

THE BOOK
OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

The Journal for
Edinburgh History



This article is extracted from **The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, The Journal for Edinburgh History** ISSN 2634-2618

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Edinburgh Portrait

DANIEL WILSON, 1816–1892

KITTY CRUFT

DANIEL WILSON was born in Edinburgh on 3 January 1816, the third of eleven children born to Archibald Wilson (1784–1843) from Strachur, Argyll, and Janet Aitken (1786–1864), daughter of a prosperous land surveyor in Greenock. Archibald Wilson, a gentle religious man, became a tea dealer and a wine merchant, both unsuccessful enterprises. His mother Janet, artistic and strong minded, and a lover of books and the countryside, was the dominant influence in the lives of Daniel and his younger brother George (1818–1859).¹

Education started early in the Wilson family and was the key to development at school. Daniel and George were encouraged in all their activities in their early life by their mother. They attended elementary school, and later, at Mr George Knight's Academy, they received a good basic education in all subjects from a teacher well known for his care and individual attention. Their mother encouraged them to be naturalists and time was spent in rambling and scrambling on Calton Hill, Leith Sands and along to Granton, and especially to Roman Cramond, where the sculptured eagle of the Roman legionaries was remembered by Daniel as a 'source of never-failing wonder to us'. Special goals on Saturday rambles were Old Woodhouselee, Roslin Chapel, Niddry Castle and Preston Tower, with other historic places associated with the names of Wallace, Bothwell, Mary Queen of Scots and such romantic personalities. The boys regularly walked fifteen or sixteen miles in their search for history and science.²

In the mid 1820s both boys left Mr Knight's Academy for the High School, then situated in High School Yards, but only for a short time, before the pupils transferred, walking in procession, to the new Greek Revival building at the base of Calton Hill. John Knight, son of their former tutor, and John Alexander Smith, later to become Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, also joined them. The influence of distinguished classicists and

Rectors, such as Dr Alexander Adam and James Pillans, still prevailed in the teaching in the school, and Dr Aglionby Ross Carson, Rector from 1820 to 1845, was known for his critical teaching.³

During their schooldays the boys set up a small museum for which a 'folio copy of the Journal of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, which was converted to our use as blotter and press for the botanical specimens, suffered woefully in the service of our *hortus siccus*'.⁴ In 1828–29 a Juvenile Society for the Advancement of Knowledge was formed with their friends, including William Nelson (1816–1887), of the famous publishing family. They met weekly in a room in the Wilsons' house, which also contained their collections of books and natural history specimens. They organised themselves as if they were the Royal Society, and produced a weekly journal, edited by Daniel, which included pen-and-ink illustrations by him.⁵

In 1831 Daniel Wilson left the High School to study the art of engraving with the outstanding teacher William Miller (1801–1887). The artist J. M. W. Turner employed Miller to engrave many of his drawings, and regarded him as a craftsman without equal.⁶ After some years with Miller, Wilson moved on to devote time to the study of English literature in the University of Edinburgh but left without taking a degree. During this time the brothers gained valuable experience by organising another society, the Zetaethic, with Daniel as secretary, and in 1834, as students, they regularly attended the meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which were held in Edinburgh that year.⁷

In 1837 Wilson left for London to devote himself wholly to the study of the art of steel engraving. To add to his small income he wrote reviews and short articles for various periodicals including *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*. While in London he engraved one of J. M. W. Turner's paintings, 'Ancient Carthage: The Embarkation of Regulus'. Wilson's account of his visits to Turner's house is as

atmospheric as a Turner landscape. The deal was that Wilson was to receive £100 from the art publisher Sir Francis Graham Moon: if successful it was to be followed by another £500. The sorry outcome was that Wilson was paid the initial £100 but no more: he had neglected to confirm the arrangement with Moon in writing, and the verbal agreement was not honoured. This was a serious blow to Wilson's future as, if he had received the larger commission, he would have remained active in the world of art engraving, which might have been his true vocation.⁸

