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# IN SEARCH OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDINBURGH

R. J. MORRIS

THE EXISTING LITERATURE on the history of twentieth-century Edinburgh tends to be episodic, fragmented and limited to specific themes. It is strongest in its account of certain aspects of the built environment, notably architecture.<sup>1</sup> There are many scholarly books covering a longer time period. These come to the twentieth century in the final chapters of work which has its focus on other centuries.<sup>2</sup> Fragments of oral and neighbourhood history give hints of the rich potential of Edinburgh's twentieth-century history.<sup>3</sup> This paper will ask a series of simple questions. How should we think about twentieth-century Edinburgh? What sort of a city was it and what were the directions of change for its citizens as a whole? These simple questions will be asked in 1911, in 1951 and in 2001. The findings will then be applied and amplified

through an account of the visual and material evidence remaining in one specific area of Edinburgh.

In 1911, 320,318 people occupied 10,877 acres.<sup>4</sup> There were 143,436 men and 176,882 women. Thus there were 123 women to every 100 men. There had been a modest increase since 1901, when the population had been 259,497. Some of the increase had been due to minor boundary extensions of the burgh, mainly in the Duddingston area, but the bulk of the increase was due to a growth in the number of women. In 1901, the ratio of men to women had been 119. For Scotland as a whole the ratio had been around 106 in both census years. Thus Edinburgh as a place was especially attractive to women. The age/gender distribution showed that it was women in their late teens, twenties and thirties who accounted for this female concentration (fig. 1). A substantial number of these were domestic servants (16,333 in 1911) although this was a declining number. There were also rising numbers of female clerical workers (4467), teachers (1940) and print workers (1802). Edinburgh was a place which proved especially attractive to young adult women. Many do not show in the occupational statistics as they were spinsters and widows with independent means. The census category 'private means' does not give a full account of such women but it was a reasonable indicator. There were 6356 of them in Edinburgh in 1911. This was 43 per 1000 women over the age of ten in the city. The ratio for Scotland as a whole was 25 per 1000. These women concentrated in specific areas of the city. Using rooms per person as a measure of the social status of different parts of Edinburgh indicated that such women favoured the wealthier areas of Morningside and Haymarket and avoided the poorer industrial areas of Gorgie, Dalry, Canongate and Calton (table 1).<sup>5</sup> Newington would also include the many women who worked in the print works of that area, notably the Nelson's Parkside Works. The attraction of Edinburgh for young adult women and for women of independent means is only partly

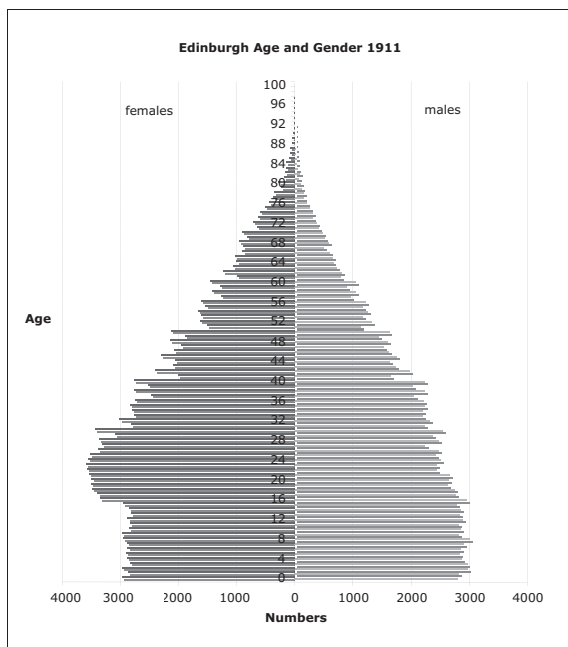


Fig. 1. Age and gender structure, Edinburgh, 1911. Source: *Census of Scotland, 1911*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh.

Table 1. Sex ratio and population density per room in the wards of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1911.

|                    | Males        | Females       | Ratio         | Rooms with one or more windows | Rooms per person |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Calton             | 10,896       | 12,282        | 112.72        | 15,751                         | 0.68             |
| Canongate          | 11,863       | 12,453        | 104.97        | 13,966                         | 0.57             |
| <b>Newington</b>   | <b>7,245</b> | <b>11,511</b> | <b>158.88</b> | <b>23,756</b>                  | <b>1.27</b>      |
| <b>Morningside</b> | <b>8,491</b> | <b>14,180</b> | <b>167.00</b> | <b>29,911</b>                  | <b>1.32</b>      |
| Merchiston         | 9,696        | 13,526        | 139.50        | 23,837                         | 1.03             |
| Gorgie             | 9,398        | 10,269        | 109.27        | 11,107                         | 0.56             |
| <b>Haymarket</b>   | <b>4,985</b> | <b>9,761</b>  | <b>195.81</b> | <b>19,432</b>                  | <b>1.32</b>      |
| St Bernards        | 7,440        | 9,017         | 121.20        | 15,806                         | 0.96             |
| Broughton          | 7,207        | 8,590         | 119.19        | 13,281                         | 0.84             |
| St Stephens        | 7,599        | 10,431        | 137.27        | 17,179                         | 0.95             |
| St Andrews         | 4,742        | 6,780         | 142.98        | 10,982                         | 0.95             |
| St Giles           | 13,016       | 12,655        | 97.23         | 13,833                         | 0.54             |
| Dalry              | 10,793       | 11,282        | 104.53        | 11,824                         | 0.54             |
| George Square      | 10,897       | 12,483        | 114.55        | 16,691                         | 0.71             |
| St Leonards        | 11,350       | 12,718        | 112.05        | 13,381                         | 0.56             |
| Portobello         | 7,818        | 8,944         | 114.40        | 15,769                         | 0.94             |

