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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDINBURGH'S SECOND NEW TOWN

CONNIE BYROM

*A few years ago, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, finding that the New Town, extensive as it is, was inadequate to the increasing opulence and population of the city, purchased the house and grounds of Bellevue, and some extensive fields reaching nearly to Drumsheugh; and have begun to lay down another New Town that bids fair to eclipse the former in extent and beauty of architecture.*

*The Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh, 1817.*<sup>1</sup>

WHILE THE FIRST NEW TOWN was being built, the ground to the north beyond Queen Street remained the scene of peaceful rural pursuits. The land formed part of the extensive and ancient Barony of Broughton which had belonged to the George Heriot's Hospital since 1636.<sup>2</sup> Most of it was leased for arable and grazing purposes, the three principal tenants being Thomas Wood, Henry Anderson and Robert Robertson, all farmers at Broughton.<sup>3</sup> A portion on the eastern side, 'sometime converted into two grass parks and enclosed with stone dykes', amounting to about 13 Scots acres (6.6 hectares) and later to be known as the lands of Bellevue, had been sold by the Hospital in the eighteenth century – first to Peter Blair, a skinner, followed by James Cumming, a flesher (butcher) by trade, and thence to John Davidson, merchant in Rotterdam. It may well have been Davidson who was responsible for the modest mansion which was built on the site and which was later bought by the former Lord Provost George Drummond (1687–1766), instigator of the first New Town. He named it Drummond Lodge, and shortly after taking up residence Drummond went on to purchase further areas of adjoining land (including over 11 acres which had

been part of Henry Anderson's farmlands) thereby increasing his holding to over 30 acres (about 15 hectares).<sup>4</sup>

Following Drummond's death, the whole property was eventually sold (in 1774) to Major General John Scott of Balcomie, Fife. A man of great wealth, mainly derived from success at the gambling table, Scott desired more lavish accommodation.<sup>5</sup> Drummond's old house was consequently demolished and in its place was built Bellevue House, based on a design by Robert Adam.<sup>6</sup> The scheme for Edinburgh's second New Town was originally conceived for the lands to the west of the Bellevue estate; however, the City's purchase of Bellevue in 1800 enabled the development area to be enlarged and the position of Bellevue House became of critical importance to the layout of the second New Town. The ground plan adopted for the development of the second New Town was incorporated in John Ainslie's 1804 *Plan of the Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith* (fig. 2). However, as will be argued here, the articulation of the plan has to be understood in relation to the boundaries of the land on which the development took place. These boundaries have been superimposed in figure 1 on Ainslie's plan, and are shown on the eve of the City's purchase of the Bellevue estate in 1800.

Unlike the first New Town, which from the start had been promoted by the Town Council, the design of the second was far more protracted and involved many more people.<sup>7</sup> In all the various proposals, however, it seems to have been accepted that the strip of land now known as Queen Street Gardens should be kept as open space. Indeed, the very first charter



Fig. 1. The lands on which the second New Town was built, shown as they would have been in about 1800. These have been reconstructed from various sources and superimposed on John Ainslie's published plan of 1804 (see fig. 2).

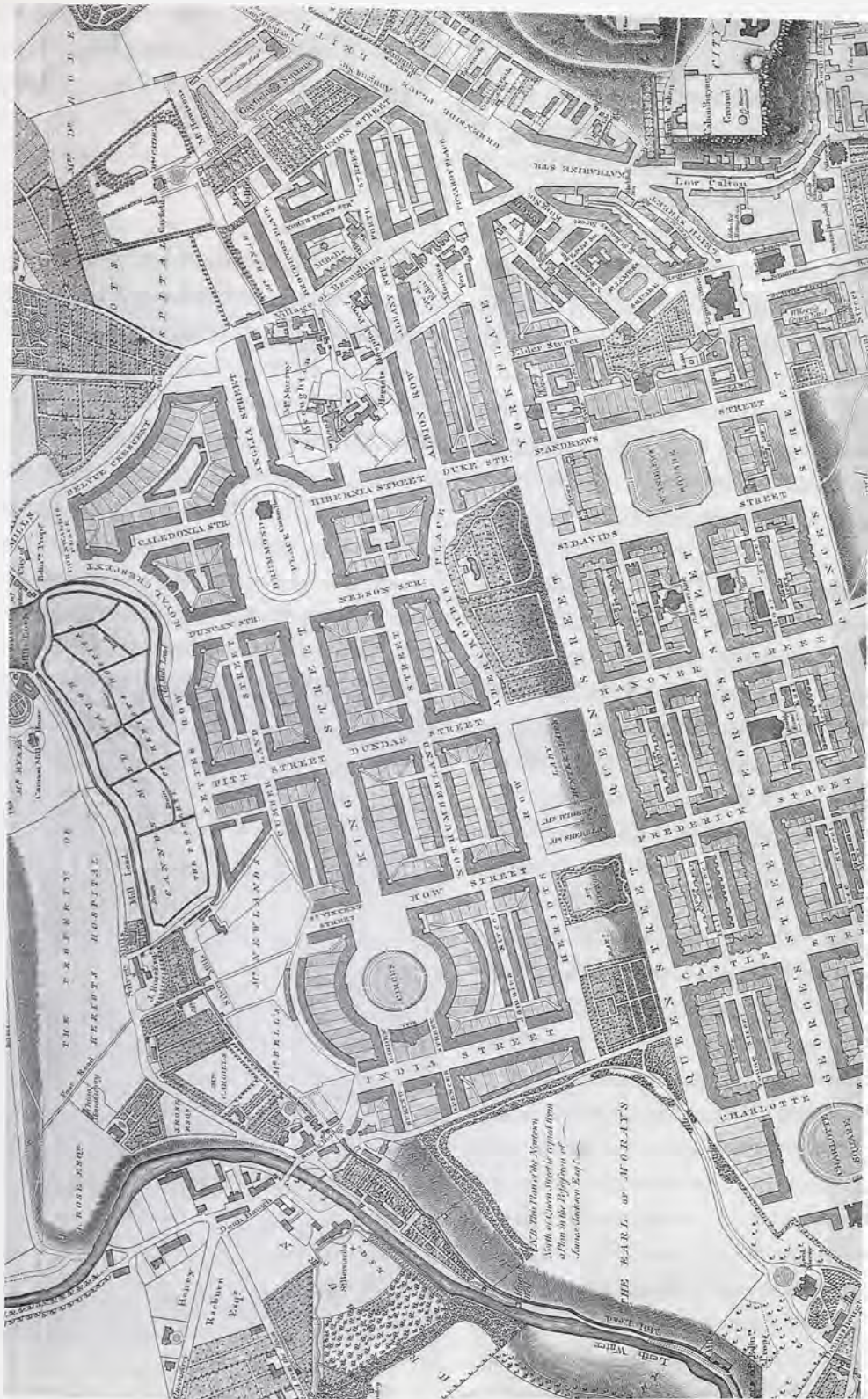


Fig. 2. Part of John Ainslie's Plan of the Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith, published in June 1804, incorporating the proposed layout of the second New Town, based on Robert Reid's 1802 development plan. (By courtesy of David C. Simpson.)

granted in 1769 by the Governors of Heriot's Hospital for a portion of this ground, long before designs for any overall development had been drawn up, stated quite clearly that it was feued 'for the purpose of a garden only'.<sup>8</sup> In this particular case, the ground was to serve as garden for the first house built on Queen Street, Number 8, designed by Robert Adam for Robert Ord, Chief Baron of the Scottish Exchequer. The feu charter stipulated that in all time coming 'no dwelling house shall be erected ... and no other building whatever excepting proper offices for the use of the house to be built upon the said street ... hot houses, gardeners house, or such other buildings as may be necessary for said garden'. These conditions were repeated in the eight subsequent charters made out between 1781 and 1791 for land within this garden strip; and each one affirmed that the restrictions and servitude were made out in favour of the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council 'as representing the Community', the proprietors of houses in Queen Street, and the proprietors of houses to be built on Thomas Wood's or Robert Robertson's farm ground – that is, on the land to the north of Queen Street.

Why the Governors of Heriot's Hospital took this course of action is nowhere recorded. But they were probably influenced by James Craig's plan for the first New Town with its residential layout shown flanked by a wide band of formal parkland to the south (the valley of the North Loch) and a similar one to the north (the Queen Street gardens). The parkland in each instance stretched the complete length of the New Town itself. Compared to Craig's design the Queen Street garden area became considerably foreshortened: the land at the extreme western end was no longer owned by the Hospital and therefore outwith their control,<sup>9</sup> but that on the east was eventually developed by the Hospital as York Place. An attractive strip of open space, providing a buffer between the two New Town developments, could only enhance future feuing prospects; and in

addition, the Governors no doubt wished to avoid any controversy and to be guided by existing plans.

Although the area enjoyed these basic safeguards from an early date, several years went by before more definite proposals for a second New Town began to emerge. With so much building still under way in the original New Town there was simply no immediate pressure to expand further. The first development scheme, however, was apparently not instigated by Heriot's Hospital but by David Steuart (1747–1824), who had been Lord Provost from 1780 to 1782 (fig. 3). Steuart was from a well connected family in Perthshire, the youngest son of John Steuart of Dalguise, and his merchant business led him to set up a private banking firm in partnership with his friend Robert Allan.<sup>10</sup> Described as a handsome man 'of excellent taste' and passionately fond of literature – the Advocates' Library (now the National Library

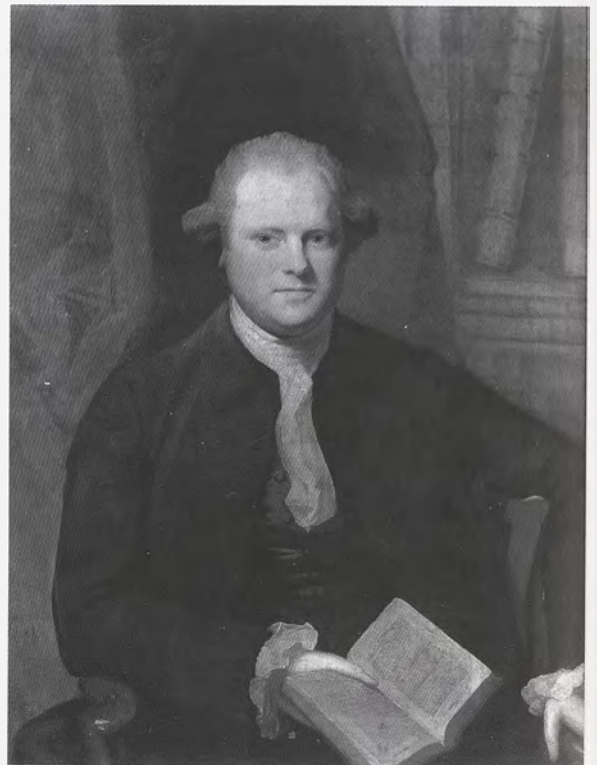


Fig. 3. David Steuart (1747–1824): portrait in oils by an unknown artist, c. 1785. (City Art Centre, Edinburgh, Inv. HH 1314/1952.)

of Scotland) became owners of some of his early printed book collection – he was enterprising, energetic and possessed more than a moderate interest in the improvement of Edinburgh.<sup>11</sup> While Lord Provost, he tried for example, to remove the slaughter-houses from the North Loch, and promoted the idea of amending the New Town layout by re-introducing Craig's notion for a circus at the centre of George Street.<sup>12</sup> He was just such a man to become interested in land speculation and development. Steuart's involvement with the second New Town dates from around 1780 when he moved to 5 Queen Street.<sup>13</sup> In 1781 he purchased over two Scots acres (1 hectare) of land from Heriot's Hospital opposite his house and adjacent to the Ord feu.<sup>14</sup> This was converted into a private garden for the use of his family, and it is marked as his on Ainslie's plan (fig. 2).