It appears that for some time Wilson had given some advice to his Scottish friend Daniel Macmillan (1813–1857), who was founder in 1843 of the publishers Macmillan and Company and was in London gaining experience with the publishing house of Seeley in Fleet Street. In return for his advice the Macmillan brothers provided Wilson with a testimonial in 1848 in which they thanked him for the instruction they had received from him in bibliography, and for his 'knowledge of history, of arts, of literature and of science, but especially of the early history, antiquities and literature of our own country'. This recommendation must have added considerably to Wilson's *curriculum vitae* but obviously not enough for his unsuccessful application for the post of Keeper of the Advocates Library in 1848.⁹

Daniel Wilson returned to Edinburgh in 1842, presumably for financial reasons, having married Margaret Mackay, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Wellpark, Bridge of Allan, in 1840. He set up in business as a printseller and artists' colourman at 35 West Register Street, shortly moving his shop to a more central address in Hanover Street, while continuing to live at 32 Broughton Street.¹⁰ Although the print business was not ultimately successful, distinguished customers were attracted to his shop. It is generally accepted that Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (1781–1851), the antiquarian collector and friend of Sir Walter Scott, introduced himself to Wilson there, though it may have been Robert Chambers (1802–1871), publisher and antiquarian, who arranged the introduction. In his old age Sharpe was to become a firm friend and adviser to Wilson.¹¹

Wilson turned to work on *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, first issued in parts in 1846–47, which evoked the past through words and

meticulously accurate illustrations.¹² His interest in scientific research led him to question the accepted sources for many of the traditional historic events in Edinburgh's past, and gave him an interest in documentary research and a critical awareness of the importance of evidence and its interpretation.

He was not the first to record and write about the history of Edinburgh and it is essential to refer to the work of earlier writers and artists to understand the changes that Wilson's *Memorials* made to an appreciation of Edinburgh's social life and culture. He was familiar with the writings of early travellers, particularly Fynes Moryson (1566–1630) and John Taylor (1580–1653), the 'Water Poet'. Taylor he considered an acute observer of character and of curious events, and Moryson's descriptions of the inns, food and social customs are invaluable to the social historian. The first two accounts of Edinburgh that Wilson considered to be observant and trustworthy were William Maitland's *History of Edinburgh from the Foundation to the Present Time*, published in 1753, and Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Account to the Present Time*, that appeared in 1779 and was reissued with minor amendments and added plates in 1788. Wilson was critical of Maitland for his lack of order and thought in presenting his material; even so he describes the work as valuable and generally accurate. Arnot, he wrote, provided a lively recasting of Maitland with a few more illustrations. He concluded that both lacked a feeling for the topography or physical place.¹³

It was Robert Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, published in parts in 1824–25, that had the profoundest influence on Wilson.¹⁴ Chambers' *Traditions* drew a picture of social life in the Old Town and the nascent New Town from reminiscences and oral tradition, 'not without', Wilson considered, 'occasional heightening touches from the delineator's own lively fancy', and still in the traditions of an eighteenth-century antiquary.¹⁵ Chambers relied enormously on Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe for anecdotes of family associations with the Old Town, information that would be useful to the young Daniel Wilson, enhancing the sense of locality, the topographical setting of the town and buildings and the archaeological research into the essence of the buildings.

Wilson dedicated the *Memorials* to his uncle, Peter Wilson, ‘as a mark of sincere gratitude and affection’. In 1852 the Wilson family moved into Elm Cottage at 3 Blackford Road, a pair of attached houses built by Peter Wilson in an attractive Tudor style. Daniel moved in with his mother, bachelor uncle Peter, and unmarried brother and sister, George and Jessie, but Daniel’s occupation lasted only a short time, for in 1853 he was appointed Professor of History and English Literature in the University of Toronto (fig.). After Peter Wilson’s death in 1864 Daniel inherited the property and, though he transferred the title to Jessie in 1865, he always hoped to return there.¹⁶



Daniel Wilson in 1852 when he was awarded the honorary LLD from St Andrews University. (From Sproatt Collection, courtesy of Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.)