Source: *Census of Scotland, 1911*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh.

understood.<sup>6</sup> It was evident since at least the mid nineteenth century and was sustained into the 1930s when the shadow of the First World War leaving war widows and war spinsters gave this feature added poignancy.<sup>7</sup> This became the world that inspired *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, and the opening of chapter 3 in that novel provided one of the best accounts. Muriel Spark wrote with great passion of ‘the progressive spinster of Edinburgh ... the vigorous daughters of dead or enfeebled merchants, of ministers of religion, University professors, doctors, big warehouse owners of the past, or the owners of fisheries who had endowed these daughters with shrewd wits, high-coloured cheeks, constitutions like horses, logical educations, hearty spirits and private means’. Muriel Spark offered a typology of ‘committee spinsters’, ‘schoolmistress ... a still more orderly type’ and ‘Miss Brodie’s kind’.<sup>8</sup>

By 1951 the population of Edinburgh was 466,761 and the area of the burgh, now 32,415 acres, had expanded some three times as Leith and several outlying areas had been taken over in 1920. The age/gender distribution of 1911 shown in figure 1 had retained the triangle of the high birth rate, high death rate regime sustained despite improvements in the last half of the nineteenth century. By 1951 the distribution in outline showed the pillar of the lower

death rate/birth rate regime of mid century (fig. 2). The damage done by child and premature adult mortality was considerably reduced. The details of the pillar were much influenced by British history. There was a deficit of people in their early thirties, both male and female. These were people not born between 1916 and 1919 as a result of the impact of the First World War. There were some missing males aged 19 for this was the age of national military service. At age five began the results of the sharp increase in birth rate brought by the ‘baby boom’ starting in 1946. The Edinburgh female bias was still evident. There were 118 women to every 100 men. The figure for Scotland as a whole was 109. Morningside was still the female place with a ratio of 165 women to every hundred whilst in the expanding suburb of Colinton the figure was a family household ratio of 102. The proportion aged over 65 had grown from 5.5% in 1911 to 7.7% in 1931 to become 11% in 1951.<sup>9</sup> During the first half of the twentieth century Edinburgh became a little older and a little less female.

By 2006 the figures supplied by the Registrar General Scotland showed significant differences in

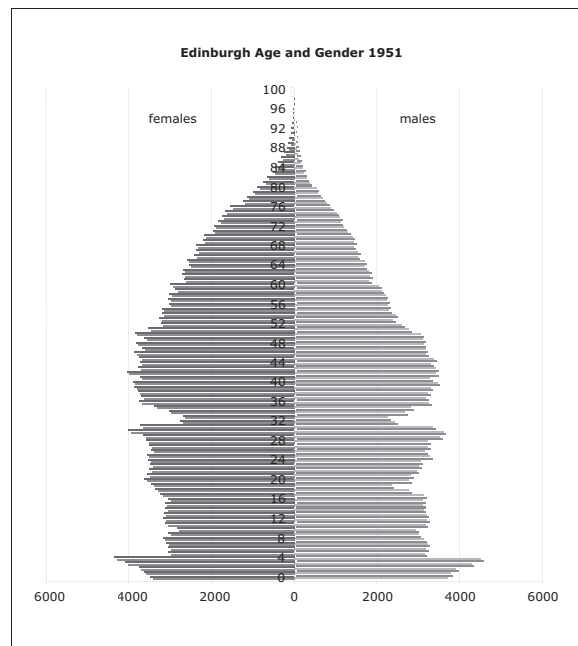


Fig. 2. Age and gender structure, Edinburgh, 1951. Source: *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh (HMSO, Edinburgh 1952).

the pace and direction of change. The female bias had gone. There were 107 women to every 100 men, about the same as Scotland as a whole (fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> The population had grown older but in a manner very different from Scotland as a whole. The proportion aged 18 and under was much reduced but there was a substantial increase amongst those in their twenties, thirties and forties. This was not simply a matter of the transient student population but showed that Edinburgh had developed a powerful ability to attract young people of working age of both sexes. In Scotland as a whole the evidence was that people in their twenties and thirties left. At the top of the graph were the baby boomers of 1946 who were just about to collect their bus pass.

The evidence considered so far has shown that in the twentieth century Edinburgh experienced a modest increase in population, a substantial increase in area, a loss of the female bias in its population and a population which aged in a very distinctive way. Some of the explanation for this lay in the changing nature of the Edinburgh economy. The quality of the evidence and the changing definitions that lie behind the summaries of the published *Census* make it difficult to tell the story

with precision but the broad patterns of structure and change were clear.<sup>11</sup>

In 1911 the distinctive features of the industrial structure of Edinburgh can be brought out by the absolute figures and by comparison with Scotland as a whole (fig. 4). It was a place for shopping, for hotels and eating places. The activities of lawyers and bankers showed in the finance and real estate sectors. Two features stand out. Edinburgh was a place with a massive demand for domestic servants. It was still the largest female occupation, albeit a declining one. There were 17,847 in 1901 but 16,333 in 1911.

