally attacked by the vulgar mob when they made their appearance on the street. Before they secured the meeting-house in Peebles Wynd they met at the West Port in the house of a retired lieutenant-colonel named William Osborn, who afterwards became a zealous minister amongst the flock in Edinburgh. From there 'The Friends' were ultimately ousted and had to resort to clandestine meetings in each other's houses.

In scenes like these 'The Patriarch' rendered yeoman service by his endeavours to quell the fury of the mob, and on many occasions he visited the magistrates personally and appealed to them for protection, but without effect. In his fight against rowdyism and vandalism he had the support and sympathy of his wife, and on many occasions the meetings were held in their house at the Abbey or in the home of Bartholomew Gibson, the King's Farrier, in the same neighbourhood. In the *Friends' Historical Journal*, vol. 2, an article on William Miller at the King's garden (1656-1743), written by Wm. Frederick Miller, son of William the famous line engraver, throws some colourful light on the deplorable conditions obtaining in Edinburgh at that period.

Accounts of the persecutions and brutal attacks on these innocent and harmless people were carried abroad, and from America, the home of the Pilgrim Fathers, profound sympathy was expressed for these unhappy victims of such cruelties. The news of the behaviour of the mob in Aberdeen, where the Barclays of Ury held the fort, inspired John G. Whittier (the distinguished American poet who was born of Quaker parents at Haverhill, Mass., on 17th December 1807) to

write a poem on 'Barclay of Ury,' of which the following are the opening lines :

'Up the streets of Aberdeen,  
By the Kirk and College Green,  
Rode the Laird of Ury :  
Close behind him, close beside,  
Foul of mouth and evil-eyed,  
Pressed the mob in fury.

'Flouted him the drunken churl,  
Jeered at him the serving girl,  
Prompt to please her master ;  
And the begging carlin, late  
Fed and clothed at Ury's gate,  
Cursed him as he passed her.'

In Dr. William Steven's *History of George Heriot's Hospital* two examples of how Quakers were treated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been cited.

In 1686 Thomas Ballantine, one of the subordinate officers of the establishment, had seen cause to change his sentiments on religious matters and had become a member of the Society of Friends. The Governors did not merely intimate their displeasure at Ballantine's unsteadiness in the faith, but finding him now inexorable, they declared him, in consequence, incapable of holding the situation.

The case is thus recorded : 'The Council having heard the report of the Com<sup>rs</sup> of Ministers appointed to deal with Thos. Ballantine, servant under the Treasurer of the Hospital, for helping to ingather the rents and warn the Council : and, the said T. B., having within these few months turned Quaker and therefore unfit to serve in his employment, reported that they had dealt with the said T. B. to quit his opinion, but all their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Council therefore declares his place vacant, and elects Gilbert Neilson Merchant in his stead.'

Nearly a hundred years afterwards, when the ill-feeling towards Quakerism was becoming mellowed or subdued, Deacon William Miller, who had not previously qualified, appeared at the Hospital on 12th October 1778 and proposed that, as he was a Quaker, his affirmation should be taken in place of the oath appointed by the statutes. This was the first instance of a member of the Society of Friends presenting himself to take his seat as a Governor. As the oath was not one required by the law of the country, but by the appointment of George Heriot, or his friend Dr. Balcanquall, the compiler of the statutes, explicitly declaring all proceedings void if any of the Governors voted at the Board without taking the oath, it was doubted if the Acts referred to by Deacon Miller applied to the present case: and as it was provided by the 22nd chapter of the statutes that where any controversy shall arise concerning the interpretation of the statutes, a reference be made to certain law officers of the Crown, it was proposed to lay a memorial of the case before the Lord President of the College of Justice and the Lord Advocate, two of the statutory referees. These officers gave it as their judgment: 'That the affirmation of Mr. Miller, being one of the people called Quakers, ought to be taken in place of the oath contained in the third statute of the Hospital.'

A chronicle of the persecutions in Glasgow relates that 'On the 18th of the 12th month 1691 Margaret Steven, commonly called Captain of the White Regiment, with her Company came upon us, and had near killed some of us, and when one went to the Provost and told him he commanded three officers to bring us to him and as we went the rabble stoned us all the way, so the Provost after he had questioned us, commanded to put the strangers out of the town, which was done and we conveyed them to the Gorbals and went into the House of George Swan. Peter Corbatt, then Bailzie in the Gorbals, sent his officer and charged George Swan not to suffer us in his house, and when we

were come to the street the rabble fell upon us and had like to murdered us with hands and stones and great rungs.

'This tarmagant was again active a few months afterwards (29th March 1692) when a Thomas Pollock (an elder) and two town officers came in upon us, and when they had threatened us, went out, and sent two officers to Marg<sup>t</sup>. Stevens, desiring her to come with some of her confederates to drag us out of our meeting house, and he bro't another elder with other two town officers, who came and dragged us out, man by man, to the hands of Marg<sup>t</sup>. Steven and her rabble who beat and punched our bodies.'

Another chronicler relates that a Presbyterian elder went to the house of George Swan, a 'Friend,' and exhorted and commanded his wife, she being a Presbyterian, that if any of the Quakers should come to their house she should beat them and her husband too if he should encourage them. 'And in this she proved obedient, for she dragged a "Friend" who came to see us, off his seat, and trampled him under her feet, tho' he had given no provocation other than coming to see us.'

George Swan, who has frequently been referred to in these notes, was a reputed son of Charles II and Dorothea Helena, daughter of John Kirkhoven (Dutch Baron of Ruppia), and wife of the 8th Earl of Derby, with whom the King had an intrigue. The child who was born at Windsor was given to nurse to the wife of a Master Gunner at the Castle named George Swan, and the child was given this name. The Merry Monarch is credited with having remarked that while he had made other sons of his dukes (Scots for ducks), he had made this one a Swan.

The boy was brought to Edinburgh by the Gunner of the same name at Windsor, and was handed over to Bartholomew Gibson, King's Farrier at Holyrood, whose sister was the wife of George Swan, the Gunner at Windsor.

Whether young George acted as a farrier or not, cannot now be determined with any degree of certainty, but on his admission, as a burgher of Glasgow, at the instance of the Duke of Montrose on 15th July 1708, he was designated a Hammerman in Gorbals, where he subsequently became the keeper of an inn. He married Ann, daughter of Isaac Huntington, Physician, Carlisle, who after Swan's death married Alexander Christie, one of the three brothers of that name who came over from Ulster to take charge of a bleachfield at Ormiston. Alexander, after leaving Ormiston and occupying the inn at Gorbals for a time, went to Perth and eventually settled at Luncarty, where the largest bleachfield in Britain was established.

There is a reference to him in *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 17th January 1746: 'To Mr. Christie Quaker for carrying up six cannon to Doun, £9. 13. 11½.' The cannon had been landed by the French, and the above is the item in the accounts kept by Oliphant of Gask, who was one of the Governors of Perth for Prince Charles Edward in the '45. Alexander Christie died in the Old Black Bull Inn at the Pleasance, Edinburgh, about August 1764, as the Edinburgh meeting for that month was not held by reason of 'Friends' having to attend upon Alexander Christie's burial. His wife died in 1781.

George Swan, the Gunner from Windsor, was one of the defenders of The Bass against William of Orange in 1689. The Bass was the last spot in the British Isles to hold out for the Stuarts. Four young Jacobite prisoners had the bravery to capture and, with twelve more who joined them, to hold it for the deposed King, from June 1691 to April 1694, against all the forces that William sent against them. They surrendered on honourable terms, only for a consciousness of failing provisions.

Bartholomew Gibson, the King's Farrier at Holyrood, whose sister was married to George Swan the Gunner, obtained

on trust, from the King, a grant of land in New Jersey where his son succeeded him and died there in 1750.

The two previous generations of the Millers have received very little attention from local scribes, and what little is known of them can only be found in the Historical records of the Society of Friends; but William of the third generation, known among his sect as the 'King of the Quakers,' and his son, who became prominent in various spheres, have received a considerable amount of attention from speculative philosophers of the amateur school, but with egregious historical inexactitude.

The third William, 'King of the Quakers,' was 21 years of age when his grandfather, 'The Patriarch,' died at the age of 87, and 35 at the time of his father's death in 1757 at the age of 73. Between the deaths of William *primus* and William *secundus* fourteen years elapsed, and between the deaths of William *secundus* and William *tertius* forty-two years had passed, from which it may be seen that the three generations of William Millers had been incorporated in business together for an extraordinarily long period. It is rather astonishing that a citizen of such wealth and influence should have attracted so little attention from contemporary writers. He is not referred to in any way by the earlier of the Edinburgh historians until James Grant, in his *Old and New Edinburgh*, devoted some space to the Miller family and to Craigentenny.

The story that Miller was ninety years old when he married an English lady of fifty summers, and that a child was born to them in Paris, has found its way into many newspaper and magazine articles, but is very widely removed from the truth. Miller, who was born in 1722, was married three times. In 1750 he married Elizabeth Ormston (1720-52), daughter of Charles Ormston, merchant, Kelso, who died without issue. His second wife was Prudence Doubleday (whom he married in 1757, the year of his father's death),

and whose only son William died in infancy. On 12th October 1787 he married Martha Rawson (1747-1827), eldest daughter of Henry Rawson, one time designated of Airton, Parish of Kirby, Malhamdall, Yorkshire, and his wife Sarah Thompson. But in a notice of this marriage in the *Scots Magazine* Henry Rawson is referred to as of Newark-on-Trent. It will be noted that at the date of the third marriage the bridegroom was 65 and the bride 40 years of age, and that at his death Miller had only reached the age of 77. After their marriage they may possibly have gone to Paris on their honeymoon, but in any case it was not in Paris, but at Upper Marylebone Street, Parish of Marylebone, London, on 13th February 1789, that their son William Henry Miller was born. The parents' abode, on the register of birth, is given as Craigentenny, County of Edinburgh, but they also had a London residence at Eagle House, Tottenham, which the family owned until 1802. Miller died there in 1799, and was interred in the burial ground attached to the Friends' meeting-house at Winchmore Hill, and not in the Pleasance, Edinburgh. His wife, Martha, died in 1827 at Paris, and was buried in a Protestant cemetery there, but about thirty years afterwards she was exhumed and brought to Edinburgh, where she was laid to rest in the sepulchre where her son was buried in 1848, eight years before the Roman mausoleum was erected in memory of his parents, and presumably to some extent of himself.

Some time, about 1780, Miller erected a meeting-house in juxtaposition to his business premises opposite Horse Wynd, where he held religious services, a departure which appears to have given umbrage to the regular flock who met in the recognised place of worship in Peebles Wynd. Writing on this matter in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, Mr. W. F. Miller says: 'Among the Society of Friends in Edinburgh he (Mr. Miller *tertius*) was regarded as Minister, ruling elder, Overseer and Treasurer of the

"Friends" in that city, where he was popularly known as "King of the Quakers."'

The plain small house was no doubt built for business purposes, as he had an extensive connection as nurseryman and seedsman, though one of the rooms was used as a meeting-place. It seems to have been his custom to depute his clerk, David Notman, who was not a member of 'The Friends,' to sit at the head of the morning meeting at the regular meeting-house in the city, which he himself never attended, while in the afternoon he ministered, in *propria persona*, to the meeting held in the plain small house at the Horse Wynd, Canongate. From refreshments being bountifully provided for the worshippers the gatherings came to be called, in scorn, by those who did not participate, 'Bread and cheese meetings.'

Mr. Miller stuck very obstinately to the arrangement, in spite of much labour bestowed upon him, after the revival which took place amongst 'Friends' in Scotland (1780-85), and he was finally *disowned* because he would not give up 'separate meeting.'

There was another reason, however, for his disownment. His relations with the members of 'The Society' had been becoming strained for some time, and his influence began to wane after the opening of the unwanted meeting-house. His name appeared at the head of the list of members of the Edinburgh meeting, formally drawn up in 1787, showing that he was still in favour; but nearing the end of that year a committee was appointed to reason with him, as there was cause to apprehend that he intended to marry contrary to the rules of the Society, but the committee's intercession was of no avail, and they were obliged to report that he had accomplished his marriage, before a priest, notwithstanding the advice vouchsafed against such a proceeding. He had been a widower for thirty years, his second wife's sister, Betty Doubleday, keeping house for him all

that time. His third wife, Martha, was supposed to be the daughter of Henry Rawson and Sarah Thompson, his wife, whose second daughter, Hannah, married Sir Henry Maule, M.P. and Baron of Exchequer. But the marriage certificate shows that 'William Miller Esq. of Craigentenny, and Martha Rawson, daughter of Henry Rawson of Newark-upon-Trent, were married by me, Robert Fenwick Minister of the Episcopal Chapel of Leith and Vicar of Billingham in the County of Durham, according to the form of the Church of England, this 12th day of October 1787 in the house of the said William Miller Esq. as witness our hands.—ROBERT FENWICK, WILLIAM MILLER, MARTHA MILLER, in the presence of five witnesses.'

The Rawsons were a noted Yorkshire Quaker family. Henry was the son of John Rawson, a shalloon maker, in Airton, Parish of Kirby, Malhamdall, and Henry was married, in 1746, to Sarah Thompson, of Copley Hall in Skircoat, near Halifax.

William Henry, the son of William and Martha, in a deed of entail specifies 'that the heirs of tailzie succeeding to the lands, etc., shall be obliged constantly to use, bear, and retain, in all time after their succession thereto, the surname of Miller, and the coat-armorial of Miller of Craigentenny, quartering the arms of the ancient and noble family of Rawson, of the elder line of which my late beloved mother was co-heir, as their proper surname and arms, but without prejudice to their conjoining thereto with other surnames and arms, my surname of Miller being always used in the last place, and my arms in the first quarter, etc.'

How Henry Rawson came to be designated 'of Newark-upon-Trent' has not been discovered, but it has already been stated that in the notice of William and Martha's marriage, appearing in the *Scots Magazine* of November 1787, he is denoted as of 'Newark-upon-Trent.'

The mystery of Sarah and Ellen Marsh remains unsolved, beyond the stage that they were daughters of Thomas Marsh of Wheatley and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cuff and Sarah Yates, his wife.

In the lengthy trial which took place over William Henry Miller's last will and testament, and his various deeds of entail, etc., their names frequently appear. In one clause they are described as 'near relations of Mr. Miller's mother, and had resided with him during her life, and continued to do so after she died.' They have been repeatedly referred to as William Henry's cousins, but the actual relationship, if any, has not been revealed.

