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ADAM SQUARE: AN EDINBURGH  
ARCHITECTURAL FIRST

IAN R. M. MOWAT

EDINBURGH has had a long love affair with the Adam family. The contribution of Robert Adam (1728–1792) to the city's development, from Charlotte Square, past 8 Queen Street and Register House, to the University's Old College, is well known and needs no recapitulation. The impact of Robert's father, William (1689–1748), is nowadays less evident but was, in its time, not insignificant. William was responsible for the original Royal Infirmary in Infirmary Street and for George Watson's Hospital beside the Meadows, which still forms the core of the next Royal Infirmary in Lauriston Place (now, in its turn, being replaced). Although neither building survives in a recognisable form, memories of the original Infirmary are strong.<sup>1</sup>

Remarkably little attention has been paid, however, to William's eldest son and Robert's elder brother, John (1721–1792). Yet John's involvement with the city of Edinburgh was probably the longest, strongest and most varied of all the Adam family. Although born in Kirkcaldy and schooled in Dalkeith, John attended Edinburgh University before being brought into the family firm by his father in 1737.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter John remained based in or around Edinburgh for most of his life, escaping from time to time to the family's country home at Blair Adam in Kinross or to his suburban villa at North Merchiston – a favourite summer haunt of David Hume – but seldom being away from the more direct environs of Edinburgh for any length of time.

John designed the splendid tomb for his father in Greyfriars Churchyard.<sup>3</sup> He drew up the original design from which the Royal Exchange (now City Chambers) was built (in a modified fashion), and

concocted a scheme, sadly unbuilt, for a grandiose North Bridge across the valley between the Old and New Towns.<sup>4</sup> John also played a part in the design of the New Town itself, which was certainly more central than has generally been recognised and may have been crucial with respect to the final outcome.<sup>5</sup> Although he appears not to have designed anything of significance in the New Town, having largely given up the practice of architecture by 1768, he was active in the Old Town where he both refurbished existing properties, such as Tweeddale House for the Marquis of Tweeddale, and designed new property, for example Milton House for Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton.<sup>6</sup> He was also the designer of a number of the suburban villas erected in what were then the rural environs of Edinburgh but which have since been swallowed up within the city. Chief amongst these was the stylish, if severe, house for Lord Alesmuir at Hawkhill.<sup>7</sup>

John has remained overshadowed by his more famous father and brothers and it is true that his *oeuvre* suggests an architect of worthy competence rather than one of outstanding originality. His achievements at such as Hopetoun House and Moffat House are not without merit but hardly rate in comparison with Robert's Culzean, Mellerstain or Walkinshaw.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, some of his work is downright pedestrian – exemplified by the still-extant 'show' facade at Castle Grant and the unexecuted plans for Gordon Castle.<sup>9</sup> But at his best John reveals a more imaginative mind, and nowhere more so than in his design for Adam Square.

Adam Square no longer exists, having been replaced in the nineteenth century by the range of

buildings running along the west side of South Bridge, at the Chambers Street end. Adam House in Chambers Street (the 1950s University of Edinburgh examination halls block) replicates the name and the overall design of the houses without being exact either as to location or to appearance.<sup>10</sup> The faint reminder provided by Adam House hardly does justice to the elegant and comfortable living which John Adam provided in Adam Square, only minutes away from the heart of the city at the Cross. Yet in its time, Adam Square represented a startling breakthrough in Scottish urban design and was the favoured residence of some of the most distinguished inhabitants of the city.