The dominant feature was the substantial portion of the Edinburgh economy involved in manufacturing. In terms of absolute numbers employed, Edinburgh was the second manufacturing city in Scotland. Manufacturing has a reluctant place in the history of the city, but it dominated the life of much of the population. Amongst the top 20 male occupations in 1911 were printers (3502), second only to commercial clerks (3839). Other major occupations included bread, biscuit and cake makers (1402), India rubber, gutta percha workers (1251) and brewers (1013). If numbers employed by specific industries are taken then the numbers are even more significant. Printing and publishing employed 6090 men and 3856 women in firms like Nelson, Chambers and Bartholomew which dominated the printing district around Newington.<sup>12</sup> There were 4520 in iron manufacturing which produced a huge variety of products and included the paper making machinery of the works of Bertram of Sciennes. Brewing employed 2954. Smaller sectors such as precious metals and scientific instrument makers (1989) reflected an industry that went back until at least the sixteenth century and another with close links to the 'knowledge' industries of the city.

These were major industrial units and displayed all the features of an industrial economy, division of labour, use of technology and a world market. Messrs Banks and Co of the Grange Printing Works, 92 Causewayside, displayed a disciplined use of technology and division of labour, skilled and unskilled, male and female in the advertising copy they supplied to the Edinburgh Trade *Directories* of the 1890s.<sup>13</sup> Manufacturing tended to be ignored in Edinburgh's self image, in part because of the greater social prestige of the lawyers and bankers but

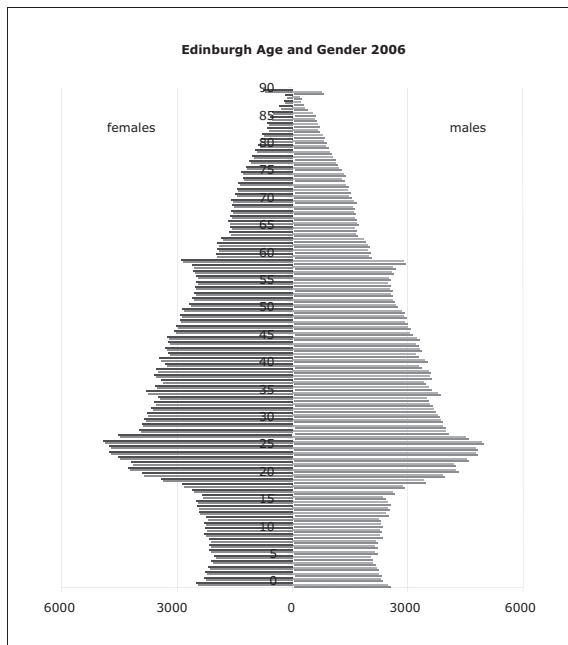


Fig. 3. Age and gender structure, Edinburgh, 2006. Source: General Register Office for Scotland: Mid-2006 Population Estimates Scotland, see [www.gro-scotland.gov.uk](http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk).

