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‘GIVE AUTHORITY’, THE TREASURY AND THE RENOVATION OF HOLYROOD, 1837–1909

Ian Levitt

Fig. 1. Holyrood Palace and immediate environs, before improvements. (Kirkwood, 1821)

Writing in 1859 the *Times* welcomed the recent works undertaken by the Government at Holyrood and commented:

> Within the last few years very extensive improvements have been made in the external aspect of Holyrood. Formerly surrounded with small houses and gardens, and almost inaccessible either from the town or the park it now stands in the midst of a somewhat spacious and neatly enclosed garden, and a carriage drive of ample breadth has been formed all along its front, communicating on the one side with the New Town, in the centre with the Old Town, by way of Canongate, and on the other extreme with the Queen’s Drive, the Royal parks, and the hills of Arthur’s Seat. ... There are various directions still in which the work of improvement may be carried out, but the process made within the last six years has already done much to compensate for the neglect into which for many years this interesting and picturesquely environed palace was allowed to fall.[1]

In fact, since 1853 over £25,000 had been spent on ‘improvements’ for the Palace and Park.[2] Interestingly whilst there have been numerous works published on the general history of the Palace, its architectural style, its collection of tapestries, and the layout of the Park, little attention has been given to the discussion within nineteenth century Government of the financial commitment that its renovation entailed.[3] In the early twentieth century the *Scotsman* newspaper published a series of short articles on its history and noted the interest taken by Prince

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Albert, the Prince Consort, in the planned work with a hint that the Prince had ensured Queen Victoria's approval of the improvements.[4] Whilst the Monarch's support cannot be ruled out as a contributory factor, ultimately the deciding influence on this financial commitment lay with the Treasury, its First Lord (the Prime Minister), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Financial Secretary. The latter Minister held day to day responsibility for the control of public expenditure.[5] This article seeks to review the role of the Treasury in the improvements, as it sought to accommodate the plans presented by the Board of Works (the Government department charged with the maintenance of public buildings), the pressure from Scotland, especially Edinburgh Town Council, and the Monarch, to renovate a neglected and decaying late medieval Palace and sometime Royal Park.

Reclaiming Holyrood Park and grounds, 1837–1849

Various works of repair were completed at the Palace after the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.[6] The Monarch had toured Holyrood and held a levee but 'the decay' was such that, throughout the visit, he resided with the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith. By 1835 a total of near £25,000 had been spent by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests (who were responsible for public buildings) on repairs to its masonry, roof, windows, garden walls, and redecoration.[7] The Whig Government's First Commissioner, Viscount Duncannon, evidently considered that the repairs were insufficient to restore Holyrood's status as a Royal Palace. In 1837 he wrote to the Treasury that three years earlier the Commissioners had received a memorial from Edinburgh's Town Council requesting that the Government should acquire various properties owned by the Duke of Hamilton which surrounded the Palace. These included a number of gardens and dwelling houses at St. Ann's Yard which lay immediately below its southern wing. It stated that

> ... the Royal Park, on the north, south, and west of, and very close to the Palace, has been gradually encroached on by gardens and buildings of a very mean description, which not only confine and disfigure the Palace, but give it altogether so much the appearance of ruin and neglect that it resembles more the decayed mansion house of a bankrupt than the Palace of Our August and beloved Sovereign.[8]

The Council also commented on the extent of 'waste and neglect' that covered the 'extensive and beautiful Park', including 'the romantic and now classical grounds of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags'. The Park was under the control of the Earl of Haddington whose predecessors had held the title of hereditary office of Keeper since 1691 by charter, and was largely let for agricultural purposes at an annual rent of about £1,000. The Council believed that its apparent 'melancholy' stood in contrast to the efforts of Edinburgh's citizens

> to assess themselves to a very considerable amount for the purposes of forming approaches, building bridges, and otherwise improving the ancient portion of the City, but while the Palace and Park of Holyrood are permitted to remain in their present state, the Memorialists feel that their efforts to beautify the City will be but partially successful.

It 'urged' the removal of the buildings that encroached on and disfigured the Palace and Park in order to enable both to be viewed as they had been in late medieval times – a Royal Palace enclosed almost wholly with park lands. The Commissioners endorsed the Council's comments but added that, unlike London and Dublin, there was no park in Edinburgh maintained by the Crown.[9] The Government's Parliamentary Secretary, E Stanley, considered the proposal, but the Treasury rejected it stating that 'it would be premature to treat with the Duke of Hamilton' to purchase his 'interests', and otherwise proceed with its plan for the Park's improvement.[10]

Two years later the Commissioners wrote again to the Treasury indicating that Haddington was prepared to sell the Park in order to purchase other property.[11] (He was aware that the Commissioners had expressed an interest in its purchase.) The Commissioners indicated that whilst the earlier decision had ruled out the Hamilton properties it had not mentioned the Park. Stanley, after consulting the Scottish Whip, accepted the Commissioners' request and indicated that discussions could begin with Haddington on its purchase, using the funds from 'the hereditary revenues of the Crown in Scotland'.[12] Stanley accepted privately that if the revenues were not sufficient he might have 'to go to Parliament'.

In September 1841, shortly after the formation of Peel's Conservative Government, the Commissioners were informed that one of the proprietors in St Ann's Yard was prepared to sell his interests to the Crown. The seven properties consisted of 'a malt

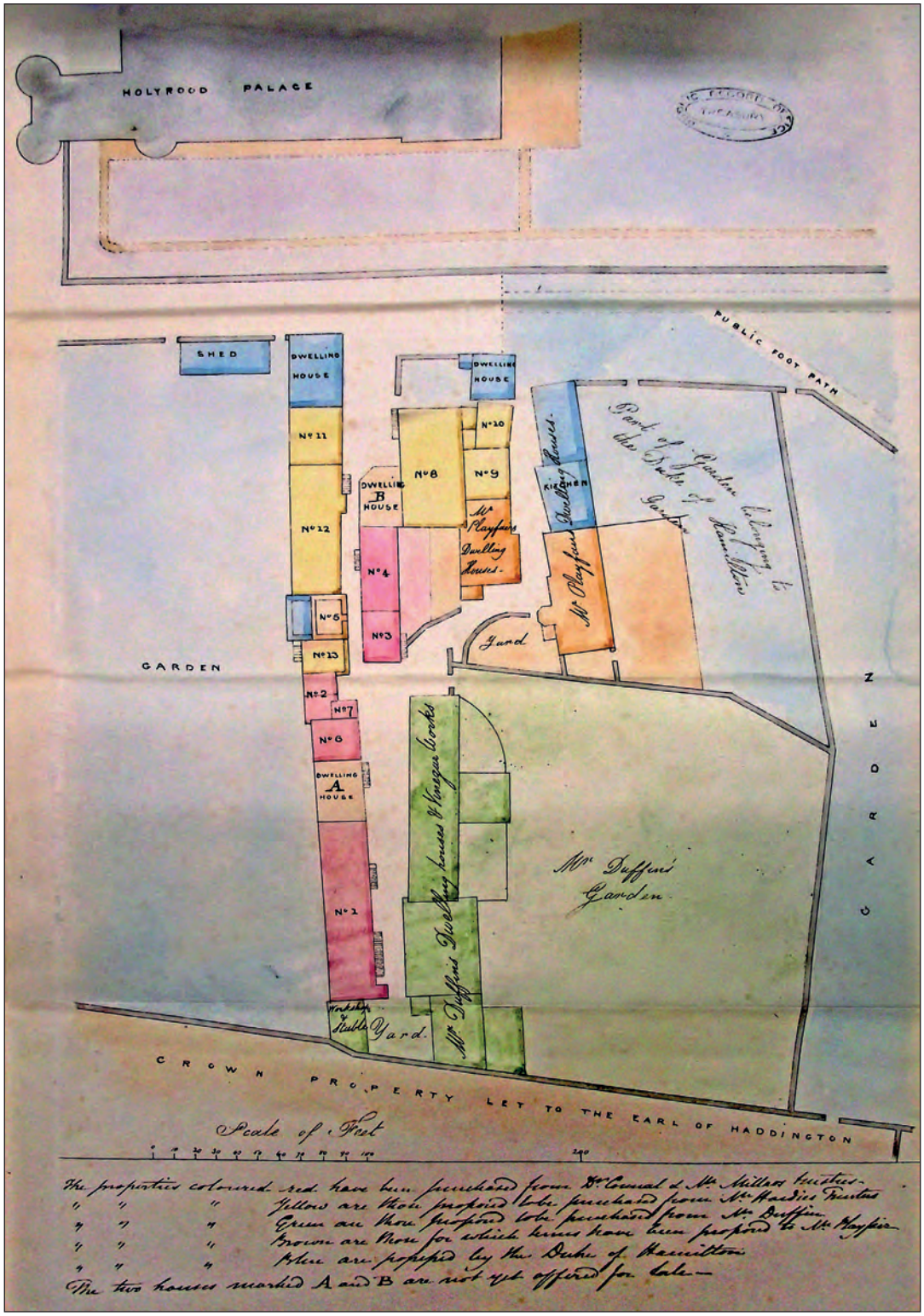

Fig. 2. The dwelling houses, gardens and works at St Ann’s Yard, 1842. Source TNA T1/4765

house and kiln, a stable, sundry dwelling houses and a cellar' and were 'in a ruinous and dilapidated condition'.[13] The Commissioners sought authority to purchase the properties 'with reference to any improvements that might be contemplated in the vicinity of the Palace', a necessary step if the Palace and Park were to be seen as one. (The properties were valued at £567.) The Chancellor, H. Goulburn, minuted that he concurred in 'the propriety' of the acquisition, thereby overturning the decision of the previous Whig Government on Holyrood 'improvements'.[14] The following year virtually all the remaining St Ann's Yard properties, except those held by the Duke of Hamilton, were offered by the respective proprietors.[15] These included a garden, various dwelling houses, a stable, and a vinegar works. Goulburn gave similar authority, noting the valuation as £2,969.[16] Apart from those properties owned by the Duke of Hamilton, St Ann's Yard and gardens were now held by the Crown.