Steuart's energies however, were not contained here. Sensing the opportunities not far distant when the New Town would need to extend its boundaries, he began to purchase land in the vicinity on a purely speculative basis. The main and largest portion was 13 Scots acres (6.6 hectares) lying to the north of his garden in the region of Abercromby Place and beyond. This land had been advertised for letting as 'garden ground' as far back as 1774 when a man by the name of Alexander Ramadge took over the tenancy, and in 1782 he sub-tacked it to Steuart.<sup>15</sup> Three years later Steuart offered to buy it from Heriot's Hospital, and the conditions under which this was granted indicate that the Governors were aware of his motives: one of the clauses stated that if the land was to be feued or leased for building purposes (other than for one single family house) then an extra feu would be payable for each additional property.<sup>16</sup>

Steuart's initiative prompted the Governors to reconsider the land still in their possession. In 1785 they decided 'to get a proper plan of the ground to the north of Queen Street and of the streets that may be proper to lead into said ground in the view of the

same becoming building ground', and commissioned the surveyor John Laurie to carry this out.<sup>17</sup> However, the Hospital did nothing further in the way of developing proposals for five more years.

Meantime, the remaining land in the Queen Street area was feued off as private garden space. In 1786 Steuart acquired Ord's former garden and in 1791 he bought another portion at the western end of the street adjacent to one owned by his friend Robert Allan.<sup>18</sup> By then the banking partnership had been dissolved and Steuart had started business as a general merchant in Leith. Soon ideas for developing the 13-acre plot to the north of his private garden began to take hold, and in 1787 he employed the land surveyor John Ainslie to make a detailed plan of this site.<sup>19</sup> The surviving plan (fig. 4), entitled 'PLAN of the GROUND ... on which STEUARTOWN is intended to be Built', shows the rectangular-shaped area to be tree-planted around its perimeter with a pond close to the south-west corner; the inner part was mostly in grass, but there was a sizeable two-acre turnip plot in the north-east corner.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after Ainslie had completed this plan, Steuart applied to Heriot's Hospital for a small angle of ground (about  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre) which had been 'waste for some time', immediately adjacent to the south-west corner of his feu, in order to 'square marches' (boundaries). In October 1789 the Governors agreed to his request but on certain conditions, which included the production of a plan, a bond for payment, and restricting any building to one house and offices for his own use, which were not to be closer than 20 feet to the mutual boundary. A plan was subsequently submitted to the Hospital's treasurer and, according to Steuart's later account, an informal agreement was reached whereby payment for the new charter was to be postponed (because the area of land involved was so small) until the charter for his larger 13-acre plot was due for renewal, thus minimising costs.



Steuart's next move proved somewhat hapless and inept. It is not clear what prompted him to give permission to 'two industrious young men – cabinet makers' to build a workshop on the triangular site. Was he anxious to establish claim to the ground or was he simply 'endeavouring to add a little to my own income'? Certainly his intentions would not have been deliberately to antagonise the Governors, nor for that matter the nearby residents in the New Town. Sightings of the workshop under construction did, however, cause deep alarm amongst the Queen Street proprietors, particularly those whose view was most affected (Captain Patrick Hunter at 12 Queen Street was greatly upset), and a formal letter of complaint was despatched to Heriot's Hospital. On investigation it was revealed that none of the Governors had been shown Steuart's plan, and having looked at it they were of the opinion that 'the land does not in fact square off marches but misshapes the hospital grounds to the west'. It was further considered that as Steuart had not fulfilled the terms of the agreement, he had no right to the land. Steuart's reply to these issues, delayed by 'a painful and tedious illness' (he was the victim of gout), disclaimed any nuisance value either from the nature of the business or from the building itself, and argued that he had proceeded in good faith and that possession of the land had been sanctioned.<sup>21</sup> All things considered, he felt that the Governors, many of whom had acquired their fortunes by application to similar tasks, should be sympathetically inclined, and that

if I can accomplish my intentions with respect to the ground I have feued from Heriots Hospital I hope to plant as many buildings upon it as will bring the charity nearly £2,000 a year revenue, without any exertion or expenditure on their part.

The Hospital Governors responded by asking Steuart to submit a revised drawing and informing him of the pressure they were now under from the 'Gentlemen of Queen Street ... to effectuate taking down the house ... which in every view is set down

on a place where you have no right to build'. Rumours and counter-rumours no doubt abounded. With mounting concern that long-cherished views over farmland and woodland to the Firth of Forth and the Fife hills beyond were now in jeopardy, the Queen Street proprietors made a second approach to the Hospital. Their proposal on this occasion was to purchase a servitude upon two fields to the north of Queen Street 'as may be necessary to preserve the present view of their houses to the northward that no buildings be erected thereon'.<sup>22</sup> All these events served to remind the Hospital's Governors that decisions would have to be made before long about the land in question; and indeed, within the space of a few months Steuart had started negotiations with them for a joint building plan. As discussions and plans became further advanced the Governors realised that it was not in their interest to come to any private arrangement with the Queen Street proprietors, and that instead the ground should be advertised on the open market as building land.<sup>23</sup>

The first mention of a building plan appears in the Heriot's Hospital minutes of 4 June 1792,<sup>24</sup> which refer to a letter from David Steuart stating that

in consequence of what passed between the Committee of the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital and me I have with the assistance of Mr William Sibbald your Surveyor made out a plan for building on the ground lying to the north of Queen Street the property of the Hospital and myself.

William Sibbald was also Superintendent of Works to the City, a post he held from 1790 till his death in 1809.<sup>25</sup> Although in many ways Sibbald was a key figure in Edinburgh's development during this period his personal life and circumstances remain largely obscure. Little else is known about him except that he was born in Inverness and later moved to Edinburgh where he was in partnership with a builder called William Lumley. He showed himself to be a competent designer, being responsible for St Andrew's Church spire, George Street (1787), the



new manse for St Cuthbert's Church (1793), Lady Yester's Church (1803), and Portobello Old and Windsor Place Parish Church (1809); and he was very much involved with the practical building aspects of both the first and second New Towns.<sup>26</sup>

During the few months following the production of this first plan, Sibbald prepared further sketch plans (none of which seem to survive) both on behalf of the Hospital, which was concerned to establish the land's feuing value,<sup>27</sup> and for David Steuart, who wanted to resolve the boundary line between his own and the Hospital's property.<sup>28</sup>

By mid 1793 details of a mutual building plan finally became settled. Boundaries between the Hospital's and Steuart's land were readjusted on the understanding that the workshop would be removed, and agreement was reached that 'the area in the middle of the Square is to be common property to the houses fronting the same'.<sup>29</sup> This plan (fig. 5), on which this square is a prominent feature, is dated 18 October 1793 – the date when the Governors of Heriot's Hospital and David Steuart formally contracted to conform to it.<sup>30</sup> Nothing is known about the plan's evolution but Steuart and Sibbald must have met to discuss ideas, and Sibbald would certainly have taken responsibility for the detailed drawing.<sup>31</sup> As well as the large square at the eastern end of the plan (three-quarters of which was contained within Steuart's feu) the other distinctive feature was an open space on the western side in the form of a circus, reminiscent of Craig's earlier proposal for the first New Town. On this occasion the centre of the circus contained an additional water feature (the 'bason') not unlike a proposal later made by Sibbald for Charlotte Square.<sup>32</sup> These open spaces were connected by a central road, with cross streets linking it with Queen Street, and with two crescents on the northern boundary. This was certainly a plan complementary to that of the first New Town, and one providing a similar balance of open and built space.

The plan, however, was not implemented, although it was to influence later designs. Steuart met with frustration in his attempts to prod the Hospital into further action. In 1796, on being approached by Steuart, the Governors did agree to meet half the cost of having the plan engraved, with 'a thousand copies to be cast off ... for the inspection of such persons as may intend to feu'.<sup>33</sup> One year later Thomas Wood, tenant farmer of much of the ground for upwards of 60 years, died – thus removing one obstacle in the way of the land's development.<sup>34</sup> This encouraged Steuart to renew contact with the Hospital Governors, and in 1798 he informed them of his intention to have printed 200 copies 'of my agreement with the Hospital relative to the building on my feu for the use of persons intending to feu as reference to it will be made in the feu charters'.<sup>35</sup> Without the Governors' active support, however, progress was hampered, and at this time they were preoccupied with their grounds further eastwards, for the building of Duke Street (later to be absorbed within the southern end of Dublin Street), Elder Street and York Place.

Steuart by now was experiencing serious financial difficulties in his mercantile enterprises and decided, in the hope of making some ready money, to change tactics. In February 1799 he approached the Hospital with the suggestion that the line of the buildings in York Place, 'which so far from being of any publick injury are agreed ornamental to the city', should be extended westwards over his private garden, and that if the Governors withdrew the servitude over this ground he would divide the money raised from the feus between himself and the Hospital.<sup>36</sup> Happily, the Governors stood firm and refused permission for any houses to be built in the Queen Street garden area.<sup>37</sup>

By the end of the year Steuart was bankrupt. Early in 1800 his land was put up for sale, being advertised first on 11 January in the *Edinburgh*

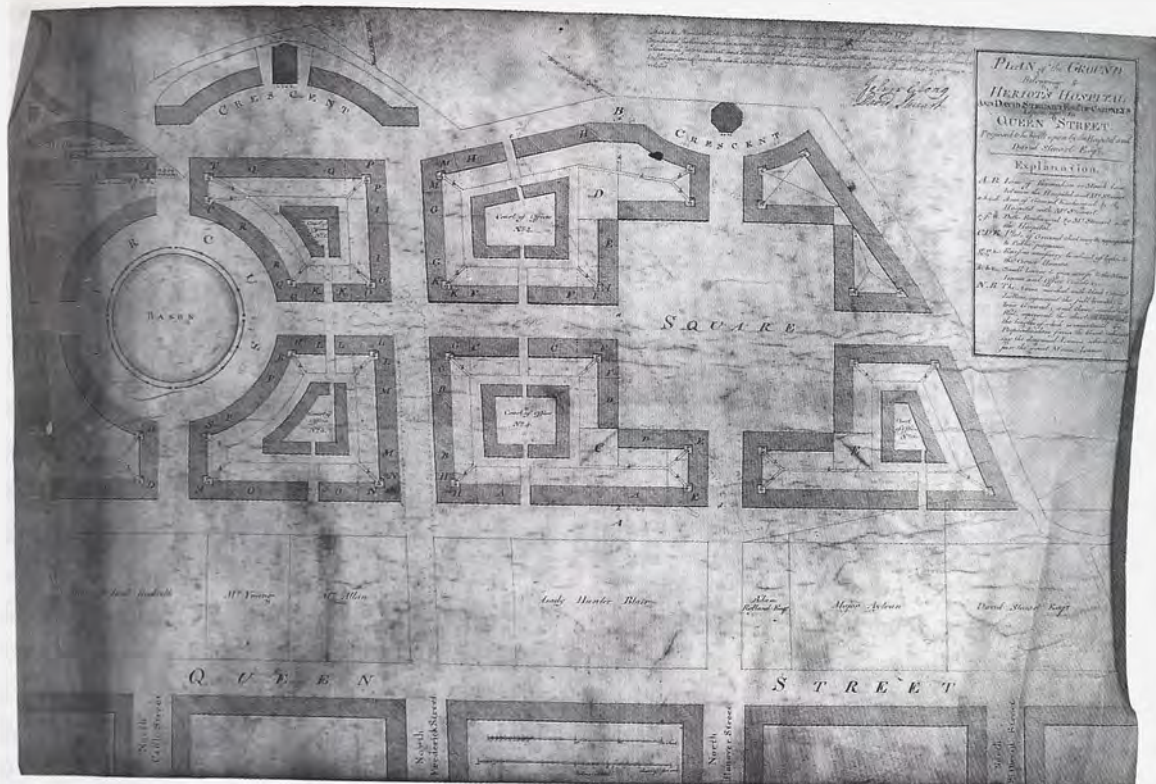


Fig. 5. Development plan by William Sibbald, 1793, for the lands of David Stewart and Heriot's Hospital. (*George Heriot Trust, Edinburgh, PP 22: photograph, RCAHMS.*)