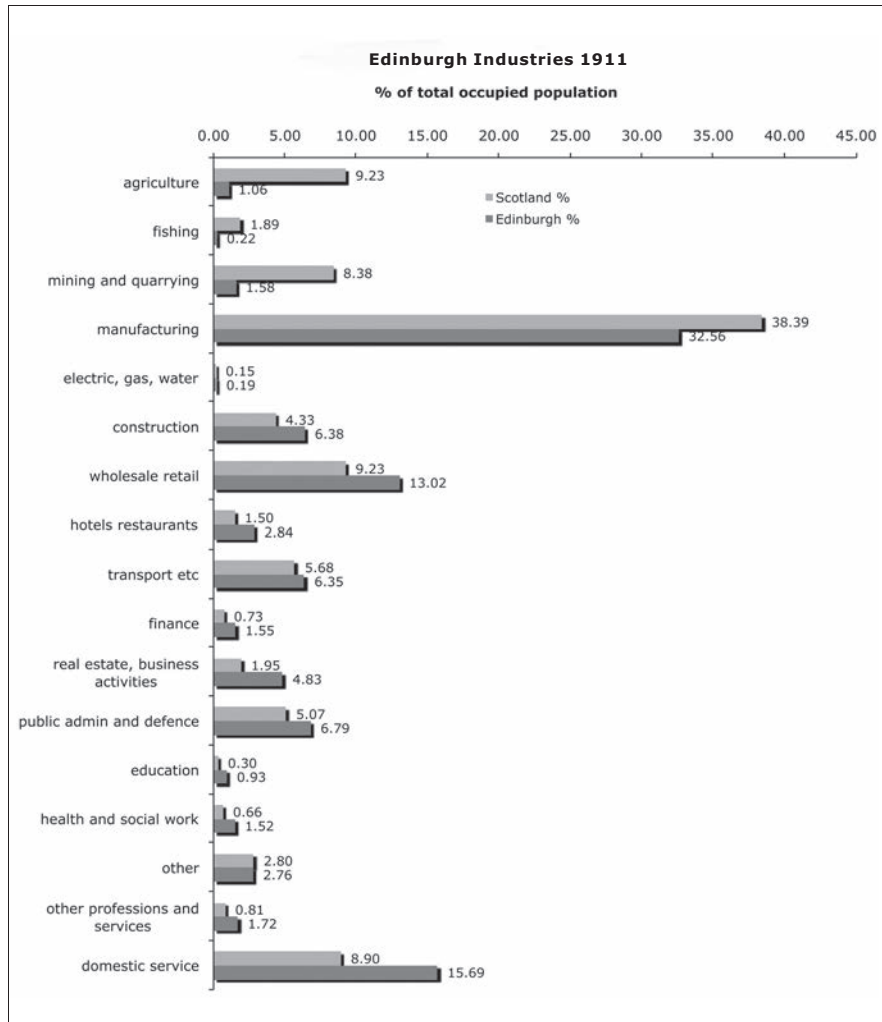


Fig. 4. Percentages engaged in the principal industries and services of Edinburgh, compared with Scotland as a whole, 1911. Source: *Census of Scotland, 1911*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh.

also because of the enormous variety of outputs which were involved. None the less, in the 1930s the protagonists of Edinburgh industry could claim: 'Edinburgh is to printing and stationery what Manchester is to cotton and Birmingham is to hardware' (fig. 5).

By 1951, despite changes in definition and groupings, the evidence showed that there had been little overall change (fig. 6). About a third of the gainfully employed population were involved in manufacturing and Edinburgh was still a place for

shopping, insurance, banking and lawyers. Material included in *A Civic Survey and Plan for the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh* by the planner Patrick Abercrombie and his assistant, architect Derek Plumstead, showed something of the casual manner in which Edinburgh took its industries for granted. When Abercrombie and Plumstead produced their total area plan, they were worried about industrial pollution and the mixture of residential and industrial activity in the same area and street. For them industry was a 'problem'. Their map of the



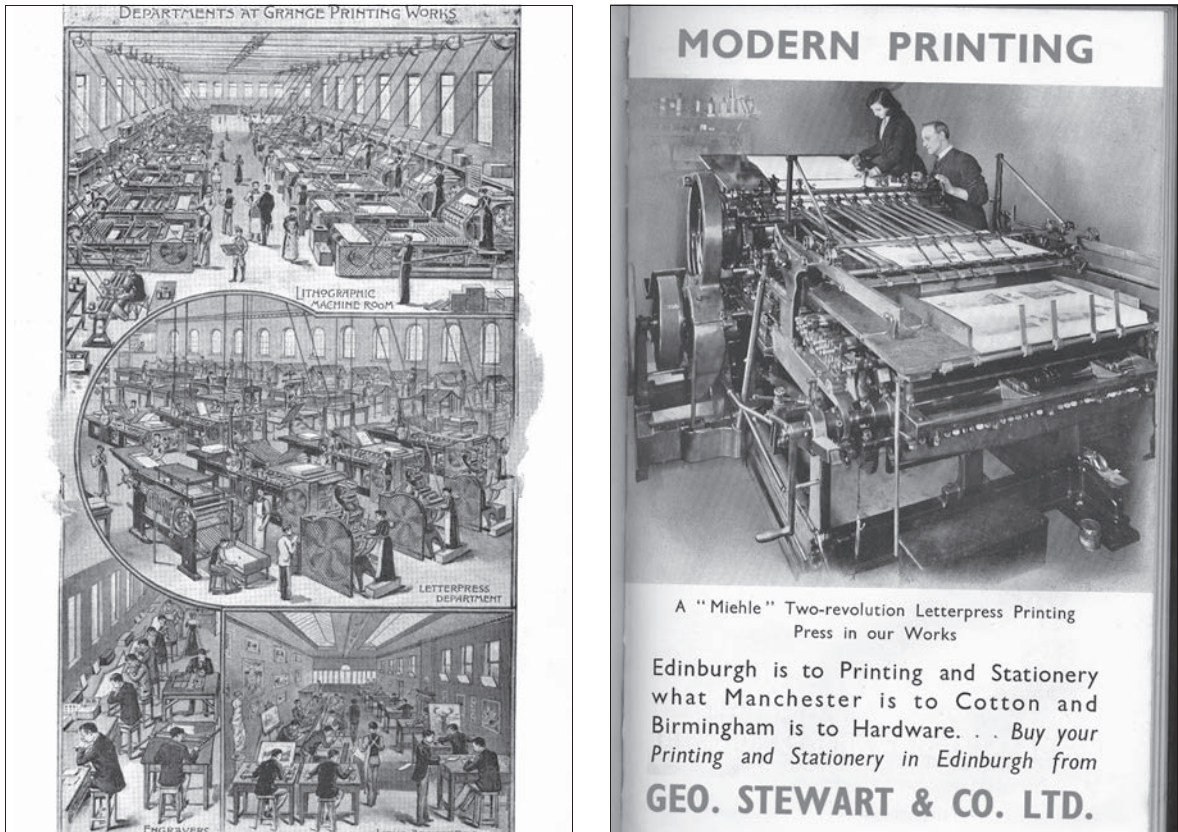


Fig. 5. (a) Grange Printing Works of Banks and Co, 1895: *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* (Edinburgh 1894). (b) George Stewart and Co, 1935: *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* (Edinburgh 1934).

industrial locations of Edinburgh graded them into 'noxious', 'otherwise objectionable' and 'other'. The photographs in the report emphasised the evils of residential and industrial buildings mixed up one with another. The area of Dalry was ready for the zoning on which the planners were so keen (fig. 7). The detailed map of industrial sites in Dalry was produced to show the area that was to be developed as an industrial 'zone' but it also showed the enormous variety of activity in one area.<sup>14</sup>

By the end of the twentieth century, there had been substantial changes in both quantitative and qualitative terms (fig. 8). The manufacturing sector had shrunk to 7.5%, nearly half the proportion of Scotland as a whole. Edinburgh had also lost its distinctiveness in retail and wholesale activity. The distinctive nature of Edinburgh was now marked by hotels and restaurants, business services and real estate but above all by financial intermediaries

which was two and a half times greater than the proportion for Scotland as a whole.