William Adam probably moved from his home base in Kirkcaldy to Edinburgh in late 1728, settling in a property on the south side of the Cowgate adjoining buildings belonging to the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel.<sup>11</sup> The property was an extensive one. In the submission for an arbitration decision by Lord Provost James Hunter Blair in 1785 John Adam deposed that his property west of Robertson's Close and of the road running through Adam Square included a 'Brewerie and Brewing House Kiln and stables and also the fire and back close' which was purchased by William Adam, upon part of which ground a house was built by the said William Adam. It also included the 'Dwelling house and lodging sometime possessed by Lady Pennycuick'.<sup>12</sup>

When William died in 1748 John, as his eldest son, succeeded to his estate, including the property in the Cowgate. In 1755 John Adam reached agreement with the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel to build a new tenement on the site of the Incorporation's tenement opposite the foot of Merlin Wynd, on the south side of the Cowgate, which had lately been burnt down. This tenement was to have a new entry six feet wide and nine feet high giving access to Adam's back land. It appears that this tenement was

just to the south of the original William Adam tenement if a note in the Register of Sasines of 1858 refers to the same property.<sup>13</sup>

By this time, of course, the tradition of tenement building had already been challenged by the construction of Argyle Square as early as 1742, with houses intended for individual occupation by single families.<sup>14</sup> By the 1750s also the enterprisingly immodest James Brown was planning both Brown Square (the last buildings of which, on the site of the new Museum of Scotland, were demolished only in the 1970s) and the much more grandiose George Square (named after his brother). Youngson claims that George Square was the first truly modern house building project in Edinburgh, and the first true square.<sup>15</sup> He may be correct with respect to the second claim but his first hardly does justice to John Adam's pioneering achievement in Adam Square. On 24 March 1761 John submitted a plan for building upon the west side of his area south of the Cowgate.<sup>16</sup> His plan was for a set of houses of a magnificence and quality of design unmatched by anything previously seen in Scottish urban life.

In a letter from Rome James Adam wrote scathingly in May 1761 to his sister Jenny: 'I see that John proposes making himself very fine in a new house and is adorning it with all those figures of Architecture that are known on t'other side the tweed, where, really I begin to imagine the three Arts of painting, Sculpture & Architecture are allmost as little understood as in Nova S-a'.<sup>17</sup> The comment reflects more upon the uneasy relationship between John and his brothers, and to the younger brothers' not unknown practice of rubbishing the work of contemporary architects who might be rivals, than upon the quality and originality of the design.

In fact, John's first proposal, approved by the Dean of Guild Court in April 1761, was not acted upon. In the next three months John acquired various

additional tenements and subjects lying between his area and Hastie's Close to the west, enlarging the total space. He submitted a new plan in July 1761, proposing to place his building further west than had originally been intended (fig. 1). This revised proposal was finally approved by the Dean of Guild Court in December 1761.<sup>18</sup>

Town but not dramatically more so than the individual town houses still being built towards the lower end of the Canongate. To the south was a house belonging to Mr Wright and then the old buildings of the Town's College. The layout occupied a gap site and could not compare with the formal designs of the squares of the New Town.<sup>19</sup>