*Evening Courant* as 'well adapted and will bring a considerable price for building stances'. His private garden in Queen Street was listed for sale as a separate lot, being rented out at that time to Alexander Finlayson, gardener, and later to John Richmond, nurseryman.<sup>38</sup> Agents for the sale were Maxwell Gordon and John Morison (Morison had been appointed trustee for the creditors following Stewart's bankruptcy), who had in their hands the plan for building on the grounds, namely Sibbald's plan of 1793. Whether Stewart's own failure branded such an enterprise as risky is not known but the land remained unsold although regularly advertised throughout the first half of the year as 'upset price reduced' (fig. 6).<sup>39</sup> It was not in fact sold until 1802, and three years later changed hands again, when curiously enough the original agents for the sale in 1800 became part owners.<sup>40</sup> By then how-

ever, prospects for the land's development had considerably improved.

Without Stewart's enterprising spirit plans for the second New Town might well have foundered. No one, it seemed, was prepared to buy his land and to take on a commitment which to some extent was dependent on the goodwill and co-operation of Heriot's Hospital. But the gap left by Stewart's withdrawal was almost immediately filled by the Town Council. Early in 1800 the Council purchased 'the whole property at Bellevue', including the mansion house, garden and adjoining land.<sup>41</sup> The estate lay to the north east of the Hospital's and Stewart's feus and formed a potentially useful addition. This purchase was not simply a fortuitous move but one calculated to give the Town Council an opportunity to become involved in the development scheme, and indeed to take a large measure of control. As subsequent events

**SALE OF BUILDING AREAS, GARDENS,  
And other Subjects.—*Best prices reduced.***

There will be SOLD, within the Royal Exchange Coffeehouse, Edinburgh, on Thursday the 27th February next, at 12 o'clock noon,

**Lot I.** **T**HOSE THIRTEEN ACRES of ARABLE GROUND, or thereby, feued by Mr Stewart, merchant in Leith, from Heriot's Hospital, situated immediately north of the Gardens in front of the east end of Queen's Street.

By an agreement with Heriot's Hospital, the above ground, and the Hospital's adjoining property extending westward to the Earl of Moray's property, is to be feued for buildings, on a regular plan subscribed by both parties.

**Lot II.**—The GARDEN, lying immediately south of the above Lot, as lately possessed by Alex. Finlayson, gardener, with the exception of an angle at the north extremity, to be included in the 1st Lot, extending what is included in this Lot to about two acres and a half or thereby.

**Lot III.**—That HOUSE in MILN'S SQUARE, being the fifth storey of the large stone tenement there, presently posses-

Fig. 6. Advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 10 February 1800 for the sale of David Steuart's property after his bankruptcy. (*Trustees of the National Library of Scotland [NLS].*)

indicate, the Council knew what they wanted to achieve, and considered themselves in the best position to do so.

Once Bellevue had been acquired, the land was surveyed and cleared: vines and other plants belonging to the house were sold by public auction, and the trees cut down and removed.<sup>42</sup> No more were there the delightful views of 'the sea of the Bellevue foliage gilded by the evening sun', which had long given pleasure to strollers along Queen Street. Taken so completely by surprise Edinburgh citizens apparently reacted passively, although 'shuddering when they heard the axes busy in the woods of Bellevue, and furious when they saw the bare ground'. The record of these events by Henry Cockburn, in his *Memorials*,<sup>43</sup> closed with the pertinent comment that

all that art and nature had done to prepare the place for foliaged compartments of town architecture, if being built upon should prove inevitable, was carefully obliterated; so that at last the whole spot was made as bare and as dull as if the designer of the New Town itself had presided over the operation.

The Town Council did not share Cockburn's sensibilities. As in the case of the first New Town they decided once more to hold a public competition<sup>44</sup>

for laying out in streets, squares, etc. for buildings, the Grounds of Bellevue belonging to the City of Edinburgh, also the grounds westwards, and on the north of the Gardens north of Queen Street, belonging to David Steuart, Esq., and to Heriot's Hospital, as far west as the grounds belonging to the Earl of Moray.

In October 1800 an advertisement appeared twice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (fig. 7) offering a prize of 100 guineas for the best, and 50 guineas for the second best plan submitted – a considerable advance on Craig's premium of one gold medal and a silver box, together valued at 25 guineas, for the first New Town plan in 1766.<sup>45</sup> Two months were allowed for submission and Bellevue House (later sold to the Board of Customs) was required to be made part of the design. Response was good and a 'great many' plans were received and judged by 'gentlemen of taste'. Four designs were singled out as being of equal merit and it was consequently decided to divide the prize money between them. However, as each plan 'contained qualities which the others wanted', a further 50 guineas was set aside 'upon them producing a plan made up by them from

**PREMIUM OF ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS,  
AS ALSO OF  
FIFTY GUINEAS.**

**W**ANTED a PLAN or DESIGN for laying out in STREETS, SQUARES, &c. for Buildings, the GROUNDS of BELLEVUE, belonging to the City of Edinburgh—also the Grounds, Westward, and on the North of the Gardens North of Queen's Street, belonging to David Steuart, Esq. and to Heriot's Hospital, as far west as the grounds belonging to the Earl of Moray. A ground plan of the whole, with a number of sections of the grounds of Bellevue, will be shewn at the Chamberlain's Office.

**N. B.** The Mansion-house of Bellevue is to be preferred, and made part of the plans.

The person producing the best Plan will be entitled to ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS, and the next best to FIFTY GUINEAS; the merit of all the Plans to be determined by the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh.

The plans to be sealed, and delivered to the Town Clerks between and the first day of January next; and if any competitor chuses to put a Mark on his plan, with a Letter relative thereto, such letter will not be opened unless the author shall be found entitled to a premium.

Fig. 7. The competition for the design of the second New Town, extending over the Heriot's Hospital, Steuart and Bellevue lands, advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 25 October 1800. (*Trustees of NLS.*)

the four plans to contain what shall be thought best in each of them'.<sup>46</sup> No names are mentioned in the minutes but Council accounts for this period reveal that payments were made to James Elliot, Robert Morison, John Baine and William Sibbald.<sup>47</sup>

All four were experienced designers, although their names are now rather forgotten. James Elliot (1770–1810) was in practice with his elder brother Archibald, who had an office in London: James remained in Scotland to supervise the firm's work there. Together they worked on a number of Scottish country houses including Dreghorn Castle, Midlothian; Stobo Castle, Peeblesshire; Auchmore House, and Taymouth Castle, both in Perthshire. Had James not died relatively young his reputation would no doubt have matched that of his successful brother.<sup>48</sup> John Baine and Robert Morison are both mentioned in a book published in the early part of the nineteenth century as examples of the many 'excellent architects' produced by Scotland, along with other such names as Adam, Craig, Henderson, Gillespie, Burn, Crichton, Baxter and Stark.<sup>49</sup>

John Baine had been a student at the Edinburgh School of Design, where his textile designs were said to have been outstanding.<sup>50</sup> Later he was one of the candidates for the Mastership of the School when it became vacant in 1785, Alexander Nasmyth, the portrait and landscape painter, also being a contender: neither was successful.<sup>51</sup> Shortly afterwards Baine established himself as a teacher of mathematics and scientific drawing, advertising in 1788 that he gave 'private lessons particularly to the gentlemen of the Army and Navy and to Engineers in Mathematics and those branches of the art of drawing dependent upon them as Perspective Fortification, the drawing of Machinery, Maps etc'.<sup>52</sup> This advertisement also states that Baine was about to extend his classes to other members of the public, to be held 'at his lodgings at Mr Nasmyth's, No 11 South Bridge Street'. The two men were obviously

on friendly terms. Perhaps Baine's commitment to teaching curtailed his scope for creative design, for apart from being one of the competition winners no other work of his has been identified.

Robert Morison (d. 1825) was probably the best trained architect amongst the four: a pupil of Robert and James Adam for several years, he later became assistant to Sir John Soane and in 1794 published a work entitled *Designs in Perspective for Villas in the Ancient Castle and Grecian Styles*.<sup>53</sup> Morison practised in Edinburgh from at least 1806 until his death.<sup>54</sup> He was involved with the design of several houses in the New Town, and also submitted plans for completing the University buildings in 1815, having drawn up earlier designs in 1789.<sup>55</sup>

These other prizewinners, however, could not rival William Sibbald's knowledge of and familiarity with the site, and his earlier involvement placed him at a distinct advantage. A competent designer himself, he understandably had a vested interest in entering the competition, which he was able to do anonymously.