Over the twentieth century the people of Edinburgh had grown older, although in ways different from the rest of Scotland. Edinburgh had de-feminised, although since 1980 the proportion of women in 'gainful employment' had increased, as that of men had decreased. In the last 30 or 40 years of the century, Edinburgh had de-industrialised but had done this with little fuss or debate. The City was able to do this because of income and employment offered by tourism, by finance and business services and by the banking and finance sector. The Edinburgh experience was more like Leeds and New York than Bradford or Detroit. Edinburgh made the transition from the industrial economy of 1911 and 1951 because the City developed an information economy of enormous variety.<sup>15</sup> This varied from the clerical worker informing clients of the value of

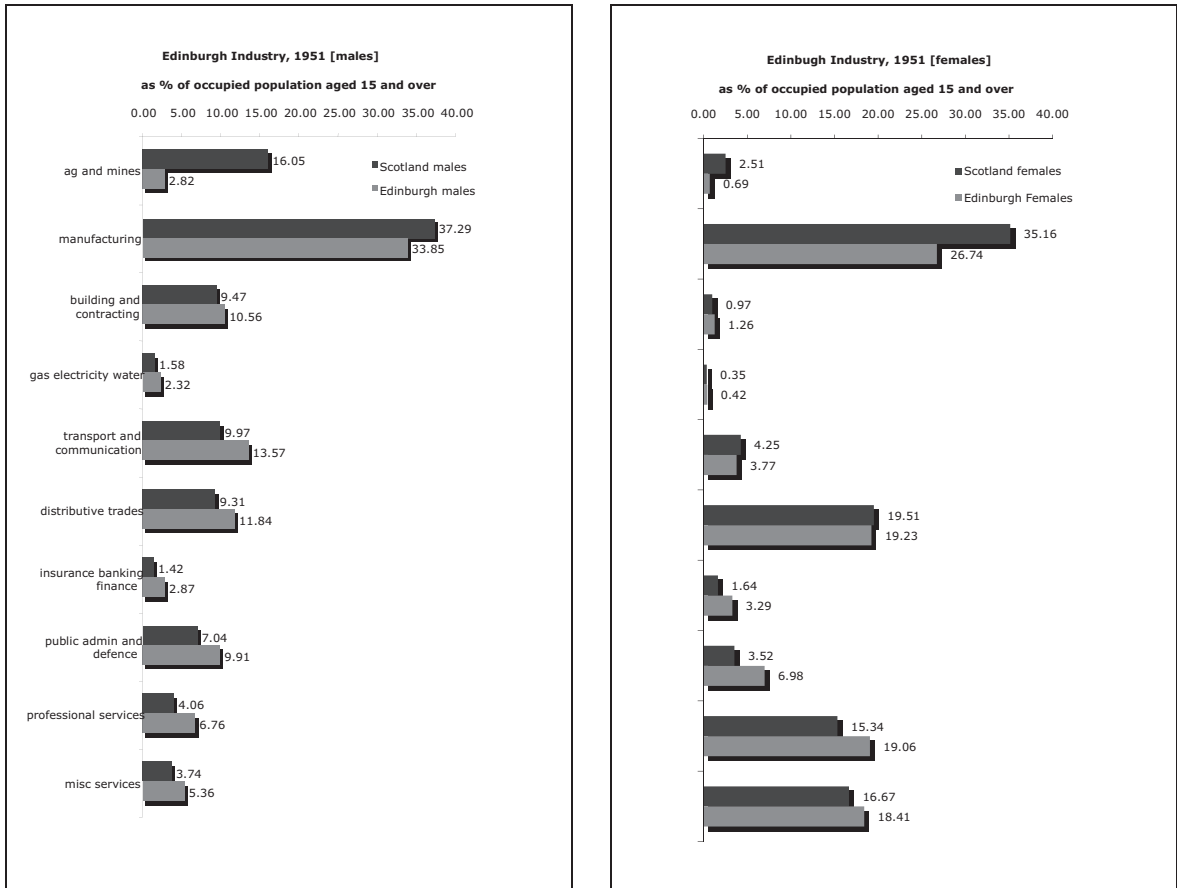


Fig. 6. Industrial structure of Edinburgh, 1951. Source: *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh (HMSO, Edinburgh 1952).

their insurance policies to the professors of the several universities in the city reporting their findings and observations in publication for national and international audiences.

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These changes had and have a profound impact on the landscape of Edinburgh. This can be illustrated by way of a ‘walk’ around the top end of Easter Road with the assistance of a *Post Office Directory* and a map from 1935 (fig. 9). Between the 1870s and 1930s the built environment of the area had been created around a front of the street/back of the street structure. The tenements of the road itself were lower middle class and prosperous working class surrounded by single ends, now mostly gone, and a variety of industrial establishments. Reading

this landscape provides a social archaeology of twentieth-century Edinburgh.