Writing to the *London Chronicle* on 3rd September 1778 from Edinburgh, 'An old Friend' stated that 'the number of Quakers there is very small, but amongst them there is a Mr. Miller, a most respectable man who is possessed of considerable property, and who lives upon a beautiful piece of ground at the back of the Canongate, near to the Abbey of Holyrood house. There is a Quaker meeting-place about the middle of the old town, but Mr. Miller has recently built a handsome one opposite to his own dwelling-house and within a few yards of it.

'Into this place of worship I went a few Sundays ago, but there was no meeting that afternoon, so I employed a few minutes in solitude to observe every part of the room. I found the panes of glass in the window to the South, very prettily ornamented with pots of flowers cut upon them, with a diamond, and upon one of the middle panes I found this inscription:

'Approach this place, with reverence come,  
Serve God, tho' each tongue should be dumb:  
Experience that mysterious art,  
To feel His presence at thy heart,  
And hear His whispers, soft and kind,  
In holy silence of the mind.'

'Then rest thy thoughts, nor let them roam  
 In quest of joy—for Heaven's at home—  
 And feel the beams of purest love,  
 An emblem of the Bliss above.  
 And may each soul its powers extend  
 Beyond where time and nature end ;  
 And reach those heights, that Blest abode,  
 And meet the kindest smiles of God.'

The writer and composer of these lines was Mrs. Hannah Robertson, the very highly respected widow of Robert Robertson, a merchant in Perth, and daughter of George Swan, the reputed son of Charles II, already referred to.

Mrs. Robertson, when a widow, came to Edinburgh and for a time resided in a gable-ended house at Hope Park, overlooking the Burgh Loch ; a house believed to have been the country residence of George Heriot, which was taken down when Messrs. Nelson, the printers and publishers, established their premises there. Mrs. Robertson then removed to Little Lochend Close where she died in 1808 at the age of 84 years. She was interred in 'The Friends'' burial-place in the Pleasance, her funeral being attended by a vast concourse of citizens with whom she was a universal favourite. At the Jacobite Club she was a regular attender up to the year of her death and was always given the seat of honour at the right of the President. An application to the Lords of the Treasury for a pension in 1791, although supported by many influential people, including the Duchess of Gordon and the Countess of Northesk, was not entertained. Her Memoirs were published in 1792 by James Tod, Forrester's Wynd, and reached a ninth edition in 1806. She also published a book entitled *The Lady's School of Arts*, which was dedicated to the Countess of Northesk.

From the date of their marriage in 1787 very little has been chronicled regarding William Miller, the 'King of the Quakers,' and his spouse, Martha Rawson, until 1799, when

the spell was broken by the registry of the death of the husband after twelve years of wedlock and at the age of 77. His son, who rose to fame in classical circles, was then 10, and his wife, Martha Rawson, 52 years of age. The boy's grandfather, the 'Auld Quaker,' had been dead forty-two years, and his grandmother, Anna Adam, forty-four.

William and Martha had been residing, if not wholly, certainly for long spells, in Eagle House at Tottenham, a mansion of local distinction, where they were able to entertain the rich and feed the poor, in both of which they are said to have been highly proficient and profoundly generous.

The widowed mother and her son continued to occupy this residence for a couple of years, after which they seem to have resided in furnished apartments, in various districts of London. There is no record of them ever visiting or returning to Craigentinny. The boy was brought up amongst 'Friends,' and had for a tutor Richard Payne, afterwards master of the school at Epping. It is supposed that before he had the benefit of a tutor he had attended a local school in Tottenham, at which some of his cousins had been pupils. The oft-repeated statement that Cambridge was his *Alma Mater* is incorrect, as in a search by the Registry there, for the years 1800 to 1850, no name of William Henry Miller could be found.

He was well known to the Rector of Quarley, a near cousin, who described him as a highly educated man, but very shy and reserved, and inordinately abstemious, a strong Tory, and taking much pride in his family. An early member of the Bannatyne Club, he contributed to its publications a reprint of a very rare work in 1831, entitled *The Buik of the Most Noble and Vailzeand Conqueror Alexander the Great*. He acquired Britwell Court in 1830, and established there a private library, containing probably one of the most valuable collections of rare books in this or any other country: a



collection which realised over half a million sterling when sold by Sotheby's at intervals from 1916 to 1927. The previous occupier of Britwell was Dr. Evans, and the late Sir John Evans (1823-1908), the famous archaeologist, who was born there, has related that, when an infant, a chimney fell through the roof and landed on to the floor of the nursery near where he was lying.

Three years after his mother's death William Henry seems to have taken a fancy to enter Parliament, and selected, in Newcastle-under-Lyme, a constituency which seems to have suited him very well, as in the six elections which he contested as a Conservative he was successful in them all excepting in the sixth and last where he was defeated, but on petition the election of one of his opponents, John Quincy Harris, was declared void.

Newcastle-under-Lyme, and not its namesake on the Tyne, confers the title of Duke upon the family of Pelham-Clinton. It was, and is, a busy municipal borough in Staffordshire, and from 1353 until the Franchise Bill in 1885 it was represented by two Members of Parliament, since when it has had to be content with one.

In his first contest, as an aspirant to political fame in 1830, the votes recorded were: R. Borradaile 453, W. H. Miller 436, Edmund Peel 319 and J. E. Denison 280. In the following year (1831), when there were only three candidates, the result of the polling was: Edmund Peel 746, W. H. Miller 463 and J. Wedgwood 374. Only a year elapsed when another General Election took place (1832) and W. H. Miller headed the poll with 607 votes, Sir H. P. Willoughby had 587 and Edmund Peel 478. The next election took place in 1835 when Edmund Peel found himself at the top of the poll (for the second time) instead of at the bottom as in the previous election, his vote being 689, W. H. Miller 494 and Sir H. P. Willoughby 397. At the next election, which took place in 1837, W. H. Miller was again favourite with 669 votes, De Horsey 635 and

R. Badnell 292. In 1841, after a lapse of four years, the seat was contested again, with the result that Edmund Buckley totalled 720 votes, John Quincy Harris 565 and W. H. Miller 417.

Mr. Harris was not only unseated at the election in 1841 when he opposed, and outvoted, Wm. Henry Miller, one of the sitting members, but also in the following year when Archibald Campbell Colquhoun, his opponent, was declared elected although he had received twenty fewer votes than Harris.

It has also transpired from correspondence emanating from the locality of the election that a Parliamentary inquiry was appointed, after the election of 1837, when Richard Badnall petitioned against the election of W. H. Miller, who polled 669 votes against 292 for Badnall. The report on this election petition declared: 'That Wm. Henry Miller, Esq., is duly elected a burgess, to serve in this present Parliament, for the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme: That the petition of Richard Badnall does not appear to this Committee to be frivolous or vexatious: that the opposition to the said petition does not appear to this Committee to be frivolous or vexatious: that, from evidence taken before this Committee, it appears that a most objectionable practice has existed for many years in the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme of distributing money after the election to the poorer voters: that the Committee also think it right to call the attention of the House to the fact that at the last election for Newcastle-under-Lyme the votes of the electors were taken at the poll in alphabetical order; a practice which, from the evidence brought before them, the Committee consider as having a tendency to facilitate and promote bribery and corruption.'

At the General Election in 1847 W. H. Miller, the Laird of Craigentenny and Britwell, presented himself as a candidate at Berwick-on-Tweed but was unsuccessful, the figures being:

Matthew Forster 484, John Campbell Renton 463 and W. H. Miller 151. By a strange coincidence at this election in 1847 Samuel Christie, a cousin of W. H. Miller and a future Laird of Craigentenny, contested and won a seat at Newcastle-under-Lyme and held it until 1859.

Only on two occasions during the five elections was it Mr. Miller's luck to have as colleague the same member, Edmund Peel of Bonehill House, County Stafford, and it may be noticed that at his first election (1830) he beat by 156 votes J. E. Denison, who entered Parliament, and, after becoming Speaker of the House of Commons for fourteen years, was created Viscount Ossington.

The General Election in 1847 was the finish of Miller's electioneering, as he died in the following year.

In the *Scotsman* newspaper for Wednesday, 1st November 1848, there appeared in the death notices: 'At Craigentenny House, near Edinburgh, on the 31st ult., Wm. Henry Miller, Esq., of Craigentenny and of Britwell House, Bucks, after a short illness'; and on Wednesday, 13th December, in the same year, or fully six weeks after the death, the following obituary notice appeared under the heading of 'Singular Interment':

'On Monday week the remains of the late William Henry Miller, Esq., of Craigentenny, were deposited in their last resting-place; a sepulchre constructed as directed in his last will on that part of the estate immediately behind Wheatfield House on the Portobello Road. The sepulchre consisted of a pit upwards of 20 feet deep, in the bottom of which was a receptacle for the ponderous coffin which was covered by a very large flagstone. The walls were formed of dressed stone, and reached the surface of the ground upon which a handsome column is to be reared, in commemoration of the private virtues of the deceased, for, as a public character, he was unknown. For furtherance of this design two artists have been despatched to Rome for a model for a monumental pile which the deceased gentleman, on a recent visit, had much admired.

'The funeral procession proceeded at an early hour from Craigen-

tenny House, the residence of the deceased, by the new approach which terminates near the sepulchre, and consisted of a carriage or truck which, on account of the great weight of the various coffins which enclosed the remains, required to be drawn by four horses, and was accompanied by two mourning coaches containing the disconsolate heirs and their friends. After the interment the labourers who had constructed the sepulchre, to the number of 80, speedily filled up the pit, and with the surplus earth formed a tumulus over it, which, we understand, will remain till the column is erected.'

Although there have been frequent desultory notices regarding the character of this extraordinary man in the everyday Press, there have been only two of what may be termed of a genuinely biographical nature, written by scribes who professed to have had a personal acquaintance with the individual concerned.

In the sketch of Miller in the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that he received a liberal education and throughout life retained a taste for classical literature. Reference is made to his electioneering victories at Newcastle-under-Lyme, especially to his first effort, when he defeated J. E. Denison, a future Speaker of the House of Commons.

He died at Craigentenny unmarried, in his sixtieth year the writer says, and was, by his own desire, buried on his estate in a mausoleum erected after his decease, and decorated with sculptural friezes by Alfred Gatley. As a book collector he was regarded as the successor of Richard Heber, and many of the rarest books from the collection of the latter passed into the library which he founded at Britwell Court, near Burnham, Bucks. He was extremely particular in the choice of his copies, and from his habit of carrying about with him a footrule in order to measure the exact size of a 'tall' copy of a book which he wished to buy, he became known at sales and among collectors as 'Measure Miller.'

The Britwell library, formed chiefly at the time of the dispersal of the Heber and other important collections, and since added to by acquisitions from the Corser, Laing and other sales, is unrivalled among private libraries for the number, rarity and condition of its examples of early English and Scottish literature. It contains six works from Caxton's press, many printed by Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, and the greater part of the Heber collection of ballads and broadsides. It is especially rich in early English poetry, and possesses also the finest and most complete series in existence of De Brys collections of voyages to the East and West Indies, both in Latin and in German.

Britwell Court and its library, continues the writer, were bequeathed by Miller to his cousin, Miss Marsh, from whom they passed to Samuel Christie Miller, M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme from 1847 to 1859, and on his death, on 5th April 1889, to his nephew, Wakefield Christie Miller. The statement that a portrait of Wm. Henry Miller, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, has been engraved, closed this brief biography in the *D.N.B.*, written, it is said, by a personal friend.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849 an obituary notice appeared soon after the death of Wm. Henry Miller, Esq., F.S.A., in similar terms to the one just quoted, but Craigentenny is erroneously placed in the Parish of North Leith, and Miller is correctly described as Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Bucks, and only child of the late William Miller of Craigentenny, not by his second, but by his third wife, a Miss Rawson, cousin to the late Miller Christie, Esq., of Stockwell, Surrey, whose grandson, Samuel Christie, Esq., of Poynton Hall, Cheshire, a partner in the manufacturing house of John, Thomas and Henry Christie and Co., of London, Bermondsey, Stockport and Frampton-Cotterrell. This writer adds to those rarities at Britwell, enumerated in the *D.N.B.* biography, the only two known copies of Lodge's *Defence of Plays and*

*Players*. The Shakespeare Society, the writer says, long ineffectually endeavoured to reprint Lodge's *Defence*.

This valuable collection was left, says this writer, to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and that its market value is nearly equal to the Grenville gift to the British Museum, so that this is no common bequest. However we may regret, continues the writer, that its unique copies should be lost to the National Collection, it must be allowed that any condition for keeping entire would in many cases have merely added duplicates and triplicates to the present library. Mr. Miller was a bachelor, and the bulk of his property which, including land, is estimated at £300,000, is left to his cousins, the two Misses Marsh who resided with him. His books, valued at £60,000, are left, as before mentioned, to the Advocates' Library, accompanied, it is said, by a bequest of £20,000 to erect a room for their reception; and £20,000 is expected to be required for a mausoleum to be erected on his estate at Craigentenny (where his body was buried by his own desire six weeks after his death), the architect of which is directed to proceed to Italy for his model.

Unfortunately this exceedingly valuable library had not been left to the Advocates, and when the volumes came to be sold at Sotheby's their value approximated over half a million; the sale being conducted at intervals extending from August 1916 to July 1927.

By a will, dated from Britwell House, Buckinghamshire, on 13th December 1837, William Henry Miller, F.S.A., sometime M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, bequeathed "the mansion and lands of Britwell, together with the vault under the church of Marylebone, London, and all bonds and rents, debts, monies and securities of every description which may belong, or may be in any way due to me, at the time of my death, together with all my books, pictures, plates, furniture and other movable and personal property of any description whatsoever and wheresoever the same may be situated in England,

Scotland and elsewhere, to Sarah Marsh of Britwell, spinster, and to her heirs and assignees, and in the event of her death, then to Ellen Marsh, also of Britwell, spinster, and to her heirs and assignees, and in the event of her death then to William Henry Maule of Lincoln's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, and M.P. for Carlow, and to his heirs, etc., and in the event of his death then to William Miller Christie of Gracechurch Street in the County of Middlesex, and to his heirs, etc., and I appoint Sarah Marsh, whom failing the said Ellen, to be the sole executive of this, my last will and testament, and failing both of them, then I appoint William Henry Maule, whom failing, then the said William Miller Christie to be the sole executive of this my last will and testament.

