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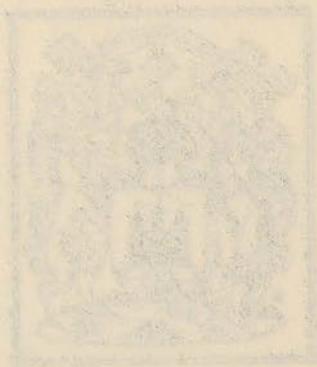
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EDINBURGH

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#### EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

'Forth from the village at the fall of eve  
Down to the plain, for active play prepared,  
The youths rush ardent. Lo! they hurry out  
Armed each with weapons and with snow-white balls  
Equipt and eager to the sprightly sport.  
See now the game begins—the parties match'd,  
Strip to the strife while the contending balls  
Each on its little eminence of sand  
Uprais'd and prompt to fly, not long await  
The vig'rous impulse of the springy club.'

THE above lines occur in a little-known poem, *A Game at Golf*, by William Black, published at Glasgow in 1792, and are reminiscent of Edinburgh and its association with a national game existing for centuries. This early connection with a pastime peculiar to Scotland is made use of by more than one able writer, chiefly from the historical aspect, but whilst the minutes of the older Edinburgh golf clubs record much that is curious in the history of eighteenth-century golf, little attempt has been made to identify those localities where members were accustomed to hold their meetings, or to celebrate, in conviviality, any important event, or the success of any popular candidate for the honours of the club.

Reference to the minutes of the Bruntsfield Links Club, one of the oldest societies in Edinburgh, informs us that on 10th June 1787 the members met at the house of Thomas Comb, Wright's Houses, and at the same place in May 1788. There are in the minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council occasional references to Foxtones or Golfhall at Wright's

2 EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

Houses, built by James Brownhill, who also erected James's Court in the Lawnmarket. Golfhall was occupied about 1770 by Thomas Comb, clubmaker. His creditors sold it, or a part of it, to Alexander Campbell, messenger, who made alterations, 3rd November 1779. It came later, 26th April 1800, into the possession of William Martin, bookseller. In June 1792 the members of Bruntsfield Links Golf Club subscribed, in conjunction with the Town Council, towards the expense of making a road on the west side of the Wright's Houses for the purpose of preserving the Links entire. This, no doubt, explains the origin of the present Bruntsfield Place, with villas on the west side, erected at a later date.

The above minutes, with the exception of those of 1787 and 1788, are headed 'Bruntsfield Links' until April 1830, when the Society dined in the University tavern; twelve years later they dined at Cork's, 'when the evening was spent with more than stereotyped happiness, harmony and hilarity.' Cork's tavern was situated at 1 North College Street on the site of what is now 42 Chambers Street, and was in existence until the late 'sixties of last century; but the name of John Cork had disappeared before 1856. In December 1842 the Society occupied Goodsman's Rooms, situated at 42 Wright's Houses. In 1853 occurs the first mention of a Clubhouse. This may have been the same building at Wright's Houses as occupied by Goodsman, situated towards the centre of the row and facing the first hole of the links. It is within the writer's memory that this house, which is still standing, was in full occupation by the Society, and consisted of a reading and smoking-room on the ground floor with dining-room and stewards' accommodation above. The house, dating from the later Georgian period, has been reconstructed, and is now occupied by Gilchrist's tavern, No. 31 Wright's Houses.

It is a popular error, perpetuated by more than one writer, that golf has been played at Bruntsfield for centuries. The author of a small volume, *Gossip on Golf and Golfers*,

EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH 3

published in 1866, informs us that early in the eighteenth century the links were covered with gorse, whins and quarries, and only towards the middle of the century had the ground been sufficiently cleared to permit of the game; its chief centre then being the Links of Leith. Early reference to Leith Links is to be found in that curious poem, *The Banishment of Poverty*, written by Francis Sempill of Beltrees about 1688, and preserved in Watson's Collection. This local allusion reads as follows:—

'I staw down through the Nether Wynd,  
My Lady Semple's house was near,  
To enter there was my design,  
Where Poverty durst ne'er appear.  
I din'd there, but I baid not lang,  
My Lady fain would shelter me;  
But oh, alas, I needs must gang  
And leave that comely company.  
Her lad convey'd me with her key,  
Out through the garden to the fields,  
But I the *Links* could graithly see,  
My Governour was at my heels.'

A later reference, celebrating the game of golf at Leith, is found in an epic or heroic poem known as *The Goff*, written by Thomas Mathison, solicitor, Edinburgh, and published in 1743 (J. Cochran & Co., 8vo). A second edition appeared in 1763, and a third in 1793 (4to, Peter Hill, Edinburgh). Little is known of the author, a native of Edinburgh, born before 1720. From the Law he turned his attention to the Church, largely it is said at the instigation of Lord President Forbes, with whom he was on friendly terms. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Dalkeith, and in 1754 was translated to the second charge at Brechin, where he died in 1760. He married Margaret Whyte, who survived him.

In this poem, *The Goff*, mention is made of many well-known names, including those of Duncan Forbes of Culloden,

#### 4 EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

an enthusiast in the game, and Colonel John Biggar of Woolmet, known as 'Gigantic Biggar,' of whom Mathison writes as follows :—

' Gigantic Biggar here full oft is seen,  
Like huge Behemoth on an *Indian* green,  
His bulk enormous scarce can 'scape the eyes,  
Amaz'd spectators wonder how he plies.'