None of the winning designs has survived but two items have been preserved which together tell us a great deal about what the competition achieved. First, and most important, is a drawing (fig. 8) captioned 'PLAN FOR LAYING OF IN BUILDING THE LANDS OF BELLEVUE, AND THE ADJACENT LANDS WESTWARD', dated 25 April 1801, and signed by Robert Morison, William Sibbald *Senior*, and James Elliot.<sup>56</sup> This is clearly the combined drawing produced at the request of the Town Council, which was to contain 'the best of each' winning entry. The absence of Baine's signature indicates that for one reason or another he withdrew at this later stage. Perhaps he feared being compromised, a notion supported by the second item, an 'Explanatory Memoir' written by him to accompany his original submission.<sup>57</sup> His Memoir reveals a man not only knowledgeable in town planning principles and continental examples, but also someone possessing idiosyncratic and lofty

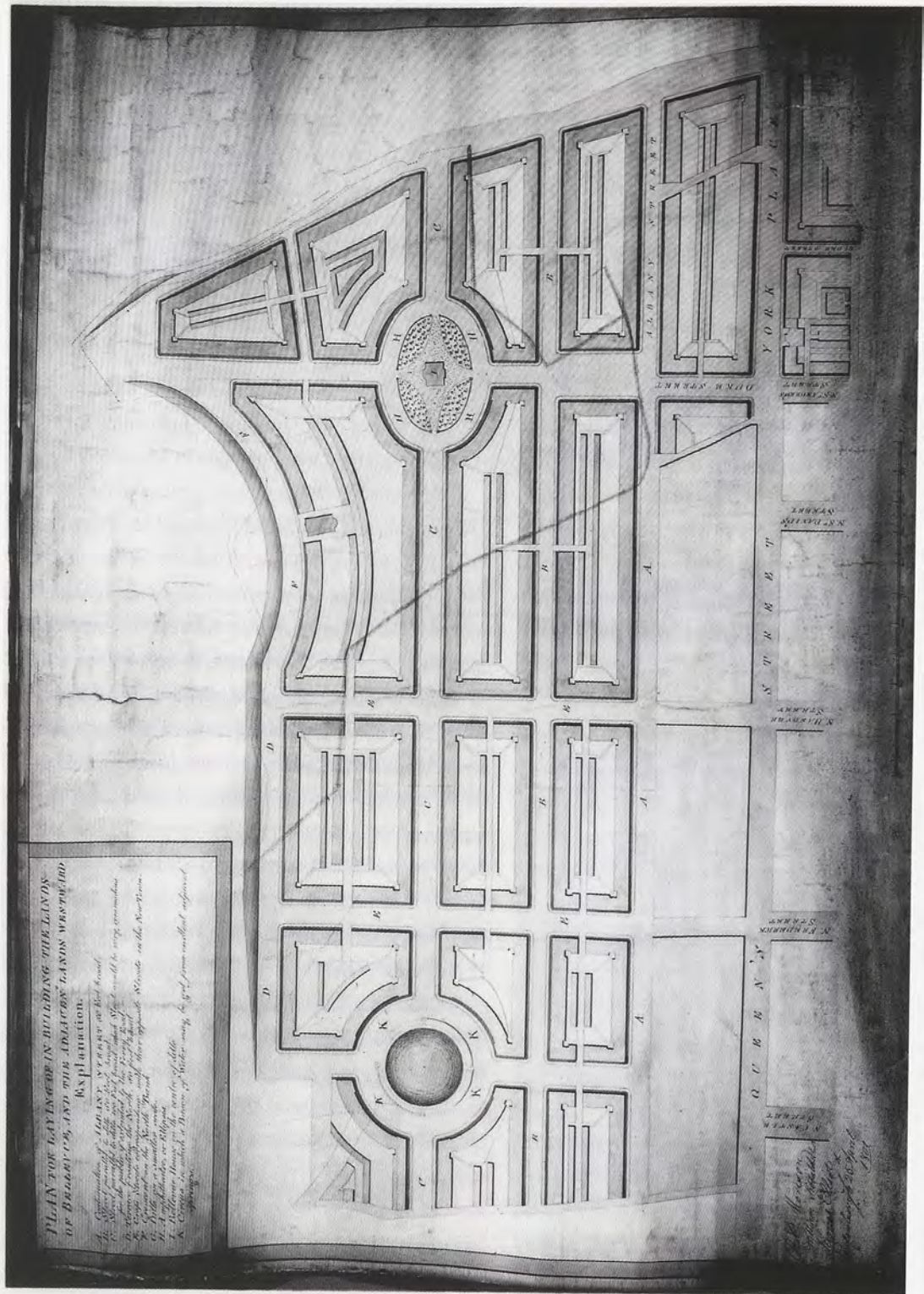


Fig. 8. Combined plan of the proposed second New Town by Robert Morison, William Sibbald and James Elliot, April 1801, incorporating features of their separate submissions for the official competition. (NLS, Map Library, Inv. TS 3, reproduced by permission of the Director of Property Services, City of Edinburgh District Council [CEDC]; photograph, NLS.)

aspirations about the land's development. We learn from Baine's description that he intended two large enclosures. One at the east end was of octagonal shape, 'a figure new in this Country', and named Drummond Place in memory of George Drummond. The other at the west end was in the form of an amphitheatre, the centre of which was to contain a 'Monument to illustrious Scotch-men'. Baine dismissed the use of a circus as not suited to the ground, and too extravagant of space. Three broad streets were to link the two open spaces: he carefully avoided any narrow streets or thoroughfares, the usual accommodation for 'common people', for he believed that 'good air, light and sunshine, the greatest Blessings of Bounteous Heaven ... ought not to be withheld from the poorest of mankind'.<sup>58</sup>

Like Baine's lost plan, the combined competition plan of 1801 also has, as its chief characteristic, an open space at either end. Sibbald's earlier circus reappears on the west side although moved further northwards, and to the east is an oval-shaped space having at its centre Bellevue House. A broad street connects the two open spaces, with other roads running parallel to it, and it is intersected by several cross streets, three of which link with Queen Street. Two other features of Sibbald's first plan remain – a crescent on the eastern part of the north side, and a straight line of buildings facing Queen Street and parallel to it, across the intervening garden area. Had this straight frontage materialised it would have required an encroachment on part of the eastern garden area.

In all these events, the Governors of Heriot's Hospital apparently acquiesced, and indeed, no mention is made of them in the Hospital's minutes until well after the competition. Then in June 1801 the Treasurer reported to a meeting of the Governors that, consequent to the Town Council purchase of Bellevue, several building plans had been made out of the ground north of Queen Street, and that 'it

would be for the interests of the hospital and the ornament of the city to adopt some one of these plans, in place of the plan that had been already fixed upon'.<sup>59</sup> A joint meeting between all the interested parties was therefore approved. Further work on the designs was, however, deemed necessary and it had fallen to Major James Stratton, Commanding Royal Engineer to North Britain, to 'revise and improve plans given in for a new town to be erected on the lands of Bellevue'. His professional training ensured his competence as a surveyor and draughtsman capable of handling the technical changes required. But Stratton did not live long enough to complete his work, although it was far enough advanced for his widow to be paid 25 guineas.<sup>60</sup> Instead, the task passed to Robert Reid, surveyor and architect.

Robert Reid (1774–1856) was then 27 years old. This commission helped launch him as a successful architect, although during the rest of his long career his work involved buildings of a public institutional nature rather than residential housing.<sup>61</sup> How or why he came to be approached is a matter for conjecture but his background was certainly helpful. His father, Alexander Reid, was an established mason and builder who feued various areas in the New Town between 1785 and 1797 and who also served on the Town Council as Deacon of the Masons from 1789 to 1791. To begin with, Robert Reid appears to have practised as a land surveyor in Trunk Close, but by 1800 he was describing himself as an architect, occupying the same address as his father at 18 South Castle Street.<sup>62</sup> Soon afterwards he began working with Richard Crichton on designs for the Bank of Scotland on the Mound.<sup>63</sup> Reid had therefore the advantages of his father's business connections plus some useful work experience and confidence in his own abilities.<sup>64</sup>

Reid's remit would have been to bring together all the previous plans with their various amendments and modifications into one 'improved' design. Little

time was lost and by the end of 1801 the joint Committee made up of Heriot's Hospital and Town Council representatives was able to report that they were unanimously of the opinion 'that the plan produced by Robert Reid ought to be adopted, except as to the north east part of Bellevue ground'.<sup>65</sup> Heriot's Hospital went on to give further instructions that 'a plan on a large scale should be made out with all possible dispatch by Messrs Sibbald and Reid from the sketch or plan now presented to the Governors'. This enlarged plan was approved at a meeting of the Hospital Governors held on 15 February 1802.<sup>66</sup> A few days later the Governors agreed that their lands to the north of Queen Street should be included within the new extension to the Royalty of Edinburgh.<sup>67</sup> From this time on the plan was always referred to as the one made out by Messrs Robert Reid and William Sibbald, Architects in Edinburgh.

The revised plan drawn up by Reid in 1802, and later used as the basis of a contractual agreement between the three parties involved, still survives although in a somewhat frail state (a later copy is shown in fig. 9).<sup>68</sup> In essence, Reid's layout adopted much of the previous plans, particularly the combined competition drawing, and with Sibbald's influence clearly visible. The two most distinctive features remain: an open space at either end connected by a broad street (named King Street, later to be Great King Street) with other main streets running parallel. The open space to the west is still in the form of a circus, but now the buildings form a continuous curve to the north and south, unbroken by the cross streets previously proposed. A wide entrance at the eastern end allows full view of a church positioned opposite. This circus, soon to be called Royal Circus, was the only part subsequently altered to any great extent. Reid made more radical change at the eastern end, with the open space (Drummond Place) enlarged into a square on three

sides with the east side as a semi-circular crescent in order to fit Bellevue Lodge into the grid of streets linking with the first New Town. The crescent on the east side of the north boundary of the site (Royal Crescent) was retained – there was little option for alteration here because of the slope of the ground – but Reid introduced two new crescents. One on the eastern side (Bellevue Crescent) provided a more attractive solution than the straight-angled line previously adopted; and the other was Abercromby Place to the south, facing the gardens. Abercromby Place was the first curved street facade to be built in Edinburgh and because of its novelty it attracted widespread attention.<sup>69</sup> It was chosen, however, not so much on aesthetic grounds but rather to avoid encroachment on to the Queen Street garden area, the whole of which was protected from building development. Earlier plans had all ignored this restriction.<sup>70</sup>

Reid therefore made few substantial changes to the 1801 plan but successfully incorporated a number of improvements and refinements, and his plan became the blueprint for the second New Town. He was further commissioned, between 1802 and 1806, to draw up elevations for the main streets – Heriot Row (east and west sections), Abercromby Place, Great King Street, Drummond Place (fig. 10) and London Street.<sup>71</sup> These were all carried out, with certain modifications. In at least one respect, the version of Reid's layout included in Ainslie's published plan of 1804 is defective (fig. 2): Abercromby Place has been shown asymmetrical, with Nelson Street remaining in line with St David's Street, whereas in Reid's plan Nelson Street is off-set at the centre of Abercromby Place. Ainslie had copied his information from a plan held by James Jackson, who had been Edinburgh Dean of Guild from 1799 to 1801, but was here acting as Treasurer of Heriot's Hospital, a position he occupied from 1793 to 1804.<sup>72</sup> But, if this represented a serious alternative