In Canada he was engaged in university teaching, administration and research, introducing the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and ethnology into the curriculum. He continued to correspond and advise on Edinburgh’s history and archaeology and, as a polymath, on any other disciplines presented to him. He continued also to hope for academic posts in Scotland, but was unsuccessful in his application for the Chair of History at St Andrews University in 1861. This rejection was another blow, the result of Wilson’s lack of commitment to his ambitions. He had no particular vocation in mind, unlike his brother George who committed himself early to an academic life. After a distinguished career with chemistry as his preferred option he became Regius Professor of Technology at the University in 1855, and the first Director of the Scottish Industrial Museum. He was considered in 1858 for the University Chair of Chemistry, but, always delicate, illness necessitated his withdrawal, and he died in 1859 at the early age of 41.¹⁷

What were the reasons behind Wilson’s *Memorials* other than his assertion that the work was ‘begun years ago, not with the pen, but the pencil’?¹⁸ He considered that his collection of sketches and drawings had become important, not only for any artistic merit they may have had, but also because of the disappearance of many of the historic buildings in the Old Town and the loss of their place in the urban setting. He began to collect some drawings for engraving with a short descriptive narrative to accompany them.

In 1869 Wilson presented to the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland two volumes of drawings, engravings, maps and sketches of Edinburgh and Leith, which he had brought together before leaving Scotland in 1853, and used for the *Memorials*.¹⁹ The arrangement of the illustrations in the first volume probably reflects the order in which they were to appear in the *Memorials*. The number of engravings, other than those made of his own drawings, suggests he had been sketching as many examples as possible of individual monuments and localities. The collection of material on St Giles’ Cathedral includes contemporary photographs of the notable cardboard model of the church and public buildings, tenement buildings and shops huddled together round it and cleared away in 1817.

The making of the model, about 1805, and shown in the photographs in a state of disintegration, was supervised by the Rev. John Sime. The three-dimensional view of the site enabled Wilson to describe the adjacent architecture in great detail.

Volume 2 contains newspaper cuttings, many from the correspondence columns. One of the most revealing is a series of letters between Wilson and Thomas Hamilton, architect of the reconstruction in 1848 of St Mary's Church, South Leith, a so-called 'restoration' not admired by Wilson. He lamented the inevitability of modern architects restoring ancient churches, and berated Hamilton for his ignorance of Gothic architecture. One of Wilson's most important acquisitions in the scrapbook was a plan, part of his collection on the genesis of the New Town of Edinburgh in 1767. This copy of the plan produced by James Craig and published in 1768 was taken from the original plate made available to him by the noted antiquary David Laing (1793–1878).²⁰

The *Memorials* was considered a model of what a local history should be, but, important as it was, a much more historical approach based on documentary evidence and less attached to traditions and legends is found in his *Old Edinburgh* and *Modern Edinburgh*, two booklets written in 1851 and published in London by the Religious Tract Society in 1865, with no author given, as it appears that Wilson did not agree with the very moral approach of the Society to the text and withheld his name from the book.²¹

Wilson was elected to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1846, becoming its Secretary in 1847, and he had probably already started to contemplate the writing of his greatest work, *The Archaeological and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851), which laid the foundation for the scientific study of archaeology in Scotland.²² He found the Society's Museum in difficulties, owing rent to the Government, which threatened to sell their collection of antiquities. Eventually an agreement was reached in principle that if the Antiquaries put their Museum in order the Government would take it over. Determined to put the Society and its collection on a more public and scientific footing, and before any reordering took place, Wilson had to make sense of a collection that included everything from primitive stone axes to Walter Scott's chair. He turned to Denmark for a solution by adopting the system in use in Copenhagen

Museum with which he would have been familiar. He introduced the tripartite division of prehistory on the basis of materials used for artefacts: stone, bronze and iron. This system fitted Wilson's belief that archaeology was as systematic a discipline as astronomy, chemistry or geology, differing from these sciences only in that it dealt with individual people.²³

His *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and New World* (1862) was considered one of the most important works of anthropological synthesis produced in the nineteenth century. He discussed the prehistoric cultures of the Mississippi Valley, Mexico and Central America, his interest stimulated by artefacts in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.²⁴

In *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh* (1878) Wilson wrote a book of historical anecdotes as a tribute to an antiquarian Edinburgh that he had known and sketched in the 1840s and 1850s. Events from his own life, from those of his contemporaries and from Scottish history provide a book of tales and gossip centred in Edinburgh and its structural remains. Particularly successful is a word portrait of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who became a good friend of the much younger Wilson.²⁵