I hereby exclude my next of kin, and all others.

'In witness whereof I have set my hand and affixed my seal, and for further security, made a duplicate copy, all written in my hand at Britwell House in the County of Bucks, 13th day of December 1837.'

Although the assignor died on 30th October 1848, it was not until 8th of May 1849 that Sarah Marsh of Craigentenny, then residing at Britwell House in the County of Bucks, executrix of W. H. Miller, appeared in the presence of William Henry Chichley Plowden, Esq., Magistrate of County Middlesex, when she entered upon possession and management of the deceased's personal estate as executrix nominated by him in a will.

The Misses Marsh, Sarah and Ellen, who figure in the most prominent place in the will of Wm. Henry Miller, were described therein as spinsters of Britwell. From other sources it has been found that they were the daughters of Thomas Marsh of Wheatley, in the County of York, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cuff and Sarah Yates, his wife. There are three places named Wheatley in Yorkshire, one at Halifax, another at Doncaster and a third at Ben-

Rhydding, near Otley, at none of which can the family of Marsh be traced.

They succeeded to Craigentenny and Britwell Court by disposition, dated 16th October 1827, and deed of entail, dated 20th April 1829, by Wm. Henry Miller. Sarah was the second daughter and she succeeded first, and assumed the name and arms of Miller of Craigentenny by patent from the Lord Lyon, 27th September 1859. She was succeeded on her death by her sister Ellen, who also assumed the name and arms of Miller by authority of Lyon on 6th March 1861. On her death at Park Terrace, Harrogate, from pneumonia, on 4th November 1861, the estate went to Samuel Christie, the grandson of Miller Christie, fifth son of John Christie of Ormiston and Mary Miller of Craigentenny, his wife.

Sir William Henry Maule (1788-1858) was born at Edmonton, Middlesex, on 27th April 1788, his father being Dr. Henry Maule, whose wife, Hannah Rawson, was a sister of Martha Rawson, wife of William Miller, Esq., of Craigentenny.

Sir William was educated at a private school kept by his uncle, John Maule, Rector of Greenford, Middlesex. Entering Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1810, he was senior wrangler in Tripos that year, and winner of the Smith prize. Elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1811, he remained at Cambridge as a mathematical coach. In the Michaelmas term of 1810 he was a student at Lincoln's Inn and was offered, but declined, the Professorship of Mathematics at Haileybury College. Having been called to the Bar he took chambers at Essex Court Temple and joined the Oxford Circuit. At first his progress was slow but grew extensive, and he soon obtained a reputation as a commercial lawyer and one of the best authorities on marine insurance. In 1833 he became K.C., and two years afterwards Counsel to the Bank of England. He was leading Counsel in 1837 for the sitting M.P. for Carlow borough in an election petition which

he conducted to a successful issue, and this led to his own election for Carlow as a Liberal in the same year. In 1839 he was knighted and appointed Baron of Exchequer. On the death of James Vaughan he was transferred to the Common Pleas and continued a member of that circuit until 1855, when he resigned owing to ill health. Having then been sworn as a P.C., he acted as member of the judicial committee till his death (unmarried) in 1858, ten years after the death of his cousin, Wm. Henry Miller, who also died unmarried.

He had the reputation of being an excellent judge with a profound knowledge of the law, but chiefly distinguished for his courtesy, ingenuity and ironical humour.

A drawing of him, by George Richmond, R.A., adorns the Trinity College, Cambridge.

There seems to be some reason for believing that out of his immense wealth Mr. Miller ear-marked a large sum (stated to have been £30,000) for the erection of a suitable monument in memory of his father who was buried in London, and his mother who lay in a Paris cemetery. The monument did not take the form of a column, but that of a typical Roman mausoleum which was designed by David Rhind, the architect of Stewart's College, Edinburgh, and many other stately edifices throughout Scotland, while an Edinburgh builder, Mr. Lind, was responsible for its erection.

Beautiful as the structure undoubtedly is, it is the marvelously sculptured marble panels that form its chief attraction. They depict the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, and the triumphal procession of Miriam and the Hebrew maidens. The first of these friezes was an outstanding feature at the International Exhibition in 1851, and largely assisted in expanding the artist's rising fame.

It was not until 1856, or eight years after the 'singular interment' of Wm. Henry Miller, that the structure was completed. There remains an empty recess on each end which was obviously intended for some embellishment; but

on the east end there is a slab, encircled by a wreath held by two winged figures, bearing the inscription:

HOC  
MONUMENTUM  
POSUIT  
AD MDCCCLVI

and on the opposite end a similar device bearing

M · S  
GUIL HENR MILLER  
ET PARENTUM  
SUARUM  
DILECTISS

Alfred Gatley, the sculptor of these magnificent bas-reliefs which have attracted artists from all parts to view them, was the son of a quarrymaster near Macclesfield, where as a youth he acquired a working knowledge of the sculptor's tools.

After a few years' training in London studios, and attending the art classes at the Royal Academy, he blossomed forth as a prize winner and a recognised authority on modelling from the antique. He was only a little over 30 years of age when he attained considerable fame in the world of art, and attracted the notice of connoisseurs and art patrons, among whom was Mr. Samuel Christie, then heir to the Craigentenny estates, who commissioned Gatley to execute a companion panel to the one which had been exhibited, and so secured them for the proposed mausoleum. The artist and his patron met in Rome, and the friendship which existed between them is manifested in the epitaph in the monument erected over Gatley's grave in the Protestant cemetery in Rome, where he died from dysentery in 1863: 'He was great in his works, a loyal citizen, beloved by many, respected by all. He had kindness of heart, and a hatred of all that was false. He lived a Christian life, and died at the age of 47 years.'

To those concerned in the family history of the Lairds

of Craigentenny, the ancient and beautiful estate of Ormiston, in East Lothian, is of particular interest in an exclusive sense, as it is due to certain events that occurred there that the name Christie has become hyphenated with Miller, to designate the owners of this recently formed residential suburb of Edinburgh.

The Cockburn family long held the estate of Ormiston. In 1547 Sir John was Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, and about 200 years afterwards his descendant Adam held the same office. The latter's son John, the improver of Scottish husbandry and perhaps the greatest agriculturalist that Scotland ever produced, was destined to be the father of the last of the line of the Cockburns of Ormiston. He sat as a member of the last Scottish Parliament, and from 1707 to 1741 he represented the County of East Lothian in the Parliament of Great Britain, filling the office of a Lord of the Admiralty for many years with universal appreciation. When he succeeded his father in the Ormiston estate in 1714, the farming industry was at a very low ebb: many farms being unoccupied and untilled. While many of the landed proprietors deplored this state of affairs but did little towards its amelioration, John Cockburn of Ormiston (1685-1758) busied himself in endeavouring to find a remedy, and in getting support from those interested in the land and the science of agriculture. In 1736 he founded a Farmers' Club, the first in the kingdom, according to a writer in the *Ordnance Gazetteer*, and ten years before then he had erected a brewery and a distillery at Ormiston to encourage the farmers to increase their crops. From the Board of Trustees he obtained premiums for encouraging the culture of flax, with a view to the manufacture and bleaching of linen.

'One eminent in the trade,' says Martine, the historian of Haddington, 'was brought from Ireland to Ormiston for this purpose, and a favourable lease of a bleachfield, on the banks of the Tyne, was granted him.' This is said by Martine to be

the first bleachfield in the county, and probably the second in Scotland. Financial assistance was obtained from 'The Honourable the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland,' for the support of this new industry, and qualified workers were imported from Holland to give an impetus to the undertaking.

Another writer says that for the management of the linen trade qualified managers were brought over from Ireland, and to this Irish colony Scotland is said to be indebted for the introduction of the potato, which was first raised in Ormiston in 1734.

The Christie family can be traced back to Archibald Christie, Lord Provost of Aberdeen, whose son Alexander (1642-1722) migrated from the Granite City to Moyallan in County Down, where he married and was presented with a daughter Sarah, who married Samuel Morton of Kilmore, Armagh, and a son John (1673-1762), who married Mary Hill of Magherameske, by whom there was a family of five sons: (1) Alexander (1699-1764), bleacher at Ormiston until 1736, when he went to Perth and Luncarty, where the bleachfield was reputed to be the largest in Britain. He married, in 1732, Anne Huntington, widow of George Swan, hammerman and innkeeper in Gorbals of Glasgow, and daughter of Isaac Huntington, M.D., physician, Carlisle. He died at the Old Black Bull Inn, Pleasance, Edinburgh, in August 1764, and his wife died in 1781. (2) Joseph (1703-53), bleacher, Ormiston, married in 1733 Patience, daughter of John Chambers of Lurgan, whose daughter Mary married Archibald Home. (3) John (1707-61) of Ormiston Lodge, who married Mary Miller. (4) James of Lower Stramore, born 1708, married Margaret, daughter of John Morton, and had issue—John, James, Mary, Margaret and Sarah. (5) Thomas (1711-1780), married (i) Margaret, daughter of John Bramery, and (ii) Mary Nicolson.

It is from the third son, John of Ormiston Lodge, and his

wife, Mary Miller, daughter of the 'Auld Quaker' and sister of William Miller of Craigentenny, that the Christie Millers have descended. They had a large family of both sexes: (1) John died young. (2) William (heir) sold Ormiston Lodge in 1764, married (i) Jane Erskine, (ii) Alison Dunn and had issue. (3) Hill (1741-1819) married and had issue. (4) John of Kircassock, married his cousin Sarah, daughter of James of Lower Stramore. (5) Miller (1748-1820) of Stockwell, Surrey, and Gutters, Broomfield, married (1773) Ann, daughter of William Rist of Maruden, Essex. Ann (1743-88) died and was buried in Edinburgh at the age of 45. Euphemia married a William Miller. Mary married (i) John Dollin, cheesemonger, London, (ii) Thomas Jeffreys. Margaret married Alexander Sinclair of Brabsterdorr, Parish of Bower, Caithness, whose son John Sinclair married Elizabeth Grant, whose daughter Lucy Sinclair married Anthony Clapham, whose daughter Lucy Elizabeth Clapham married John Grant, whose son Sir Francis James Grant is the highly esteemed Lord Lyon King of Arms.

The most important branch has sprung from their fifth son, Miller Christie (1748-1820) of Stockwell, Surrey, and of Gutters, Broomfield, Essex, who married in 1773 Ann, daughter of William Rist of Maruden, Essex, whose eldest son, Thomas Christie (1776-1846) of Brooklands, Essex, Lord of the Manor of Black Notley, in the same county, married in 1800 Rebecca, daughter of Sam Hewlings of Reading. Their second son Samuel Christie married in 1842 Mary, daughter of Thomas Hardcastle of Firwood, near Bolton-le-Moors, and was M.P. from 1847 to 1859 for the seat at Newcastle-under-Lyme, which his cousin, William Henry Miller, formerly held. He succeeded Ellen Marsh in the proprietorship of Craigentenny and Britwell in 1861, and was the first of the Christie Miller family to take the name and arms of Miller, by royal licence, on 19th March 1862, as was incumbent upon him by a deed of entail by

Wm. Henry Miller, Esq., dated 3rd March 1829, and registered in the Register of Tailies and in the Books of Council and Session. At his death in 1889, Samuel was succeeded by his nephew, Wakefield Christie of Kircassock, County Down, who also adopted the name and arms of Miller, and whose pedigree and that of all the others may be found in Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

There were in reality three brothers Christie who came over from Ulster to assist in the introduction of the linen industry at Ormiston: Alexander, Joseph and John, all of whom have already been succinctly introduced, but there were a few more of the same family name who appeared near Ormiston in connection with other industries that had been experimentally inaugurated in the neighbourhood.

Ironstone was worked at Macmerry, and at the commencement of the operations transmitted to the blast furnaces in the West, but soon afterwards the brothers Christie, Charles and Andrew, erected a blast furnace for smelting, but the enterprise was not successful and it ceased in 1874. Ten years afterwards Charles Jameson Christie left for the Antipodes.

From the marriage of William Miller, second of that name, and Anna Adam his wife, there resulted two main branches on the male and one on the female side: the senior male being William, the oldest surviving son who represented the Craigentenny line, and the junior, George, the third and youngest son who became head of the Hope Park branch; while the female line originated with Mary, who married John Christie of Ormiston Lodge and became the ancestors of the Christie Millers.

William was born in 1722, George in 1724 and Mary in 1711; their deaths taking place in 1799, 1784 and 1783 at the ages of 77, 60 and 72 respectively.

William married for the first time, in 1750, when 28 years of age, and seven years later, when 35 years old, he married again, and after a lapse of other 30 years he contracted a third and last engagement at the age of 65.

George married in 1753, at the age of 29, and died in 1784 at the age of 60, being succeeded by his eldest son and namesake George, sometimes designated merchant and other times shawlmaker, who was born in 1759, married in 1786 and died in 1831, seventeen years before the death in 1848 of his cousin, Wm. Henry Miller of Craigentenny and Britwell, who in a deed of entail, dated 3rd March 1829, ruled him and all his successors to the remotest degree out of the heritage.

The action, disputing the legality of the will and the deed of entail by Wm. Henry Miller, was brought by Joseph Miller, bookseller at 25 George IV Bridge and 9 Bank Street, Edinburgh, described as the eldest surviving lawful son of the deceased George Miller, merchant in Edinburgh, who was the eldest or only surviving lawful son of the deceased George Miller, brewer in Edinburgh, who was the third son of the marriage between the deceased William Miller, seed merchant in Edinburgh, and Anna Adam his wife; whereby it was claimed that the pursuer was the nearest and lawful heir of the deceased Wm. Henry Miller, who was the only son of William Miller, seed merchant in Edinburgh, the second son of the said William Miller and Anna Adam, the eldest son of the said marriage having died without issue.

The respondents in this interesting legal contest consisted of the same individuals as those appearing in the will, dated from Britwell House, Buckinghamshire, on 13th December 1837, and in the deeds of entail and nomination of 3rd March 1829, with the addition of Emma Maria Maule or Leathley, wife of William Leathley, of Upper Bedford Place, in the County of Middlesex; and the said William Leathley, her husband, for his interest.