By the time of Goulburn's second decision, Queen Victoria had paid her first visit to Edinburgh, but because of the unpreparedness of the Palace for her reception and general concern about the unhealthiness of the area (fever was prevalent), the Queen stayed with the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith.[17] After arbitration, the Earl of Haddington (who was First Lord of the Admiralty in Peel's Government) agreed to sell the Park, which had been valued at £30,674. The sale required an Act of Parliament and funds supplied from the UK Crown land revenues, the latter not without comment in the House of Commons.[18] The Government spokesman informed the House that negotiations had been progressed so far that the current Government on taking office felt obliged to conclude the sale, noting that Scottish legal opinion had concluded 'the Earl's right to this park was as clear and indisputable as that of any person in the country to his private estate'.

Once the Park was transferred from Haddington, the central issue facing the Office of Works (the Commissioners' department responsible for public works) lay in its rehabilitation as open space. Between 1843 and 1850 nearly £20,000 was spent on its 'improvements' and annual maintenance.[19] The capital works were initially sanctioned at £10,000 by the Conservative Government out of the Scottish land revenues and included a new approach and entrance at St Leonard's gate, a drive linking the west of the Park to Meadowbank, a circular drive towards and then down from Dunsappie Loch and the drainage of the land of what eventually became St Margaret's Loch.[20] The Belleville lands adjacent to St Ann's Yard which, although they belonged to the Crown and were rented out to a local farmer, were to be 'thrown open'. The works were formally sanctioned in 1846 by the incoming Whig Government's Parliamentary Secretary, H Tufnell.[21] The following year the same Minister agreed to the purchase of a field to the east of Belleville belonging to Capt. Denniston for £3,000. It added additional space north of the new drive to the gate at Meadowbank.[22] Later that summer the work's estimate was exceeded, but the Minister authorised the expenditure including provision for the deepening of Dunsappie Loch.[23] Although some minor works continued to be undertaken, by the beginning of 1850 the Office of Works' initial plan for the restoration of the Park had been completed. Whilst it could not be said that the totality of the Commissioners and Council's vision for Holyrood had been achieved, the Treasury had accepted that the Park should be returned to public ownership for recreational purposes and that the majority of properties immediately south and east of the Palace should be held by the Crown.

Holyrood Palace, 'extra-ordinary' expenditure and the removal of 'unsightly' properties, 1850–1860

In February 1850 the press noted that Queen Victoria intended to visit Holyrood 'either going to, or returning from Balmoral' in the autumn.[24] The following month the press also noted that 'to render the vicinity worthy of the Palace' much remained 'to be effected'.[25] The proposed visit was confirmed in April, when the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, stated to the Treasury that it was

> ... the Queen's desire, that the apartments should be fitted up in Holyrood Palace so as to be placed in a proper condition for her Majesty's occupation when she may hereafter visit Edinburgh, and his Lordship recommends that the Commrs. of Woods should be instructed to take the necessary measures for that purpose.[26]

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Wood, and the Financial Secretary, W G Hayter, 'concurred' with the decision. The Commissioners consulted their Scottish Clerk of Works who estimated that to

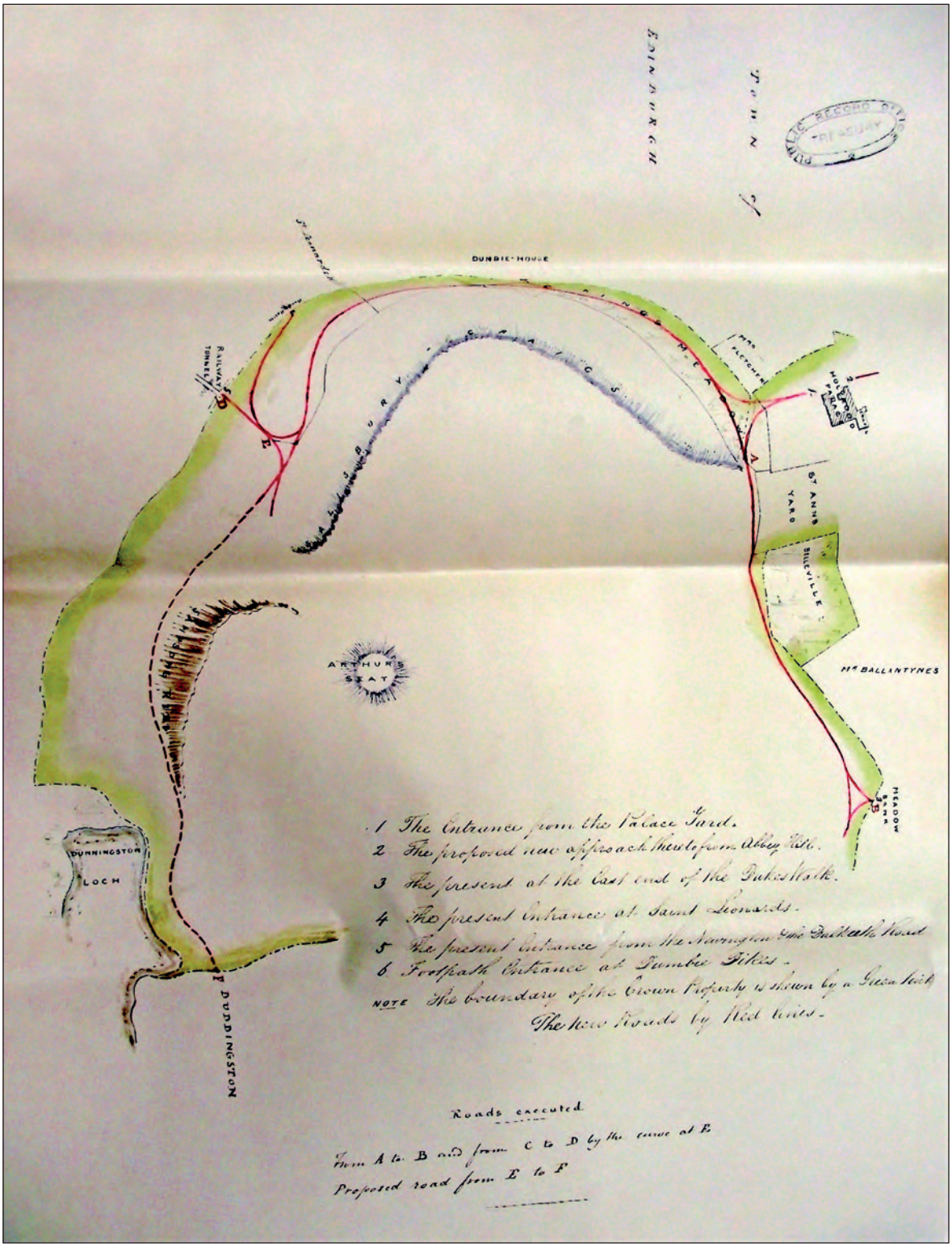

Fig. 3. The proposed layout of roads at Holyrood Park, 1843. Source TNA T1/4835

Fig. 4. The Belleville lands and purchase of Capt. Denniston's property, which also shows road layout around Dunsapie Loch, 1846-47. Source TNA T1/5190 (A version of a map first published in H. Courtoy, *Guide to Abbey and Palace of Holyrood*, (1839), drawn by N. Tennant and engraved by J. West)

achieve 'the most economical arrangement', the work would entail £1,500 expenditure, part of which would be used to extend and widen the Palace's garden walk to establish a carriage way to a private east wing entrance.[27] The carriage way was intended to egress to the Queen's Drive and hence enable the Royal Party to enter the Palace on the eastern side of the Park from a specially built station at Meadowbank without travelling through the Canongate.[28] The Queen was to travel by train from London, open the rail bridge at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and then journey again by train to Edinburgh. The apartments designated for the Royal Family included the whole of the east wing and a large portion of the south side, the apartment at the centre of the east wing was designated the Monarch's bed room, with her drawing room at the far south of the wing.[29] Adjoining her drawing room on the wing facing Arthur's Seat lay the dining room and beyond that the Prince Consort's drawing room. (The apartments had been vacated after the death of the Countess of Strathmore.) The Commissioners' estimate was increased by a further £150 to enable the gilding of the Monarch's drawing room ceiling.[30] The Supplementary Estimate that the work entailed was voted by the House of Commons, with Lord John Russell dispelling the expenditure fear of the radical MP, J Hume:

> ... he thought the Committee would not be disposed to blame Her Majesty for visiting the Highlands, when it was known that Her Majesty and the Royal children derived great benefit from a residence in that part of the country. He considered, then, that as on her way to Her residence in the Highlands Her Majesty had to pass through the metropolis of Scotland, where there was a palace which formerly belonged to the Kings of Scotland, Her Majesty might be anxious to occupy apartments in that palace.[31]

The House of Commons accepted that the work was intended to ensure that the apartments were 'water-tight' with 'tenantable repairs'. The furniture was supplied by the Monarch from other royal properties. The necessary renovations required a further £300, leading to the Treasury expressing some censure.[32] In response the Scottish Clerk of Works stated that a significant part of the additional cost, previously unforeseen, was due to the detection of decay in the main timbers of the floors, an explanation which the Treasury accepted.[33]

It was noted that Queen Victoria's apparent delight with the specially prepared apartments and the general 'magnificence' of Holyrood (and Arthur's Seat) was tempered by her view of the locality's 'somber atmosphere'. Such prevented the establishment of Palace 'pleasure grounds' free from public observation.[34] In February of the following year the Commissioners initiated legal action to remove the St Ann's Yard tenants from its properties, thus enabling the demolition of 'such unsightly and objectionable' buildings in close 'proximity to the Royal residence'.[35] The intention, once the remaining properties not owned by the Crown were bought, was to transfer the cleared ground into an enclosed garden for the Palace.

The Town Council were emboldened by the public reception the Monarch had received with thousands lining the Queen's Drive and beyond, and agreed a memorial to the Monarch on improving access to the front of the Palace.[36] Dispersal of the citizenry after her arrival had resulted in a number of crushes and injuries at the lower entrance to the Canongate and it suggested that a new road linking Abbeyhill near the railway bridge, though Queen Mary's garden and along the west of the Palace to Queen's Drive would ease any future congestion and permit speedier access to and from the New Town. The Council were already aware that the Commissioners were broadly in favour of the proposal. The Board of Works became a separate department in August 1851 and Lord Seymour, its First Commissioner, considered a number of proposals for improvements to the immediate neighbourhood of the Palace, including the purchase of certain properties. These it was noted, 'if not at present injurious to the amenity of the Palace, might at any time become so'.[37] The cost was estimated at over £11,000 and Seymour accepted that the project should be abandoned.

Undaunted by this rejection, in early 1852 the Town Council began consideration of public access to the Palace.[38] At that time there was no formal scheme of access, though on application to the Hereditary Keeper, the Duke of Hamilton, or by simply turning up at the entrance, a member of the public could be admitted to the picture gallery and adjoining rooms. In the latter case, the Palace keepers, as tour guides, expected some form of gratuity which appeared to vary dependent on the visitor.[39] By the time the Council agreed a memorial to the Treasury, a party of over a thousand English tourists arrived in Edinburgh in two trains organised by the Thomas Cook travel company, the largest such organised tour that the City had seen.[40] The press subsequently reported that the tour had been an outstanding success and commented

> The parties assembled in Calton Hill on Thursday morning at nine o'clock and, after being arranged into small sections proceeded to visit the more prominent "sights" of the city – such as the Castle, Holyrood Palace, the Parliament House the College &c. Not a few of them also took the opportunity of a walk round the Queen's Drive – an example that ought to be followed by every stranger who wishes to get a good view of our "romantic town" and its picturesque neighbourhood.[41]

The Town Council's memorial covered two issues. The first concerned the general state of the Palace, its disrepair, its occupation by the Hereditary Keeper, and the closeness of the surrounding relatively dilapidated buildings, which resulted in 'much inconvenience' to the Monarch.[42] Second, the Council noted that over 50,000 people per annum were visiting the Scottish Regalia in Edinburgh Castle, with many coming from England, the United States of America, France and other European Countries, but found that they were prevented entrance to the Palace, except by offering necessary 'emoluments' to the Hereditary Keeper's servants. The Palace, it argued, should be kept by the Government as other Royal Palaces, and open, like Hampton Court, to 'public inspection'.

The minority Conservative Government's Financial Secretary, George Hamilton, rejected

the Council's memorial out of hand (Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer). In his reply he stated that,

> ... expense has been increased under the sanction of Parliament for such repairs and fittings of a portion of the Palace of Holyrood as was considered necessary for the proper accommodation of Her Majesty, and that My Lords are not prepared to propose to Parliament any further Grant for this object.[43]

The expense referred to was the amount agreed by the previous Whig Government in 1850. This was in addition to the annual sum for ordinary works and repairs, which in 1852–53 had been voted as £279.

The Council was evidently shaken by the rebuff. The Lord Provost commented it had not sought a special grant but an increase in the annual Board of Works Vote through the 'proper management of the Crown's land revenues'.[44] Equally other Councillors noted that the Financial Secretary's letter had not covered the issue of public access, nor the disrepair to the Picture Gallery, where at the 1852 election of the Scottish Representative Peers, the flooring had to be 'propped up' with beams from below.[45] (The same strengthening had been required at the reception given in honour of the Queen's birthday by the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly.) The Lord Provost responded to the Treasury in the light of the comments made, but clarified that the Council accepted that any increased grant would require 'the authority of Parliament', though he added that 'the large funds', the Crown land revenues, held by the Commissioners of Woods were 'primarily applicable for such purposes.[46]

The Treasury again rejected the argument that the land revenues 'were primarily applicable' to the support of Royal palaces, but on the issue of public access replied that the representation would receive 'consideration'.[47] In consequence it referred the matter to the Board of Works, now a separate department, which already had the issue under consideration. Its report to the Treasury in December 1853 highlighted the Opinion of the Government's Law Officers that the Duke of Hamilton held no right to Holyrood's apartments, other than 'by grace and favor of the Sovereign'.[48] The Board also noted that his 'servants' (the Palace keepers) had charged 'fees varying in amount, and not subject to any regulation; and which had been regarded, therefore as exactions from which it was the object of the Memorialists to be freed'. After consulting the Council on the provision of facilities for admission to the Palace, it recommended that one day a week should be free, and on the other days when it would be open, 'a small regulated fee' should be charged. The new Whig/Peelite Government's Financial Secretary accepted the recommendation, subject to a review of the charges made in relation to the cost of the attendants.[49] (The Chancellor was W E Gladstone.) The Board had already taken steps to refloor the Picture Gallery, previously rendered as unsafe.[50] Its annual Vote for the financial year 1852–53 had been sanctioned at £1,260, over £1,000 more than the previous two years.

In 1853 a substantial campaign developed on the issue of 'Scottish Rights', led in Parliament by the Earl of Eglington, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during the minority Conservative Government the previous year.[51] The campaign was well covered in the Scottish press, and amongst the issues it raised, commented on the state of Holyrood compared with the London royal palaces. Eglington presented the petition to the House of Lords in April 1854. In his speech he acknowledged that repairs had been carried out to enable Queen Victoria to stay there for a night on her way to and from Balmoral, but added that

> ...the palace itself was in such a dilapidated condition that at the election of a Scotch representative Peer last summer the public could not be admitted, because of the insecurity of the floor. It was utterly impossible, indeed, that the palace could be used for any courtly or public purpose. The chapel was a ruin, without a roof, and the park was a waste and a quagmire; the palace garden was let to a market-gardener, and the immediate neighbourhood was a refuge for absconding debtors.[52]

In response, and in defence of the current policy of maintenance, the Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, stated that

> Holyrood is no longer inhabited by the Sovereign, although undoubtedly Her Majesty stays in it for a night or so in passing through Edinburgh to the north; it is not, however, a residence which can be considered at all necessary for the enjoyment or for the state of royalty. But it is not quite right to assert that it has not been put in a sufficient state of repair for the purposes for which it is required. Something has been done to put it in a less dilapidated condition than it used to be.[53]

After other Scottish lords had spoken, the 'question' raised by Eglington was 'negatived'.