In 1848 the proposed demolition of an historic building became a *cause célèbre* for the Society of Antiquaries and Wilson became the prime mover in their protests against the vandalism of the destruction of the fifteenth century Trinity College Church to make way for a larger terminus for the North British Railway. He attended the last service in the church on 14 May 1848. His account of the richly carved and decorated interior of the church was recognised as the most historically correct by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in their *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh* in 1951.²⁶

Wilson's other conservation struggle concerned 'John Knox's House'.²⁷ Due to its poor state it was condemned in 1845 — the fact that it was an encumbrance in the street was also noted. A committee was formed to collect subscriptions for purchasing the house and neighbouring properties with the intention of raising a national monument to Knox. The Society of Antiquaries, under Wilson, backed the John Knox Committee and the life renter of the house, Miss Frances Loch of Rachen. It was difficult to raise money for the preservation of the

house, which was perceived to be for the use of the Free Church of Scotland, so the case became a religious battle following the split over patronage in 1842–43.²⁸ In order to gain support for retaining the house all doubts about the identity of the original owner had to be suppressed. Wilson's interest was primarily in its survival as the only one extant with timber galleries, once such a common feature in the Old Town. He was always sceptical about the association with Knox, but it is doubtful if the house would have survived without the traditional association with his name. The original house was eventually retained and only the adjacent buildings were pulled down. John Knox's House continued to haunt him for the rest of his life. Writing to Peter Miller in 1890 he lamented the fact that he had received many letters accusing him of upsetting the cherished tradition that Knox had lived in it.²⁹

Although firmly based in Canada after 1853 Wilson continued to take a close interest in Edinburgh affairs. William Nelson, his great friend and correspondent, became involved in funding restoration work at Edinburgh Castle in the 1880s.³⁰ Wilson himself had announced the rediscovery of St Margaret's Chapel at the Castle to the Society of Antiquaries on 27 July 1846, which had led to a modest restoration scheme by removing a small garrison chapel at its east end and changing its function from military magazine back to chapel.³¹ Nelson now proposed to fund further work there, as well as other projects at the Argyle or Portcullis Tower and Parliament Hall.³² In correspondence with the Edinburgh architect Hippolyte Blanc, Nelson wrote that he has 'good news for him,' that he 'applied my friend Dr Daniel Wilson to Mr [Andrew] Ker, to see if he would recommend you as Architect for the restoration of St Margaret's Chapel and I have much pleasure in stating that he has done so *con amore*. This note will be presented to you by Dr Daniel Wilson who wishes to have a talk with you about the matter.'³³ However, Wilson was much exercised over the proposed alterations to the chapel. Blanc sent him two series of photo-lithographs from his original drawings for the repairs, with 'a view to harmonize our sympathies'. Wilson counseled restraint rather than adding extra ornamentation, urging the retention of walling that is not obviously recast, but he did not like Blanc's drawing for a cross on the east gable and included one of his own.³⁴

Unfortunately Wilson's scholarly recommendations were not required as the Office of Works, which was responsible for the upkeep of the chapel, did not feel obliged to carry out Nelson's intentions for the chapel as they 'looked with disapproval at his (Blanc's) expenditure on a subject bringing in no return'.³⁵

The Argyle Tower, which replaced the Constable's Tower that was destroyed in 1573, was built in 1577 with a new upper storey added in 1584 with a crenellated parapet: the flat roof was designed as a gun emplacement.³⁶ Hippolyte Blanc was again in charge of the 'restoration' and in the course of researching the history of the buildings he visited the British Museum. Nelson wrote to him to ask how the Argyle Tower would look if restored according to a sketch he had found there. Nelson's advice was to look at an engraving of Edinburgh Castle in Wilson's *Memorials* taken from a drawing by Thomas Sandby of about 1750, in which the tower is shown with a flat roof.³⁷ Writing to Wilson on 15 November 1885 Blanc asked 'for some ideas for this restoration. Some say that was the original state of the structure while others maintain that over the flat top within the parapets, there must have been an additional apartment such as, I presume, we found at Borthwick Castle.' This letter shows two sketches in the margin, one with the tower as it then was with crenellations sketched in, and the other indicating his suggested arrangement with a pitched roof. The War Office accepted Nelson's offer to restore the tower.³⁸ Wilson agreed with the restoration of the parapet 'somewhat as Borthwick Castle'. He considered that 'all that is genuine should be preserved, but at the same time the prominent position of this gateway tower in the general view of the castle suggests the desirability of treating it in such a way as may best accord with the picturesque outline of the fine old fortress,' pure nostalgia on Wilson's part.³⁹ He also asked Blanc if something could be done to bring the huge formal pile of the eighteenth century barracks on the west into harmony with the Castle, a continuing dislike which he shared with Walter Scott and Robert Chambers. 'At present it looks like a cotton mill perched among the genuine buildings.' If the skyline could be broken up into some picturesque forms, it might 'fit with some harmony into the old'.⁴⁰