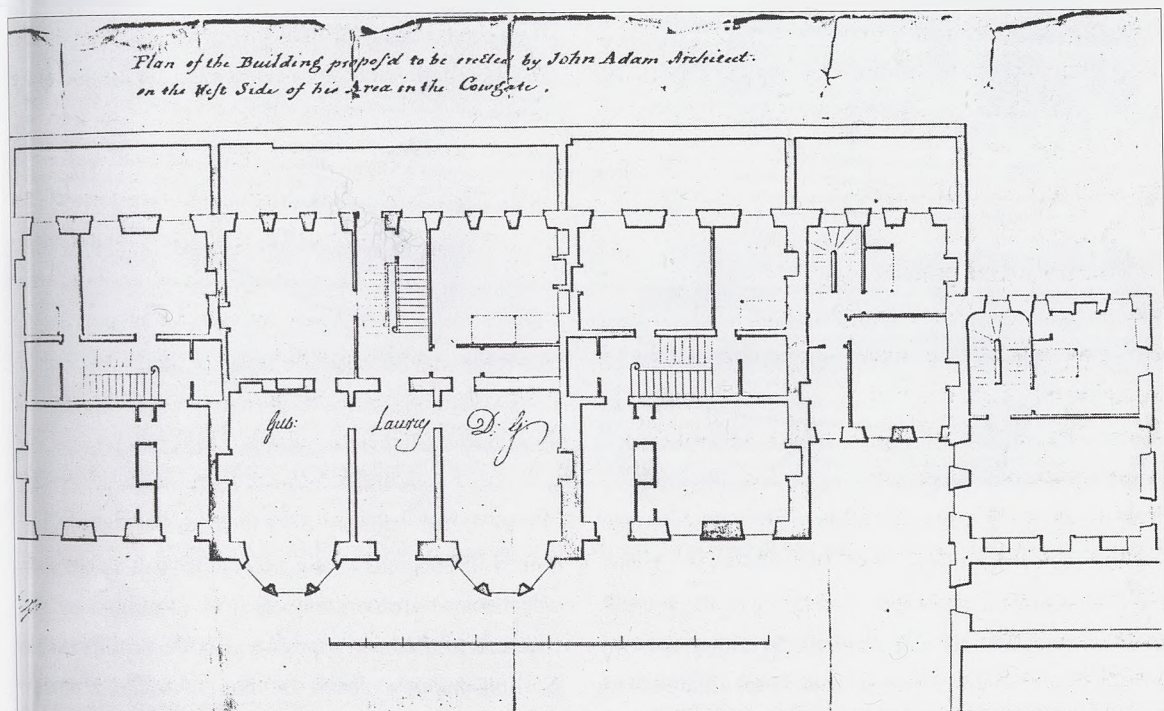


Fig. 1. Adam Square: ground floor plan of revised design of July 1761 (unfortunately, the original plan, which was seen and copied in the 1970s, has been mislaid). (Edinburgh City Archives.)

Although designated a square, the buildings planned by John were no more than one side of an open area, bounded on the north by the tenements already owned by him which formed the southernmost part of the buildings on the south side of the Cowgate (fig. 2). There was a wide open area in front of the houses, stretching east to the properties on Robertson's Close, as well as a back yard, opening on to Hastie's Close, which made them certainly more open than was the norm in the crowded Old

The originality lay both in the concept of a terrace of full houses (amongst the first, if not absolutely the first in Edinburgh) and in the details of the design. The three houses in the block, each of three main stories, with a sunken area, a basement (at least for the most northerly house) and an attic, were very commodious and appear to have been the first terrace of houses in Scotland to be built with a unified frontage – foreshadowing the palace fronts of Charlotte Square by three decades.<sup>20</sup>