First there are several remnants of the busy working class economy created in the early part of the century (fig. 10). Mr George Bowden, tailor and clothier, founded 1913, still trades at No. 37. By 1935, Bowden was living at 10 Baron’s Court Road. His fellow shopkeeper, Mr D. A. Ferguson stayed nearby at Elinor Villa, 12 Willowbrae Road. An increasing number of successful tradesmen locked their shops each night and travelled to more spacious quarters than those offered by Easter Road or even the ‘wally closes’ of nearby Montgomery Street. Middleton’s Bar is open where N. L. Teesdale, wine and spirit merchant, once traded. At the corner of Edina Place, ScotMid still trades where St Cuthbert’s Co-operative Association Ltd operated. In 2008, some can be caught as they leave.







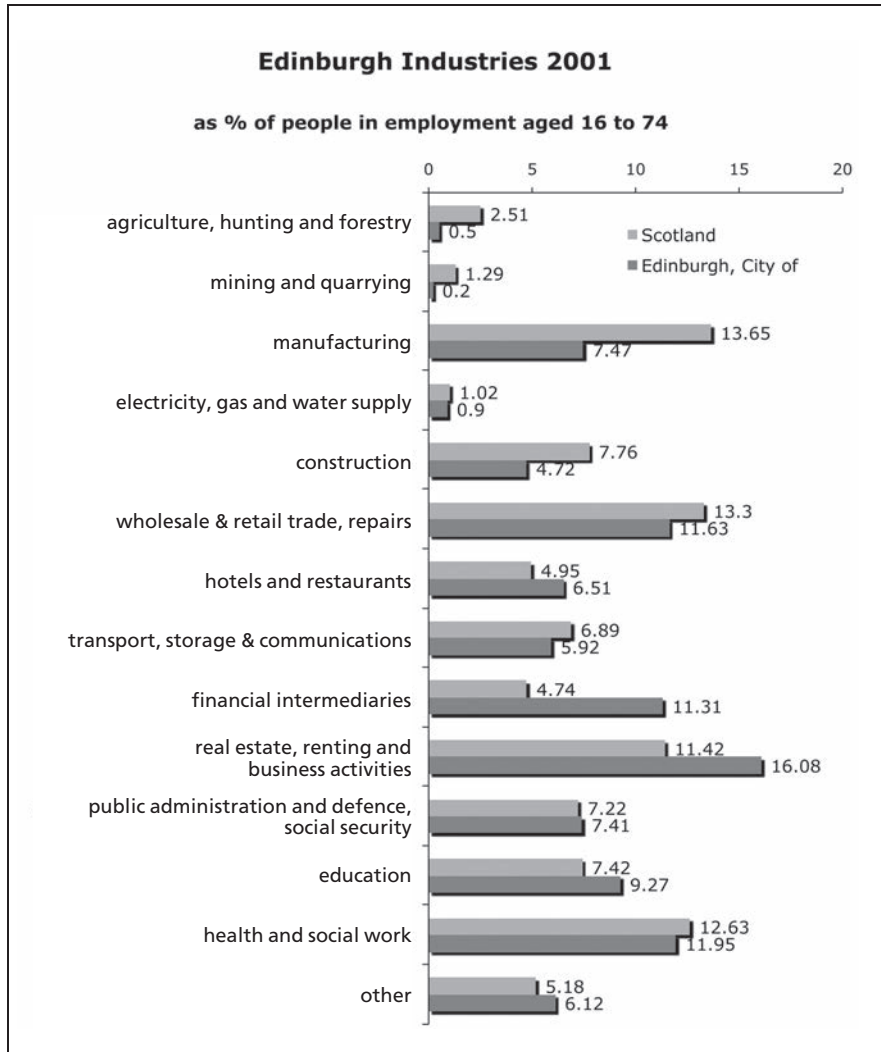


Fig. 8. Industrial structure of Edinburgh, 2001. Source: *Census of Scotland 2001*. See General Register Office for Scotland, Census Results on line: [www.scrol.gov.uk/scrol/common/home](http://www.scrol.gov.uk/scrol/common/home).

In places there are signs of an economy and society in danger of disintegration and marginalisation (fig. 12). Charity shops and varied sex shops bid for space, although in 2009 the ‘sauna’ was still hidden around the back near the Hibernian football club stadium. Those with a taste for urban irony might visit the branch of the Commercial Bank of Scotland Limited, 65 Easter Road, in its post-modern guise; it is a branch of Ladbrokes, the bookmakers.

Finally comes the new economy of gentrification and migration as members of that growing

professional and service economy look not just for cheaper space but for quality space.<sup>16</sup>

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Edinburgh de-industrialised with relatively good grace. In part this was because of the development of positions inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in law, banking, publishing and the universities, but success was more than this. Edinburgh lay at the centre of a symbol system that meant Scotland—not just for Scots but on a world scale. Edinburgh had long been the capital of

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Fig. 9. Easter Road, 1935. *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory, 1934–35* (Edinburgh 1935).