A contemporary portrait of this gentleman now hangs in the smoking-room of the Honourable Company's Clubhouse at Muirfield. It was presented to the Society by Dr. W. B. Blaikie, a former President of the Old Edinburgh Club. With strong Hanoverian leanings, Colonel Biggar, as a patriotic citizen of Edinburgh, joined Sir Robert Monro's Regiment, the 37th, as a volunteer, and was present at the battle of Falkirk, where he was killed.

Of the early history of the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers no record has survived, but its minutes, signed by Lord President Forbes in 1744, still exist, and, with the exception of the years 1832 to 1836, have been regularly kept until the present day. The same year (1744) the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council, with the Deacons of Crafts, Ordinary and Extraordinary, of the City of Edinburgh, being in Council assembled, passed an Act of Council, authorising the Treasurer to have made, and to present to the Society of Golfers, a Silver Club to be played for annually. Intimation by tuck of drum was made throughout the city of the day upon which the Silver Club should be played for annually, and a characteristic sketch of this ceremony was made by David Allan, and is now in possession of the Royal Burgess Golfing Society, Barnton. This club, attached to which are numerous silver golf balls, the gift of each succeeding Captain, is still in possession of the Society, and figures as a handsome centre-piece at the members' dinners held monthly during winter and spring.

#### EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH 5

Early in the eighteenth century meetings of the Honourable Company were held at Lucky Clephan's tavern in Leith. Mr. John Russell tells us<sup>1</sup> that this tavern was at the town-end of Leith, a site now covered by tenements near what was once Watt's Hospital; but in 1767 the Company decided to build a private Clubhouse, and for this purpose obtained, on 22nd April, a feu from the town of certain ground situated on the south-east corner of the Links, very nearly opposite the corner house of the present Vanburgh Place.<sup>2</sup> The cost of building amounted to £583, 14s. 5d., and was raised in the form of £25 debentures subscribed for by the members. This building was in existence until well on in the nineteenth century, but after 1832 seems to have lain derelict until 1860, when it was acquired by the trustees of what was known as Watt's Hospital or Alms House. The site is now occupied by the handsome new buildings of the Leith Academy Secondary School.

In the plan of Edinburgh, published by Gray in 1833, the original Clubhouse is shown as a plain oblong building occupying two sides of a square, and standing in its own grounds, with access to the Links on the north and Thomson's Place on the south. A stone plaque with the words 'Thomson's Place' in gilt lettering has been placed on the buttress of a house at the corner of the present Duncan Place, Leith. The road is now known as Duke Street.

In 1800 the Company presented a petition to the Town Council setting forth that the Club had existed for a great number of years; that the members had erected a Clubhouse on Leith Links; and that they had 'occasionally got the aid of Acts of Council for preserving of the Links of Leith in a proper state for their favourite amusement of Golf.' They

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of Leith.*

<sup>2</sup> It is described in the feu-charter as 'opposite to the foot of the east road leading from Edinburgh to Leith and bounded between two roads leading therefrom to the Town of Leith and by two pits dug on the north side thereof.'

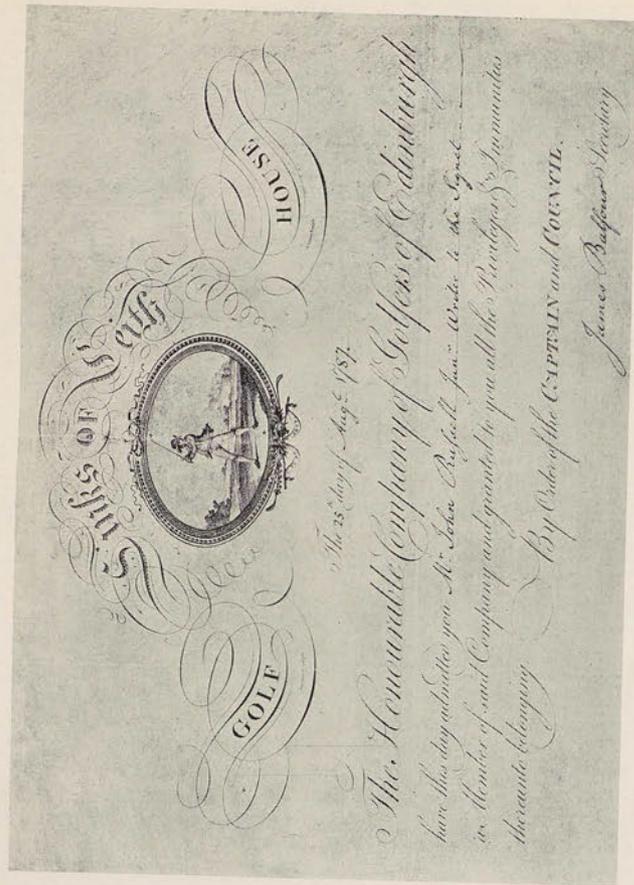
6 EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

now sought a Seal of Cause, so that they might become a legal corporation. The prayer of the petition was granted on 2nd July on condition that the bye-laws of the Company were submitted for approval by the Magistrates.

At a later stage in the history of the Honourable Company doubts arose as to whether the feu-charter, that had been granted 'long prior to the Seal of Cause,' could be regarded as still vesting in the members the right of property on Leith Links, and in order to make certain, the Town Council, on 28th January 1824, granted the Company a Charter of Novodamus in payment of an annual feu-duty of £12 Scots. If, however, the Company's ground or the buildings thereon were appropriated to any other use than that originally specified, the feu-duty was to be £60 Scots. No breweries were to be erected on the ground unless the city were paid a penny on every barrel of beer and ale brewed therein.