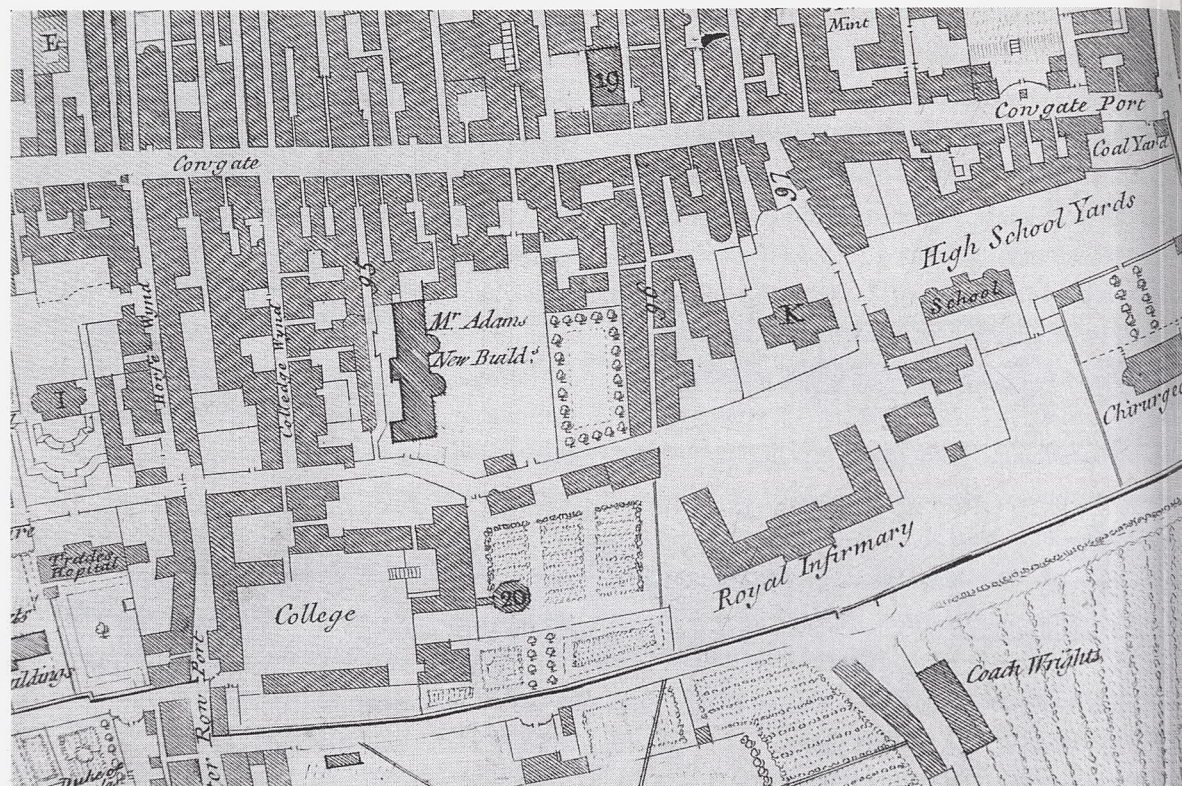


Fig. 2. Detail from William Edgar's Plan of Edinburgh, 1765, showing 'Mr Adams New Buildings', added since the original edition, 1742. Hastie's Close (No. 95) lies to the west, and Robertson's Close (No 96) to the east. (Courtesy of Andrew Fraser.)

John's use of paired bow windows in the central, main, house (which was flanked on either side by smaller houses) seems also to have been a first of any significance in a Scottish urban setting. Bows were fairly frequent in both domestic and commercial premises in English towns by the second half of the eighteenth century but before 1750 were relatively uncommon even amongst the largest country houses in Scotland. John used the feature in a number of his country houses – at Moffat House, for example, and, most magnificently, in the unbuilt design for Broomhall, the Earl of Elgin's home in Fife.<sup>21</sup> The transposition of the previously rural bow into the city centre had virtually no followers until the nineteenth century, when Glasgow, in particular, made the bay window its own, but from the surviving illustrations of the Adam Square houses, John's innovative

approach was remarkably effective (see figs 3 and 4).<sup>22</sup> The use of the bow windows plus the proliferation of Serlian windows both in the bows and elsewhere (with a total of five on the first floor of the main façade) will have given the new houses an internal lightness almost unique in Edinburgh at that time.<sup>23</sup>

Until the mid 1760s John Adam's career went from strength to strength. Architectural commissions had been plentiful in the years following his father's death but they had not dominated his time exclusively. John had continued his father's involvement in allied trades (quarrying and tile manufacture) and coal mining. His contract work in the construction of Fort George as Master Mason to the Board of Ordinance in Scotland even took him into shipbuilding. By 1757 the strong financial position which all these activities engendered appears to have tempted him to take part in a



Fig. 3. David Allan, Laying the Foundation Stone of the NEW COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, 16 November 1789. Adam Square is in the centre, set back from the new South Bridge. (*University of Edinburgh.*)

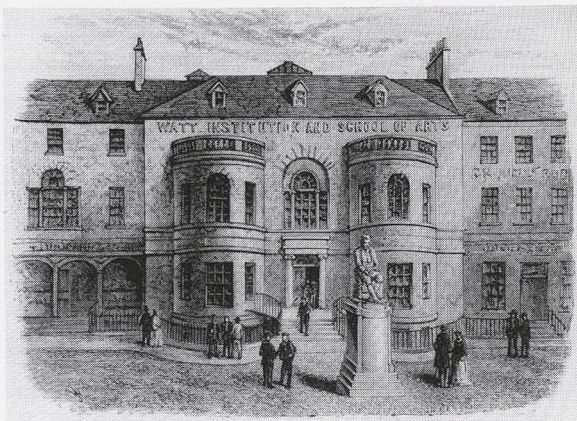


Fig. 4. Adam Square in the mid nineteenth century. (From James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. I, London 1880.)