The first summons of reduction, improbation, etc., was issued on 7th May 1849 at the instance of Joseph Miller, bookseller in Edinburgh, the pursuer, to whose great hurt and prejudice the pretended writings and deeds after mentioned were made and granted, has good and undoubted right and

title with concurrence of the Right Hon. Andrew Rutherford, our advocate, for our interest to prosecute and follow forth the action of reduction—improbation underwritten: *i.e.* the said persons, or one other of them, bringing with them and exhibiting before our said Lords the writings, titles and instruments named. (1) Pretended disposition and deed of entail, bearing date 3rd March 1829, purporting to be granted by Wm. Henry Miller, therein designed of Craigentenny and heritable proprietor of the lands, barony and others therein mentioned, and that he gave, granted and disposed from him, his heirs and successors, to and in favour of himself, and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, &c., to the respective heirs of tailzie therein mentioned. (2) Pretended deed of nomination and appointment, dated 3rd March 1829, purporting to be executed by Wm. Henry Miller, whereby he narrated the disposition and deed of entail, and procuratory of resignation granted by him, &c. (3) Pretended instrument of sasine following said deeds. (4) Deed of revocation, dated 30th October 1848, executed by Wm. Henry Miller, whereby he narrated the deed of entail and deed of nomination, and that considering that for certain good causes he had resolved to revoke, recall and rescind the whole provisions and declarations contained in said deed of entail, &c., to be seen and considered by our Lords, and to hear and see the same with all that has followed thereon, excepting always, as after excepted, with regard to the deed of revocation, reduced, annulled and declared by decree of our Lords to have been from the beginning, and in all time coming, null and void and of no avail, force, strength or effect in judgment or outwith the same in time coming; and also as being false, forged, feigned, fabricated, simulated, devised and made up by the said defenders or one or other of them, civilly or lawfully improven; and the forgers, users and devisers thereof censured, and punished in their persons, lands and goods, to the terror of others, to commit the like, in time



coming; and the pursuer reponed and restored against the said pretended deeds, writings, or instruments, *in integrum* for the following reasons and others to be proponed at the discussing thereof:

(i) The foresaid pretended deeds of disposition and entail, and of nomination and sasine following thereon, are false, forged, &c., and erased *in substantialibus* and of false dates, want the names and designation of the writer and witnesses and are not properly tested; and are defective in the solemnities required by law; and the pursuer will improve the same as such. (ii) The said pretended deeds of entail, and nomination called for, were not the true and final expression of the will of Wm. Henry Miller, regarding the disposal of his property, nor the deeds by which he intended the succession to be regulated, in respect that there were other and posterior deeds executed by him, of a different tenor and import from the pretended deeds, and not exclusive of the rights of the pursuer, as heir at law, which deeds remained in his repositories but were taken possession of by the defenders, or by others acting for them and on their employment, on the death of Wm. Henry Miller; on which occasion the defenders were the only persons near him, and excluded all others from the house and from any communication with him, and had full access to his repositories, which they did not seal up in presence of any magistrate or neutral third party, but dealt at their own discretion with deeds and documents both in this country and in the repositories in Britwell House, where Wm. Henry Miller generally resided; and they are now improperly withholding exhibition of the deeds to the pursuer, and ought to be ordained to produce the whole, and to depone as in an exhibition. (iii) The pretended deeds of entail and nomination were effectually revoked by the deed of revocation, and under the legal effect of that instrument no part of the pretended deeds can be held to stand, or be in any way operative to the prejudice of the pursuer, or his legal rights as heir at law.

(iv) The deed of revocation was granted and subscribed by Wm. Henry Miller without any just, necessary or onerous cause, on the 30th October 1848, while he was on his death-bed, within sixty days of his death, and while labouring under the disease of which he died, and the same was granted to the injury and prejudice of the pursuer as nearest and lawful heir.

The preliminary defences, for Miss Sarah Marsh and other defenders, to the summons of reduction, &c., at the instance of the pursuer Joseph Miller, show that the deeds, which are challenged and sought to be reduced and set aside in this action, are the last settlements made and executed by Wm. Henry Miller in relation to the lands and barony of Craigentenny, and consist of: (1) A disposition and deed of tailzie, dated 3rd March 1829, whereby, with and under the conditions and reservations therein expressed, and particularly with a reservation or power to himself to revoke or alter the same, the granter gave and disposed, from him and his heirs, to and in favour of himself and the heirs of his body; whom failing to the heirs named or called to the succession in a deed of nomination, written with his own hand and of even date with the deed of entail; the eldest heir-female succeeding always without division, and excluding heirs-portioners throughout the whole course of the succession: all and whole his lands and barony of Craigentenny therein described. (2) The relative deed of nomination and appointment of heirs referred to in the entail. (3) Instrument of sasine following on these deeds, and lastly, deed of revocation dated 30th October 1848, whereby the granter revoked and rescinded the provisions, restrictions, limitations, prohibitions and clauses irritant and resolute, with all that had followed, or might be competent to follow thereupon; declaring that the barony should belong to himself, and the succession thereto descend to the heirs referred to in the deeds of entail and nomination, and that in the order prescribed,

freed and discharged of the restrictions, &c., in the same manner, and as freely as if the barony had been disposed, and conveyed to himself and the heirs called to the succession free of all fetters; declaring always that the deeds of entail and nomination should subsist as a valid disposition of the lands therein written to the heirs and thereby called; and ratifying the deed of entail and all the feudal clauses thereof to the effect of conveying the barony to, and in favour of, the heirs of entail therein named in the order of succession appointed.

The summons sets forth the specific grounds on which the pursuer seeks to have these deeds set aside, and the second reason of reduction alleges that the deeds were not the true and final expression of Mr. Miller's will regarding the disposal of his property nor the deeds by which he intended the succession to be regulated, in respect that there were other and posterior deeds executed by him of a different tenor and not exclusive of the rights of the pursuer as heir at law: which deeds were in Mr. Miller's repositories, and upon his death were taken possession of by the defenders and now improperly retained.

The third and all the other reasons of reduction turn upon the deed of revocation, and the effect which the pursuer attributes to that instrument.

The sound and true construction of the deed of revocation does not touch the deeds of entail and nomination, but leaves them entire as a conveyance of the estate whatever may be the effect of the deed with reference to the conditions under which the estate is to be taken. The pursuer's title and interest to insist in the action is effectually excluded by the deeds of entail and nomination. Even if the deed of revocation were capable of a wider construction the pursuer's interest would be excluded.

It is incumbent upon the pursuer to produce the deeds on which his title, as regards the second reason of reduction,

is rested or take steps for making them forthcoming in order to entitle him to be heard upon it.

The defenders deny, what is alleged, as to there having been other and posterior deeds of settlement executed by Mr. Miller of a different tenor from those in question, and as regards the pursuer's construction of the deed of revocation, on which his summons depends, the defenders maintain that it is a false and erroneous construction based upon a misconception of the nature of that deed which was not intended to affect the deeds as a valid conveyance of the estate, but simply to remove the restrictions under which the estate had originally been provided to the heirs.

But if the deed of revocation could be otherwise construed the pursuer would have no title to insist in his reductive conclusions, inasmuch as the effect of being successful in this would be to bring into operation other deeds under which he stands equally excluded. The entail, instead of revoking any of the previous settlements executed by Mr. Miller, expressly declares that in the event of it or any of the deeds to which it refers being ineffectual, then a deed of date 16th October 1827 and failing it another deed executed on 12th November 1810 are to be held as not revoked, but to be as effectual for securing the barony, &c., as if the deed of entail had never been executed.

The deed of 16th October 1827 is in the form of a disposition conveying the property in favour of the same series of heirs as in the deed of entail, and equally excludes the pursuer from any part of the succession. The earlier deed of 1810 is a general disposition ratifying two previous dispositions, granted on the 14th February of the same year, and in corroboration and supplement thereof it disposes and conveys all and sundry the granters, lands and heritages, wherever situated, to a series of heirs different from that appointed by the subsequent deeds, but still equally exclusive of the pursuer.

The late Mr. Miller's intention and avowed object in the deeds executed by him was to exclude and for ever debar his

heir at law from the succession, and to settle his property upon his mother (now deceased) or her relations who are the defenders in the present case.

On 27th November 1849 Lord Wood granted warrant for letters of incident diligence at the pursuer's instance, against Havers, for recovery of all deeds regulating the succession or relating to the estate of Craigentenny, subsequent to the deed dated 12th November 1810, and granted commission to William Pitt Dundas, Esq., advocate, to take the disposition of the Havers and their examinations, and receive their productions and exhibit the same.

At the same time an amendment of the libel containing additional reasons of reduction in the action at the instance of Joseph Miller was submitted, in which it was urged that even supposing that the deeds, as they stand, could be so interpreted as to amount to and constitute an effectual disposition and conveyance of the estate in favour of the defender, still the same would be void and unavailing inasmuch as Mr. Miller was not at liberty to alienate and convey the estate in favour of strangers to the prejudice of the heirs at law, but was by a previous contract of marriage entered into by his father or grandfather, or by deeds executed by them, prohibited from granting deeds of alienation or conveying the estate to strangers, or in any way to the prejudice of the heirs at law of his father: and the said deeds under reduction are therefore incompetent, *ultra vires* of Wm. Henry Miller and wholly null, void and unavailing, and the pursuer is entitled to be reponed and restored there against *in integrum*.

Lord Wood, on 8th December 1849, allowed the amendment of the libel to be seen until next calling, and on 19th December his Lordship, having heard parties' procurators in respect of the title libelled on, in the summons, of the terms of the amendment, and of the circumstances of the case, and the state of the process in which it is proposed, refused to sustain the same.

On 2nd February 1850 the Lords of the First Division, having considered the reclaiming note and having heard the Counsel for the parties, recalled the interlocutor of the Lord Ordinary reclaimed against, and remitted to his Lordship to receive the amendment of the summons. Reserving all objections to title or otherwise, and also reserving all questions of expenses.

The Lord Ordinary, on 6th February, in terms of the interlocutor of the Lords of the First Division, allowed the amendment of the libel to be received, and the defender to put in amended or additional defences if necessary within the next ten days.

On 19th February additional defences for Miss Sarah Marsh and the other defenders to amendment in the first action were presented denying the allegation that any restraint or prohibition on Mr. Miller of Craigentenny was imposed on him by a previous contract of marriage, but even although true, it could not have availed him in face of the prescriptive title by which all his right was shut out. The amendment, it was claimed, ought to be dismissed (1) in respect of vagueness, irrelevancy and want of specification. (2) The pursuer has libelled no title to cover the new reason for reduction. (3) Even supposing there had been no objection to it, it is completely barred by the exclusive title which the defenders have produced. (4) There being no good grounds either in fact or in law stated in the proposed amendment to support any conclusion for reduction founded thereon, and the defenders ought to be assilzied with expenses.

On 3rd April 1850 a second summons of reduction, &c., was issued. In the preliminary defences for the respondents to this new action of reduction, &c., the defenders plead (1) *lis alibi pendens* that the present action, embracing the same matter as was raised in the depending process, cannot be proceeded with until the latter is abandoned or dismissed; (2) the pursuer's alleged title as heir of provision is insufficient

to found any conclusion for reduction : in respect of vagueness and want of specification ; in respect of irrelevancy and in respect that it is barred by the prescriptive and exclusive title which the defenders have produced. Most of the other points raised in connection with a second summons were dealt with in the defences for the respondents in the original summons and need not be repeated here.

On 7th November 1850 the Lord Ordinary (Lord Wood), 'having heard parties' procurators, repels the plea of *lis alibi pendens*, and of consent reserves all questions of expenses.'

On the same date, having heard procurators, Lord Wood 'conjoins herewith the action of reduction at the instance of the same pursuer against the same defenders, raised in April 1850, and standing in this day's roll, reserving questions of expenses ; and in respect the pursuer declines *hoc statu* to abandon the allegation of forgery, set forth as his first reason of reduction ; appoints the defenders within the next eight days to satisfy the production, reserving to them to insist thereafter upon all pleas of exclusive title as fully as if the production had not been satisfied.'

On 12th November warrant was granted authorising the Sheriff-Clerk to transmit the following deeds to the clerk to this process, viz. a disposition of the lands of Cow Park by Wm. Henry Miller in favour of himself and the heirs therein mentioned, dated 20th January 1838 ; and a disposition and deed of settlement of W. H. Miller, dated 16th October 1827 ; the deeds to remain in the hands of the clerk for exhibition to the parties when necessary.

On the 15th November Lord Wood of new ordains the defenders to satisfy the production of the writings called for, under the reservation contained in the interlocutor of the 7th inst., and assigns the 23rd November for that purpose, and this for the second term.

On 3rd December his Lordship holds the production as

satisfied, and appoints defences to be given within the next ten days.

The defenders succinctly plead that the pursuer's allegation of forgery being false and unfounded, none of the deeds under reduction are liable to challenge on that ground : that no intelligible ground of reduction is set forth, or exists, to support the conclusion in reference to the disposition and deed of gift of 30th October 1848 : that although the pursuer succeeded in the reduction he would not be entitled to decree, in terms of his declaratory conclusions, as regards the Barony of Craigentenny and the lands of Cow Park or any part of the personal property in respect of the several dispositions and the will referred to ; and generally the pursuer having no right, either as heir at law or heir of provision, the defenders ought to be assoilzied with expenses from the whole conclusions of the conjoined actions, both reductive and declaratory.

Lord Wood, on 14th January 1851, appoints the pursuer to lodge a minute stating whether or not he still adheres to his allegation of forgery, and to insist therein as one of the reasons of reduction of the writs libelled.

The minute referred to was lodged on 17th January, for the pursuer, stating that the deeds called for having been produced, he did not now maintain, or allege, that the signatories thereto adhibited were forged, nor insist in that allegation as one of the reasons of reduction of the writs libelled. *Quoad ultra* he craved the Lord Ordinary to pronounce an order for condescence and answers.

On the same date Lord Wood announced in respect that the pursuer had abandoned the allegation of forgery contained in the libels and the reasons of reduction founded thereon, and that the defenders state that they intend to object to the pursuer's title and plead on an exclusive title ; appointed the pursuer to lodge a condescence and the defenders to answer within fourteen days thereafter.

Between 11th March and 24th June 1851 the Lord Ordinary

had issued several minor notices, and on the last of these dates he allowed alterations now pointed out to be made on the revised answers, and that being done, he declared the record closed on the revised correspondence and revised answers and appointed parties to debate.