Despite Aberdeen's statement on the Palace's maintenance there was an acknowledgement that it remained in a somewhat dilapidated condition and still hemmed in by surrounding buildings,

including those in St Ann's Yard not yet owned and demolished by the Crown. Although the Board of Works had abandoned its idea of the mass purchase of the surrounding buildings in early 1854 it heard that the owner of the mansion house and garden at Croft-an-Righ to the immediate north was intent on auctioning the property. (It was once owned by the Regent Moray.) Provisionally, the Board agreed to place the purchase price within its estimates for the following year, 1854–55, but then was informed that the auction was likely to occur on 8 March, unless it was 'disposed of by private treaty'. It sought Treasury authority to bid for the property, at an estimated cost of £1,000, on the understanding that it would not be required to pay the owner until the new financial year. The Treasury was informed that

> The garden ... forms an encroachment on the Grounds of the Palace, and, as it is open in a far greater degree than any other of the plots originally selected for purchase [in 1851] to the objection I have referred to [injurious to the Palace's amenity] and the possession of it by a private purchaser might be found to interfere with any projected improvement of the approach to Holyrood on the side of the new Town.[54]

The Treasury's Auditor of the Civil List – the official who held responsibility for public expenditure – minuted 'give authority' to the proposed purchase, apparently without reference to the Financial Secretary or Chancellor.[55] The decision effectively endorsed the Board's view on improvements (which it shared with the Town Council), and in September the Scottish Clerk of Works held an 'interview' with the Prince Consort to outline 'the proposed improvements and new approaches to the Palace and Park'.[56] It was noted that the Prince 'expressed his approval'.

The Treasury appeared to raise no substantive objection or concerns about the Board's proposals for the next two financial years, 1855–57. These included a new road on the south side of the Park to link Newington to Duddingston (very much at the behest of the Town Council), a new approach road to the west of the Palace to link Abbeyhill with the Park, the improvement of the approach road at Meadowbank, re-building a portion of the Palace's boundary wall, reinstating the decayed floors of some of the Palace's apartments, the replacement of the old sashes (and with plate glass) in the Throne Room and Evening Drawing Room, the provision of grates for the State apartments, the purchase of some Hamilton properties in St Ann's Yard, and the purchase of others to the north west of the Palace, the latter to remove 'two old houses in a very decayed state' which would further facilitate the new approach road.[57] If anything, the Financial Secretary gave the impression that he was more concerned to ensure that whatever purchases were required were accelerated and placed on the Board of Works' Vote for Parliamentary approval.[58]

The Treasury's attitude toward the improvements altered in March 1857 when the Board put forward the proposed purchase of the remaining ten Hamilton properties at a cost of £2,606/12/-. Six properties were in St Ann's Yard and the others lay on the west side of the proposed new approach road. The Auditor of the Civil List objected to the *fait accompli* after the Board had conducted discussion with the vendor on the assumption of Treasury sanction. Within the Estimate for 1857–58 it had included the expenditure as 'ordinary works', not as an exceptional item subject to additional scrutiny.[59] (A number of other properties had received prior sanction.) The Financial Secretary agreed, but accepted that the negotiations had 'gone too far to leave us any option, if we had chosen fit to exercise it'.[60] The Minister insisted that the Board should be made aware that its negotiations 'had been carried on in a manner likely to deprive' the Treasury of 'virtually all control over this class of expenditure which being of an exceptional character ought to be previously submitted'.[61] The amount in the Estimate for removing the Palace of further surrounding 'unsightly' properties, laying out and enclosing the garden, and the new approach road totalled £8,952/1/-. The Estimate for the Park, which included four new lodges at each entrance, the provision of iron gates at three entrances, and the formation of a loch in the boggy ground below St Anthony's Chapel, totalled £2,272/10/-. The Financial Secretary's insistence appeared successful. The Estimate for 1858–59 detailed a full list of 'extra-ordinary' expenditure for the Palace – £6,910/18/9d – which included the removal of additional 'unsightly' properties to the south-west of the Palace, the purchase of the ancient building known as Queen Mary's Bath, and further boundary wall provision.[62]

In October 1858 the Royal party stayed at Holyrood *en route* from Balmoral to London and the Board's Scottish Clerk met the Prince Consort to discuss a series of plans to improve the entrance to the Palace. The principal concern lay with the guardhouse

then at the entrance which was also the entrance to the State apartments and stated by the Board as 'inconvenient' to the Monarch. The Clerk sketched out a plan for converting the buildings immediately opposite the Palace including a relatively unused gaol and number of properties owned by Wm Younger. The latter included a brewery, workmen's dwellings, a cow-byre, and a malting house.[63] The Clerk was aware that the acquisition of the brewer's properties would require a compulsory order and an Act of Parliament, though during discussion the Prince Consort gave the impression that their purchase and conversion into stables and open space would improve the Palace's amenity. (The gaol was to be converted into a guardroom.) The matter appeared to rest, but two months later the brewer offered the properties to the Crown for £2,500, partly it seems in anticipation of compulsory purchase. The firm had already decided to open new premises further to the west of the Palace. The Board immediately sought authority from the Treasury to insert the sum in the following year's Estimate, noting that the properties gave 'the most glaring and unsightly appearance' of any of those that had been purchased or removed in the Palace's vicinity. The Conservative Government's Financial Secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote, subsequently wrote to Prince Albert's Treasurer (who was also the Queen's Keeper of the Privy Purse), and in return received the reply:

> I have shown the papers which accompanied your note ... to the Prince Consort. I am directed to state in reply that the ground proposed to be purchased, and alterations made, in the neighbourhood of Holyrood have been long in the contemplation of successive Commissioners of Works, and the opportunity of acquiring the ground at a very reasonable price, if now allowed to pass by, may not again occur.
> The whole amount is not large, and every Government naturally is desirous at the commencement of each session of Parliament to reduce their estimates as low as possible, so that such Votes are almost annually suggested to be postponed.
> The Queen is always desirous to listen to such suggestions, but in this instance the opportunity should be at once seized, or the improvements entirely abandoned.
> There has never been any objection taken to the moderate expense for the improvement of the old Palace of Holyrood and its environs, – of which the Scotch are very proud, – whilst so much money from the Imperial Treasury is spent in London.[64]

Northcote gave authority the following day for the purchase of the properties.[65] By 1861 all the unsightly properties in the Palace's immediate vicinity had either been demolished or otherwise converted for its use.

Holyrood and the preservation of its amenity, 1861–1909

The *Scotsman* noted the impact of Holyrood's 'improvements', both to the Palace and Park, and in 1861 welcomed the demolition of the brewery and nearby tenements.[66] It observed in particular that with the combination of Palace's 'extensive grounds, and Salisbury Craigs towards the south, and the New Town towards the north', Holyrood possessed 'something approaching to regal magnitude and dignity'.[67] The issue that faced Holyrood, the newspaper believed, was that the preservation of its amenity necessitated the management of any nearby 'eyesore' which could deter its use as a Royal residence or affect the panorama of the Park's open space.

In 1862 a proposal to build a lodge and restaurant at Dunsappie Loch, which had obtained Treasury sanction, was abandoned and the Vote transferred to a lodge at the St Leonards entrance to serve the same purpose.[68] The original plan, approved by the Prince Consort, had been for a building thatched with a heather roof 'to harmonise with the locality', but the 'remonstrances' that the Board received from Lord Provost and others resulted in a rapid change of view.[69] A restaurant, it was said, would have been a 'monstrous' intrusion into 'the solitude' of the area.[70]

In 1869 the owner of a number of tenements immediately to the north of the Palace on Abbeyhill proposed to sell them to the Crown, but the offer was rejected by the Liberal Government's Financial Secretary (James Stansfeld).[71] The Board advised that the small size, the likely cost of purchase – £1,800 – and the now wide north/south entrance to the Palace, meant the benefit to Holyrood would be marginal.[72] The Royal party continued to use the Queen's Drive route to and from Meadowbank station (now called St Margaret's), and in that sense if the property was 'unsightly', it was not readily seen.

The decisions on the Dunsappie Lodge and the Abbeyhill tenements reflected a Treasury commitment to maintain the amenity of Holyrood, and its willingness to accept the Board's view in its dealing with Edinburgh interests. That commitment was tested in 1871 when the Board sought authority to undertake 'certain works which Her Majesty desires to have performed at Holyrood Palace', at the estimated cost of £911.[73] The Queen had not resided