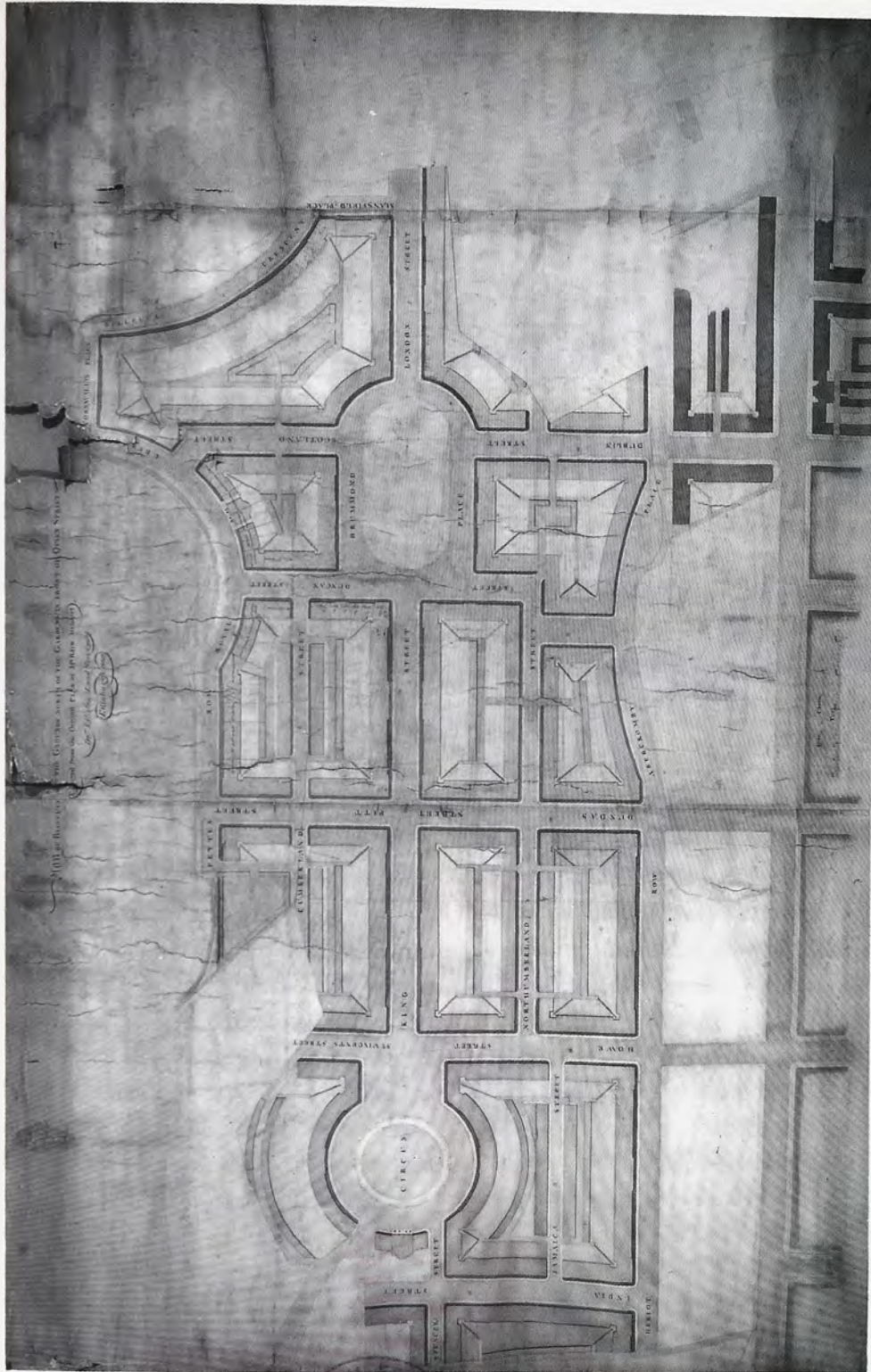


Fig. 9. Robert Reid's 1802 plan for the development of the second New Town, shown in an enlarged and more legible copy by John Stirton, 1809. (NLS, Map Library, Inv. City Arch. 4.c.11, reproduced by permission of the Director of Property Services, CEDC: photograph, RCAHMS.)





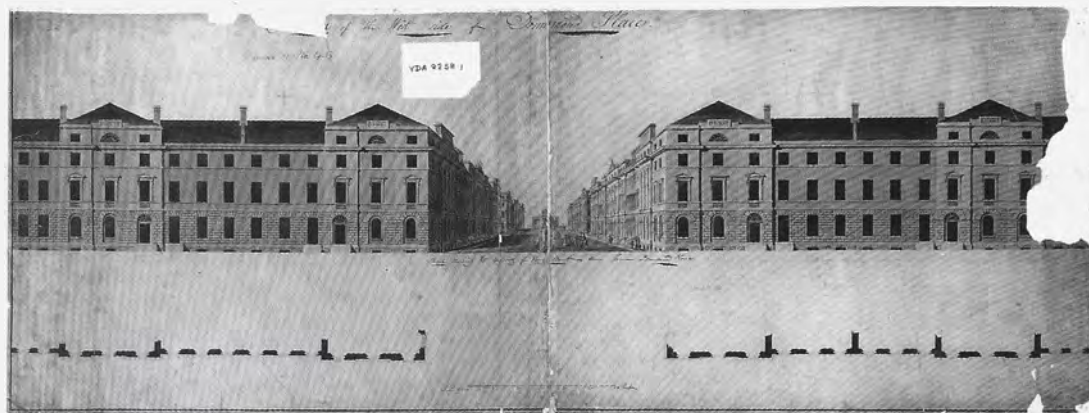


Fig. 10. Elevation by Robert Reid for the west side of Drummond Place, with the view along (Great) King Street towards the church proposed for the west side of Royal Circus, 1804. (*National Monuments Record of Scotland Inv. DC 7747, reproduced by permission of the Director of Property Services, CEDC: photograph, RCAHMS.*)

to Reid's plan, it was effectively dispelled by Reid's 1805 symmetric elevation for Abercromby Place.

With a satisfactory ground plan to hand, both the Town Council and Heriot's Hospital promptly set about the sale and development of their land, even before the contract between all three parties had been finalised. In February 1802 the Town Council instructed their Treasurer to sign the Articles of Roup for the forthcoming auction of the west quarter of the lands of Bellevue. None of the lots sold initially, but three weeks later the Chamberlain reported that eight lots at the northern end of Dublin Street had been purchased (six sold to private individuals, and two to the building partnerships of Winton & Morison and Thomson & Paterson).<sup>73</sup> Slightly slower off the mark was Heriot's Hospital, which experienced some delay because of David Stuart's reappearance: still in the throes of selling his land, and no doubt with a pecuniary motive, Stuart suggested the Hospital should permit a further storey to be added to the housing along Heriot Row and his adjoining property. At a Governors' meeting held on 18 February 1802,<sup>74</sup> their unanimous opinion was that

the houses in the South Row ... excepting projecting houses, should only be two storey houses in front above the level of the street, and proper elevations for that row and other street, in place

of three storey housing above the level of the street as proposed by Mr Stewart.

This would suggest that sketch plans by Reid were probably already available. Stuart must have acquiesced because areas in East Heriot Row were up for sale in March 1802.<sup>75</sup> By August, building work was under way in the Hospital's lands, and not far behind that in the Town's lands also.<sup>76</sup> Regrettably, over time, additional storeys have been added to various parts of Heriot Row and Abercromby Place, destroying the uniformity of the original design.

There was no reason for anticipating any problems over the contract requiring all three parties to abide by the common ground plan and regulations, particularly as the interests of the two main protagonists overlapped to such an extent. However, it became a very protracted affair: not until March 1806, four years after building had commenced, were the three sets of signatures achieved.

Initially, all had gone well. Representatives of the Town Council, Heriot's Hospital, and David Stuart 'met repeatedly' to adjust the draft, and 3 March 1802 was set aside for the signing.<sup>77</sup> However, the date was postponed because of agitation by some of the Hospital Governors who wanted an additional clause requiring the Town Council to build one or

more churches within the intended New Town. The chief proponent was the Reverend Dr Henry Grieve, who submitted a strongly worded protest summoning both moral and practical arguments, and whose greatest fear was of the Council's record of inertia. His objection was overruled, but the dispute had cost time.<sup>78</sup> The plan and contract were formally signed on 23 March 1802 by Baillie Neil McVicar on behalf of the Town Council, and by James Carfrae, Treasurer, for Heriot's Hospital, but 'Mr Stewart and Mr Jamieson and other parties concerned [probably Steuart's creditors] had before signing ... disposed of their property'.<sup>79</sup> This brought to a close David Steuart's involvement with the second New Town, but it meant that the contract could not be completed until the agreement of the new owners of Steuart's land had been obtained. The new owners seemed a strange mixture – William Kerr, Secretary to the General Post Office in Edinburgh, John Pitcairn, merchant, the Reverend Dr John Kemp, and John Richardson of Kinnaird. Why they bought the land remains a mystery, for they showed little inclination to develop it themselves. While conducting their affairs with scrupulous politeness and affecting a desire to co-operate, they seemed nevertheless to find every reason for not committing themselves.

It was a frustrating situation, and one in which 'misunderstandings' developed over several months' correspondence and over failed attempts to meet. A clue to the impasse is contained in a letter written by Kerr and Pitcairn some time in February 1804 in response to an invitation from the Lord Provost to state their grievances. This letter, fully recorded in the Heriot's Hospital minutes,<sup>80</sup> contains the following statement:

Our chief objection to the plan arises from the crescent [Abercromby Place] at the bottom of Mr Rolland's, Colonel Ayton's and our Garden which proceeds on our conviction that it would be of most material detriment to our interests ... We are therefore of the opinion that the street at the bottom of the gardens should be continued eastwards in a straight line. But as this may

be attended with some difficulty we should propose that this part of the plan should be delayed for a time.

An offer by these owners in May 1803 to sell a strip of their ground immediately opposite the stretch of garden to enable this to happen, had already been declined by the Town Council.<sup>81</sup> Unenthusiastic about the plan, apprehensive about being included within the extended Royalty, and critical of the retrospective nature of the contract, the group offered to sell all their land by the end of the year.<sup>82</sup> In December 1804 the Town Council received a letter from William Kerr 'making offer to the Community of the garden and grounds lying to the north of Queen Street for the sum of £8000'.<sup>83</sup> The offer was again refused.

Some time during the following year, Steuart's former land was sold again, this time to a building consortium consisting of George Winton, James Nisbet and Thomas Morrison (architect builders who were already building in the Dublin Street area), together with Maxwell Gordon and John Morison, both Writers to the Signet (and the original agents for the land when it was put up for sale by Steuart in 1800). Soon afterwards Reid was commissioned to draw up elevations 'for their intended buildings in Abercrombie Place', and these were submitted to Heriot's Hospital in September 1805 in the Hospital's capacity as adjoining neighbours.<sup>84</sup> By February 1806 the contract had been agreed to by all three parties and the document was formally signed on 3 March, the new owners also adding their names to the ground plan.<sup>85</sup> It must have been a moment of some relief.

The contract would have been largely modelled on the earlier 1802 version with whatever updating was found necessary. It contained seventeen detailed clauses linked to the different streets in the ground plan, and it was in essence a set of building regulations. It covered, for example, such issues as the heights of buildings, roof pitch, type of stonework, basement areas, railings, and so forth. And it required

that before any house was built 'an elevation there of shall be presented to and approved by the Dean of Guild of the City of Edinburgh and his Council'. Duties for the provision and maintenance of water supply, sewers, pavements and streets were also clearly stated. The ground plan and contract combined to provide a safeguard to ensure a uniform development over a considerable area, while still allowing a degree of flexibility, should later changes be found desirable – and assuming they could also be considered as 'improvements'. All this was very necessary in view of the joint nature of the enterprise and the many different architects and builders involved with different parts of the plan over an extended period.

These controls had been in force right from the start of building, because the same detailed set of regulations had appeared in the Articles of Roup whenever land was advertised for sale by the Town Council or by Heriot's Hospital.<sup>86</sup> The relevant requirements were then repeated in the individual feu charters. In fact the 1806 contract was really little more than an amalgamation of all the preceding Articles of Roup. No doubt William Sibbald made a significant contribution to drafting the technical details and conditions found in these documents. This was an extraordinarily busy time for him – not only was his workload substantially increased as a result of the emerging second New Town, but also parts of the first New Town were still actively being feued (for example, on the west side of Charlotte Square) and were demanding considerable attention. Sibbald's effort was recognised by the Town Council when they awarded him 100 guineas in September 1802 'for his extra trouble in making surveys, measurements, and drawings for the City'.<sup>87</sup>

While Heriot Row and Dublin Street were largely completed by 1808, building went on well into the 1820s, particularly in the Royal Circus and Drummond Place areas. Work slowed after the bankruptcy of the city in the 1830s, and parts of the

eastern section of Royal Crescent and the northern half of Bellevue Crescent were not finished until the 1880s – partly as a consequence of the surfeit of accommodation then available in Edinburgh and also the greater attraction of the development of the Earl of Moray's estate at the more fashionable West End.