In the revised Condescendence for Pursuer and Answers for Defenders nothing new had been disclosed, and in the statement of facts for the defenders and answers thereto by the pursuer nothing of absorbing interest revealed itself. The judge made avizandum on 9th June 1852, and on 7th July 1852 the Lord Ordinary, having heard parties' procurators, and considered the closed record in the conjoined actions of reduction, improbation and declarator: In respect that the pursuer has, by minute lodged by him, abandoned the allegation of forgery contained in the libel, and the reasons of reduction founded thereon; repels the reasons of reduction, and to that extent assoilzies the defender from the conclusions of the action; and further repels a number of reasons of reduction in the original summons, and a number in the supplementary summons, and the declaratory and other conclusions of the conjoined actions in so far as founded thereon, and to that extent sustains the defences and assoilzies the defenders, and decerns; and, before further answer, appoints the cause to be enrolled.

A rather lengthy but lucid note is added to this interlocutor by Lord Wood which summarises the whole case in very clear and simple language; but, having been appealed against, the First Division of the Court issued their interlocutor on 1st July 1853 refusing the prayer of the reclaiming note, and adhering to the interlocutor of Lord Wood; and repelling the whole remaining reasons of reduction in the ordinary summons and supplementary summons in so far as they are not repelled by the interlocutor of Lord Wood, now adhere to sustain the defences, assoilzies the defender from the whole conclusions of the original and supplementary actions and decern: Find

the defender entitled to her expenses: appoint an account of expenses to be lodged, and remit to the auditor to tax the same, and to report.

Against the interlocutors of Lord Wood on 7th July 1852, and of the First Division of the Court of Session on 1st July 1853, the appellant appealed to the House of Lords: 'Because, by the common law and statute law of Scotland, the right of the heir at law to succeed to the heritable estate of his ancestor cannot be defeated, impaired or in any way injured by deeds or settlements executed by the ancestor on death-bed, or after being taken ill of the disease of which he dies; and all such attempts by the ancestor, whether his acts or deeds be directly or indirectly injurious to the right and interest of the heir, are in law reducible, at his instance, in a proper suit for that purpose.' And 'Because according to the doctrines and principles of the law of death-bed, as so fully expounded and illustrated by Lord Eldon in the case of *Coutts*, which has ever since ruled the law and practice of Scotland, the deeds of entail, nomination and revocation, now under challenge, being in substance and effect a conveyance of the estate in fee-simple, granted on death-bed to the prejudice of the appellant's rights as heir at law are on that ground void and reducible at his instance.'

The case was presented by Mr. Buchanan, counsel for the pursuer, and embraced every aspect of the case, as represented in its wearisome length, at both Divisions of the Court of Session; together with the narration of a multitude of what was pretended to be analogous cases, covering many years in the past, but their bearing or applicability to the deed of revocation—the interpretation of which appeared to be the main bone of contention—was not always perceptible to the ordinary reader or to those learned in the law, as despite all the windy suspirations expended at Parliament House, Edinburgh, and in the House of Lords, the appellants hope that in this 'Most Honourable House the decision of the

Scottish Court would be reversed, varied or altered,' was not effectuated.

And so, after years of litigation, to the mortification of the appellant, who claimed to be heir at law, the estates passed into the hands of strangers, but only for about thirteen years, as in 1862 they again became the property of the Millers, through Mary Miller, the aunt of William Henry and wife of John Christie of Ormiston Lodge, whose grandson Samuel Christie, by adopting the name of Miller in accordance with the terms of the much challenged deed of entail, became the first Laird of Craigentenny bearing the name of Christie Miller.

The Millers did not purchase the Craigentenny estate in its entirety at the time when their name first became associated with the place, but acquired it in portions at different times. Their connection with the lands began in the early half of the eighteenth century when William, the second of that name, acquired a large section of the land which then bore the name of Philliside, now Fillyside, and which—or part of which—was afterwards tenanted and farmed by Robert Horn, who married Ann, second daughter of William Miller and Anna Adam, whose elder daughter Mary married John Christie of Ormiston Lodge.

Another piece of land, which in 1833 became incorporated in the Craigentenny estate, was called the Cow Park, and formed that portion of the Barony of Restalrig known as the South-west Room, consisting of twenty-two acres, with the houses erected thereon, surrounded and subdivided by a stone dyke; and bounded on the south by the road leading to Musselburgh; on the east by Wheatfield, formerly called the East Park, sometime belonging to Benjamin Yule, baker in Edinburgh; on the north by the Meadow Park, formerly belonging to the heirs of Alexander Tait, Clerk of Session; and on the west by the lands of Piershill.

When the railway between Edinburgh and Berwick was

being laid, the North British Railway Coy. acquired from the officers of H.M. Ordnance a portion of ground on the north side of the barracks, in exchange for an equivalent area situated at the east side of the barracks on which were erected the riding school, gymnasium, hospital, married men's quarters and other offices removed from the north side. The result would appear to have been that the railway company acquired more ground than what was actually required for their immediate purpose, as evidenced by the vacant space on the north side of the railway lines.

In this excambion it is probable that the Laird of Craigentenny had taken some part, as the area on the east side of the barracks formed part of Cow Park, which belonged to the barony of Craigentenny. There was another excambion in 1859 when the proprietor of Craigentenny was Miss Sarah Marsh, and the land she required from the company would probably be a strip from near the present Restalrig railway station alongside the railway line to the new carriage drive, under which this east-to-west roadway passed through a rather attractive little bridge—bearing the date 1859—which fortunately has not been taken down. By its side there stands a cottage, at one time of some artistic beauty, which was built to accommodate the widow of the grieve at Craigentenny.

The coping stones of the bridge are said to have been originally railway sleepers, and on the centre or keystone, on each side of the arch, are carved the following couplets: 'Cannie drive: Lang thrive,' and 'Lang crow: Gang below.' The Millers must have been rather fond of these couplets, as on the lintel on one of the doors at the back of the mansion house there is carved: 'Tyde tarryeth nae mannie.'

A slab on the maintaining wall dividing this roadway from the railway bears the inscription: 'Craigentenny, N.B. Railway Coy. Excambion 1859.' This road was designed to take the place of another one, nearer to Craigentenny

House, which it was intended to close, but being a right-of-way the inhabitants tore down the barricading as soon as it was erected.

In the early days of Wm. Henry Miller's lairdship the road from Edinburgh to Craigentenny was via what is now called Marionville Road, and a more attractive and elegant approach to the mansion house was deemed requisite and necessary. It took the form of a wide carriage-way, or avenue, with a row of trees on either side, and had its entrance from the Portobello Road, near to the Fishwives' Causeway, and to the Mausoleum which stands at Wheatfield. Its course was direct north and south, and had at its entrance-gate a lodge which recently gave place to bank premises, and the avenue, excepting a short portion near to Craigentenny House, is now entirely hidden by a sea of houses and gardens.

On reading the deed of entail and the deed of nomination, both composed by Wm. Henry Miller on 3rd March 1829, one cannot refrain from developing an inquisitorial interest in the motives that prompted him to exclude, and debar, his heirs at law from the succession with such pertinacity and determination. The claimant to the title of next of kin was Mr. W. H. Miller's cousin George, of Hope Park, who was thirty years older than the laird himself. At the date of the third marriage of William Henry's father in 1787, George was 28 years of age, and had been married to Ann Tweedie for a year.

The dispute between the Craigentenny and Hope Park families must have had its origin prior to the date of the two deeds mentioned, and they therefore were not the cause but the effect of the dissension and hostility displayed, obviously before the deeds were written.

In attempting to attain the illusive optical task of reading between the lines, one might hazard the opinion that the primary cause of the trouble might be traced to the marriage, in 1787, between William Miller (the father of Wm. Henry

Miller) and Martha Rawson. Prior to that incident there was no obstacle in the way of the next of kin inheriting the estate of Craigentenny, but by this unlooked-for marriage there was the possibility of an heir appearing with a more direct claim to the heritage than the claimant from Hope Park. Despite all the irresponsible gossip regarding the ages and other characteristics of William, the 'King of the Quakers,' and his third wife Martha, the husband's correct age at the time of this marriage was 65, and that of his wife 40 years, and not 90 and 50 respectively. Some time before this marriage, Mr. Miller had given umbrage to his fellow members of the Society of Friends by holding religious services in his business premises at Horse Wynd, and was eventually disowned. His marriage, therefore, would not be so popular with 'The Friends' in Edinburgh as it might have been. In any case very little has been made public regarding the event, and when the couple left Edinburgh on their honeymoon, they were reputed to have gone to Paris where, it was said, a child was born, but that was a fallacy, as their son was born in 1789 at Marylebone, London, and soon afterwards they took up residence at Eagle House, a large brick mansion between the old house on the Green and the Grove House at Tottenham, which the family occupied until 1801, or two years after Miller's death. He was a regular attender at the services in 'The Friends' meeting-house there, but no record of his wife or his son (who was only ten years old when his father died) can be found in connection with the religious services there, and it is generally believed that they were non-members. Miller does not appear to have returned to Edinburgh after leaving it at the time of his marriage, as in the documents regarding his affairs he is referred to as 'of Tottenham.'

Gossipy rumours, however, pursued them, and probably was one of the reasons why they forsook Auld Reekie, which was Mr. Miller's birthplace. An early rumour was that William Henry was not their son, but a foundling whom they adopted

for the purpose of personifying an heir in the direct Craigentenny line and so holding on to the estate. Another fictitious story, prevalent about seventy years ago, attributed the personification trick to the Roman Catholics who, it was alleged, composed one of the families, and whose purpose was to circumvent the ambitious desires of the other branch who were Protestants: the truth being, however, that on both sides the members were all very staunch Quakers. The personification fable is at once nullified by the birth certificate which certifies that, on the 13th day of the second month in the year 1789, William Henry Miller was born at Upper Mary-le-bone Street, Parish of Marylebone, County of Middlesex; Parents, William and Martha; Abode, Craigentenny, County of Edinburgh.

The question of the ages of William Henry's father and mother, profoundly exaggerated of course, provided a wide field for speculative and inferential deduction on the part of the scandalmongering fraternity, and it is almost impossible to conceive how all the fabrications that have come down, even to the present day, could have escaped the eyes and ears of the Craigentenny family.

Whether this was the cause of William and Martha's disappearance and permanent absence from Edinburgh cannot be definitely ascertained, but certain it is that when only 21 years of age, and when only in possession of the estate for ten years, William Henry had begun preparing his long list of deeds which ultimately resulted in diverting the line of succession completely, and for all time, from the Hope Park branch.

It was, however, the period between the death of Wm. Henry Miller on 31st October 1848 and his interment on the 4th December of the same year that the imaginative ingenuity of the retailers of fairy tales attained its consummation.

The romancers of that day accounted for the delay in burial

by declaring that Miller was not a male foundling, but a female who had been masquerading as a man for fifty-nine years, sometimes in Parliament and other times in salerooms in quest of books and articles of virtu, and occasionally attending meetings of the Antiquarian Society or acting as Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, or addressing his Parliamentary constituents at Newcastle-under-Lyme, or paying a visit to his barony of Craigentenny, or to his more modern estate at Britwell Court.

Being a female, according to this version of the story, the body had to be kept very secretly in Craigentenny House until a suitably dark night would favour them for a midnight burial. Taking advantage of a moonless evening, the body was conveyed to the pit which had been excavated for the purpose, and after being committed to the depth of the yawning cavern, a few cart-loads of quicklime were emptied into the sepulchre and the funeral party retired to their secret closets.

It is true that an interval of about six weeks occurred between the death and the interment, but that was accounted for quite satisfactorily by the fact that it occupied about eighty men to excavate and construct the vault, which was over twenty feet deep and lined on all sides with dressed stones. The burial took place, not at midnight, but at an early hour in the forenoon on Monday, 4th December 1848, and the eighty men who were engaged in the construction of the vault were present at the interment and remained to fill up the pit with the soil that had been excavated therefrom.

In conclusion, it is rather remarkable that at Newcastle-under-Lyme and other places where Miller was much better known than in Edinburgh, none of the stories regarding his feminine appearance and characteristics have ever been heard of, or any specially marked features observed.

It has been thought advisable not to unnecessarily load this article with references and uninteresting data, but it



may be stated here that much of the story of the Millers has been extracted from the traditions, handed down from father to son, and compiled with scrupulous care by W. F. Miller, son of William Miller of Hope Park, the famous engraver. From the Friends' House, London, much useful information and assistance has also been ungrudgingly contributed.

The historical and biographical notes have been derived from various encyclopædias, gazetteers, books of reference, and histories of Edinburgh and Leith. To the Lord Lyon King of Arms, Dr. Malcolm of the Signet Library, and C. W. Christie-Miller, Esq., thanks are due for their aid in elucidating genealogical intricacies; and numerous librarians, registrars, secretaries of Antiquarian Societies, Town Clerks, and Postmasters have all readily helped in tracing families and places not well known.

JAMES SMITH.

#### PETER WILLIAMSON'S BROADSIDE

*Showing in topographical sequence the Streets, Wynds, Squares and Closes of Edinburgh in 1783.*

THIS Broadside forms an interesting supplement to the very accurate Survey of Edinburgh prepared by Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., in Vol. XI, and Mr. C. B. Boog Watson's 'Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh' in Vol. XII of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. It has been reproduced exactly half the size of the original for convenience of handling.

Its value will be at once apparent to those seeking the location of Closes, etc., mentioned by contemporaries.

It also helps to date changes in the names of Closes. For instance, why was the Hammermen's Close in Canongate at 'Huntly House' called the Bakehouse Close? This gives an interesting possible solution.

The 'Common Bakehouse Close' is indicated as being directly east of the Canongate Church, and must have been cleared out when the enlargement of the churchyard was made at the end of the eighteenth century. The Common Bakehouse seems to have been located afterward in the Hammermen's Close. Again, Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh* states that Rae's Close in Canongate was the only access from Canongate to the King's highway on the north (now Calton Road). In 1749, property in Rae's Close was acquired by (Archibald?) Campbell (of Succoth?), W.S., and in this broadside it is designated Campbell's Close.