stockbroking endeavour being run by his old school-friend Adam Fairholme and, subsequently, to entrust to him large sums of money. Unfortunately, Fairholme's various ventures failed disastrously in 1764 and John did not recover the sums he was owed until 1767.<sup>24</sup> It may be that the temporary cash shortage forced John to move earlier than he had originally intended to recoup the investment he had made in Adam Square. The disaster may also explain why the houses on either side of the central block are not as stylish or grandiose.

On 14 January 1765 an advertisement appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury*: 'To be sold by public voluntary roup within John's coffee house in Edinburgh upon Friday 18th Jan. inst. in 3 several parcels. Three new houses built upon Mr Adam's area south side of the Cowgate of Edinburgh all within themselves from top to bottom with sunk areas in the front, coal & ash cellars under the street or coach way & back yards. Each of the houses will contain a large family, are substantially built & nearly finished and they may either have a stable for four horses and a coach house along with them or not as purchasers shall incline.'<sup>25</sup>

It is not clear just how successful the sale was.

John was still in residence in 1772 and was not forced to sell the feudal superiority as he was collecting ground rents as late as 1787.<sup>26</sup> Certainly building work went on for several years before the houses were finished. Lord President Robert Dundas was in occupation of the central house by 1768, when John Adam was responsible for ordering stove plates from Andrew Bell, smith in the foot of Leith Wynd.<sup>27</sup> The previous year, John had ordered two sets of such stove plates for his own use.<sup>28</sup>

We know little of the interior design of the houses or of the extent to which John was responsible for them (apart from his own house, which was probably the fourth house, at the north side of the development). In the plan submitted to the Dean of Guild Court only the ground floors are presented in detail. This confirms that, whatever his weaknesses as an aesthetic designer, John was an essentially practical architect whose houses were well designed for living. There is an uncommon provision of cupboard and storage space, and the rooms of the three houses are designed to reduce to a minimum the level of noise penetration from one to another. More interestingly, and very much in contrast with

Edinburgh tradition of first floor living for the well-to-do, it appears that the ground floor may have been intended as the main floor.

Such other evidence as does survive suggests that John did continue to play a significant role in the fitting out of the interiors. In addition to his orders placed with Andrew Bell, John also made use of the newly-founded Carron Iron Company (of which he later became *Praeses*), obtaining cast iron work from there for the Lord President in June 1765 and January 1768.<sup>29</sup>

It is possible to conjecture, from James Adam's acidic comment quoted earlier, that the intention was to fit out the town houses in a fashion similar to that used elsewhere in the houses of the wealthy, whether in the country, in suburban villas or in true town houses. We know enough of John's work in each of those to conjecture that paintings by William Delacour or one of his contemporaries would have figured prominently as wall decorations.<sup>30</sup> The ceiling of the drawing room in the Lord President's house – a handsome room according to a nineteenth century account – was panelled, while the fireplace from it survived the general demolition (perhaps the only internal fitment of the square to survive) and was transferred to Arniston House.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that this fireplace and others like it would have been made at John's marble works in Leith.