Royal Circus, the last major part of the second New Town to be feued, was the only section to experience quite substantial changes to the ground plan. In Reid's plan of 1802 there was no adequate road linkage between the west side of Royal Circus and Stockbridge (figs. 2 and 9), despite the fact that a new road had been constructed across the site a few years beforehand. This link road, forming an extension of Frederick Street, is shown as the 'Proposed New Road from Queensferry' on Ainslie's 1787 survey of Steuart's ground (fig. 4) and is also indicated on Sibbald's 1793 development plan (fig. 5). Early revisions to Reid's plan had sparked criticisms from the Road Trustees, and consequently Heriot's Hospital appointed the architect William Playfair in 1819 to reappraise the road access through the Circus and to prepare elevations for the new housing.<sup>88</sup> After several drafts, an 'improved plan' was available by the end of 1820.<sup>89</sup> By widening the east and west openings to the Circus, Playfair was able to accommodate the existing line of the new road, which cut diagonally across the site. In all Playfair's designs space was left at the centre of the west side of Royal Circus for a church, as had been indicated on Reid's ground plan. This location, however, found little favour with the new residents and instead the church was consigned to another location acquired by the City in 1822 at the foot of St Vincent's Street – a difficult site, where Playfair built St Stephen's Church in 1827–28. The realigned road through Royal Circus resulted in the planned circular space being divided into two crescent-shaped areas, with the addition of two portions of land between the enlarged openings at the east and west ends of the

Circus, which were eventually formed into gardens.<sup>90</sup>

Unlike the proprietors in Royal Circus, the first inhabitants of Bellevue Crescent welcomed proposals by the Town Council in 1822 to build a church at the centre of their crescent.<sup>91</sup> They grasped it as an opportunity to enhance their surroundings, and ultimately gained small garden enclosures in front of the crescent on either side of the church. Hence this part of the 1802 layout was also modified, though to a lesser extent.

Not only was the second New Town 'by far the largest single scheme in the development of Georgian Edinburgh',<sup>92</sup> but it was also the largest joint residential development of a uniform character ever to be carried out in the City. That three separate parties should have agreed to come together and undertake such a venture, and so successfully, is remarkable. That the seeds for this co-operative enterprise were first sown by a private individual – David Steuart – is also important. Although Steuart was not altogether successful in worldly terms, his idea and initiative was the springboard for everything else that followed. The way in which the Town Council grasped the opportunity, presented by the availability of the Bellevue estate, to become involved and to enlarge the plan was also significant. By their involvement, the Council were able to guarantee a unified scheme on a grand scale. In all this, the Council and Heriot's Hospital were helped by their close association – not always in full agreement but mostly working in harmony, the interests of the one bound up with those of the other. All this required boldness, confidence and commitment which, considering the uncertainties of the times, was highly commendable.

It is evident that the second New Town benefited from the mistakes of the first. The notion of a competition to propagate ideas was worth repeating; but more care was taken on this occasion to balance the ground plan with firmer control of what was to be built, and for the main streets the pattern was set by adopting architect-designed elevations (not introduced in the first New Town until Robert Adam's elevations for Charlotte Square in 1792). For a young and relatively inexperienced architect, Robert Reid's contribution was impressive: he achieved far more than James Craig, and left a much greater legacy in terms of his surviving work; and yet in recent years he has tended to be dismissed as a rather dull and heavy designer. As Youngson rightly commented, 'Edinburgh owes him a great deal', and it is to be hoped that the time will come when Reid's work will be given more balanced appraisal.<sup>93</sup> The older William Sibbald, more versed in the practicalities of surveying and building, represented a good professional complement to Reid, and was certainly an asset to the Town at this period.

Might the second New Town be considered as 'eclipsing' the first New Town? Always a little under the shadow of its predecessor, the second New Town nevertheless has survived far more successfully as an architectural force, and has remained for the most part as designed – a residential community. But perhaps of greater value, it set a standard for the developments which followed – in the Moray estate, Sir Henry Raeburn's lands at Stockbridge, the Walker estate at Coates, and so on. As the second New Town edges towards its bicentenary, its significance is certainly worth celebrating.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

The George Heriot Trust, Edinburgh, and the City of Edinburgh District Council kindly gave permission for me to consult and cite material in their care. I am grateful to a number of archivists and colleagues for advice and help, particularly to Kitty Cruft for her knowledge of the Heriot Trust's plans, to Allen Simpson for extended editorial help and for preparing figure 1 in the text, and to Andrew Fraser for useful comment and criticism.

- 1 *The Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh*, 6th edn (Edinburgh 1817), p. 47.
- 2 The hospital takes its name from George Heriot, jeweller and goldsmith, who was appointed banker and jeweller to James VI in 1601. On his death in 1624 Heriot bequeathed his considerable wealth to the town and clergy of Edinburgh for the building and maintenance of a hospital 'for education, nursing and upbringing of youth, being poor orphans and fatherless children of decayed burgesses and freemen of the said burgh, destitute and left without means': William Steven, *Memoir of George Heriot* (Edinburgh 1845), *App.* p. 22. The Governors of the Hospital were not only occupied with the building of the school (finally opened in 1659) but also invested in the large-scale purchase of land in and near Edinburgh including properties in the Barony of Broughton and its immediate neighbourhood. In 1636 the Hospital acquired the whole superiorities and remaining lands in the Barony in a transaction between King Charles I and the Earl of Roxburgh. It became a charitable trust in the nineteenth century.
- 3 The 34 Scots acres (17.3 hectares) sold by Heriot's Hospital to the Town Council in 1766, on which the first New Town was built, had been part of the same Barony: see Ian D. Grant, 'Edinburgh's Expansion: The Background to the New Town', in Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser (eds), *James Craig, 1744-1795: 'The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh'* (Edinburgh 1995), pp. 12-24 (pp. 19-20, and figs 2.2, 2.3). In both England and Scotland the acre of land measure was considered to be 10 square chains, where the English chain was 66 feet (giving an acre of 0.405 hectares) and the equivalent Scots chain 74 feet (acre of 0.509 hectares). A variant Scots chain of 74.4 feet was also widely used at this period (acre of 0.514 hectares), and surveys in Lowland Scotland might be in any of these three units. See R. D. Connor and A. D. C. Simpson, *The Weights and Measures of Scotland* (forthcoming).
- 4 William Baird, 'George Drummond: An Eighteenth Century Lord Provost', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club [BOEC]*, 4 (1911), pp. 46-47; and Extract and Disposition by the Commissioner of the Marquis of Tichfield to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the City of Edinburgh, Edinburgh Burgh Court, Register of Deeds 1/198, registered 4 October 1808.
- 5 Scott was one of the most noted gamblers of his time, both at home and abroad: James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*, 3 vols (London 1880-83), II, p. 191.
- 6 For Adam's plans for Bellevue see David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam* (Oxford 1991), pp. 127-129 (the house was, however, attributed to James Brown, architect of George Square, in James Paterson's text to *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes*, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1837-38, I, p. 75). An illustration of Bellevue House, published in 1796, is included as fig. 4 in Ian Gow, 'The Edinburgh Villa', *BOEC*, NS 1 (1991), pp. 34-46. Bellevue House was acquired by the Board of Customs between 1801 and 1804, and a third storey was added. Its foundations were undermined during the building of the Scotland Street tunnel for the Edinburgh to Granton railway and it was demolished in the 1840s. Bellevue House was not built on the site of Drummond Lodge but a little to the north west: it is therefore quite possible that its alignment on St Andrews Street, a feature exploited in the design of the second New Town, was intentional.
- 7 For recent publications on the development of the first New Town plan, see Stuart Harris, 'New Light on the First New Town', *BOEC*, NS 2 (1992), pp. 1-13; and Cruft and Fraser, *op. cit.* (note 3).
- 8 Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 3, p. 259: Feu Charter granted to Robert Ord, Lord Chief Baron, 5 June 1769.
- 9 The 12 Scots acre (6.1 hectare) estate of Meldrumsheugh had had several owners before coming into the possession of Francis, 9th Earl of Moray, in 1782: it was later developed by his eldest son, Francis, 10th Earl, from 1822 onwards. See John Clark Wilson, 'Lands and Houses of Drumsheugh', *BOEC*, 25 (1945), pp. 71-89.
- 10 Allan and Steuart (sometimes spelt Stewart) were both involved in trading in a wide range of primary products including tea. Their corn connections brought them into close relations with the leading distillers of eastern Scotland. The scale on which they granted credits and discounted bills led them into banking; the firm ceased about 1810: S. G. Checkland, *Scottish Banking: A History, 1695-1973* (Glasgow and London 1975), pp. 164-165. Allan and Steuart both served on the Town Council as Merchant Councillors. At the start of his career Steuart was apprenticed to the banking firm of Messrs John Couetts and Co. He was admitted a Burgess and Guild Brother on 15 January 1777: Charles B. Boog Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1761-1841* (Edinburgh 1933), p. 152.