After the Clubhouse had served for more than sixty years, Leith Links having lost many of its attractions, the Company for the time being ceased to exist, and the Clubhouse, along with its contents, was disposed of. The present writer has searched in vain to discover any record of why this serious step was taken, or who acquired the building. The Club minutes cease abruptly at the end of 1831, when a meeting of council was held, at which, apparently, no business took place, and no event is minuted.

It is a matter of deep regret that, even at so tasteless a period in the history of the city, no individual effort was made to save the many interesting portraits of old members, eighteenth-century silver, and other relics quite irreplaceable. Several of these pictures had been painted by Sir Henry Raeburn, and one fine portrait, that of Wm. St. Clair of Roslin, also painted for the Club, was acquired by the Royal Company of Archers, and is now hanging in the hall at Buccleuch Street. It shows Mr. St. Clair, who was twice Captain of the Club, addressing a ball from the tee. He is



EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH 7

clad in red coat and blue bonnet of the eighteenth century. The following minute is recorded :—

'GOLF HOUSE, LEITH,  
March 11, 1771.

The Company of Gentleman Golfers having resolved to have their present Captain's (William St. Clair) picture in full length in his golfing dress in their large room, requested him to sit for the same, which, he having agreed to, Sir George Chalmers is appointed to paint the same, which is to be done at the Golfers' expense, as soon as conveniently the same can be done.—ROBERT HORNE ELPHINSTONE, Captain.'

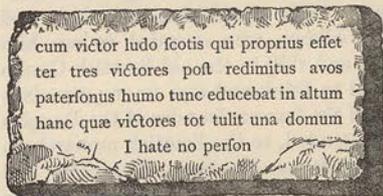
Sir Walter Scott describes St. Clair as being a man considerably above six feet. 'His complexion was dark and grizzled, and we, as schoolboys, who crowded to see him perform feats of strength and skill in the old Scottish Games of Golf and Archery, used to think and say among ourselves the whole figure resembled the famous founder of the Douglas race, pointed out, it is pretended, to the Scottish monarch on the conquered field of battle, as the man whose arm had achieved the victory by the expressive words, Sholto Douglas—behold the dark grey man.' St. Clair died in 1778, aged seventy-eight, and lies with his mail-shrouded ancestors in Roslin Chapel.

'There are twenty of Roslin's barons bold  
Lie buried within that proud Chapelle.'

The original diploma of membership of the Company, copies of which are now very rare, and one of which is here reproduced, is a beautiful piece of engraving, with, in the foreground, a vignette by David Allan, showing a golfer of the period driving from the tee, with a view of Edinburgh Castle in the background. The writer has seen several copies of this diploma, all signed by the well-known James Balfour, Secretary of the Club, whose history is related at some length in the later editions of Robert Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*. A portrait of Balfour, painted by Sir Henry Raeburn for the Club, was among those dispersed at the sale

## 8 EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

of 1832, and is still known from the engraving which is in demand by collectors. The late Mr. Melville of Hanley, with whom perished many good stories of Edinburgh worthies, gives a characteristic account of how he recovered this picture, which is still in the possession of his descendants. Hearing that it had been purchased by an old and drunken golf caddie for thirty shillings, he interviewed the ancient one, and succeeded in repurchasing this fine work of art for £2 and two bottles of whisky. It depicts Mr. Balfour seated at a table, and in the act of singing his favourite ditty, 'When I ha'e a



Tablet on front of Golfer's Land.  
(See p. 10.)

claims to have been founded in 1735. It was later, in 1800, granted a charter by the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and more than once got aid from the Town Council for preserving Bruntsfield Links in a proper state for its favourite amusement of golf. The silver club and box, still in possession of the Society, seem to have been presented by the Town Council in 1816. This Society, whose minute books are in existence from 1773, has always been in close association with the municipality of Edinburgh, but abandoned golf at Bruntsfield about the year 1873, having erected a new Clubhouse at Musselburgh. During the last forty years members of the Society have played golf at Barnton, to the west of Edinburgh, having acquired land, suitable for the game, from the Ramsay trustees. Their hand-

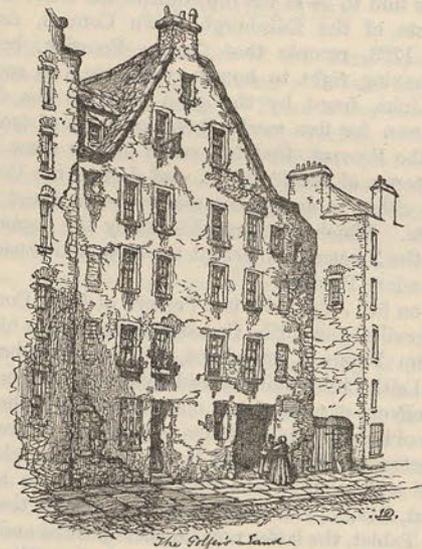
saxpence under my Thum.' In the background is a landscape with North Berwick Law in the distance.

Any paper dealing with early golf in Edinburgh should make mention of the Royal Burgess Golfing Society, which

## EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH 9

some Clubhouse contains many interesting relics and portraits of early members, illustrating the history of the Society over a period of one hundred years.

In the Canongate of Edinburgh there still stands, in defiance of modern improvements, the house of John Paterson,



From a Drawing by James Drummond, R.S.A.

the golfer. It is not the writer's intention to repeat the well-worn story, as told by so many capable writers, of the famous match at golf on Leith Links, when Paterson was partnered with the Duke of York, to the ultimate advantage of himself and the Duke. Sufficient to say that Sir Daniel Wilson, whilst sorry to upset an ancient and popular tradition, casts much

## 10 EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH

doubt upon the authenticity of the story. There can, however, be no doubt that John Paterson, cordiner in the Canongate, was admitted Burgess and Guild-brother by right of his wife Helen, daughter to umquhile Mr. Alexander Kynneir, Keeper of the Register of Holyrood, 21st November 1677, and this date would allow him to be in the foursome of the Duke of York.