As the *éminence grise* of architectural and building work in Edinburgh, John would certainly have entertained those with whom he did business in his new home but his circle of friends was very much wider than that. His son, William, records that Lord Deskford, the heir to the Earl of Seafield, was often at the Adam house, along with Dr William Robertson, the Principal of Edinburgh University (and cousin of the Adam brothers), Professor Adam Ferguson, the founder of modern sociology, and others. Amongst those with whom John dined was Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, a near neighbour,

and no doubt he and many others of the Edinburgh enlightenment passed through the portals of this splendidly enlightened house.<sup>32</sup>

John continued to reside in his own house in Adam Square for most of the 1770s but the collapse in 1772 of the Adelphi scheme in London, designed by his brothers but largely financed by John, created a financial crisis from which none of the Adams ever recovered. John was particularly badly hit and by 1777 was forced to let the house to Lord Forbes at a rent of £70 a year.<sup>33</sup> Lord Forbes was not the only peer to stay in the square, as Lord Gray is recorded in *Williamson's Directory* for 1773–74.<sup>34</sup>

It is not clear from the surviving evidence just exactly what the term Adam Square covered. Clearly the three houses in the palace block were so designated and almost certainly the adjoining fourth house was, too. But the Edinburgh street directories of the time alternate addresses for several residents between Adam Court – in theory the older properties to the north – and Adam Square. It is possible, of course, that some of the residents did move between the two but it seems more likely that there was a degree of interchangeability in the terms. Certainly, anyone depending upon *Williamson's Directories* for accuracy would be sorely disappointed. Robert Dundas of Arniston, for example, is recorded as residing in the adjacent Adam's Court, although the evidence in the Adam family papers shows, as indicated above, that he lived in Adam Square itself and he is so recorded in *Williamson's Directory* for 1786–88. Also resident in Adam's Court in 1773 were Johnston of Straiton, a gentleman, Alex Lockhart, Dean of Faculty, William McDonald WS, and Charles St Clair, advocate. It is clear that Adam Square and the adjoining property were, on the whole, a preserve for the wealthy and socially advantaged. However, one house in Adam Square in 1773 was occupied by Miss Strachan, milliner and mantua maker, who was also a

room setter (landlady) – although in the following year she was recorded as being in Adam's Court. It certainly would be interesting to know the reason behind this cuckoo in the nest.<sup>35</sup>

The building of the New Town and, because of its impact on the gardens of the square, the South Bridge (1785–88), effectively destroyed Adam Square's attractions as a residential area for the well-to-do. Decline started early. In 1786, although Lord President Dundas remained, the other landed gentry had been replaced by a doctor, a boarding house, an accountant and a Writer to the Signet – still eminently respectable but not quite of the first rank. To make matters worse, two oyster sellers had set up business in front of the square.<sup>36</sup>

By the early nineteenth century further slippage had occurred. In 1801 commerce had taken over with a bookshop, a linen warehouse and the Carron warehouse all in occupation. It is possible that the last of these occupied property previously owned by the

Adam family because of the connection of the family with the Carron Company. The Watt Institution and Edinburgh School of Arts occupied part of the central house from soon after its creation in the 1820s until the Square was demolished.<sup>37</sup> In 1858 John's own house, along with the original tenement built by William Adam and another tenement built by John Adam, were sold to Thomas Milne of Milnfield.<sup>38</sup> While the property did not sink to the level of degradation of many of the Old Town closes in the second half of the nineteenth century and the Reverend Archibald Brown, resident at No. 73 for many years, continued to lend a certain professional distinction, the presence of a turner and a tea merchant at No. 71 in 1846 and the Edinburgh Young Men's Christian Association at No. 73 in the 1860s indicated continuing slippage from the previous century.<sup>39</sup> The square was finally demolished only in the early 1870s to make room for the conversion of North College Street to Chambers Street.<sup>40</sup>

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful to Keith Adam of Blair Adam and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik for permission to consult and quote from their papers and to the many people who have helped me with sources and advice over many years of research. I owe a current debt of gratitude to Pam McNicol of Edinburgh City Archives, who has been most helpful in searching for mislaid archives. I am particularly grateful to Ian Gow who first drew Adam Square to my attention.

1 Christine Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence: British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660–1815* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2000) gives a detailed analysis of William Adam's Royal Infirmary and demonstrates its seminal influence on later eighteenth century hospital design.

2 John certainly attended the Humanity class of John Ker in 1736: Edinburgh University Library, Matriculation accounts for Humanity classes, 1727–1764, MS Da.1.35, fol. 34. It is probable that he also attended other classes but the records are incomplete.