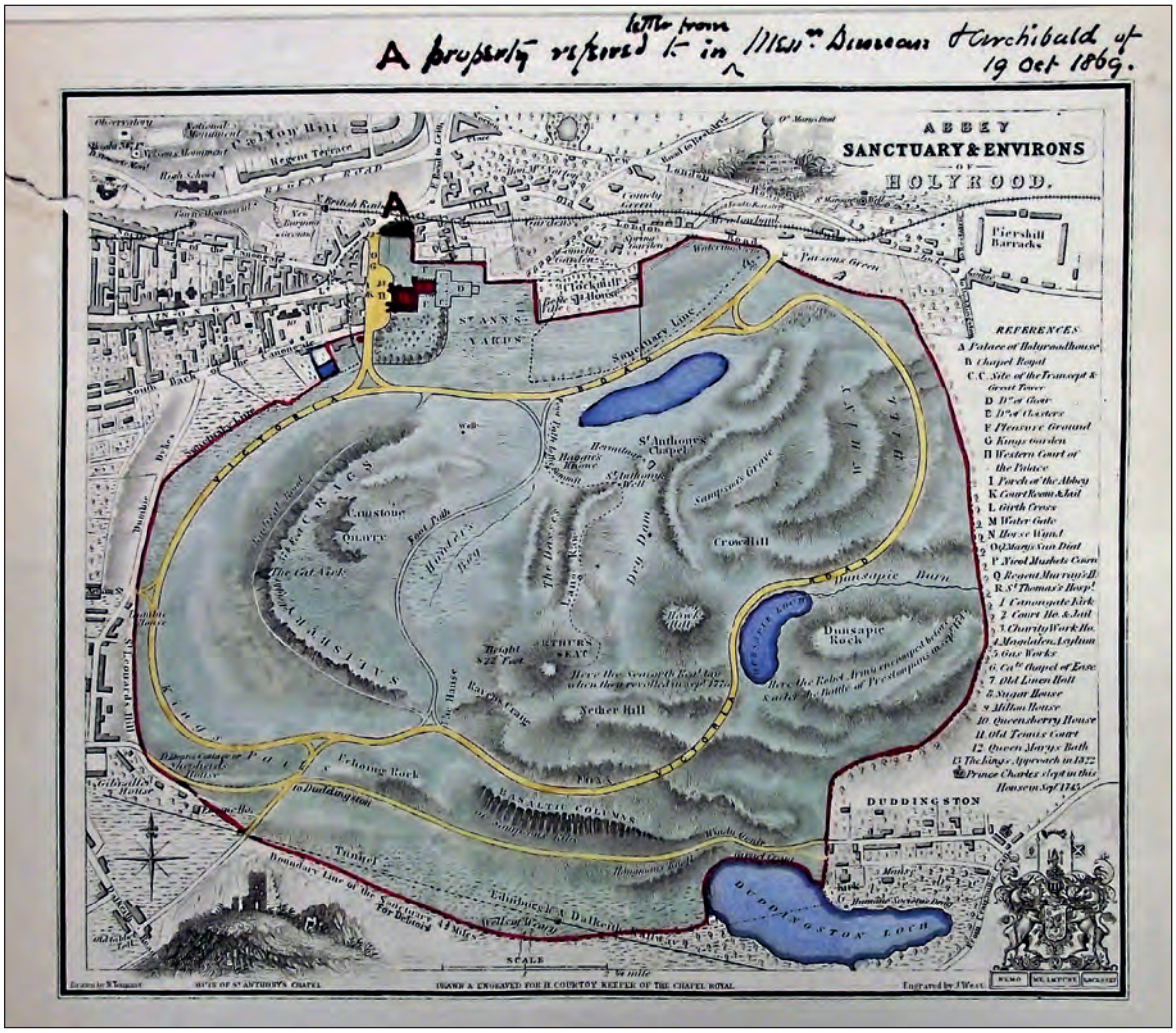

Fig. 5. The Abbey Hill property offered for sale, but not purchased, 1869. Source TNA T1/6912b (A version of a map first published in H. Courtoy, *Guide to Abbey and Palace of Holyrood*, (1839), drawn by N. Tennant and engraved by J. West)

at Holyrood since the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, and her Private Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Purse (H F Ponsonby) stressed that the plan for the refurbishment of the Argyll apartment had gained her approval, apparently ahead of a visit ‘in the ensuing Spring’.[74] The apartment was located on the floor above the existing bedroom suite facing east and so commanded ‘a fine view down the Firth of Forth, with North Berwick Law and the Bass Rock in the distance’.[75] The Financial Secretary promptly gave authority, though the visit did not occur until August 1872.[76] Subsequent to the visit the Board wrote again to the Treasury and informed it that

> ... the attention of the Board’s officer in Scotland was by her Majesty’s Command called to the desirability of building a wall and planting trees in the Garden of the Palace with the view to secure greater privacy.[77]

The Board estimated the work would cost £260 but added that the Superintendent of the Royal Mews sought authority to install a loose box in the stables and undertake other work at a cost of £109. The Financial Secretary (now W.E. Baxter) agreed to the first request, but accepted the advice of a Treasury official to disallow the second. He had stated:

> I can’t think what they want with a loose box and kamptalicon at Holyrood stables. The Q. is only in Edinburgh for two or three days now and then.[78]

Thus, the Treasury accepted that Holyrood should afford the Monarch a certain degree of comfort and privacy at her 'now and then' visits, but evidently disagreed it was a Royal Palace in the ordinary sense.

The issue of Holyrood's status re-emerged in 1875 when the Board recommended the purchase of the Clockmill (or Belleville) estate and house immediately to the east of the Palace. The estate totalled six and a half acres and had been suggested for purchase by the Prince Consort in 1860, but the then owner would not sell the property unless under compulsory order.[79] As the Board noted this was not pursued because 'the wishes of the Sovereign' opposed compulsory measures. In 1875 the owner died and the trustees acting for the estate indicated their readiness to sell the it to the Crown. The response of the Conservative Government's Financial Secretary, W H Smith, was direct and stated that he was 'not disposed to incur any expense on adding to the Park or Gardens of Holyrood'.[80] Smith's view was re-affirmed the following year, after the Board raised the issue of its purchase:

> My impression as to the Belleville property is that if Holyrood was really used as a Royal residence the place ought to be bought; but we do not want a house there and would not move it and there is really a necessity for adding it to the Park[?] Further, as we are spending a good deal in Edinburgh I should not be disposed myself to recommend a Vote for it.[81]

Smith had previously postponed authority to repair the north quadrangle windows (£210), despite the Board's account of their 'dilapidated' state.[82] In early 1877 the trustees failed to sell the estate and offered it again to the Crown for £11,000, but Smith maintained the Treasury's position, stating that he was 'not desirous of purchasing' it 'even at the reduced rate'.[83] The estate was sold for £12,500, and the purchaser then notified the Board that he would offer it to the Crown for £13,000, an offer which the Board, knowing the Treasury's attitude, refused.[84] The purchaser subsequently informed the Board of his plan to erect artisan dwellings on the site, and after examining the plans the Board's Scottish Surveyor noted that,

> They are to be tenements four stories high, with two houses of four rooms each, on each flat, and of the very plainest character. They are also to be crowded upon the site to an objectionable degree ... I fear no improvement in the design which the owner would be likely to agree to ... could tender the tenements anything but disfigurement to the Park and the vicinity of the Palace. ... I apprehend that, as the owner of the Clockmill property has a right of access to it through the Park, he is entitled to use it for traffic of all sorts, but the building traffic during erection of the houses will materially injure the roads and interfere with the enjoyment of the Park by the Public.[85]

A month later he added

> I would specially point out that [the planned development] is right opposite the window of the Queen's private apartments at a distance of scarcely 300 yards, that the prospect of these windows is at present much enhanced by the groups of fine trees which grow up in the estate in question, and that the destruction of these trees, altogether apart from the prospect of erection of workmen's dwellings, will most seriously interfere with the amenity of the Palace.[86]

The events had not gone unnoticed in Edinburgh. In mid-July the Cockburn Association organised a deputation – headed by the Government's Solicitor General – to meet the Home Secretary and appeal that the estate should be bought by the Crown.[87] Edinburgh's Lord Provost had already informed the Board that the development

> would permanently destroy the amenity of the Royal Palace of Holyrood, and not only so, but it would also put a blot upon the fair proportions of Edinburgh.[88]

He wrote to the Treasury in similar vein, asking that a memorial should be forwarded to the Queen, though after one of the Prime Minister's Private Secretaries, A Turnor, spoke to him (in London), he agreed its withdrawal.[89] Turnor then met Smith, who reviewed the owner's revised price for the estate, £18,220, a sum which matched the offer from a local builder.[90] Smith minuted that the Treasury could not

> sanction the purchase of the Clockmill estate at a large an increase upon the sum paid for it by the present owner, and upon the extreme value which my Lords understand was stated to be £13,360 by a valuer who reported to Mr. Beith [the Commissioners of Woods' Edinburgh solicitor] on the subject. Under all the circumstances they will be prepared to submit a Vote to Parliament for £15,000 ...[91]

It was noted in the press that Queen Victoria's 'active interest alone' had been the critical factor in the Treasury's change of attitude.[92]

The estate owner refused the offer and indicated that, as he had suspended building operations and incurred additional outlays, he now sought £18,500. He gave Beith four days to meet the revised price. The Board informed the Treasury that neither the Town Council nor the Cockburn Association

had funds readily available to assist the purchase, although, given the 'public mind' in the City, private subscriptions could be forthcoming.[93] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, referred the matter to the Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), who stated that he agreed 'with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Treasury in this matter of the land at Holyrood', and that the offer could not be increased.[94] Smith told the Board that the Government 'must adhere to the offer they have already made'.[95]

Beith received the Government's decision on the morning of the day the revised offer would lapse, and, in his words, in order 'to save Holyrood Park', secured the sale at £18,500.[96] The Solicitor accepted that he could 'run a risk of losing money' if the Government refused the full sum, but his action meant that 'workmen's dwellings' would not be built in sight of the Monarch's bedroom.