A minute of the Edinburgh Town Council, dated 1st November 1723, records that George Fenwick, brewer in Leith, as having right to houses, yard, etc., on south side of Leith Links, feued by the good town to the deceased John Paterson for five merks Scots, or a set of (*golf*) *clubs* yearly to the Provost, that he caused deliver a set of clubs to him in terms of the feu right, and desired the Council to direct him either to accept the said *clubs*, or exact the five merks Scots. Which being considered by the Council, they appointed the Treasurer to accept the *clubs* and cause deliver them to the late Provost.

Again, on 6th July 1763, is a Precept of Clare Constat for John Somerville, gunsmith, Canongate, as heir to his grandfather, John Paterson, merchant, of a dwelling-house and garden, at Leith Links, built by said John Paterson, held of the town for delivery of a set of golf clubs and balls to the Provost on the day of his election, or of five merks Scots in lieu thereof.

By courtesy of Messrs. R. & R. Clark, Edinburgh, there is reproduced a drawing of the Golfer's Land made by James Drummond, R.S.A., about 1856, and a copy of the Coat of Arms and Tablet, the latter now hopelessly skied and illegible, of the well-known anagram attributed to Dr. Pitcairn. Of these last, a fine steel engraving is to be found in a now very scarce pamphlet on the *Rules of the Thistle Golf Club with some Historical Notices relative to the Progress of the Game of Golf in Scotland*, written by John Cundell of Leith, and published privately in 1824. In Robert Chambers's copy it is noted, 'I had conversation with him about some of the proof-sheets.'

C. E. S. CHAMBERS.

## STATE CEREMONIALS IN EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME

AMONG the various duties of the Lord Lyon King of Arms is that of regulating and carrying out State Ceremonial in Scotland. There is therefore preserved in the Lyon Office the record of many such functions as have taken place in Scotland during the last four centuries.

The Union of the Crowns in 1603 and subsequent Union of the Parliaments in 1707 deprived Scotland of many of these ancient pageants, which did much to enliven existence in bygone days. Thus we no longer have Royal Coronations, marriages, baptisms, or funerals of members of the Royal Family.

In the blight that followed on the Union in 1707 many ceremonies disappeared, such as the Riding of Parliament, Investitures of the Knights of the Thistle, Coronation of the Lord Lyon, and similar displays of pageantry. It is true we still have the Lord High Commissioner's procession (now shorn of a good deal of its ancient splendour), Royal Proclamations at the Mercat Cross, and the Annual Service of the Knights of the Thistle in their Chapel at St. Giles', to remind us of our ancient Royal House.

Among the Registers kept in the Lyon Office is 'The Lyons Register of Processions, Letters of Praecedency, Testificats and Forfaultures,' which contains detailed Orders for the Riding of the Scots Parliament, the Coronation of Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo as Lyon in 1681, Order to be observed at various State Funerals, such as those of the Countess of Roxburghe, in 1675; Sir Charles Erskine, Lyon; Archbishop Sharp; John, Duke of Rothes, and many others,

In former days it was part of the duties of Heralds to attend funerals of distinguished persons, a practice which fell into disuse in the eighteenth century, but which, to a certain extent, was revived at the funeral of the late Duke of Argyll in 1914, when Ross and Rothesay Heralds attended, and the latter broke his white rod over the coffin at the mausoleum. Heralds also attended the funerals of the Earl of Rosebery and Earl Haig, and at the funeral of Lord Provost William Coulter in 1810 the coffin was preceded by the Officers of Arms.

When King George IV. visited Edinburgh in 1822 an attempt was made by Sir Patrick Walker, a gentleman who had purchased the office of Gentleman Usher of the White Rod in 1806 from Campbell of Inverneil, to take upon himself to prepare and issue an official Ceremonial for his Majesty's Public Entry into the city, which was approved by three of the Officers of State and published in the *Edinburgh Gazette*. The said Order was, however, recalled, and the Lord Lyon directed to prepare a new one, which was done and carried out. The same procedure was attempted by the Usher in connection with the Proclamation of William IV. and successfully protested against.

In the following pages an account will be given of some of these ancient ceremonies which have taken place within the City of Edinburgh.

#### CORONATION OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

The Scottish kings were of old crowned at Scone. The first monarch to depart from this custom was James II., who was crowned at Holyrood on 25th March 1437. James III. was crowned at Kelso in 1460, James IV. at Scone, 26th June 1488, and James V., Queen Mary and James VI. at Stirling. On 15th June 1633 King Charles the First arrived in Edinburgh from London, entering at the Castle Port and marching through the city to the Palace of Holyroodhouse accompanied by a magnificent retinue.

His coronation took place at Holyroodhouse on the 18th June 1633, in the Abbey, which had been specially prepared for the purpose. In the centre of the church a stage had been erected, twenty-four feet square, fastened to four pillars of the nave, railed about and covered with carpet. It was four feet high, with four steps on the west side to ascend and a similar four steps on the east side to give access to the Communion Table. In the middle of the platform there was another, two feet in height, with two steps covered with curious needlework and gold, and on this the Throne or Chair of State was placed. Before the Communion Table, on its right hand, a chair of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, with footstools and cushions, was placed, in front of which was a table covered with a crimson velvet cloth, fringed and laced with gold, on which a Bible was laid. This was where his Majesty sat during the sermon. On the south side of the Communion Table was a traverse of crimson taffety, where the King did repose and disrobe himself.