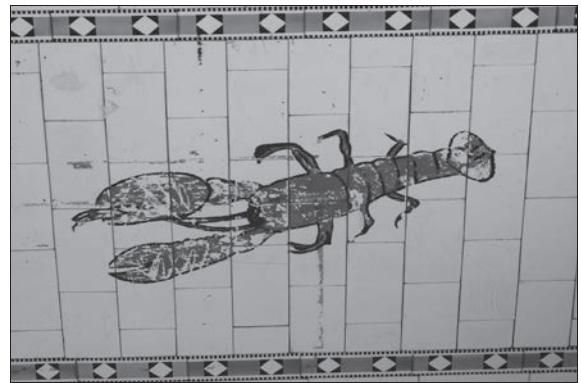


Fig. 10. Easter Road, 2008. (a) George Bowden, tailor and clothier; (b) Middleton's Bar; (c) George Lang and Sons, Pork Butchers; (d) Fish shop ceramics. (Photographs © R. J. Morris.)

Scotland and as such it produced government from the Scottish Office to the devolved Parliament. The city's cultural capital was massive and in a post-modern age when an educated labour force valued experience as much as accumulation, this mattered, for the activities upon which Edinburgh came to depend required an educated, mobile and discerning labour force.<sup>17</sup> This was a labour force consisting of those who could usually choose the type of place in which they lived, and Edinburgh was a 'nice' place to be.<sup>18</sup> It was a place of concerts, galleries, museums, libraries and historical environments. This cultural capital was a source of income, attracting visitors as well as an educated labour force. This can be illustrated with visitor figures available for Edinburgh Castle from 1973 onwards (fig. 13). There was not only an upward and fluctuating trend but whilst there had been 1.8 visitors for every Edinburgh inhabitant in 1973, by 2006 there were 2.6 visits per inhabitant. At the

same time it was the visitor numbers from overseas which showed the greatest increase, another indicator of the influence of tourism for the Edinburgh economy (table 2).<sup>19</sup> The Castle is not the only 'attraction' of the experience which is Edinburgh but it must represent the wide range which attracts residents and visitors.

One aspect of the figures hints at another and more problematic trend in the history of the successful city, namely its greater porosity. The composition of those who visited now changed. There was a smaller proportion of Scots and more visitors from overseas. The cultural capital of

Table 2. Origin of visitors to Edinburgh Castle (%), 1984 and 2007.

|            | 1984 | 2007 |
|------------|------|------|
| Scotland   | 19   | 8    |
| Rest of UK | 25   | 26   |
| Overseas   | 56   | 66   |

Source: Historic Scotland.

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Fig. 11. Industrial landscapes near top end of Easter Road, 2008. (a) and (b) Edina Works, W. & A.K. Johnston Ltd, printers; (c) John Cotton, tobacco factory; (d) Bothwell Works, Andrew Whyte and Sons, wholesale stationers and bookbinders. (Photographs © R. J. Morris.)

Edinburgh was increasingly globalised. The boundaries of Edinburgh could no longer be defined and re-defined with the clarity of the earlier years of the century.<sup>20</sup> In 1911, the residential population and the labour force of Edinburgh had been more or less the same. By 1951, the census takers realised that something new was happening and began to publish travel to work information. Just over 8% of the labour force came from outwith the burgh, mostly from the adjacent Lothians (table 3).

Table 3. Travel to work from outwith Edinburgh as % of total labour force, 1951.

|                                        |       |
|----------------------------------------|-------|
| Live and work in Edinburgh             | 91.77 |
| Travel to work from outwith Edinburgh: | 8.23  |
| Midlothian                             | 3.76  |
| East Lothian                           | 0.87  |
| West Lothian                           | 1.46  |
| Rest of Scotland                       | 2.13  |

Source: *Census 1951: Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh (HMSO, Edinburgh 1952).

By the census of 1991 and 2001, the proportion of the labour force which came from outside the boundary was rising from 29% to 32% with many travelling substantial distances (table 4). More than two in every hundred came from Glasgow and the surrounding region.

Table 4. Travel to work from outwith Edinburgh as % of total labour force, 1991 and 2001.

|                                       | 1991  | 2001  |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Live and work in Edinburgh            | 70.71 | 68.26 |
| Travel to work from outwith Edinburgh | 29.29 | 31.74 |
| Lothians                              | 20.44 | 19.61 |
| Fife                                  | 3.13  | 4.25  |
| Glasgow, Strathclyde                  | 1.86  | 2.50  |
| Falkirk, Stirling etc                 | 1.68  | 2.50  |
| Borders                               | 0.86  | 1.30  |

Source: *Travel to Work Patterns and Mode of Travel to Work in Edinburgh and the Lothians, 2001*. An analysis of the 2001 Census travel to work data, Edinburgh City Council: [www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/CityLiving/City\\_facts\\_and\\_figures/Census\\_2001/CEC.edinburgh.census\\_2001\\_travel-to-work\\_analysis](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/CityLiving/City_facts_and_figures/Census_2001/CEC.edinburgh.census_2001_travel-to-work_analysis).





Fig. 12. Marginalisation, gentrification and immigration: Easter Road, 2008. (Photographs © R. J. Morris.)