Smith's reaction to the sale was immediate, and he minuted that the Treasury regretted

> ... that Mr. Beith should have incurred the responsibility of purchasing this property for £18500 after distinct notice that H.M.'s Government were not prepared to give more than £15000 for it. As at present advised My Lords [of the Treasury] are content that the possession of the estate should remain with Mr. Beith.'.[97]

Some considerable altercation then ensued between the Treasury, the Board and Beith, with Beith indicating that the Treasury had promised grant aid of £15,000, and that if he was liable for the full amount, he believed that the estate was likely to realise a higher price on resale. (The demand for housing was high.) As the press had announced the purchase and that Queen Victoria appeared in support the Treasury retreated but insisted that Beith pay the difference between the sanctioned grant aid and the full price.[98] (Beaconsfield had asked to see all correspondence.) For his part Northcote accepted that the central issue lay with two inter-linked issues, the view from the Monarch's 'windows' and the right of way through the now enclosed private garden.[99] The Treasury subsequently learnt that Beith had taken out a loan to cover the difference, and as the Financial Secretary related to Parliament during the required Supplementary Estimate, the Government decided to reimburse Beith. He explained:

> Having, however, gone so far, it came to this–either to throw up the bargain altogether and be placed in the position in which they were in the first instance, or else to have the property vested partly in the name of the agent and partly in the name of the Crown. A choice of evils was thus presented; but it was perfectly impossible that they could submit to a joint conveyance or a joint occupation in having the property vested in private individuals side by side with the rights of the Crown. On consideration, therefore, and not without very grave censure being passed upon the person who acted in the manner he had described, the Government, on the whole, thought it better to place the matter in a Supplementary Estimate'.[100]

A 'long wrangle' ensued, as one Scottish newspaper described the debate.[101] Thirteen MPs voted against the estimate which confirmed the view that Government had been wrong-footed in not securing the estate when offered earlier at a lower price. As one English Liberal MP stated, 'Holyrood Palace and the adjuncts to Holyrood Palace were not by any means a local question, but had an historical interest, extending over many centuries, to the whole of this country'.[102]

It was with some relief to Northcote and H S Ibbetson, the new Financial Secretary, that the Board later declined to support the exchange of part of the Comely Gardens estate which lay immediately north-west of Clockmill with certain adjoining sections of the Park stating that with judicious tree planting the Palace would be screened from any housing built on the site.[103] The sale would have required the Monarch's approval (and an Act of Parliament), and the Board believed that Queen Victoria's suggestion on limiting the height and nature of the buildings would have reduced its value.[104] £300 for trees was placed in the Park's Estimate for the following year, and a further £1,000 for the renewal of decayed woodwork on the Palace's roof (it was said that additional beams had been required 'to shore up' the slates), the first of four instalments.[105]

The Disraeli Government's discomfort on Clockmill evidently impacted on the Treasury's future attitude towards Holyrood. In February 1896, through Lord Rosebery, Salisbury Conservative Government learnt that the Croft-an-Righ cottage, with 1½ acres of garden, which was situated between the previously purchased mansion house and the Palace grounds, was to be sold at auction.[106] Rosebery informed the Board that the cottage and grounds were once part of the Palace and that if it was 'built over', it would 'make Holyrood uninhabitable'.[107] The Chancellor, M E Hicks-Beach, informed the Board that the

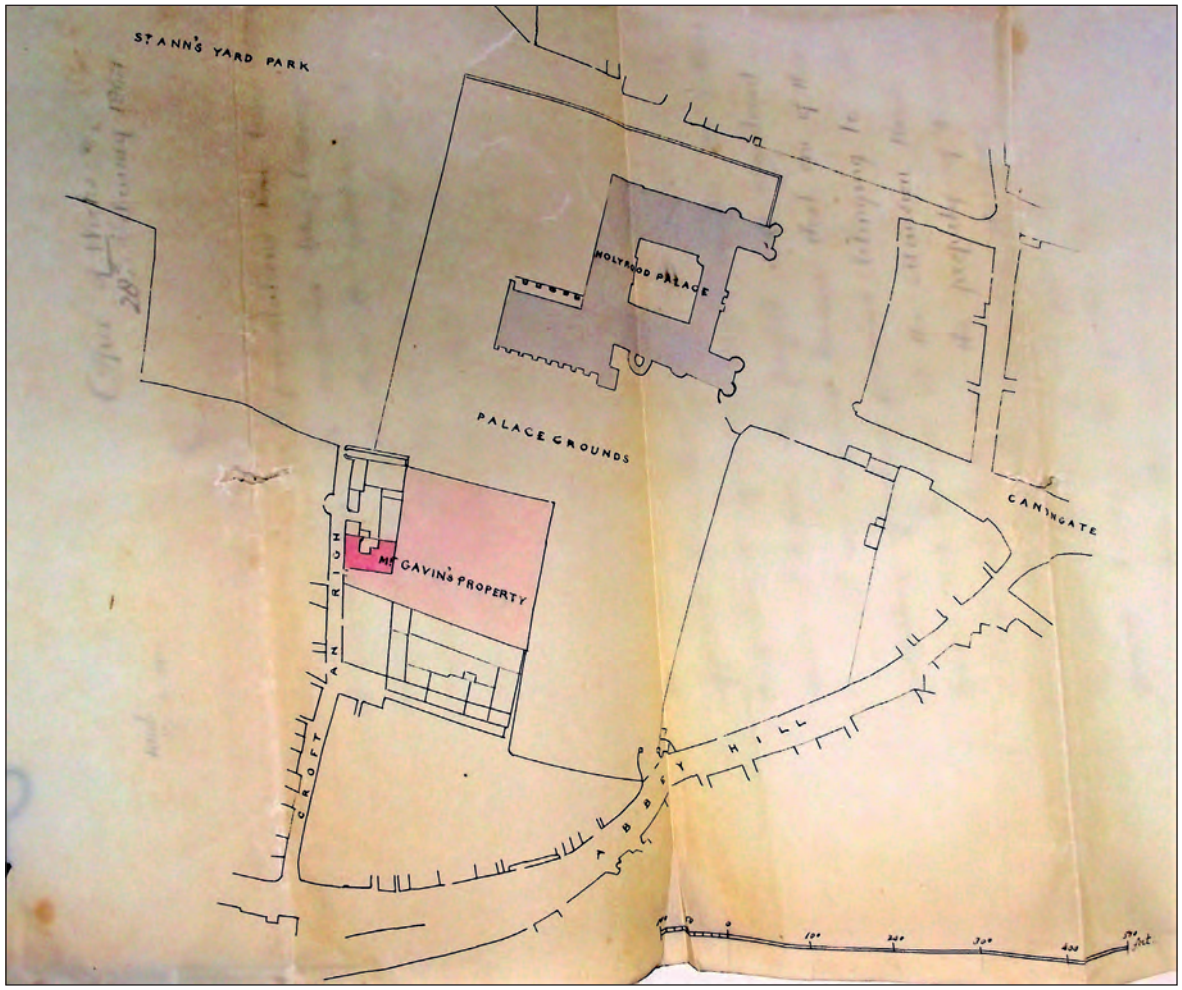

Fig. 6. The purchase of Mr Gavin's property at Croft-an-Righ, 1854. Source TNA T1/5863a

Crown would be prepared to purchase the property to prevent its conversion into any other use, and stated:

> I will authorise this up to £4500 which is 500 above Lord Rosebery's proposal & he knows the place well. But if purchased, I do not see why all the land should be thrown in to the Park.[108]

Hick-Beach was probably confused as to the size of the property**,** and may have thought it was another Clockmill, but his action coincided with letters and memorials received from the Cockburn Association and one of the City's MPs.[109] The property was purchased for £3,320, and a Supplementary Estimate was hastily put before Parliament, this time without debate.[110] The Board used a private law agent rather than their officers to bid for the property, having sought to ensure that Wm Younger, whose brewery adjoined the Croft-an-Righ mansion, and the North British Railway Company who had expressed an interest for workmen's dwellings, withdrew their intentions.[111]

In 1901, subject to the Sovereign's approval, Treasury officials agreed to the Board purchasing part of the Usher's brewery near the St Leonard**'**s entrance in exchange for a smaller piece of land at the entrance.[112] (The boundary between the two properties were 'somewhat irregular'.) Ushers agreed also to alter the elevation of their proposed new bonded warehouse to meet the Board's views. Two years later the Treasury secured the Financial Secretary's approval to purchase the United Free Church's hall and school adjoining the Palace's guardhouse at the

entrance to the Abbey Strand.[113] The Board argued that a private purchaser might either convert the property into a factory, or seek to build tenement houses for the working classes, thus 'interfering greatly' with the guard-house 'amenity'. Formal possession of the property was not obtained until 1908, as there was a dispute within the Church on ownership, but the eventual price was below that initially offered.[114] At the same time, due to 'the financial situation', property on the opposite side of the Strand, including a public house and a court, owned by Lord Rosebery was not purchased.[115] Treasury officials believed that it was unlikely that Rosebery would sell at any future date without informing the Board.[116] The property was subsequently gifted to the Crown by Lord Rosebery in 1933 to prevent its demolition and the possible construction of 'something bad for the amenities'.[117]