Near the Communion Table, on the north side, the pulpit was placed, covered with crimson velvet, for the sermon. To the right of the Communion Table was a little desk covered with rich embroidery of gold and green silk, and before it were cushions for the King to kneel on. On the west side of the pulpit were two large seats covered with arras, on which the officiating Primate of St. Andrews and Bishops sat, and to the south end of the Communion Table was a little table covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold, on which, after the King's entry, the crown, sceptre, sword, great seal and spurs were laid.

On the evening previous to the ceremony the King went privately to the Castle of Edinburgh in a coach for his private devotions, and to dine with the Earl of Mar, Captain of the Castle, and many of the Scottish and English nobility. He also slept in the Castle that night.

On the morning of the coronation, about eight o'clock,

his Majesty was conducted from his chamber by William, 10th Earl of Errol, Lord Great Constable, on the right hand, and William, 6th Earl Marischal, on the left (both carrying their batons), to the Great Hall of the Castle, and placed in a chair under a cloth of estate by James, Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain of Scotland. Then, after a little repose, there entered the hall all the Marquesses, Earls and Viscounts, in crimson velvet robes, and the Lords, in scarlet, together with the Bishops and six Commissioners from the Barons, and as many from the Burghs.

His Majesty, having been addressed by George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, the Lord Chancellor, in name of the Estates of the Realm, and acknowledged as rightful heir to the Crown, made a suitable reply, and the whole assembly having mounted their horses, the procession proceeded from the Castle to the Abbey in the following order :—

Six Trumpeters, two and two, in scarlet and gold lace.  
 The Lords, in scarlet gowns.  
 The Bishops, in their gowns.  
 Viscounts and  
 Earls, in their crimson velvet robes.  
 Archbishop of Glasgow (Patrick Lindsay).  
 Lord Privy Seal, Thomas, 1st Earl of Haddington.  
 Lord Treasurer, William, Earl of Morton.  
 Lord Chancellor, George, Viscount Dupplin.  
 Pursuivants—Bute, Eleazer Makesone; Carrick, Gideon Weir;  
 Dingwall, Gilbert Hunter; Kintyre, John Ritchie; Ormonde,  
 James Currie; Unicorn, Thomas Fuird.  
 York Herald of England (William Le Neve).  
 Six Heralds—Albany, Robert Windram; Islay, Thomas Drysdale;  
 Marchmont, James Esplin; Ross, John Malcolm; Rothesay,  
 John Spence of Wormiston; Snowdoun, James Law.  
 Norroy King of Arms of England (John Burroughs).  
 Master of Requests, having on his right hand the Bishop of Moray  
 (John Guthrie), Almoner for the day.  
 Lyon King of Arms (Sir James Balfour of Kinnaird) betwixt two  
 Gentlemen Ushers.

Spurs, borne by Alexander, 6th Earl of Eglinton.  
 Sword, borne by James, 6th Earl of Buchan.  
 Sceptre, borne by John, 6th Earl of Rothes.  
 Crown, borne by William, 11th Earl of Angus—the Earl of Errol,  
 Great Constable, riding on his right hand, and John, 1st Earl of  
 Lauderdale, on his left, with the Earl Marischal on his left.  
 The King, in crimson velvet robes, riding on a rich foot cloth,  
 embroidered with silver and pearls, his train borne by the Lords  
 Lorne, Dalkeith, Annan, Kinfauns and Sir Robert Gordon,  
 Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain to the King.  
 On each side of the King went three Gentlemen of His Majesty's  
 Stable, richly clothed, on foot.  
 James, 3rd Marquess of Hamilton, Master of His Majesty's Horse,  
 riding a gennett of Spain and a very rich foot cloth, and leading  
 another in his hand, the richest of all.  
 Theophilus, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, Captain of His Majesty's Gentle-  
 men Pensioners.  
 Henry, 1st Earl of Holland, Captain of His Majesty's Guards.  
 The Yeomen of the Guard, in their liveries, on foot, with their  
 partisans in their hands and their swords by their sides.

The procession marched in the above order from the Castle to the entry of the Great Court of Holyroodhouse, which was railed on both sides and covered with blue cloth whereon his Majesty walked to the stage in the middle of the church.

A canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, was carried over his head by the eldest sons of Earls and a Viscount, viz. Lord Seton, Lord Livingstone, Lord Fleming, Lord Binning and Lord Drumlanrig. These carriers were supported by the following Lords: Loudoun, Spynie, Burleigh, Ramsay, Napier and Wemyss.

At the entrance of the great west door the King was met by John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates, accompanied by the musicians of the Chapel Royal, and having knelt down and arisen, was conveyed by the Dean of the Chapel to a chair placed at the side of the westernmost pillar in the great church, where Mr. James Hannay, preacher

thereof, made a short speech to his Majesty. Thereafter the King proceeded forward, the choir singing the anthem: 'Behold, O Lord, our Protector and look upon the face of thine Anointed; because one day in thy Court is better than a thousand.' On reaching the stage, the King did a little repose himself.

The crown, sceptre, sword and spurs were delivered by the bearers to the chief Gentleman Usher, who laid them on the little table appointed for them on the south side of the Communion Table. Then Lyon, who had received the golden ampule or vial with the sacred oil from the Dean of the Chapel Royal at the church door, delivered the same to the Archbishop, who placed it on the Communion Table.