- 11 Quoted from *Kay's Portraits, op. cit.* (note 6), I, pp. 42–43. See also Brian Hillyard, *David Steuart Esquire: An Edinburgh Collector* (Edinburgh 1993) for a detailed account of Steuart and his library.
- 12 *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296–1932* (Edinburgh 1932), p. 80. Steuart was also the moving spirit behind the formation of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce in 1785, as well as first treasurer of the Highland Society of Scotland (subsequently the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society). For Steuart and the circus scheme in 1781 see Iain Gordon Brown and Anthony Lewis, 'David Allan's Portrait of James Craig and its documentary Significance', in Cruft and Fraser, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 66–76.
- 13 First shown listed in Queen Street: *Williamson's Directory, 1780–81* (Edinburgh 1780). The house had been built for a former Lord Provost, John Dalrymple; it was advertised for sale again (by Steuart?) in 1791: *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 8 November 1791.
- 14 Heriot's Hospital Minutes [HHM], 8 October 1781, vol. 12, p. 156; Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 4, p. 208.
- 15 Ramadge was granted a sub-tack by Agnes Steven, widow of Henry Anderson: information recorded in HHM, 18 April 1785, vol. 12, p. 363.
- 16 At a stated rate of 3 shillings sterling per foot in front for each house so erected: HHM, 18 May 1785, vol. 12, p. 363. This minute also gives some useful details about the previous tenancy of the land. Steuart was required to pay an annual feu duty equivalent to 7 bolls of barley per acre (c. 0.45 tonnes per hectare: for conversion factors see Connor and Simpson, *op. cit.*, note 3). It was also made a condition that any building to be erected had to line up with any building the Trust might also have built, and not be closer than 25 feet (7.6 m). A feu charter in favour of David Steuart was made out on 17 October 1785: Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 5, p. 91; HHM, 17 October 1785, vol. 13, p. 29.
- 17 HHM, 4 August 1785, vol. 13, p. 9.
- 18 Steuart seems to have had a house built next door to Allan's, at 28 Queen Street, but there is no record in the street directories of him having lived there. Ord's former garden was sold again in 1793 to Major Roger Aytoun after the boundary with Steuart's garden had been realigned, and the western plot was sold to Sir James Grant in 1796.
- 19 Steuart would have known Ainslie through earlier survey work carried out during Steuart's term as Lord Provost. Ainslie's first plan of Edinburgh (c. 1780) is dedicated to Steuart, and the earliest form shows an 'Intended Circus' at the intersection of George Street and Frederick Street, an idea certainly promoted by Steuart in 1781: Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), Town Council Minutes (TCM), 20 June 1781. This version of the plan is reproduced by David C. Simpson, *Edinburgh Displayed* (Edinburgh 1962). For a discussion of Ainslie's 'circus' plan see Andrew Fraser, 'A Reassessment of Craig's New Town Plans, 1766–1774', in Cruft and Fraser, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 25–47 (pp. 40–41).
- 20 The plan was in private hands when recorded by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) in 1975, but is now unlocated.
- 21 HHM, 24 January 1791, vol. 14, pp. 83–93.
- 22 HHM, 18 April 1791, vol. 14, p. 107.
- 23 HHM, 13 December 1792, vol. 14, p. 196.
- 24 HHM, 4 June 1792, vol. 14, p. 175.
- 25 This dual appointment system continued up until 1819 and demonstrates the close ties between the Hospital and the City. No major conflicts seem to have arisen from this situation, and indeed the smooth development of both the first and the second New Towns was probably aided by it. However, the propriety of the system was queried by Dr John Inglis, one of the Heriot's Hospital Governors, on Thomas Bonar's appointment in 1810 – he considered it 'inexpedient' for the same person to hold both positions 'on account of the intermixture of the respective properties of the two bodies', but his objection was overruled: HHM, 31 July 1810, vol. 19, p. 2.
- 26 For information on William Sibbald *Senior*, see Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (London 1978), p. 734. Colvin lists St Andrew's Church steeple in George Street as designed by Sibbald although Gifford *et al.* ascribe it as probably by Major Andrew Frazer, architect for the church: John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *Edinburgh* (The Buildings of Scotland, Harmondsworth 1984), p. 223. Sibbald, however, was appointed to superintend the building of the spire in 1787, and a report by him to the Lord Provost and Magistrates dated 23 December 1788 refers to having 'made out the Plan and Elevation of each story on a large scale' and for the various ornamental parts – thus authorship of the design would seem to rest firmly with Sibbald: Report by the Superintendent of Works, William Sibbald, ECA, bay C, shelf 20. William Sibbald *Junior* (d. 1823), who is presumed to have been his son, also practised as an architect and builder in Edinburgh, and the two were closely associated professionally. In 1808 they submitted a joint report to the Town Council on what to do with the garden contents of Bellevue House: TCM, 6 April 1808.
- 27 HHM, 13 December 1792, vol. 14, p. 196. The minute reports that, on the basis of the sketch, 'upwards of £15,000 sterling would be expected if the land was feued out for building purposes'.
- 28 HHM, 8 October 1792, vol. 14, pp. 187–189.
- 29 HHM, 23 July 1793, vol. 14, pp. 228–230.
- 30 The plan is at the National Monuments Record of Scotland,

- RCAHMS, Inv. GHT PP 22. The formal contract dated 18 October 1793 between George Heriot's Hospital and David Steuart agreeing to conform to a common building plan, is referred to in Clause 12 of a later contract between the City of Edinburgh, the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital and the new owners who purchased David Steuart's former feu in 1805 (discussed later in this paper): ECA, Title Deeds and Legal Records, box O, bundle 1, No. 6. Youngson reproduced a version of this plan dated 1796, which he believed to be the earliest surviving plan, but which may well have been one of the 'thousand copies to be cast off' in 1796: A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh 1966), p. 206 and fig. 65 (see also note 33 below). The Heriot's Hospital plans do in fact include two such engraved plans (by Hector Gavin) dated 1796, now deposited in RCAHMS, Inv. GHT PP 45 and 48.
- 31 Sibbald was an apt choice for Steuart to have made because Heriot's Hospital was likely to be more receptive to a plan produced by their own Superintendent of Works. It is unclear whether Steuart knew Sibbald much before the latter's appointment by the Town in 1790 - his earliest recorded involvement with a project of the Town's is his success in the 1785 competition for the design of St Andrew's Church steeple.
- 32 C. M. Byrom, 'The Pleasure Gardens of Edinburgh New Town' (unpublished University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1984), section on Charlotte Square Gardens.
- 33 HHM, 22 August 1796, vol. 15, p. 94.
- 34 Wood was a descendant of Johnston of Wariston, Midlothian (not to be confused with the lands of Warriston, Edinburgh). Apart from being a tenant of Heriot's Hospital at Broughton, he also had lands at Restalrig, Stockbridge and Bearford Parks (the last having been surrendered for the building of the first New Town). His farmhouse stood near the centre of the West Queen Street gardens and his duck pond at the middle of the central Queen Street gardens. His eldest son, Alexander Wood, the celebrated Edinburgh surgeon, expressed no interest in continuing the tenancy. See David Robertson, 'The Burlaw Court of Leith', *BOEC*, 15 (1927), p. 182; Grant, *op. cit.* (note 5), II, p. 115.
- 35 HHM, 10 December 1798, vol. 15, p. 161.
- 36 HHM, 25 February 1799, vol. 15, pp. 184-185. In his letter Steuart drew attention to the fact that the servitude had already been departed from in Sibbald's plan where the street and buildings shown were to extend over the north east of his garden.
- 37 A small portion of Steuart's former private garden area at the eastern edge of the protected Queen Street Gardens strip was, however, sold in 1807 in five separate lots to proprietors of houses on the west side of Duke street (now Dublin Street) who wished to improve the shape and size of their back gardens, possibly prompted by John Morison ws, one of the joint owners of Steuart's former garden and himself living at 5 Duke Street: Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 7, p. 446, Contract between the Governors and George Winton and others (part of David Steuart's feu disposed in five lots to Robert Hill ws and other owners of houses on the west side of Duke Street). In the process, one of the last stretches of Gabriel's Road, the ancient way from Silvermills to the Old Town, was finally obliterated. Several years later, the most southerly of these extended gardens was partly built upon, although this was contrary to the original servitude placed on the land: see W. & A. K. Johnston's *Plan of Edinburgh & Leith in 1851 from Actual Survey by Alfred Lancefield*. Further additions were made in 1878 by Robert Raeburn for the upholsterer John Boyd, with an arcade of shops along Queen Street and offices overhead, and 'York Buildings' became government offices in 1919: Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 318.
- 38 A small angle of garden on the north-eastern boundary was, however, to be included as part of the other area of land which was up for sale (see fig. 6). The angle is described as the 'north extremity' in the advertisement: adding this to the 13-acre plot suggests that Steuart was trying to release sufficient ground to allow a straight building frontage to be built. If Heriot's Hospital was prepared to let this happen (and see note 36 for Steuart's 1799 letter to them), then perhaps it was only the failure to sell the land that forced Reid to adopt the crescent solution in 1802. Finlayson had a nursery down Leith Walk, and a shop near the foot of the West Bow.
- 39 After first being put up for sale the land was readvertised at least ten times between February and June 1800 in the Edinburgh newspapers. Heriot's Hospital also appears to have considered feuing out some of its land to the north of Queen Street at around this time. A minute of 21 April 1800 records that 'the most eligible part at present is the street on the feuing plan [Sibbald's 1793 plan] which forms a continuation of north Frederick Street and so far north till it is intersected by the street that connects and leads to the circus on the west and the square on the east and that the same should be feued by public roup': HHM, 21 April 1800, vol. 15, p. 225. No further references appear, which suggests that action was postponed because of uncertainties over the sale of Steuart's land. This street is the one marked as the 'Proposed New Road from Queensferry' on Ainslie's survey of 1787 (fig. 4).
- 40 Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 7, p. 447: Charter of Confirmation, 20 April 1807. The other joint owners were George Winton, architect cum builder, James Nisbet, plasterer cum builder, and Thomas Morrison, a builder. The last named is still remembered through Morrison's Academy,

- Crieff, which was built with money bequeathed in his will.
- 41 TCM, 30 April 1800. The Bellevue property was at this time owned by the Marquis of Tichfield; within the grounds of the house there was a porter's lodge, gardener's house, hot houses, greenhouses, ice house and rabbit house. The furniture of the mansion (excluding the mirrors on the doors in the large livingroom, the pianoforte, all the paintings and prints, and the wine in the cellar) was included in the selling price of £21,000. The house had been advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 17 August 1799.
- 42 The pasturage of the Parks of Bellevue was let by public roup (auction) to George Willoughby, flesher, for one year at £142: TCM, 19 November 1800. The sale of the timber, and likewise of the plants and vines, was also done by auction: TCM, 3 December 1800 and 28 January 1801. Some of the plants were donated to the Royal Botanic Garden at the request of Daniel Rutherford, Professor of Botany: TCM, 4 February 1801.
- 43 Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh 1856), pp. 171–173.
- 44 TCM, 22 October 1800.
- 45 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 25 and 27 October 1800. For Craig's prizes see ECA, Bridge Committee Minutes, 26 August 1766.
- 46 TCM, 11 February 1801.
- 47 ECA, 'Accounts for the Proper Revenue of the City of Edinburgh, from Martinmas 1802 to Martinmas 1804'. The relevant numbered payments were as follows: entry no. 1020 'James Elliot, one of the authors of a plan of Bellevue, Act of Council, 2 September 1801, £50 6[s]'; 1021 'Robert Morrison, ditto'; 1022 'John Baine, ditto'. William Sibbald's name appears later (entry 1094) with the same wording. The Act of the Town Council referred to gives the prize premiums in pounds rather than guineas: 'Read representations by the Chamberlain bearing that it had been proposed by the Committee for feuing the grounds of Bellevue to give two Premiums for the Plans that should be approved of; that accordingly these Premiums had been Advertised one of one hundred pounds, and one of fifty pounds sterling. That a great many Plans had been given in and the Judges were so diffcult in making a choice that the Committee agreed to add fifty pounds and divide the sum among the four authors of the Plans which were most approved of': TCM, 2 September 1801. The premiums awarded match neither figure exactly.
- 48 Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 287. After James's death his brother undertook various projects in Edinburgh including two churches (St Paul's Chapel, York Place, and Broughton Place Church) as well as the Calton Jail, Waterloo Place and Regent Bridge. A plan for Rutland Square was not implemented.
- 49 *A New Picture of Edinburgh, being an accurate Guide to the City's Environs ... printed for William Whyte & Co.* (Edinburgh c. 1823), pp. 159–160. Baine is similarly referred to as one of the architects of whom Scotland could boast in Alexander Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain*, 2 vols (London 1802), II, p. 278.
- 50 John Mason, 'The Edinburgh School of Design', *BOEC*, 27 (1949), pp. 70, 72. Baine's name seems to have been spelt either with or without an 'e' at the end.
- 51 There were seven applicants for the post left vacant by Alexander Runciman's death, and the engraver David Allan was selected for it: *ibid.*
- 52 *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 28 October 1788.
- 53 Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 557.
- 54 Listed in the 1806 *Post Office Directory* as Robert Morison, architect, 28 North Castle Street. He most likely came to Edinburgh some time before this date, as an R. Morison, drawing master, head of Niddry Street, is to be found in Aitchison's *Edinburgh Directory, 1799–1800* (Edinburgh 1799). In 1796 he appears to have been one of the nine candidates for the Mastership of the School of Design following David Allan's death: Mason, *op. cit.* (note 50), p. 75.
- 55 Nos 24–30 Howe Street have been definitely ascribed to him: Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 557. For his plans for the University, see Andrew G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1989), pp. 133–135, 152. On the surviving 1789 drawing he styled himself 'Architect': *ibid.*, fig. 5.4.
- 56 City of Edinburgh District Council, Technical Services Department Map Collection, No. TS 3, held at the National Library of Scotland [NLS] Map Library, Edinburgh.
- 57 [John Baine], 'An explanatory Memoir to accompany the Plan proposed for the Buildings intended to be raised on the Grounds of Bellevue belonging to the City of Edinburgh; and on those to the west, belonging to Heriot's Hospital and to David Steuart Esq.': undated manuscript (before 10 October 1801) in Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, Laing Collection, Div. II, No. 415.
- 58 One section of Baine's report was concerned with accommodating proposals for an extended link of the Edinburgh and Glasgow canal between Kirkbraehead (across the Earl of Moray's land on the west side) and the port of Leith. The various suggested routes had been published in 1798 under the direction of the civil engineer John Rennie: see John Ainslie and Robert Whitworth, *Report ... concerning the Practicability and Expence of making the Different Tracks proposed for a Canal betwixt the Cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow* (n.p., n.d.), and John Rennie, *Report ...* (Edinburgh 1798). Baine considered it preferable to run the line eastwards just beyond the northern boundary wall of the Queen Street