Conclusion

At the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837, despite the earlier renovations initiated by George IV, Holyrood was by all accounts in a state of 'decrepitude'.[118] Edinburgh Town Council clearly had a threefold vision for the locality, to extend the City's 'improvements', to provide more space for recreational purposes, and to remind the Scots that the Palace with its Park had been at the heart of the Scottish kingdom. It evidently held some attraction for the Whig Government's First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, Viscount Duncannon, who perhaps saw the renovation of both Palace and Park as similar to the recent work at Versailles, 'an idle monument to Royal pageantry' which was now 'a daily source of pride and innocent pleasure to thousands'.[119] Whatever Duncannon's motive, the combination of pressure from the Commissioners and the Council certainly resulted in a change of Treasury view. Ministers accepted that they could not resist the purchase of the Park and other nearby properties. Yet whilst it was a palace and grounds steeped in history, it was not by any definition a Royal Palace in which the Monarch resided.

Lord John Russell's motives for persuading the Queen to stay at Holyrood are not absolutely clear though with a direct but slow rail link now open between London and Aberdeen (Balmoral) it may have seemed an opportune time. At any rate, although Queen Victoria never appeared to hold much affection for Holyrood, she made annual visits until the death of Prince Albert. Her views on a Royal Palace became evident even if they were elaborated by her Consort.

After 1860 the Council and Edinburgh's opinion certainly regarded the 'project' as well accomplished, a lived-in Royal Palace close to a Royal Park underlined the City's capital status to the rest of Scotland, if not the UK, and added to its tourist attraction. The issue for the City after the death of Prince Albert lay in ensuring that the Palace remained a royal residence, and the Monarch's views on privacy once her visits were resumed in 1872 (albeit generally at four-year intervals) caused an element of panic. Over-looking tenements could not be built near her apartments, nor indeed any other development that might infringe its status. That the Treasury agreed to secure the Queen's privacy, on one occasion with an element of ill-temper, was a testament to the pressure to maintain Holyrood as a Royal residence, even if it was of a 'now and then' character.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *Times*, 'Holyrood Palace', 12 July 1859

2 The figures are taken from the annually published Parliamentary paper, Public Works and Buildings. Estimates, &c. Civil Services. The sum excludes recurring items such 'ordinary repairs' and wages for parkkeepers and other staff, though there would appear some overlap between 'ordinary' and 'extra-ordinary' expenditure.

3 J Gifford (et. al), *Edinburgh: the buildings of Scotland* (London 1988), pp. 141-48; RCAMS, *The City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1951), pp. 144-53; J. Harrison, *The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh 1919); M. Swain, *Tapestries and Textile at the Palace of Holyrood* (Edinburgh 1988); C.R. Wickham-Jones, *Arthur's Seat and Holyrood Park* (Edinburgh 1996); but for Queen Victoria's appreciation of Edinburgh's 'beauty' and her visits to the Palace, see in this volume R. Rodger, 'Queen Victoria, Edinburgh, and a Sense of Place'.

4 *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace during the last hundred years', 30 June 1920.

5 For a discussion on the form of this control, see I. Levitt, The Treasury and the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Garden,

1846-1914', in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New series 12 (2016), pp. 90-91.

6 Harrison, op cit, pp. 253-54.

7 For instance, see TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers 11,422-11,521, minutes, 5,020, 13 March. 1834, & 12,611/36, 2 August 1836.

8 TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers, 11,422-11,521, minute, 16,722, memorial, 28 October 1834.

9 TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers, 11,422-11,521, minute, 16,722, letter, 27 July 1837.

10 TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers, 11,422-11,521, minute, 16,722, 3 August 1837. Stanley was the minister responsible for 'patronage' and hence the finance associated with Crown lands.

11 TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers, 11,422-11,521, minute, 18,771, Haddington's letter, 11 August & Office of Works letter, 26 August 1839.

12 TNA T1/4447, Paper numbers, 11,422-11,521, minute, 18,771, 29 August 1839.

13 TNA T1/4468, bundle, 26,601, minute, 20,366, letter 20,366, letter, 30 September 1841.

14 TNA T1/4468, bundle, 26,601, minute, 20,366, 14 October 1841.

15 TNA T1/4765, bundle, 24,011, minute, 22,747, letter, 11 November. 1842

16 TNA T1/4765, bundle, 24,011, minute, 22,747, 18 November 1842.

17 TNA T1/4765, bundle, 24,011, minute, 16,537, letter of Duke of Hamilton, 12 August 1842, & *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Leader', 29 August 1850.

18 *Hansard*, 'Holyrood Park Bill', 10 August 1843, cc. 488-90.

19 *1851 [375] Royal Palaces: Account of the Public Money Expended on Each of the Royal Palaces, 1843-50*, 2,3,5 & 8.

20 TNA T1/5190, bundle, 19,905, minute, 17,127, see letter, 14 August 1846.

21 TNA T1/5190, bundle, 19,905, minute, 17,127, 28 August 1846.

22 TNA T1/5330, bundle, 29,242, minute, 5,238, 12 March 1847.

23 TNA T1/5330, bundle, 29,242, minute, 14,814, 10 August 1847.

24 *Times*, 'Holyrood Palace', 20 February 1850.

25 *Fife Herald*, 'Leader', 14 March 1850.

26 TNA T1/5573, bundle, 15,653, minute, 8,245, 23 April 1850.

27 TNA T1/5573, bundle, 15,653, minute, 9,130, letter, 3 May 1850.

28 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Alterations at Holyrood', 20 May 1850. The Marquis of Breadalbane, the Lord Chamberlain, with the Commissioners' Scottish Clerk later inspected the apartments, see *Aberdeen Journal*, 'Her Majesty's visit to Holyrood', 3 June 1850, see also *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Holyrood Palace', 8 July 1850.

29 *Aberdeen Journal*, 'Preparations for the Queen at Holyrood', 3 July 1850.

30 TNA T1/5573, bundle, 15,653, minute 15,653, letter, 30 July 1850.

31 *Hansard*, 'Supply – Holyrood Palace', 2 August 1850, cc. 723-6.

32 TNA T1/5679b, bundle, 20,0091, minute, 3,057, 18 February, & letter, 10 February 1851.

33 TNA T1/5679b, bundle 20,0091, minute, 20,091, 3 October, & letter, 2 October 1851.

34 *Scotsman*, 'Her Majesty's visit to Scotland', 4 September & 'The Queen's Return to the South', 12 October 1850; D. Bennett, *King without a Crown: Albert, Prince Consort, 1819-61* (London 1977), p. 326; R.W. Clark, *Balmoral: Queen Victoria's Highland Home* (Hampshire 1981), p. 40.

35 *Aberdeen Journal*, 'Improvements at Holyrood Palace', 26 February 1851; NRS E855/16, 'Extract Decreet removing: The Commissioners of Woods and Forests vs McDonald & others, 27 February 1851, & vs McBean & others, 28 February 1851; *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace', 10 April 1851.

36 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'New Road at Holyrood Palace, 10 April 1851; *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace', 10 April 1851.

37 TNA T1/5863a, bundle, 7,346, minute 4,605, letter 28 February 1854.

38 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Town Council Proceedings', 15 January 1852; *Scotsman*, 'Town Council Proceedings', 15 January 1852.

39 See *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace', 14 August 1844; *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Leader', 30 August 1852.

40 A smaller party had travelled to Edinburgh in 1846, but this had been via the west coast by train, steamer and then train from Glasgow.

41 *Scotsman*, 'English Excursionists', 31 July 1852.

42 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'The Palace of Holyrood', 30 September 1852.

43 TNA T17/39, North Britain letter book, minute, 18,987, letter, 2 October 1852.

44 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Holyrood Palace', 7 October 1852.

45 *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace', 6 October 1852.

46 *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood Palace', 6 November 1852.

47 TNA T17/39, North Britain letter book, minute, 21,429, letter, 10 November 1852.

48 TNA T1/5843a, bundle 25,121, minute 25,121, letter 19 Dec. 1853. The Board noted that the Duke, on consideration of the Opinion, agreed voluntarily to surrender his apartments, and through the Monarch's pleasure was reinstated to a number of those he had occupied.

49 TNA T1/5843a, bundle, 25,121, minute 25,121, 30 December 1853. The Financial Secretary, James Wilson, was a Scot, but sat for an English constituency.

50 *Stirling Observer*, 'Holyrood Palace', 24 November 1853.