Peter Williamson, its compiler, had a remarkable career. He was born in Aberdeenshire, and, when eight years old, was kidnapped at Aberdeen, was shipwrecked, sold as a slave for sixteen pounds at Philadelphia, worked faithfully for his

master till, at his death, he was rewarded for his faithful services. The story of his adventures, capture by the Indians, sufferings and escape, was published at York in 1758, and provided the funds to reach Aberdeen; but owing to the reflections in his book on the merchants there, he was cast out as a vagrant, and so reached Edinburgh, which henceforth became his home. He began his career in the capital as a Taverner at Peter's Tavern in Old Parliament Close. In 1762 he invented the 'Basket Scythe' used for many years afterwards by farmers. He later became a bookseller, printer and publisher. He invented a portable printing press, capable of taking in a double folio sheet, and probably printed many of his productions on it. He also invented stamps and ink for marking linen, etc. His chief claim to recognition is the introduction of the Penny Post in Edinburgh, and the publication of the first series of Edinburgh Directories, which began in 1773, and were continued till 1796. He died in 1799.

For those desirous of further information regarding this remarkable man, the following items may be of service:—

Kay (John), *Edinburgh Portraits*, 2 vols. 4to, Edinburgh, 1837; vol. i. pp. 131-9, compiled by James Paterson.

'French and Indian Cruelty': *The Life and Adventures of Peter Williamson*, York and Glasgow, 1758; Edinburgh, 1787; and (with additions) Aberdeen, 1801.

Roughead (Wm.), 'Indian Peter,' with portrait in Indian Dress, in the *Juridical Review*, vol. xxxvi., 1924; *The Fatal Countess and other Studies*, in which the same contribution appears, 8vo, Edinburgh: W. Green and Sons, 1924.

*The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lxii., p. 7.

Robertson's *Book of Bon-Accord*, pp. 91-3.

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. lxiii., pp. 612-27.

*Chambers's Miscellany*, vol. i., No. 14.

WILLIAM J. HAY.



PETER WILLIAMSON  
From the Etching by John Kay



# AN ACCURATE VIEW

OF all the Streets, Wynds, Squares, and Clofes, of the City of Edinburgh, Suburbs, and Canongate, on both fides of the High-freet, from the Cattle to Holyrood-houfe, agreeable to the names they are at prefent known by, together with thofe in the New Town and Leith.

### DEDICATION.

TO the Right Honourable JOHN GRIEVE, Esq; Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

James Town, Esq; Bish. of Brechin  
 James Gordon, Esq; Bish. of Aberdeen  
 David Wilson, Esq; Bish. of Glasgow  
 Donald Smith, Esq; Treasur. Genl.  
 Thomas Clappan, Esq; Old Dean of St. Andrew's  
 William Thomson, Esq; Old Trovost.  
 James Dickson, Esq; Old Bailie  
 John Spotswood, Esq; Old Bailie  
 James Egan, Member of Council  
 James Blair, Member of Council  
 William Braid, Member of Council  
 William Jamieson, Censor.  
 George Miller, Censor.  
 Thomas Miller, Censor.  
 Thomas Miller, Censor.  
 Thomas Hill, Censor.  
 John Pringle, Censor.  
 George Buchanan, Esq; Censor.  
 George Buchanan, Esq; Censor.  
 Neil Ferguson, Censor.  
 James Fife, Esq; Captain of Orange-Guards.

This Constitution is handsly offered by Your most obedient Servant, P. WILLIAMSON.

• *Drifts frets.*

- 1 Britto-port
- 2 Back-wall
- 3 The wall
- 4 The wall
- 5 Merchant maiden-hospital
- 6 Stark's clofe
- 7 Kelly's clofe
- 8 Terrie-row
- 9 Middle-row
- 10 Hamilton's entry
- 11 General's entry
- 12 General's entry
- 13 General's entry
- 14 General's entry
- 15 End of the porter-row.
- 16 Wind-min fret
- 18 Chapel-fret
- 19 Chapel of Ease
- 20 Cross-cauteway
- 22 Buccleugh's fret

*Porter-row.*

- 1 porter-row port
- 2 Back wall
- 3 Nisboun's fret
- 4 M'Vear's entry
- 5 Middle-row
- 6 Allon's square
- 7 Scott's clofe
- 8 General's entry
- 9 Foot of the Porter-row

*Nicolson's fret.*

- 1 Bain's kirk
- 2 The pillar
- 3 Nicolson's school
- 4 Nicolson's square
- 5 Chapel fret
- 6 Richmond fret
- 7 Gib's kirk
- 8 Cross-cauteway

*Jamaica fret, leading to the Ferry.*

- 1 Argyle's square
- 2 Society
- 3 Brown's square
- 4 Head of the boate-wynd
- 5 Head of the college-wynd
- 7 College
- 8 Head of Haite's clofe
- 9 Head of Adam's square
- 10 Head of Adam's square
- 11 Infirmary
- 12 Lady Eilmer's kirk
- 13 Head of the high-school wynd
- 14 High-school yards

To be Sold at the *Jame Shop*.  
 The Stamp and liquid for marking till the cloth is worn out, and is more regular and uniform than any other. It is for convenience of handling the stamps, is for convenience of carrying, and is for convenience of washing, that the paper may be used many times, and that the stamps may be used at a small expence.

*From the High Part to the head of the City-murket, North side.*

- 1 Back of the bughia
- 2 Drummond's clofe
- 3 Stenar's clofe
- 4 Stenar's entry
- 5 Cattle-wynd
- 6 Carmichael's clofe
- 7 Mowat's clofe
- 8 Planstone clofe
- 11 Currie's clofe
- 12 Begbie's clofe
- 13 Bow-foot

*From the High Part to the head of the City-murket, South side.*

- 1 Cleghorn's clofe
- 2 Eve and Lamb clofe
- 3 Epinus clofe
- 4 Upper Hamilton's clofe
- 5 Downer Hamilton's clofe
- 6 Upper Hamilton's clofe
- 7 Herriot's work-bridge
- 8 Allan's clofe
- 9 Kirke's clofe
- 10 Kirke's clofe
- 11 Gibbon's clofe
- 12 Hunter's clofe
- 13 Walker's clofe

*North side of the Canongate*

- 1 Stinking clofe
- 2 Murray clofe
- 3 Pollock's clofe
- 4 Allon's clofe
- 5 W'Coniche's clofe
- 6 Bondair's clofe
- 7 Baxter's clofe
- 8 Baxter's clofe
- 9 Chittie's clofe
- 10 Foot of Liberton's wynd
- 11 Cooper's clofe
- 12 Dalrymple's clofe
- 13 Dalrymple's clofe
- 14 Foot of Bell's wynd
- 15 Back hairs
- 16 Mel-market
- 17 Kirke's clofe
- 18 Entry to the Museum
- 19 Foot of Borthwick clofe
- 20 Foot of Fish market clofe
- 21 Foot of old assembly clofe
- 22 Corner's clofe
- 23 Corner's clofe
- 24 Foot of Bell's wynd
- 25 Ferlie's clofe
- 26 Foot of Strevanlaw's clofe
- 27 Saver's clofe
- 28 Foot of Meeble's wynd
- 29 New Pauley market
- 30 Foot of Dickson's wynd
- 31 Foot of Niddry's wynd
- 32 Foot of Dickson's clofe
- 33 Foot of Cant's clofe
- 34 Leithman's clofe
- 35 Foot of Tiddrick's wynd
- 36 Foot of Gray's clofe
- 37 New English chapel
- 39 Cowgate port

*South side of the Canongate*

- 1 Candlemaker-row
- 2 Henric's clofe
- 3 Hammermens clofe
- 4 Dyer's clofe
- 5 Wright's clofe
- 6 Cowan's clofe
- 7 Campbell's clofe
- 8 Ratersy's clofe
- 9 Scott's clofe
- 10 Boyle's clofe
- 11 Campbell's clofe
- 12 Kay's clofe
- 13 Kincaid's court
- 14 Simpson's clofe
- 15 Hoire-wynd
- 16 Dick's clofe
- 17 College-wynd
- 18 Wilton's clofe
- 19 St. Andrew's clofe
- 20 Wright's clofe
- 21 Adam's clofe
- 22 Adam's clofe
- 23 Robertson's clofe
- 24 High-school wynd
- 25 Silver-wells clofe

*South side of the High-freet, from the Cattle to the water-gate.*

- 1 Brit's clofe
- 2 Brown's clofe
- 3 Wether's clofe
- 4 Gordon's clofe
- 5 Currie's clofe
- 6 Currie's clofe
- 7 Elliot's clofe
- 8 Kennedy's clofe
- 9 Currie's clofe
- 10 Currie's clofe
- 11 Lindsay's clofe
- 12 Clark's clofe
- 13 Donaldson's clofe
- 14 Powers clofe
- 15 phinton's clofe
- 16 Riddle's clofe
- 17 Fisher's clofe
- 18 Brodie's clofe
- 19 Brodie's clofe
- 20 Brodie's clofe
- 21 Brodie's clofe
- 22 Brodie's clofe
- 23 Liberton's wynd
- 24 Purk's clofe
- 25 Forrester's wynd
- 26 Forrester's wynd
- 27 Forrester's wynd
- 28 Forrester's wynd
- 29 Luckenbooths
- 30 Creams
- 31 Stinking the apartment sq.
- 32 New bank clofe
- 33 Old fish market clofe
- 34 Borthwick's clofe
- 35 Craig's clofe
- 36 Old assembly clofe
- 37 Coventant clofe
- 38 Bell's wynd
- 39 Bell's wynd
- 40 New assembly clofe
- 41 Strevanlaw's clofe
- 42 Kennedy's clofe
- 43 Keble's wynd
- 44 Keble's wynd
- 45 Keble's wynd
- 46 South Ninnoch's clofe
- 47 Dickson's clofe
- 48 Cant's clofe
- 49 Blackstrait's wynd
- 50 Toderick's wynd
- 51 Skinner's clofe
- 52 South Gray's clofe
- 53 South Gray's clofe
- 54 South Gray's clofe
- 55 South Gray's clofe
- 56 South Gray's clofe
- 57 Fountain clofe
- 58 Tweedale's clofe
- 59 World's end clofe
- 60 Stewart's clofe
- 61 Stewart's clofe
- 62 Stewart's clofe
- 63 Stewart's clofe
- 64 Bell's clofe
- 65 Goulet's clofe
- 66 Gibb's clofe
- 67 Chaffin's clofe
- 68 Chaffin's clofe
- 69 Plain thone clofe
- 70 Waton's clofe
- 71 Wilk's clofe
- 72 Under play boate clofe
- 73 Under play boate clofe
- 74 St. John's street
- 75 St. John's street
- 76 St. John's street
- 77 Entry to the linen office
- 78 Smith's clofe
- 79 Sugar-boate clofe
- 80 Hammermens clofe
- 81 Wilton's clofe
- 82 Cooper's clofe
- 83 Crickton's entry
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*Weight-houfe*

- 11 Upper main entry to ditto
- 12 Middle main entry to ditto
- 13 Estimoit entry to ditto
- 14 Old bank
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*Penney-poff*

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*The Guard.*

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*Lord Provost's house*

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*Excise office.*

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- 105 Excise office

*All the Houses and Streets in the New Edinburgh.*

- 1 St. George's square
- 2 Prince's street
- 3 Cannon street
- 4 Frederick street
- 5 George's street
- 6 Hanover street
- 7 St. Andrew's square
- 8 St. Andrew's street
- 9 Regent office
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- 24 Regent office

*North side of the High-freet, from the Cattle to the water-gate.*

- 1 Pipe clofe
- 2 Skimmer's clofe
- 3 Wether's clofe
- 4 Gordon's clofe
- 5 Currie's clofe
- 6 Currie's clofe
- 7 Elliot's clofe
- 8 Kennedy's clofe
- 9 Currie's clofe
- 10 Currie's clofe
- 11 Lindsay's clofe
- 12 Clark's clofe
- 13 Donaldson's clofe
- 14 Powers clofe
- 15 phinton's clofe
- 16 Riddle's clofe
- 17 Fisher's clofe
- 18 Brodie's clofe
- 19 Brodie's clofe
- 20 Brodie's clofe
- 21 Brodie's clofe
- 22 Brodie's clofe
- 23 Liberton's wynd
- 24 Purk's clofe
- 25 Forrester's wynd
- 26 Forrester's wynd
- 27 Forrester's wynd
- 28 Forrester's wynd
- 29 Luckenbooths
- 30 Creams
- 31 Stinking the apartment sq.
- 32 New bank clofe
- 33 Old fish market clofe
- 34 Borthwick's clofe
- 35 Craig's clofe
- 36 Old assembly clofe
- 37 Coventant clofe
- 38 Bell's wynd
- 39 Bell's wynd
- 40 New assembly clofe
- 41 Strevanlaw's clofe
- 42 Kennedy's clofe
- 43 Keble's wynd
- 44 Keble's wynd
- 45 Keble's wynd
- 46 South Ninnoch's clofe
- 47 Dickson's clofe
- 48 Cant's clofe
- 49 Blackstrait's wynd
- 50 Toderick's wynd
- 51 Skinner's clofe
- 52 South Gray's clofe
- 53 South Gray's clofe
- 54 South Gray's clofe
- 55 South Gray's clofe
- 56 South Gray's clofe
- 57 Fountain clofe
- 58 Tweedale's clofe
- 59 World's end clofe
- 60 Stewart's clofe
- 61 Stewart's clofe
- 62 Stewart's clofe
- 63 Stewart's clofe
- 64 Bell's clofe
- 65 Goulet's clofe
- 66 Gibb's clofe
- 67 Chaffin's clofe
- 68 Chaffin's clofe
- 69 Plain thone clofe
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- 71 Wilk's clofe
- 72 Under play boate clofe
- 73 Under play boate clofe
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- 75

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TWENTY-EIGHTH, TWENTY-NINTH AND  
THIRTIETH ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

# Old Edinburgh Club

1935

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HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

## TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT

DURING the year ended 31st December 1935 there were twenty-two vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remains four names on the list of applicants for admission. Losses by death or resignation have been unusually heavy, but there is still a waiting list. Compared with similar organisations, the Club in this respect is particularly fortunate. At the same time, it will be noted that the reserve has shrunk to small dimensions, and therefore an earnest appeal is made for new members. Names and addresses should be forwarded to the Honorary Secretary.

The activities of the Club have been carried on with unabated energy, and the wide and intelligent interest displayed has been encouraging. The visible emblems of Old Edinburgh are disappearing with alarming rapidity, but, happily, it is still possible to make acquaintance with its resplendent past by means of original and authentic records, the publication of which is the primary function of the Club.