- garden area: this largely avoided interference with the new street layout, while providing opportunities for a pleasant promenade along the northern side of the canal. Significantly, the canal also appears on this line in a revised version of John Ainslie's first plan of Edinburgh (initially issued c. 1780), updated to 1 January 1801: William Cowan, *The Maps of Edinburgh, 1544-1929*. 2nd edn, ed. by Charles B. Boog Watson (Edinburgh 1932), pp. 55-56; reproduced in *Edinburgh, 1329-1929* (Edinburgh 1929), opp. p. 352. Consideration of the route to be taken by the canal was not a requirement of the competition, nor does it appear to have been an issue with any of the other plans put forward. Perhaps Baine's technical interests and an awareness of Ainslie's work on the route prompted him to emphasise its importance. No route was marked on Ainslie's second *Plan of the Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith* in 1804 (fig. 2), and Robert Kirkwood's *Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs* of 1817 showed Robert Stevenson's route, that followed close to the line of the Canonmills mill lade to the north of the site of the second New Town.
- 59 HHM, 1 June 1801, vol. 16, pp. 36-37.
- 60 TCM, 16 December 1801. The Royal Engineers provided some of the best trained surveyors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Officers were allowed to take on outside commissions and were often involved in such tasks as the laying out of roads and streets: they were particularly in demand when the railway era began. Information from William Thorburn, formerly of the Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh.
- 61 In 1803 Reid was appointed by the Trustees of Public Buildings to design the new Law Courts in Parliament Square and this marked the start of his life as a public architect. From 1807 to 1810 he carried out alterations on the old Parliament buildings beside St Giles, both on the interior and exterior. On the strength of his work on the Law Courts he obtained a warrant in 1808 authorising him to assume the title of King's Architect and Surveyor in Scotland: this was purely an honorary title with no emoluments to the holder. Two years later he produced plans and elevations to complete the University (which were not carried out) and also new designs for St George's Church in Charlotte Square. Both these had originally been designed by Robert Adam, and in 1822 Reid was to work on the completion of another Adam building, Register House. In 1824 Reid succeeded James Brodie as Master of Works and Architect to the King in Scotland at £200 per annum. In 1827 Reid persuaded the Government to set up a Scottish Office of Works with himself as head (being paid £500 per annum with offices in Parliament Square); this position was finally abolished in 1839 when Reid was 66 years old. Some of his earlier work has been criticised as being rather heavy and dull. Information from Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 26), pp. 674-676.
- 62 Robert Reid was recorded as a land-surveyor in T. Aitchison, *Edinburgh Directory, 1797-1798* (Edinburgh 1797).
- 63 Once described by Henry Cockburn as a 'prominent deformity', the Bank building was extensively altered and added to between 1864 and 1871 by David Bryce, architect: Valerie Fiddes and Alistair Rowan, *David Bryce, 1803-1876* (Edinburgh 1976).
- 64 It is also of interest to note that Robert Reid's father had feued three building stances in York Place from Heriot's Hospital in 1799 and Robert Reid 'builder' another three in 1801, at a time when Reid could well have been engaged in revising plans for the second New Town or immediately prior to this (since no other Robert Reid has been traced in the street directories of this period, it is presumed that 'architect' and 'builder' are one and the same person): Heriot's Hospital Chartulary, vol. 6, pp. 201 and 477.
- 65 TCM, 30 December 1801; HHM, 31 December 1801, vol. 16, p. 61. The north-east part would have included the Bellevue Crescent area, and as two possibilities were put forward, the committee wanted to find which offered the better feuing prospects.
- 66 HHM, 31 December 1801, vol. 16, p. 61, and 15 February 1802, vol. 16, p. 70.
- 67 HHM, 18 February 1802, vol. 16, p. 71. An Act of Parliament for the extension of the Royalty northward beyond the first New Town to include the area within the new ground plan was not obtained until 1809, when the Town obtained absolute rights to the lands of Bellevue: *An Act for extending the Royalty of the City of Edinburgh ... 1809*.
- 68 Edinburgh City Architect's Map Collection No. 4.c.1, held at NLS Map Library, Edinburgh (the plan illustrated in fig. 9 is an accurate copy made in 1809). The original plan, which is much worn, is signed by Reid and endorsed: 'Edinburgh, 23 March 1802. This is the plan referred to in the contract entered into between the City of Edinburgh, the Governors of George Heriots Hospital, and David Steuart for building on the grounds belonging to them'. For reasons explained in the text, the signing of this contract was delayed until 1806. From an account submitted by Reid and recorded in the Heriot's Hospital minutes in 1804, it would seem that in addition to the main ground plan he also drew up three working plans for each of the parties at an overall cost of £105: HHM, 23 January 1804, vol. 16, p. 239.
- 69 Cockburn, *op. cit.* (note 43), p. 287; Robert Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1825), p. 203.
- 70 David Steuart had drawn attention to this as far back as 1797. Robert Chambers (*ibid.*, p. 203) also gave encroachment on to a small corner of the garden ground as the reason for the cres-

- cent solution, adding that the proprietor (this would have been William Kerr *et al.* after 1802) was unwilling to sell except 'at a vast price'. His comment that the notion of a crescent had 'never before been conceived by the Edinburgh architects' and was in fact suggested by a 'common workman' is erroneous – all the plans for the second New Town had included one or more crescents.
- 71 HHM, 23 January 1804, vol. 16, p. 239; TCM, 20 June 1804, and 19 March 1806. Reid's 1803 elevation for Heriot Row is reproduced in Youngson, *op. cit.* (note 30), pp. 210–211. For elevations for Abercromby Place, Great King Street and Drummond Place see the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS) EDD/9/1, EDD/100/1, EDD/79/2 and DC 7745; and see fig. 10 for elevations for the west side of Drummond Place, NMRS DC 7747.
- 72 Ainslie's plan is engraved (within the Earl of Moray's estate) 'N.B. This Plan of the Newtown North of Queen Street is copied from a Plan in the Possession of James Jackson Esqr'. The Ainslie plan was presumably the source for a number of derivative plans, which similarly show Nelson Street as straight: examples are the plans in J. Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1806) and in J. & H. S. Storer's *Views in Edinburgh and its Vicinity* (London and Edinburgh 1820). The logic of aligning Nelson Street with St David's Street depended on making a linking roadway through East Queen Street gardens, an idea seriously debated in 1805 and in 1810 but finally abandoned in 1812: HHM, 28 February 1812, vol. 19, pp. 214–217; TCM, 17 January 1810 and 11 March 1812.
- 73 TCM, 10 February 1802, and 3 March 1802.
- 74 HHM, 18 February 1802, vol. 16, pp. 71–72.
- 75 Articles of Roup for Heriot Row and adjoining areas, dated 10 March 1802; referred to (but with no location given) in T. N. A. Watson, 'A Historical and Conservation Study of Heriot Row' (thesis submitted for the Diploma in Conservation Studies, The Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, York University, 1974).
- 76 HHM, 23 August 1802, vol. 16, pp. 134–135, petition by Robert Cay to make some deviation on the roof of his house; TCM, 17 March 1802, report by the Chamberlain that different feuars were digging their foundations and that it would be an advantage to all concerned if the principal drains of the street could be built.
- 77 The information in this paragraph is derived from HHM, 10 March 1802, vol. 16, p. 74.
- 78 However, the matter was taken up again when details of the intended Parliamentary Bill for extending the Royalty were being considered. Grieve was one of the Presbytery representatives on the committee which drafted the Bill. It was agreed that a clause should be added authorising and requiring the Town Council to build a church within a stated time, and once this was erected another in the Old Town was to be closed and its Minister transferred to the new church: TCM, 9 January 1805.
- 79 HHM, 6 April 1802, vol. 16, pp. 101–102; for the endorsement of the plan see note 68.
- 80 HHM, 27 February 1804, vol. 16, pp. 248–253. Perhaps the sequence of a crescent following a straight terrace was too innovative for their conservative taste, but they seem to have been unaware of the practical reason for adopting the crescent solution.
- 81 TCM, 3 August 1803.
- 82 On their response to the extension of the Royalty see TCM, 4 January 1804.
- 83 TCM, 12 December 1804.
- 84 HHM, 6 September 1805, vol. 17, p. 40. A copy of this elevation, signed by Reid and dated 4 September 1805, is in the NMRS, Inv. EDD/9/1.
- 85 TCM, 12 February 1806. A copy of the contract survives in ECA: Title Deeds and Legal Records, box O, bundle 1, No. 6. The main clauses are described in Youngson, *op. cit.* (note 30), pp. 208–211.
- 86 'Articles and conditions of sale of part of the ground belonging to George Heriot's Hospital, being a continuation of that Row presently called Heriot Row', 11 March 1803: ECA, bay A, shelf 16, bundle 3.
- 87 TCM, 8 September 1802. Sibbald seems to have applied for reimbursement for his extra work to both the Town Council and to Heriot's Hospital. The Hospital records a letter from him 'stating the services he has done at the hospital in making surveys and plans of certain parts of their property, and submitting what allowances ought to be made to him': HHM, 8 September 1802, vol. 16, p. 142.
- 88 Byrom, *op. cit.* (note 32), section on Royal Circus Gardens. Information on the gardens of the Second New Town is included in a broader review: Connie Byrom, 'The Pleasure Grounds of Edinburgh New Town', *Garden History: The Journal of the Garden History Society*, 23 (1995), pp. 67–90.
- 89 Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, Playfair Collection, portfolio 7, nos 810, 811.
- 90 Byrom, *op. cit.* (note 32), section on Royal Circus Gardens.
- 91 Designed by Thomas Brown, the City Superintendent of Works who succeeded Thomas Bonnar, the architect for the first half of the crescent. The church was built here in preference to alternative sites in London Street and Albany Street: TCM, 11 September 1822.
- 92 Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *op. cit.* (note 26), p. 335.
- 93 Youngson, *op. cit.* (note 30), p. 294.