3 Fleming gives the credit for the tomb to Robert as well as John: John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle* (London 1962), p. 93. There is no firm documentary evidence to prove the case either way but the surviving documentation points at John and the design is consistent with his work elsewhere at this time, especially at Inveraray.

4 The copy of Sir Gilbert Elliot's *Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* (c. 1750) in the Royal Institute of British Architects Library in London has a pencil drawing and note attached to the front cover, entitled 'A design for uniting the Old & New town of Edin. John Adam at or about the time that these proposals were under consideration'. The drawing is reproduced in Randal MacInnes, 'Robert Adam's Public Buildings', *Architectural Heritage*, IV (1993), pp. 10–22. MacInnes attributes the design to Robert Adam without any supporting evidence and despite the fact that the note in the RIBA volume specifically attributes it to John. Stylistically it could be by either brother at this period.

5 Ian R. M. Mowat, 'Urban Development in Eighteenth Century



- Scotland: John Adam as Town Planner', *Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland Bulletin*, 10 (1983), pp. 1-9; Stuart Harris, 'New Light on the First New Town'. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (BOEC)*, New Series 2 (1992), pp. 1-13.
- 6 William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Edinburgh 1980), p. 45; National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS. 14551, John Adam to the Marquis of Tweeddale, 7 June 1753.
  - 7 Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, p. 123; Ian Gow, 'The Edinburgh Villa', *BOEC*, NS 1 (1991), pp. 34-46.
  - 8 Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, pp. 14-21; National Archives of Scotland (NAS: formerly Scottish Record Office), Blair Adam papers, TD 78/153/373, Accot of Wright work by John Paterson to the House at Moffat, 1763.
  - 9 For those who continue to imagine that, during their Edinburgh partnership, John remained the sleeping partner and Robert did all the design work, Castle Grant must be regarded as a particularly poor effort by the younger brother. In fact, the evidence suggests that they worked together on the design: NAS, GD 248/176/1/25, John Adam, Letter [?to Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant], 29 March 1753. For Gordon Castle see NAS, Gordon Castle, RHP 1052.
  - 10 B. T. Pendreath, 'Classical Modernism in Fifties Edinburgh: Adam House, by William Kininmonth, 1950-1954', *Architectural Heritage*, V (1994), pp. 97-110.
  - 11 John Gifford, *William Adam, 1689-1748* (Edinburgh 1989), p. 175.
  - 12 Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), Macleod bay D, bundle 31, no. 10, Disposition by John Adam Esq. to the Trustees for building a bridge over the Cowgate, 21 March 1786. For the story of the building of South Bridge in 1785, with plans that show the layout of the existing wynds and closes, see Andrew G. Fraser, 'Robert Adam and the South Bridge Scheme', chapter 2 in *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1989).
  - 13 NLS, Acc. 7344/1, Agreement between Incorporations of St Mary's Chappell & John Adam, 22 and 23 July 1755; Edinburgh City Libraries (ECL), Edinburgh Room, Boog Watson Notes, vol. 1, p. 2.
  - 14 A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1966), p. 14.
  - 15 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
  - 16 ECA, Dean of Guild Court, Petition, John Adam Architect, Edinburgh, 24 March 1761. This petition was consulted some 25 years ago. A recent attempt to check the details was unsuccessful as the document had apparently been misplaced.
  - 17 NAS, GD 18/4895, James Adam to Jenny Adam, 2 May 1761.
  - 18 ECA, Dean of Guild Court, Petition, John Adam Architect, 29 April 1761; [Petition John Adam] 16 December 1761. In addition there is also a petition by John Adam, 1 July 1761, to 'build a Bake House for the Incorporation of Baxters upon an area at the foot of Anchor Close' (though lacking the plan).
  - 19 John Adam may, however, have been aware of the possibility that the line of a future South Bridge would cut through this open ground, as in 1762 the Town Council specifically reserved the right to build a street through the orchard in the College Garden immediately to the south: Fraser, *Building of Old College*, p. 56.
  - 20 A fourth, asymmetrical, house was originally proposed for the northern end of the terrace, presumably linking to John's existing properties. It is not clear if this was built as designed.
  - 21 Plans for a house dated 1766 designed by John Adam are held at Broomhall. Copies of the plans for Moffat House are held in the National Monuments Record Scotland, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
  - 22 There is no known connection between Adam Square and the appearance of bow-windowed blocks of flats in Hanover, Frederick and Castle Streets in the 1780s and 1790s, but it would be a gratifying tribute to John Adam to think that the architects of these later buildings were influenced by his work.
  - 23 The two main surviving illustrations of Adam Square are divergent in their recording of the Serlian windows (see figs 3 and 4). That in the north house may have been replaced by an ordinary opening at a later date.
  - 24 NAS, TD 77/63/4/200, Account of John Adam's yearly incomes & outgoings, 1 January 1753; TD 77/63/4/200, Stock at Candlemas, 1749; TD 77/63/4/200, State of Willie's affairs, 9 February 1759; TD 77/63/4/212, Assignment of Carron shares, 21 March 1769; TD 77/63/4/212, John Adam to Alex Gray, Aberdeen, 9 February 1768; TD 77/63/4/226, Lewis Grant, Trustee for the Creditors of Adam and Thomas Fairholme, Marchants in Edinburgh, Appellant; John Adam, Architect in Edinburgh, Respondent; Aberdeen City Archives, Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1763-1773, John Adam Architect in Edinburgh, craving a Tack of the stones in the Bay of Nigg, 26 March 1766; T. B. Barker, 'The Aberdeen Quarries', *Architectural Review*, 123 (1958), pp. 107-108.
  - 25 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 January 1765, p. 24, column 2.
  - 26 NAS, TD 77/63/4/208, Bond of additional jointure to Mrs Adam, 4 February 1772; State of John Adam's Affairs, at 31st December 1787.
  - 27 Robert Chambers records that the Lord President's house was in the centre of the row: *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1825), p. 232.
  - 28 NAS, GD 58/1/7, Carron Company Letter Book, Letter to John Adam, 1 December 1767.