The King having descended from the stage to his chair over against the pulpit, the sermon was preached by David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, from 1 Kings, chap. i., verse xxxix., and at the close the King returned to the stage and sat down in his Chair of State. Then the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Constable, the Marischal, and Lyon (who went before them) proceeded to the corners of the stage and spoke to the people, as follows: 'Sirs, I do present unto you King Charles, the rightful heir of the Crown and dignity of this realm; this day is by the peers of the kingdom appointed for his coronation and are you not willing for your King and become subject to him and his commandments.' The King then stood up, turned himself to the Archbishop, went to each side of the stage, and showed himself to the people, who, declaring their willingness, answered with great acclamations, crying: 'God save the King!'

The choir then sang 'Firmetur Manus tua' (Let thy hand be strengthened) and Psalm 80, 'Misericordias dia' (Glory be to the Father). During the singing of the anthem, the Archbishop went down to the Communion Table, which the King approached, supported by Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel, on the right hand, and John Guthrie of Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, on the left. There his

Majesty made his oblation in a cup of gold received by the Archbishop, who, kneeling at the desk, prayed: 'Oh God, who does visit them that are humble and doth comfort,' etc., which, being ended, the Archbishop, going towards the King, asked him if he was willing to take the oath appointed to be given at the Coronation of Kings. The Royal reply being in the affirmative, the Archbishop questioned him, as follows:—

1. Sir, Ye will promise to serve Almighty God to the uttermost of your power, as He hath required in His Most Holy Word and, according to the same Word, maintain the true religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this realm, abolishing and gainsaying all false religions contrary to the same; and will you employ yourself carefully to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Church of God of the foresaid crimes? To which the King answered: 'I promise faithfully so to do.'

2. Sir, Ye will make promise to rule this people subject to you according to the Laws and Constitutions received within this realm, causing justice and equity to be ministered in all your judgments without partiality; and to procure peace to the uttermost of your power to the Church of God and amongst all Christian people. The King answered: 'I grant and promise so to do.'

3. Sir, Ye will likewise promise to preserve and keep inviolated the privileges, rights and rents of the crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate the same in any sort. The King answered: 'I promise so to do.'

4. Sir, We also beseech you to grant and preserve unto us of the clergy, and of the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges; and that you will defend and protect us as every good King ought in his kingdom to defend his Bishops and the churches under their government. The King answered: 'With a willing heart I grant the same and promise to maintain you and every one of you, with all the churches committed to your charges, in your whole rights and privileges, according to law and justice.'

The King, rising from his chair, then went to the Communion Table, where, in sight of all the people, and laying one

of his hands on the Bible, he took the oath, and said: 'All the things which before I have promised I shall observe and keep; so help me God, and by the contents of this book.' After the oath he returned to the Chair of State, and then was sung the hymn, 'Veni, Creator Spiritus,' etc., on the conclusion of which the King knelt at his footstool, and the Archbishop said this prayer: 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, for this Thy servant King Charles,' etc. Whereupon the Litany was sung and read by the Bishops of Moray and Ross (John Maxwell), and after that was added: 'That it may please Thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of Thee in righteousness and holiness of life this Thy servant Charles, our King and Governor.' Then was said this prayer: 'Almighty and Everlasting God, creator of all things, ruler of the Angels, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who madest Thy servant Abraham triumph over his enemies,' etc. Thereafter the Archbishop said aloud: 'Lift up your hearts and give thanks unto the Lord.' *Answer*: 'We lift them up unto Thee, O Lord; and to give thanks unto Him it is fit and mete.' After which the Archbishop said: 'It is very mete and right, and our bounden duty so to do, and at all times and in all parts to give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, the only strength of Thy chosen, and exhalter of the humble,' etc.

The King then arose, and for a little time reposed in his chair, and afterwards went to the Communion Table, and, standing with his back close to it, was disrobed by James, Duke of Lennox, Lord Great Chamberlain, of his upper garment and his under coat, the latter hanging with the loops opened in the places where he was to be anointed. Then the King came to his chair at the side of the pulpit and sat down, where there was a canopy supported over his head all the time of his anointing.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews first anointed his Majesty on the palms of his hands, saying: 'In the name of the Father,

Son and Holy Ghost' (which words he repeated with each anointing), and on the crown of his head, etc., saying: 'Let these hands be anointed with oil, as kings and prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be King, that thou mayest be blessed and established King in this Kingdom over the people whom the Lord God hath given thee to rule and govern, which He may vouchsafe to grant, who, with the Father and Holy Ghost, is one and reigns in glory everlasting.—Amen.' During the anointing the choir sang the anthem: 'Zadock the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the people rejoiced and said, "God save the King for ever!"'

The Archbishop then offered up this prayer: 'Look down, Almighty God, upon this Thy servant, our dread sovereign King Charles, with Thy favourable countenance,' etc., after which he anointed the King on the breast, betwixt the shoulders, both the points of his shoulders, and the boughs of his arms. The Lord Chamberlain having closed the loops of his Majesty's clothes, the Archbishop read this benediction: 'God, the Son of God, Jesus our Lord, who was anointed of his Father with the oil of gladness above his fellows, pour down upon thy head the blessings of the Holy Ghost,' etc. This pronounced, the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel, placed a shallow quaiffe upon the King's head, because of the anointing.

The King next proceeded to the Communion Table, where the Lord Great Chamberlain invested him with the Royal robes of King James iv., and the Archbishop said this prayer: 'O God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do reign and lawgivers do make good laws, vouchsafe, in Thy favour, to bless this Thy servant Charles,' etc.