One of Wilson's last acts for his friend William Nelson was to comment on Blanc's designs for a memorial tablet for the Nelson family enclosure in

the Grange Cemetery. He agreed with Blanc's idea of a pseudo-classical seventeenth century style monument. The tablet cut in red sandstone was to have a panel in white marble which Wilson considered would not last in the Scottish climate and suggested sandstone. He enclosed a small sketch of a panel with an open pediment containing the Nelson shield, a design he considered 'consistent with the Scottish Renaissance'.⁴¹

In June 1888 Daniel Wilson was offered a knighthood which he rather ungraciously attempted to refuse. He considered it a slight upon letters and science when men who have attained an eminence in political life are admitted to one or other of the orders of knighthood. However, he was forced to accept it when Lord Stanley, the Governor General of Canada,

congratulated him, in a loyal address, 'on the dignity conferred by her Majesty'.⁴²

He was far more delighted to learn in 1891 that the Town Council of Edinburgh proposed to admit him as a Burgess and Gild Brother 'in recognition of his distinguished literary services in historical and antiquarian research'. On 20 August 1891 he received the freedom of the City of Edinburgh in the Council Chambers and confessed he regarded it more than his knighthood.⁴³ While in Edinburgh his triple portrait was painted by Sir George Reid for the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.⁴⁴ Sir Daniel Wilson died in Toronto on 6 August 1892. Margaret and Daniel Wilson are buried in St James' Cemetery, Toronto.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

This article was first researched for a chapter on 'Daniel Wilson, Antiquarian of Edinburgh: A Sense of Place', in Elizabeth Hulse (ed.), *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*, by Marinell Ash and colleagues (University of Toronto Press 1999), pp. 42–59.

- 1 Marinell Ash, 'The Early Years', in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, pp. 3–4. In the preface Dr Margaret Mackay explains that Wilson was ambidextrous and the title refers to the skill he acquired in using both hands, the right for writing, the left for drawing: 'It was his belief that by learning to use both hands, the human being could develop the two hemispheres of the brain more fully, a thesis eloquently illustrated in his own personality, with its amalgam of artistic, scientific, and other abilities'. See also Elizabeth Hulse, 'Sir Daniel Wilson', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), and Carl Berger, 'Sir Daniel Wilson' in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto 2000), both available online.
- 2 Jessie Aitken Wilson, *Memoir of George Wilson* (Edinburgh 1860), pp. 5, 10 and 11. The book was dedicated to her mother and acknowledged 'hearty cooperation and assistance' from her brother Daniel in the preface.
- 3 William Steven, *History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1849).
- 4 Wilson, *Memoir*, p. 13.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.
- 6 John C. Guy, 'Edinburgh Engravers', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (BOEC)*, 9 (1916), p. 101. For confirmation that Wilson left the High School to study with Miller in 1831, see Marinell Ash in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, p. 38, n. 46.
- 7 Hugh Hannah, 'Sir Daniel Wilson: The Man and his Work', *BOEC*, 17 (1930), p. 4.
- 8 Hugh Hornby Langton, *Sir Daniel Wilson: A Memoir* (Edinburgh, Toronto, London, 1929), pp. 19–35.
- 9 Ash, 'The Early Years', in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, p. 35. When Dr David Irving was persuaded to retire in 1848, Wilson became a candidate. Unexpectedly his fellow antiquarian David Laing decided to reapply for a post that he had failed to get in 1819, which surprised Wilson, and he felt he could not press his claim. Laing then suddenly withdrew his application, and the situation descended into disorder. The appointment went to Samuel Hackett, a self-trained philologist with wide bibliographical knowledge (George Wilson, attempting to be fair, had acted as one of Hackett's referees).
- 10 *Post Office Directories* for 1843 and 1844.
- 11 Hannah, 'Sir Daniel Wilson', pp. 4–5.
- 12 Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols (Edinburgh 1848). The second edition, carefully revised by Wilson, was published in 1891. He had been horrified when unauthorised and unrevised editions had appeared in 1872 and 1886.
- 13 *Ibid.*, I, p. i.
- 14 Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 2 vols (Edinburgh 1825); revised edn 1868.
- 15 Wilson, *Memorials*, I, p. i.
- 16 Elizabeth Hulse, 'Wilson with Family and Friends', in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, p. 278, nn. 3–4.
- 17 Charles Smith, *Historic South Edinburgh*, 4 vols (Edinburgh 1978–1988), III, pp. 136–141.
- 18 Wilson, *Memorials*, I, p. i.
- 19 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Daniel Wilson Scrapbooks, 2 vols, DA 1829 WIL (N).