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- 29 NAS, GD 58/1/4, Carron Company Letter Book. Letter to John Adam, 7 June 1765; GD 58/1/7, Carron Company Letter Book, Letter to John Adam, 14 January 1768.
- 30 Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* (Oxford 1986), pp. 44–45; Julian Halsby, *Scottish Watercolourists, 1740–1940* (London 1986), p. 25.
- 31 George W. Omond. *The Arniston Memoirs* (Edinburgh 1887), p. 189.
- 32 *Two Short Essays on the Study of History and on General Reading: With a Preface and Concluding Note: The Gift of a Grandfather* (Blair Adam, Blair Adam Press, 1936), p. 10; NAS, TD 77/63/4/2204, John Adam to William Adam, 25 October 1786.
- 33 NAS, TD 77/63/4/192, John Adam to William Adam, 21 March 1777.
- 34 *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, 1773–74* (facsimile reprint, Edinburgh 1899).
- 35 *Williamson's Directory, 1773–74, 1775–76, 1786–88*. For the fate of Adam's own house see ECA, Macleod bundle 178, Petition of George Mudie, Bookseller in Edinburgh, 17 November 1791: Mudie 'possesses that House in the corner of Adams Square formerly belonging to Mr Adam and lately purchased from the Trustees on the South Bridge'.
- 36 Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, p. 231; *Williamson's Directory, 1786–88*.
- 37 In later *Directories* the buildings in Adam Square were numbered as part of the South Bridge sequence, with the Watt Institute at No. 71.
- 38 ECL, Edinburgh Room. Boog Watson Notes, vol. 1, p. 2.
- 39 Thomas Aitchison, *Edinburgh and Leith Directories, 1796–1807; Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories, 1840–72*.
- 40 See John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth 1984), pp. 222–223.