The sword was then brought by the Gentleman Usher to Lyon, who delivered it to the Archbishop. His Grace then placed it on the table, and prayed: 'Hear our prayers, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe, by the right hand of

Thy Majesty, to bless and sanctify this sword wherewith Thy servant Charles desires to be girt; that by the same he may defend churches, widows and orphans, and all the people of God against the savage cruelty of pagans and infidels; and that it may be a terror and fear to all them that lay in wait to do mischief; through Jesus Christ our Lord.—Amen.

The Archbishop then took the sword, and putting it into the King's hand, said:—

'Receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ and protection of his Holy Church; and remember him of whom the Psalmist did prophesy, saying, Gird thyself with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty; and with thy sword execute equity and justice, pursue all heretics and infidels, defend widows and orphans, restore the Kings that are gone to decay, maintain and defend the Kings that are restored; and in good order destroy the growth of iniquity and take punishment of all injustice; that you may be glorious in the triumph of virtue, and range with Him whose image you bear, for ever and ever.—Amen.'

Then the Earl of Errol, Lord Great Constable of Scotland, girded the sword about his Majesty, who thereafter returned to the chair where he had been anointed. He had also the spurs put on his heels by the Earl Marischal and the sandals by the Dean of the Chapel. This done, the Archbishop, taking the crown in his hand, said this prayer: 'O God, the crown of all the faithful, who doth crown their heads with precious stones that trust in Thee, bless and sanctify this crown,' etc. Then putting the crown on the King's head, he said: 'God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude, that by a right faith and manifold fruits of good works, you may obtain the crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of Him whose Kingdom endureth for ever.—Amen.'

At this stage, Lyon, assisted by the Lord Great Constable, caused a Herald to call the whole noblemen, each according to his rank. These came three and three, and on their knees

they touched the crown on the King's head, and then held up their hands while those words were read by the Bishop of Dunblane (in respect that Lyon could not do so, as he was calling up the nobility with the Constable and Marischal): 'So mot God help me, as I shall support Thee.' When the noblemen had done, they all held up their hands and swore to be loyal and true subjects.

The Earl Marischal now went to the four corners of the stage, having in his hand the obligatory oath of the people which he read to Lyon King of Arms, who proclaimed it to the people, they holding up their hands and saying 'Amen.' The terms of the oath were as follows: 'We swear and, by the holding up our hands, do promise all subjection and loyalty to him, Charles, our dread sovereign; and we wish God to be merciful to us, and shall be to his Majesty true and faithful, and be ever ready to bestow our lands, lives and what else God hath given us for the defence of his sacred person and crown.'

The Earls and Viscounts put on their crowns and coronets, and Lyon his crown; but the Lords and eldest sons of Earls, likewise the Barons of Parliament, continued uncovered. Then was sung another anthem by the choir, which contained these words: 'Be strong and of good courage and observe the commandments of the Lord to walk in His way,' after which the Lord Chamberlain loosed the King's sword with which he had been girt by the Constable. The King took it in his hand, offered it, the Archbishop laying it on the Communion Table, while the Lord High Constable, redeeming it with an offering and drawing it forth, carried it before the King.

The Archbishop now took the sceptre, and as he put it in the King's right hand, uttered these words: 'Receive the sceptre, the sign of royal power, the rod of the Kingdom, the rod of virtue, that thou mayest govern thyself aright, defend the Holy Church and all Christian people committed by God to thy charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just.' Then followed this prayer by the Archbishop: 'O Lord, the

fountain of all good things and author of all good proceedings, we beseech Thee,' etc., at the close of which he blessed the King, saying: 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee; and as He hath made thee King over His people, so may He still prosper thee in this world, and in the world to come make thee partaker of His everlasting felicity.—Amen.'

Thereupon the King kissed the Archbishop and the Bishops assisting, and having ascended the stage, attended by divers of the prime officers and nobility (the choir meanwhile singing 'Te Deum Laudamus'), he was enthroned by the Archbishop, who used these words:—

'Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof thou art the lawful and righteous heir by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered to you by authority of Almighty God; and as you see the clergy come more near the altar than the others, so when it is convenient you will remember to give them that honour and respect which is due unto their places; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in this throne and with Him you may live and reign for ever.'

Then the Lord Chancellor went to the four corners of the stage, Lyon King of Arms going before him, and proclaimed his Majesty's pardon, with the offer of the same, under the Great Seal of the Kingdom, to all who should require it; upon which the people made their acclamations, crying 'God save the King!'

This done, Lyon called the Archbishops and Bishops, who knelt and did homage, their hands being betwixt the King's hands. The Earl Marischal then read these words to them: 'I shall be faithful and true and sooth and truth bear unto you our Sovereign Lord and your heirs Kings of Scotland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you in right of the Church. So help me, God.' Then they kissed the King's left cheek.

The King now gave the sceptre to John, Earl of Rothes, who carried it, and then went down to his chair; but before

he removed, Lyon called the Lords Temporal, who in like manner knelt and held their hands betwixt the King's, the Bishop of Dunblane reading these words to them: 'I, B., become your liegeman and truth and faith shall bear unto you, live and die against all manner of folks whomsoever on your service. So help me, God.' They also kissed the King's left cheek.

The King then rose from his throne (the Earl of Rothes bearing the sceptre before him) and descended from the stage to the Chair of State over against the pulpit. The Archbishop, on the other hand, proceeded to the Communion Table, and thereafter the King received the sacrament with great reverence. The service ended with the blessing.