- 20 Andrew Fraser, 'A Reassessment of Craig's New Town Plans, 1766–1774', in Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser (eds), *James Craig, 1744–1795* (Edinburgh 1995), p. 38. Copies made from the original plate were included in some copies of the first edition of the *Memorials* in 1848 (the original plate cannot now be traced).
- 21 University of Toronto Archives B65–0014/004(01), 20–22.
- 22 For an explanation of the use of the word 'prehistoric' see Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, p. 79, n. 1.
- 23 Marinell Ash, 'A Fine, Genial, Hearty Band: David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology', in A. S. Bell (ed.), *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* (Edinburgh 1981), pp. 100–103.
- 24 Bruce G. Trigger, 'Prehistoric Man', in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, pp. 81–82.
- 25 Marinell Ash, Kitty Cruft and Elizabeth Hulse, 'Antiquarian of Edinburgh', in Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, pp. 42–43.
- 26 Daniel Wilson, 'St Ninian's Suburb and the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (PSAS)*, 18 (1883), pp. 128–170. See also Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1951), pp. 36–40.
- 27 National Library of Scotland (NLS), Papers of Dr David Brewster, volume of papers relating to the restoration of John Knox's House, collected by Dr D. Wilson, ex Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. See also Donald Smith, *John Knox House: Gateway to Edinburgh's Old Town* (Edinburgh 1996), pp. 41–47.
- 28 Wilson was brought up a Baptist but was converted to evangelical Anglicanism while in London.
- 29 NLS, Brewster Papers, MS 1956, No. 138, 28 November 1890. Peter Miller, author of 'John Knox and his Manse' in *PSAS*, 25 (1891), pp. 138–154, was much preoccupied with the question of where Knox lived.
- 30 Iain MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle* (London 1993), pp. 107–116.
- 31 NLS, MS 1736/6, Nelson Papers. See also RCAHMS, *Edinburgh*, p. 13.
- 32 MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle*, pp. 107–116; Wilson, *Memorials*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh 1891), I, p. xii.
- 33 NLS, MS 1734/12, William Nelson to Hippolyte Blanc, 14 September 1885.
- 34 NLS, MS 1734/99–110, Wilson to Blanc, 5 December 1885.
- 35 John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth 1984), p. 88.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 37 NLS, MS 1734/38–39, Nelson to Blanc (undated). Wilson's sketch was copied from the plate in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 164.
- 38 Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, MTRL S65, vol. 1, p. 278, Blanc to Wilson, 15 November 1885.
- 39 NLS, MS 1734/126-9 Wilson to Blanc, 12 December 1885.
- 40 NLS, MS 1737/21, Wilson to Blanc, 16 December 1890.
- 41 NLS, MS 1736/98, Wilson to Blanc, 13 August 1888.
- 42 Appendix, 'Chronology of Daniel Wilson's Life', Hulse, *Thinking with Both Hands*, p. 287.
- 43 Hannah, 'Sir Daniel Wilson', p. 16; C. J. Cousland, *Honoured in Scotland's Capital* (Edinburgh 1946), p. 69.
- 44 Reproduced as the frontispiece in *BOEC*, 17 (1930).