The usual programme of lectures and excursions was carried through. The various meetings were largely attended and much appreciated. The lectures were held in the Goold Hall. The first for the season was given on 16th October by Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E. His subject was 'Some Notes Anent Old Edinburgh,' which was illustrated by lantern slides, these including several little-known views and plans of the city. Another interesting lecture was that of Mr. John Geddie, who, on 28th November, recalled memories of Edinburgh over a period of seventy years.

The three excursions were most instructive. On 4th May the Magdalen Chapel, the Candlemakers' Hall, and the remains of the Flodden Wall at Bristo Port were inspected under the leadership of Mr. John Smith. Then, on 1st June, Restalrig Church and Craigen-tinny House were re-visited after an interval of nearly twenty years. The company were under the guidance of the Rev. Will Burnett, B.D., the former minister of Restalrig. Later in the afternoon members were shown over the old mansion of Marionville by Monsignor Miley. The final excursion took place on 6th July, the objective being New

Hailes and Brunstane, the former a comparatively modern structure but rich in legal and literary memories, the latter of great historic interest, having been known as Gilberton so early as the reign of William the Lyon. Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., was leader at New Hailes, while Mr. John Russell and Mr. Stanley Cursiter, A.R.S.A., were the guides at Brunstane.

#### BOOK OF THE CLUB

In April Volume XX. was issued to members. With its completion there has been a feeling that the time has come when a General Index to the whole contents of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* would be of great advantage. The indexes already printed apply of course only to the contents of the volumes in which they appear. Consequently those consulting our publications can never be quite certain that they have seen the whole of the information bearing upon the topic being investigated unless *all* the indexes are inspected, which involves a huge waste of time and energy. Such an unsatisfactory state of affairs would be obviated by a General Index, in which the extensive and varied stores of information contained in the twenty volumes would be rendered easily accessible. It has therefore been decided that Volume XXI. shall take the form of a General Index, the compilation of which has been undertaken by Mr. W. Forbes Gray, Editor of Publications. The work is already well advanced. It is hoped to issue the General Index volume towards the close of 1936 or early in 1937.

#### LORD BUTE AND OLD EDINBURGH

Though known to a few for a considerable time, it was only towards the close of December that public disclosure was made of the fact that the Marquess of Bute had purchased Acheson House, also the mansion in Leith in which Mary Queen of Scots is supposed to have rested on her return from France—a mansion occupied by a prominent figure of the Marian period, Andrew Lamb. The preservation and reconditioning of these buildings in the old form have been advocated more than once in the reports of the Club and at meetings held under its auspices. It is therefore extremely gratifying to learn that Lord Bute intends to have both memorials restored as far as possible to their original state, and preserved as typical examples of old Scots domestic

architecture. Acheson House is again to become a private residence, and, by skilful adaptation, it is hoped to visualise to some extent the conditions under which the Acheson family occupied their Canongate mansion in the seventeenth century. The future of the Lamb house is as yet uncertain, but there can be no doubt that it will be handled in a manner consistent with its historic and architectural traditions. It is to be hoped that the movement for preservation and intelligent restoration, inaugurated by Lord Bute, will be carried further. Notable specimens of quaint domestic architecture surviving in our midst are lamentably few, and, unless action is taken in the near future, the majority of these are doomed. Indeed, the most picturesque of the Shoemakers' Lands in the Canongate is scheduled for demolition. This structure displays so many features of Scots craftsmanship in the days of Charles II. that every effort ought to be made to save it. And the same remark applies even more pertinently to the town mansion of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton (lower down the Canongate), with its crow-stepped front, its double row of dormers, its finely corbelled projection, its turmpike stair, and its vaulted basement.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1935.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
I. Funds at close of last Account :—	£140 0 0	I. Miscellaneous and Postages, . . . . .	£19 12 4
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	8 13 6	II. Printing and Stationery, . . . . .	5 12 8
Due to Treasurer, . . . . .	£131 6 6	III. Lecture Expenses, . . . . .	12 8 6
II. Subscriptions :—		IV. Volume Expenses, . . . . .	211 18 6
For year 1935—		V. Funds at close of the Account :—	
350 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£183 15 0	In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£90 0 0
Less—Paid in advance during 1934, . . . . .	7 7 0	Cash in Hand, . . . . .	4 6 3
26 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£176 8 0		
	13 13 0		
	£190 1 0		
For year 1936—			
24 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	12 12 0		
III. Volumes sold (13), . . . . .	202 13 0		
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts, . . . . .	6 16 6		
V. Donation, . . . . .	2 1 3		
	1 1 0		
	£343 18 3		

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

EDINBURGH, 7th January 1936.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1935, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

## Old Edinburgh Club 1936

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of Arms, H.M. Register House.

### Honorary Secretary

The Rev. WILL BURNETT, B.D., 8 Bellevue Terrace.

### Honorary Treasurer

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

### Editor of Publications

W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.

### Council

The Hon. LORD ST. VIGEANS, 33 Moray Place.  
JAMES S. RICHARDSON, 19 Rothesay Terrace.  
WILLIAM GREENHILL, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.  
DAVID ROBERTSON, LL.B., S.S.C., City Chambers.  
ROBERT THIN, M.B., F.R.C.P.E., LL.D., 25 Abercromby Place.  
SIR JOSEPH DOBBIE, S.S.C., 10 Learmonth Terrace.  
KENNETH SANDERSON, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street.  
W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 2 Coates Crescent.  
WILLIAM ANGUS, H.M. Register House.  
ARCHIBALD B. CAMPBELL, W.S., 16 Wester Coates Gardens.  
HENRY W. MEIKLE, M.A., D.Litt., National Library.  
GEORGE D. STEWART, 92 George Street.

### Honorary Auditor

W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 22 Rutland Square.



## TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

DURING the year ending 31st December 1936 twenty-seven members were added to the roll, leaving it at that date two under strength (348). There are names upon a waiting list, but many are delaying application, sometimes under the misapprehension that election to membership will be far off. The above figures show that this is not the case; and though in respect of maintained membership the Club is better than some similar organisations, the Council would welcome additional applications. Consideration of the names upon the roll suggests that the number of the younger citizens is small in proportion to the total, smaller than it ought to be, if the Club is to continue its useful and beneficent purpose in the city. The older members would be glad to think that the objects of the Club still commend themselves to those upon whom will soon devolve the care of those matters that are the reason for the Club's existence. All applications should be made upon the printed form, copies of which will be supplied by the Honorary Secretary.

What may be called official changes have been very large during the year; the Office-Bearers have all been replaced. Just before the last Annual Meeting the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Lewis MacRitchie, died, after serving the Club all the time from its formation. The meeting passed a tribute to his long services, and instructed that a copy should be sent to his relatives:—

"This meeting desires to record its sense of the great loss the Club has sustained in the death of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Lewis MacRitchie. Among the Office-Bearers Mr. MacRitchie's record was unique, inasmuch as he was the only one who had held the same office continuously from the formation of the Club until now. His services covered twenty-eight years. During that long period Mr. MacRitchie capably and conscientiously discharged the duties of his office, and those brought most in contact with him testify that he at all times served the Club with single-minded devotion. Indeed, this was acknowledged publicly so far back as March 1927, when, along with the late Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, he was entertained to dinner by the members. In addition to his business capacity, shrewdness and

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## TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

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intimate knowledge of Old Edinburgh, our late Secretary displayed traits which endeared him to his colleagues, not least his modesty, his kindly disposition and his unflinching loyalty."

The Reverend Will Burnett, B.D., was appointed in his place.

At the same time the Honorary Treasurer, Sir Thomas Whitson, asked to be relieved of his office; his resignation was accepted, and he was thanked for his services. Mr. Henry Lessels, C.A., Honorary Auditor, was appointed Treasurer, and Mr. W. G. Walker, C.A., was elected in his place. Later in the year came the resignation of the Editor of the Club's Publications, and Convener of the Editorial Committee, Mr. W. Forbes Gray. Mr. Forbes Gray elected to retire from this honourable but onerous office on the completion of the General Index to twenty published volumes. The Council unwillingly acceded to this request, and passed a minute of thanks:—

"The Council learn with very great regret that Mr. Forbes Gray desires to resign the office of Editor of Publications for the Club, a position which he has held with great distinction for the past twelve years. Persuaded that this decision is irrevocable, the Council agree to accept the resignation, and to place on record their very high appreciation of Mr. Forbes Gray's services to the Club. The function of Editor is never an easy one to fill, requiring wide knowledge and great tact in dealing with the contributions of others. Those twelve years have shown Mr. Forbes Gray to be possessed of the qualities that make a successful and appreciated Editor. A large part of the value of such a Club as this lies in its 'Books,' and ours bear the sign manual of two noted Editors, Mr. William Cowan and Mr. Forbes Gray. The latter has crowned his editorial work by the production of the General Index to the twenty volumes that now form the Club's contribution to the history of our own romantic town. As Mr. Forbes Gray lays down his editorial pen, he can do so with the certainty that he has gained the appreciation of good judges, and that he carries with him the respect and good wishes of his fellow-members in the Club and on the Council. It is in no cynical spirit that the Council remind Mr. Forbes Gray that gratitude has been defined as a lively sense of favours to come, and they look forward to having the benefit of his advice and assistance in the management of the Club's affairs."

Mr. Arthur Birnie, M.A., Lecturer in Economic History in the University, has been appointed in his place.

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The greatest loss sustained this year was the sudden but peaceful death of the President of the Club, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, which took place on the Sunday afternoon immediately succeeding the Saturday excursion to Grange House (21st March 1936), where he had presided over the large body of members present with that kindness of manner which always distinguished him. At a meeting held soon after, at which the Honorary President, Sir Robert Gordon Gilmour, occupied the Chair, the following minute was passed as a tribute to his memory and to his work for the Club:—

“The Council desire to record their sense of the loss the Club has sustained in the death of the President, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers. Admitted to the Club in 1912, he was elected to the Council in 1928, and became President in 1929, succeeding the late Mr. William Cowan. He thus held the office for fully six years, the duties of which he discharged with dignity and tact, courtesy and forbearance. As became the grandson of the author of *Traditions of Edinburgh*, he did everything in his power to promote the interests of a Club charged with making known how rich and varied and haunting are the memories that cling to Scotland's capital. Writing articles and making speeches were not congenial to Mr. Chambers, though the eighteenth volume contains a short paper from his pen, “Early Golf at Bruntsfield and Leith.” On the other hand, his training as an editor and publisher enabled him to be of great service to the Editorial Committee. He knew a good manuscript when he saw one, and was insistent upon original and painstaking research, scientific treatment of material collected, and proper attention to the literary form of the narrative. Furthermore, he was most generous in affording access to the valuable material relating to the history of Edinburgh, which his grandfather, Robert Chambers, had collected. The late President will be remembered for the impetus he gave to the study of the antiquities of Edinburgh.”

On the motion of Sir Francis J. Grant, Lord Lyon, the Honourable Lord St. Vigeans was elected President.

This year has perhaps called for less vigorous demonstration against vandalism than some of its predecessors; but that does not mean that vigilance may be relaxed or care slackened. There are still some actions and projects which defy the efforts of all lovers of our old town. The Club may be allowed to offer congratulations to the National

Trust for Scotland for what it has accomplished; and it may be assured of any help that the Club is able to give. It must receive special thanks for the establishment of an Old Edinburgh Committee, to which the new President has been appointed by the Club.

As has been noticed, the Twenty-first Volume of the Book of the Club has been issued, a monument alike to the widespread and valuable work of the Club, and the erudition and capacity of the Editor.

Four excursions were made during the summer months. On Saturday, 21st March, a very large number of members and friends visited Grange House, in process of demolition. Mr. Henry F. Kerr, Mr. Forbes Gray and Mr. John Russell were leaders. On 2nd May, two of Edinburgh's numerous libraries were visited, the National under the direction of Dr. Meikle, and the Signet under the direction of Dr. Malcolm. On 13th June, Liberton Tower and Liberton House were visited, and the descriptions given by Sir Robert Gordon Gilmour and Mr. John Russell. On 7th July, the Archers' Hall and Sciennes Hill House were visited, the leaders being Mr. Colin Black, W.S., and the Honorary Secretary. Two lectures were given, of purely local and historical character, the first on 3rd Nov. by the new Editor on ‘The Charity Workhouse in Edinburgh 1740-1845,’ and the second on 1st Dec. by the late Editor, ‘Edinburgh in Provost Drummond's Time.’ Both were well attended.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1936.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS
I. Funds at close of last Account :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipts	£90 0 0	£19 16 11
Cash on Hand	4 6 3	26 3 6
	£94 6 3	
II. Subscriptions :—		
Year 1936—		
Due—361 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£189 10 6	
28 Libraries	14 14 0	
	£204 4 6	
Less received in 1935—		
21 Members, 3 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	12 12 0	
	£191 12 6	
Year 1937—		
9 Members, 1 Library at 10s. 6d.,	5 5 0	
	196 17 6	
III. Volumes sold (9)	4 14 6	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts	1 14 11	
	£297 13 2	
V. Funds at close of this Account :—		
In Bank on Current Account	£17 11 2	
Cash on Hand	1 1 7	
	18 12 9	£297 13 2

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

EORSAUNGH, 11th January 1937.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ending 31st December 1936, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

## Old Edinburgh Club

1937

### *Honorary Patrons*

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

### *Honorary President*

SIR ROBERT GORDON GILMOUR, OF LIBERTON AND  
CRAIGMILLAR, BART., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.

### *Honorary Vice-Presidents*

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST.  
The Right Hon. THE EARL OF CASSILLIS.

### *President*

The Hon. LORD ST. VIGEANS, LL.D., 33 Moray Place.

### *Vice-Presidents*

ROBERT T. SKINNER, M.A., 35 Campbell Road.  
CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON, 24 Garscube Terrace.  
SIR FRANCIS J. GRANT, K.C.V.O., LL.D., W.S., Lord Lyon King  
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### *Editor of Publications*

ARTHUR BIRNIE, M.A., 24 Craigmillar Park.

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GEORGE D. STEWART, 92 George Street.  
JAMES SMITH, 123 Willowbrae Road.  
W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.  
R. WATERSTON, 27 Inverleith Terrace.  
THOMAS YULE, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street.

### *Honorary Auditor*

W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 22 Rutland Square.