51 *Aberdeen Journal*, The Scottish Grievance Question', 27 July 1853; *Scotsman*, 'Summary on "Vindication of Scottish Rights"', 5 November 1853. The issues also covered an increase in the number of Scottish MPs, and the appointment of a Secretary of State for Scotland.

52 *Hansard*, 'Scottish Rights', 6 April 1854, *c. 506.*

53 *Hansard*, 'Scottish Rights', 6 April 1854, *c. 511.*

54 TNA T1/5863a, bundle, 7,346, minute, 4,605, letter, First Commissioner of Works, 28 February 1854.

55 TNA T1/5863a, bundle, 7,346, minute, 4,605, 3 March 1854; see also *Aberdeen Journal*, 'Holyrood Grounds', 15

Mar. 1854, on its purchase 'in the view of the contemplated improvements in the grounds of Holyrood palace'.

56 *Caledonian Mercury*, 'The new approaches to Holyrood', 18 September 1854.

57 TNA T1/ 5967a, bundle, 19,408, minute 19,408, Board's letter 6 December 1855.

58 TNA T1/ 5967a, bundle, 19,408, minute 19,408, minute, c.7 December 1855.

59 TNA T1/6075a, bundle, 13,237, minute 4,282, 12 March 1857

60 TNA T1/6075a, bundle, 13,237, minute 4,282, 12 March 1857

61 TNA T1/6075a, bundle, 13,237, minute 4,282, 12 March 1857

62 *1857-58 (162-I-VII) Public works and buildings. Estimates, &c. civil services, 1858-59*, 7,8, 11&12; see also TNA T1/6166b, bundle, 20,707, minute, 20,907, 24 December 1858, where the unsightly property was purchased for £2,300, not as estimated, £2,500. The aim was to remove property opposite the Palace which projected into the quadrangle to enable a continuous building line to the Park.

63 TNA T1/6188a, bundle, 9,180, minute 991, & letters, 20 December 1858 & 17 January 1859.

64 TNA T1/6188a, bundle, 9,180, minute 991, letter, Sir C.B. Phipps, 2 February 1859.

65 TNA T1/6188a, bundle, 9,180, minute 991, minute, 3 February 1859.

66 The Estimate for 1861-62 included £3,372 for repairing, cleaning, painting and adapting the use of the Royal Household Apartments in the South wing see, *1861 (131-I-VII) 1861-2. VII. Miscellaneous, special, and temporary objects. Estimates, &c. civil services*, p. 8.

67 *Scotsman*, 'Holyrood', 8 August 1861.

68 TNA T1/6350a, bundle, 3,361, minute 3,361, 24 February 1862; NRS MW3/19, Board's minute, 17 March 1862.

69 NRS MW3/19, Scottish Clerk of Works letters, 17 February, 25 March & 9 October 1862; *Caledonian Mercury*, 'The Restaurant at Dunsappie Loch', 19 March 1862. Examination of the original plan was the last official act of Prince Albert in Holyrood.

70 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 'The Proposed Restaurant at Dunsappie', 15 March 1862. After a number of years, the St. Leonards restaurant fell into disuse, see NRS MW3/19, minute, 26 June 1894.

71 TNA T1/6912b, bundle, 18,080, minute, 18,080, 5 November 1869.

72 TNA T1/6912b, bundle, 18,080, minute, 18,080, Board's letter, 2 November 1869.

73 TNA T1/7123a, bundle, 18,516, minute, 2,733, letter, 14 February 1871.

74 TNA T1/7123a, bundle, 18,516, minute, 2,733, letter & plan, 30 January 1871. The rooms, which included a bedroom, dressing room, sitting room, dining room, sewing room, wardrobe, and servants' room had been occupied formerly by the Duke of Argyll.

75 *Scotsman*, 'The Queen's Visit to Edinburgh', 17 August 1876. It was noted that Balmoral's large windows commanded a 'lovely' view of the surrounding countryside, and it may have been the intention that after such a long absence the apartments would offer the Queen a similar prospect, see C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria; a personal history* (London 2000), p. 180.

76 TNA T1/7123a, bundle, 18,516, minute, 2,733, letter, 20 February 1871.

77 TNA T1/7213b, bundle, 14,324, minute, 14,324, letter, 9 September 1872. See also the Queen's comments in D. Duff, *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals* (Exeter 1980), p. 157.

78 TNA T1/7213b, bundle, 14,324, minute, 14,324, minutes, 19 & 12 September 1872.

79 NRS MW3/152, Board's minute, 12 October 1875.

80 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 10,713/75, 3 July 1875.

81 NRS MW3/152, minute, 22 August 1876.

82 TNA T1/7472, bundle, 16,940, minute, 16,940, 5 December 1875. Smith did authorise the restoration of a picture attributed to Canaletto and the purchase of five pieces of antique furniture for the rooms open to the public, at a total cost of £93/1/6d. The Board indicated that considerable revenue was derived from public visitors.

83 NRS MW3/152, Financial Secretary's Private Secretary's minute, 16 February 1877.

84 NRS MW3/152, minute, c.20 April 1877. The Board believed that the estate was worth £13,360.

85 NRS MW3/152, minute, 16 June 1877.

86 NRS MW3/152, minute, 17 July 1877.

87 *Scotsman*, 'London News', 21 July 1877. For the Association's memorial on the matter see, NRS MW3/152, 16 July 1877.

88 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 16 July 1877.

89 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 19 July 1877.

90 TNA T1/7703b, bundle., 19,379, minute, 20 July & Board's letter 23 July 1877.

91 TNA T1/7703b, bundle 19,379, minute, 24 July 1877. Beith was also the Government's Law Agent in Scotland, which included the Treasury, see TNA T26/5, minute 1,404, 5 March 1870, & *Edinburgh Evening News*, Death of Mr. Donald Beith, W.S.', 10 October 1894.

92 *Scotsman*, 'The Clockmill Purchase', 4 August 1877.

93 TNA T1/7703b, bundle 19,379, minute 12,719/77, letter, 31 July 1877.

94 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 12,719/77, 1 August 1877.

95 TNA T1/7703b, bundle 19,379, minute, 12,719/77, minute, M. Corry, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 2 August 1877. Corry had been Disraeli's private secretary since 1866. Turnor was a Treasury clerk appointed private secretary on the formation of Disraeli's administration.

96 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 13,013/77, letter, 2 August 1877.

97 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 13,013/77, 4 August 1877.

98 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 13,257/77, 23 August 1877; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 'Government Purchase near Holyrood Palace', 3 August 1877.

99 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 14,399/77, 11 September 1877.

100 *Hansard*, 'Class 1 – Public Works and Buildings', c. 1534, 18 March 1878. Northcote refuted the argument that the Palace was unused, citing Queen Victoria's occupancy for a number of days in 1876, where she had provided 'several

entertainments', c.1526. It was, of course, a Supplementary Estimate to a Supplementary Estimate, the £15,000 have been submitted for approval previously. The Government also agreed to reimburse Beith's interest on the loan. He remained in post until his death in 1894.

101 *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 'London Correspondence', 19 March 1878.

102 *Hansard*, 'Class 1 – Public Works and Buildings', c. 1530, 18 March 1878.

103 TNA T1/7703b, bundle 19,379, minute, 20,776/77, letter, 28 December 1877, & minute, 2,852, 10 June 1878.

104 TNA T1/7703b, bundle, 19,379, minute, 2,059, letter, T.M. Biddulph, Keeper of the Privy Purse, 31 January 1878.

105 TNA T26/9, minute, 19,6113, 27 December 1877; *Scotsman*, 'Re-Roofing of Holyrood Palace', 9 September1878.

106 NRS MW2/20, letter, c.3 Feb 1896. Rosebery was an old friend of the Commissioner of Works, R. Brett.

107 For history of the cottage and links with the Palace, see *Scotsman*, 'Croft-an-Righ', 12 March 1896.

108 NRS MW2/20, minute, 8 February 1896.

109 NRS MW2/20, Cockburn Association's letter, 4 February & memorial 6 February 1896; letter, R. Cox, MP South Edinburgh, 8 February 1896.

110 NRS MW2/20, Board's letter, 19 February 1896; *Hansard*, 'Supplementary Estimate, 1895-96', 18 February 1896, *c. 628.*

111 NRS MW2/20, Board's letter, 12 February 1896.

112 TNA T1/9656, bundle, 6,098, minute 6,098, 6 April 1901. The Park gained 68 square yards at the expense of 28 square yards.

113 TNA T1/11030, bundle, 11,353/09, minute, 17,966/03, 1 November 1903.

114 TNA T1/11030, bundle, 11,353/09, minute, 11,353/09, 9 Jun. 1909.

115 TNA T1/11030, bundle, 11,353/09, minute 11,324/08, 24 January 1908.

116 TNA T1/11030, bundle, 11,353/09, minute 15,797, c.20 September 1904.

117 TNA T226/44, minute, 28 August & letter, 5 October 1933.

118 Clark, op cit, p. 11.

119 *Times*. 'Holyrood Park', 19 August 1843.