At the same time a smaller but increasing number, more than 8% in 2001, were leaving Edinburgh each morning to work outside the burgh (table 5). One in every hundred of the working population of Edinburgh crossed central Scotland each morning. The importance of Edinburgh as a location might have increased but its integrity was being questioned by such daily movements, creating problems not only for policy makers but for historians who want to understand the meaning of ‘Edinburgh’ at the end of the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup>

Table 5. Edinburgh residents travelling to work outwith Edinburgh as % of working population.

|                                  | 1991 | 2001 |
|----------------------------------|------|------|
| Travel to work outwith Edinburgh | 7.05 | 8.37 |
| Lothians                         | 3.57 | 4.60 |
| Fife                             | 0.83 | 1.01 |
| Glasgow, Strathclyde             | 1.04 | 1.13 |
| Falkirk, Stirling                | 0.58 | 0.58 |

Source: *Capital Review*, on line, City of Edinburgh Council: [www.capitalreview.co.uk/pdf/key\\_indicators/Transport/transport\\_table\\_16.pdf](http://www.capitalreview.co.uk/pdf/key_indicators/Transport/transport_table_16.pdf). See also *Capital Review*, *Quarterly Economic Review*, Edinburgh City Council, issue 2, 2002, which is also available on line at [www.capitalreview.co.uk](http://www.capitalreview.co.uk).

Thus Edinburgh de-industrialised. It de-feminised. It grew older, or rather gained middle aged spread. It did this quite elegantly on the momentum of cultural capital and an information economy, much of which originated in the eighteenth century character of the city. Edinburgh carried the burden of the symbol system of Scotland in an experience driven economy. This was an asset and a hazard as the city became a porous entity of movement and knowledge transfer.

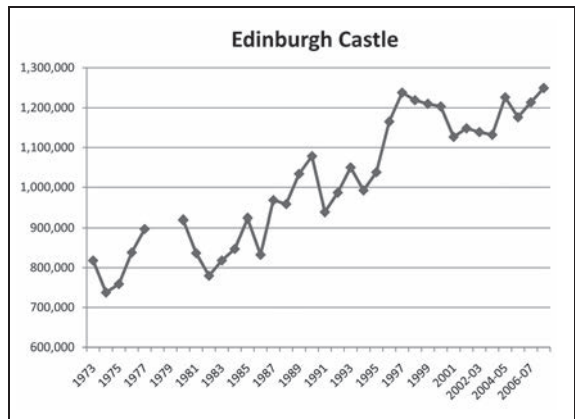


Fig. 13. Edinburgh Castle, visitor numbers, 1973–2007. Source: Historic Scotland.

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## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- 2 Amongst several: Richard Saville, *Bank of Scotland: A History, 1695–1995* (Edinburgh 1996); E. Patricia Dennison, *Holyrood and Canongate. A Thousand Years of History* (Edinburgh 2005); and the spectacular John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth 1984).
- 3 Helen Clark and Elizabeth Carnegie, *She was Aye Workin': Memories of Tenement Women in Edinburgh and Glasgow* (Oxford 2003); Ian MacDougall, *Voices of Leith Dockers: Personal Recollections of Working Lives* (Edinburgh 2001); Tollcross Local History Project, *Waters under the Bridge: Twentieth Century Tollcross, Fountainbridge and the West Port* (Aberdeen 1990).
- 4 These figures are drawn from *Census of Scotland, 1911*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh, British Parliamentary Papers, 1912–13 (Cd. 6097) CXIX; the comparative figures for Scotland are derived from part 2 of that report, 1913 (Cd. 6896) LXXX.
- 5 The Haymarket ward stretched from the West End of Edinburgh to the growing suburbs around Corstorphine Village.
- 6 This was a formidable female culture both feared and derided. Even now when Edinburgh culture wishes to mock the 'Morningside' accent ('sex is what we put the coal in; no, no, its time for tea ...', etc., etc.), it is a female voice that is heard, very different from the male voices of the west of Scotland.
- 7 I owe this observation to the unpublished work of Jill Powlett-Brown.
- 8 Muriel Spark, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (London 1961, Penguin Edition 1965), pp. 42–43.
- 9 Census 1951, *Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland*, vol. 1, part 1, City of Edinburgh (HMSO, Edinburgh 1952).
- 10 General Register Office for Scotland, Mid-2006 Population Estimates Scotland. See [www.gro-scotland.gov.uk](http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk).
- 11 In general, when the word 'occupation' is used this refers to the nature of the work done. Where 'industry' is used, this refers to the nature of the output. As the Report on the 1911 census admitted, 'the industries of the population are fairly clearly though incompletely defined as being the occupations of the employers'. One aspect of the incompleteness was the decision to create a separate 'industry' for 'Civil and Local Government', a decision which makes figures for education almost meaningless.
- 12 Heather Holms and David Finkelstein, *Thomas Nelson and Sons: Memories of an Edinburgh Publishing House* (East Linton 2001); Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1989); John A. Dempster, 'Thomas Nelson and Sons in the late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation', *Publishing History*, vol. XIII (1983), pp. 41–87.
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- 18 Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (Cambridge 1984).
- 19 My thanks to Kari Coghill of Historic Scotland for much valued help in supplying me with this information.
- 20 For another attempt to examine the history of a 20th century city see R. J. Morris, 'Whose Time and Whose Place: Searching for the History of Twentieth-Century Leeds', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 2nd series, vol. 188 (2008), pp. 1–17.
- 21 The issue of porosity is much more than one of travel to work: see Manuel Castells, *The Rise of Network Society. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (Oxford 1996); William J. Mitchell, *City of Bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn* (MIT 2000). In his essays Zygmunt Bauman has argued that this indeterminacy and openness has affected many social structures and not just those of space and place: Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Oxford 2000).