## THIRTIETH ANNUAL REPORT

THE Club has had a successful year. During the year 1937 thirty-eight applications for membership were received, which, with three remaining over from 1936, made forty-one in all. The vacancies by death or resignation numbered seventeen, and of these sixteen have been filled up from the list of applicants, the last (not yet dealt with) having been caused by the death of a member late in December. This leaves the roll of members at the close of the year as three hundred and forty-nine, with twenty-five names upon the waiting list. The position is a testimony to the unabated interest taken in the Club by the community, and especially is an answer to the appeal made in the Report of last year. It should be added that the part of that appeal which expressed the hope that some of the younger citizens should join the Club, has not been unanswered, and thus its future has been more assured.

As it is evident from the above figures that some applicants may have to wait a considerable time before obtaining membership, it should be stated that authority has been granted to the office-bearers to admit new members in the periods between meetings of the Council, and also that admission is given in strict order of application. At a meeting of the Council in March it was agreed, on the suggestion of the Secretary, that prospective members should be invited to attend the lectures and excursions on the same footing as regular members.

Part of the business of the Council is to keep watch carefully against any proposed injury to or destruction of Old Edinburgh buildings, which in their view are proper subjects for preservation. Happily the Council have not had to take any overt action during the past year. The work at Gladstone's Land is proceeding in a satisfactory way: nothing has been definitely determined by the Town Council with regard to the front part of the Tailors' Hall building in the Cowgate or Bruntsfield House, whose future was a matter of discussion in the earlier part of the year. Thanks to the generosity of The Most Honourable the Marquis of Bute work on the preservation of Acheson House has been completed; and after a short period for exhibition the building, it is understood, will be let out for occupation in the usual

way. The members of the Club and the citizens of Edinburgh may be assured that the Council will join with similar interested associations in every effort to preserve those buildings in Old Edinburgh, in which the history of Scotland and its capital is so largely embedded. To place the matter on its lowest and most material grounds the antiquities of Edinburgh are a great invitation to its constant stream of visitors, and thus play their part in its prosperity.

With the publication of the twenty-first volume of its 'Book,' being the Index to the preceding twenty volumes, it may be said that the first series of its publications has come to a fitting close. The Council have determined to continue the publication of the 'Book of the Club' in its present form and appearance. In some way an indication will be made that a new series has begun. This may induce applications for membership from some who are slow to enter upon the collection of the large number of volumes already published. It might be difficult even for the most anxious to accomplish this, as already eight volumes of the first series are out of print.

The New Series will begin with a volume of Miscellaneous Papers, and it is hoped to issue it in the autumn of 1938. The following papers have been offered for the consideration of the Editorial Committee, and have been accepted.

I. The Royal Exchange and other City Improvements, by Mr. Forbes Gray; II. The Planning of the New Town, by Mr. Frank Mears and Mr. John Russell; III. A Note on the Hopetoun Monument, by Mr. W. M. Parker; IV. The Millers of Craigentenny, by Mr. James Smith; V. Edinburgh Quacks of the Eighteenth Century, by Dr. Robert Thin; VI. The Burlaw Court at Restalrig, by the Honorary Secretary (the Rev. Will Burnett); and VII. The Edinburgh Charity Workhouse (1740-1845), by the Editor (Mr. A. Birnie). Further papers on the antiquities of Edinburgh, from any members who possess original material or particular knowledge, will be welcome, and should be submitted to the Editor.

Three excursions were made during the year, one to Niddrie Marischal and The Inch, and the others to Libraries in the city. On Saturday, 26th June, the members of the Club and their friends proceeded to Niddrie Marischal, where they were received by Mrs. Wauchope, and had the opportunity of examining the treasures of this old house. The party continued to The Inch, and were received by Sir Robert Gilmour, Honorary President of the Club, and the Lady



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The Right Hon. THE EARL OF CASSILLIS.

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R. WATERSTON, 27 Inverleith Terrace.  
THOMAS YULE, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street.  
HENRY F. KERR, A.R.I.B.A., 16 Duke Street.  
DAVID ROBERTSON, LL.B., S.S.C., City Chambers.  
JOHN RUSSELL, 2 Brunton Place.  
ERNEST SAVAGE, Public Library.

### *Honorary Auditor*

W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 22 Rutland Square.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

#### *Surviving Original Members marked \**

AILSA, The Most Honourable the Marquess of, Culzean Castle,  
Ayrshire.  
Allan, Mrs. C. A., 68 Restalrig Road, Leith.  
Allan, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.  
Allan, James, J.P., 6 Castlelaw Road, Colinton.  
Allan, William, 4 Sciennes Gardens.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., 25 Pitt Street, Portobello.  
Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 31 Bellevue Place.  
\*Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 20 Grosvenor Crescent.  
Anderson, William, 2 Dalkeith Street, Joppa.  
Anderson, W. J., 24 Blantyre Terrace.  
\*Angus, William, H.M. Register House.  
Archer, John M., 24 Stanley Road, Leith.  
Armstrong, Ian, C.A., 63 Castle Street.  
Atkinson, John J., 26 St. Ronan's Terrace.  
  
BALFOUR-MELVILLE, EVAN W. M., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
Barclay, Oswald, C.B.E., D.L., J.P., 6 Merchiston Park.  
Barnett, Rev. T. Ratcliffe, Ph.D., 7 Corrennie Gardens.  
\*Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.  
Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., 12 Duncan Street.  
Baxter, Robert, 28 Cowan Road.  
Birnie, Arthur, M.A., 24 Craigmillar Park. (*Editor of Publications.*)  
Blair, Miss Frances, 47A Manor Place.  
Bonar, John J., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.  
\*Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.  
Bowers, John, 9 Comiston Drive.  
\*Boyes, John, 31 Campbell Road.  
Brown, Charles, 43 Grange Road.  
Brown, James C., LL.B., Ph.D. (Messrs. W. Green & Sons, Ltd.),  
2 St. Giles Street.

Brown, Miss Muriel Crommelin, 87 Comely Bank Avenue.  
 Bruce, James, W.S., 16 Hill Street.  
 Bryce, Herbert D., 60 Macdowall Road.  
 \*Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., 8 Bellevue Terrace. (*Hon. Secretary.*)  
 Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 505 Strathmartine Road, Dundee.  
 Burt, Mrs. Annie C., 40 Murrayfield Avenue.  
 Butchart, R., Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge.  
 Butters, John W., M.A., 116 Comiston Drive.

CAMERON, JOHN, S.S.C., 18 Gilmour Road.  
 Campbell, Archibald B., W.S., 16 Wester Coates Gardens.  
 Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., Moidart, Currie.  
 \*Campbell, J. D. B., 25 Ainslie Place.  
 Campbell, Robert B., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 15 Douglas Crescent.  
 Chambers, R. S., 11 Thistle Street.  
 Christie, Miss Margaret, c/o Miss Aikman, 8 Fountainhall Road.  
 \*Chrystal, F. M., M.B., 187 Gilmore Place.  
 Clapperton, D. A., C.A., 8 Magdala Crescent.  
 Cochrane, James Dean, Cuilbeg, Woodhall Road, Colinton.  
 \*Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.  
 Considine, W. D., 2 Alvanley Terrace.  
 Cook, Sir Edmund R., C.B.E., Law Society, Chancery Lane,  
 London, W.C. 2  
 Cormack, Donald S., 21 Ulster Crescent.  
 Cousland, Chas. J., 26 Kinnear Road.  
 \*Craig, Sterling, LL.B., 13 South Charlotte Street.  
 Craigdallie, John, 146 Canongate.  
 Crawshaw, Dr. Charles, Barwood Mount, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.  
 Crichton, A. D., City Chambers, Edinburgh.  
 Crichton, George, 6 Duncan Street.  
 Croom, Miss Marjorie Halliday, 93 Comely Bank Avenue.  
 Cullen, William J., 7 Howard Street.  
 Cumming, Charles M., 4 Laverockbank Terrace, Trinity.  
 Cunningham, Mrs. Jean C., 38 Buckingham Terrace.

DALRYMPLE, The Hon. Sir HEW, K.C.V.O., D.L., 24 Regent Terrace.  
 Darling, Will Y., 28 Northumberland Street.  
 Darlington, James D., 13 Midmar Gardens.  
 Dawson, A. B., C.A., The Vache, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

Dey, William G., 22 St. John's Road, Corstorphine.  
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.  
 Dickson, John A., 3 Brandon Terrace.  
 Dickson, Walter (Messrs. G. Duncan & Son Ltd.), 122 East  
 Claremont Street.  
 \*Dobbie, Sir Joseph, S.S.C., 42 Melville Street.  
 Dobbie, Lady, 6 Abbotsford Crescent.  
 \*Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.  
 Donaldson, James, M.A., Morrison's Academy, Crieff.  
 Donaldson, James, 8 Gilmour Road.  
 Douglas, L. MacQueen, Newpark, Mid-Calder.  
 Douglas, Robert E., 89 George Street.  
 Douglas-Hamilton, Lord Nigel G., 33 Dundas Street.  
 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.  
 \*Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 7 Ravelston Terrace.  
 Duncan, Robert J., 12 York Road.  
 Dunn, Miss Jessie D., Braehead, Inveresk.

EDGAR, Mrs. J. DOUGLAS, 9 Sylvan Place.  
 Edgar, Miss A. Gertrude, 9 Sylvan Place.  
 Eggeling, H. F., 95 Comiston Drive.  
 Elliot, William, 23 Joppa Road, Portobello.  
 Erskine, Andrew, Solicitor, 31 Scotland Street.

\*FAIRLEY, JOHN A., Curator's House, Lauriston Castle, Davidson's  
 Mains.  
 \*Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 46 Dick Place.  
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie, 19 Drumdryan Street.  
 Fisher, John (Messrs. R. Grant & Son), 126 Princes Street.  
 Fleming, Miss Harriet B., 30 Royal Circus.  
 Fleming, Mrs. M. J., 8 Gillespie Road, Colinton.  
 Forbes, Mrs. S. A. C., 15 Clerk Street.  
 Ford, Miss Netta B., 25 Merchiston Crescent.  
 \*Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Francis, Mrs., 3 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Fraser, Mrs. James, 23 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Fraser, Professor John, M.C., M.D., 20 Moray Place.  
 Fraser, W. A., 49 Braid Avenue.  
 Fyall, Mrs. W. K., 21 Ravelston Dykes.

- GAULD, H. DRUMMOND, Allandale, Saughton Road.  
 Geddie, Mrs. Hannah E., Ellicot, Eskbank.  
 Gilchrist, Miss Nancie H., 8 Kirk Brae, Liberton.  
 \*Gilmour, Brigadier-General Sir Robert, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.,  
 The Inch, Liberton. (*Honorary President*)  
 Glassford, Samuel, Aparima, Corbiehill Road, Davidson's Mains.  
 Glegg, A. H., W.S., Maines House, Chirside, Berwickshire.  
 Goddard, Mrs., Mauricewood, Milton Bridge, Midlothian.  
 Good, Miss Mary, Braefoot, 8 Liberton Brae, Liberton.  
 Grant, Sir Francis J., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms,  
 18 George Square. (*Vice-President*)  
 Grant, Robert, 31 George IV. Bridge.  
 Gray, W. Croft, S.S.C., 5 Forres Street.  
 Gray, W. Forbes, F.R.S.E., 8 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Green, A. M'Watt, C.A., 21 Hill Street.  
 Greenhill, William, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.  
 Gumley, Sir Louis S., D.L., LL.D., J.P., 52 Inverleith Row.
- HALLIDAY, T. M., 21 Priestfield Road.  
 Hamilton, James, J.P., 5 Leeferd Drive, Netherlee, Glasgow, S. 4.  
 Hamilton, J. B., M.A., 11 Hatton Place.  
 Hannay, Professor R. K., LL.D., 5 Royal Terrace.  
 \*Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.  
 Hardie, Miss Janet S., 8 Saughton Crescent.  
 Hardie, R. S. L., 3 Clarendon Crescent.  
 Hardie, William Hodgson, 1 Glenisla Gardens.  
 Hawkins, Miss Eleanor, 19 Mayfield Terrace.  
 \*Hay, William J., John Knox House, High Street.  
 Hayne, Adam H., Thirlestane, Gardiner Road, Blackhall.  
 Henderson, Peter H., 57 St. Alban's Road.  
 Henderson, W. F., 16 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Hendry, Robert J. L., Clydesdale Bank, George Street.  
 Hewat, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.  
 Highgate, James, 31 Dumbreck Road, Glasgow, S. 1.  
 Hogg, Miss Florence E., 95 Queensferry Road.  
 Holland, Principal Sir Thomas H., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.,  
 The University, Edinburgh.  
 Howie, Mrs. Nancy, 8 Middleby Street.  
 Hunter, Miss Jane, 10 Comiston Place.

- IMRIE, JOHN D., M.A., City Chamberlain, City Chambers.  
 Inglis, D. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.  
 \*Inglis, Francis Caird, Rock House, Calton Hill.  
 Inglis, Mrs. G. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.  
 Inglis, Miss Margaret J., 39 Bruntsfield Place.  
 Ingram, William, K.C., D.Sc., 61 Great King Street.
- JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 11 Greenhill Gardens.  
 Jackson, Miss Emily J., 44 Dick Place.  
 Jamieson, J. Boyd, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 43 George Square.  
 \*Jamieson, James H., 14 Sciennes Gardens.  
 Jamieson, John R., 18 Napier Road.  
 Jamieson, Robert M., 88 Gilmore Place.  
 Jamieson, William, 8 St. Peter's Buildings.  
 Johnston, Dr. W. G., 1 Upper Coltbridge Terrace.  
 Joss, John, 47 M'Donald Road.
- \*KELLY, JOHN G., Summerhall, Ratho.  
 Kennedy, John, 6 Willow Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.  
 Kennedy, Mrs. Susan, 18 Drummond Place.  
 Kerr, Henry F., A.R.I.B.A., 12 East Clarendon Street.  
 Kilpatrick, P. J. W., Bridgend, Colinton.  
 King, John A., Tigh-na-Righ, 27 Dregghorn Loan, Colinton.  
 Kinneir, Mrs. K. Balfour, 3 Doune Terrace.  
 \*Kippen, John, M.A., Lorne Street School, Leith.  
 Knoblauch, Mrs. Doris M., 17 Murrayfield Avenue.
- LAIDLAW, Rev. R. S. F., M.A., East Calder, Midlothian.  
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## CONSTITUTION

- I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'
- II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.
- III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.
- IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.
- V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.
- VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.
- VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.
- VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

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