The King, wearing his crown and robes, and with the sceptre in his hand, returned with his whole train to the Palace in as solemn a manner as he had entered, the trumpets sounding, while the Castle answered with the thundering of great ordnance. Immediately after his Majesty began to descend from the stage, pieces of gold and silver, specially coined for the purpose, were flung to the people who lined the Royal route. This office was performed by the Bishop of Moray, almoner for the time. These coins, which had on one side the King's image in his coronation robes, bore this inscription round the edge: 'Carolus Dei Gratia, Scotia, Angl. Fran. et Hib., Rex Coronat 18 June 1633.' On the reverse was a thistle flowered in the three great stems and with many small branches issuing from it. There was this device: 'Hinc nostrae crevere Rosae.'

It is interesting to add that in many particulars the coronation service still used at Westminster follows that above described, the same prayers and anthems being used in some cases; but the ancient form of ceremony, as reported to the Privy Council of Scotland (2nd series, ii. 393) by Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland, Lyon 1620-30, was evidently departed from in favour of what probably was the English one.

## CORONATION OF THE LORD LYON KING OF ARMS

The office of Lord Lyon King of Arms is one of the most ancient in the Royal Household of Scotland. It is suggested that he represents the Royal Seanachie of the ancient Celtic kings, whose duty it was to keep and recite the Royal genealogy. Edmondson, the English heraldic writer, quotes a Household Account of Edward I. (1278-79), where it is stated that a payment was made to a King of Heralds of Scotland called Caupeny (probably a mistake for Albany). The earliest reference in Scottish records is in the Exchequer Rolls of 1377. Sir James Balfour states that at the coronation of Robert II. at Holyrood Abbey on 23rd May 1371, after the King had been crowned, 'The Lyon King of Armes was called on by the Lord Marishall, quho attendit on be the Herauldes, came in ther coates,—the Lyon sat doune at the Kinges feete, and the Herauldes went to the stage prepared for them, and ther the Marishall by the mouthe of the Bishope of St. Andrewes did sweire the Lyon, quho being sworne, then did put on hes croune, ordained him to weare for that solemnity.'

The ceremony of the coronation of the Lyon was carried out in the case of Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet in 1568. Others who had this distinction conferred upon them were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount in 1591; Sir James Balfour of Kinnaird in 1630; and Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo on 25th September 1663. The last mentioned was crowned by John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Rothes, Lord High Commissioner.

A description of the Order observed at the coronation of Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo, Knight and Baronet, Lyon King of Arms, upon the 27th day of July 1681, may be of interest, in view of the fact that his Royal Highness James, Duke of Albany and York, was then his Majesty's High Commissioner.

The Chair of State being placed upon a throne of two steps

high, under the canopy in the Chamber of Presence, and the honours of the kingdom being laid on a table covered with velvet near to it, his Majesty's High Commissioner was convoyed by the officers of state and nobility then present to the throne. He sat down in the chair, the nobility standing by.

Then Sir Alexander Areskine was brought in after this manner:—

The King's six Trumpeters, in their coats, two and two, sounding.  
The six Pursuivants, in their coats, two and two, viz.:—John Hoge, Bute; Patrick Wilson, Carrick; James Dunbar, Dingwall; John Daill, Kintyre; James Spence, Ormonde; and William Malcolm, Unicorn.

The six Heralds, in their coats, two and two, viz.:—George Ogilvie, Albany; William Govan, Islay; George Porteous, Marchmont; Joseph Stacey, Ross; William Glover, Rothesay; and Andrew Grierson, Snowdown.

The last five bore the Lyon's honours, thus:—Ross, the crown; Snowdown, the coat; Marchmont, the robe; Rothesay, the collar or order; and Islay, the baton.

Mr. Robert Innes, W.S., the Lyon Depute, bearing his Patent under the Great Seal dated 27th June 1681.

The Master of Ceremonies.

The Lyon, supported by two Knights, viz.:—Sir William Sharp of Scotsraig and Sir John Maitland, and attended with the Macers on either side, with their maces holding of the Crude.

Both of these three several times did homage to his Majesty's High Commissioner, viz. at the door, in the middle of the house, and before the Throne and Honours. Then those who bore the Patent and Honours stood near the chair, the rest of the Heralds and Pursuivants going to the windows and the Trumpeters to a place apart. The Master of Ceremonies thereafter brought the Lyon to his Majesty's High Commissioner. Kneeling down on a cushion before him, the former Baronet was dubbed Knight with the Sword of State. Then the Master of Ceremonies called for the Patent

under the Great Seal and gave it to the Commissioner. His Royal Highness, after having caused one of the Clerks of Council to read the same, gave the Lyon the Patent, showing him the King's pleasure, his duty, and the reward he would have from so gracious a master.

The High Commissioner having caused the Lyon swear the Oath of Allegiance and take the Declaration (the same being read by the Clerk of the Council), the Master of Ceremonies took the Coat of Arms and gave it to his Royal Highness, who, with the assistance of the Master of Ceremonies, put it on the Lyon, the Commissioner saying: 'I do vest you with this coat and robe of your office during all the days of your lifetime, which you shall wear at all Honourable Occasions, keeping the same free from all spot of treason, villany and disgrace.' Next the Master of Ceremonies took the crown, and delivered it to the High Commissioner, who put it on the Lyon's head, saying: 'In name of his Most Sacred Majesty the King, I crown you, Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo, Knight and Baronet, Lyon King of Arms through all the Kingdom of Scotland and Isles thereto belonging, with all the privileges, liberties, honours and dignities belonging to your office.'

After that the Master of Ceremonies gave the baton to his Majesty's High Commissioner, who, in delivering it into the Lyon's hand, said: 'I deliver to you this baton of your office in token of that command and regal authority which his Majesty gives you over all who bear his Majesty's arms under you in this Kingdom of Scotland.' This was followed by the Master of Ceremonies giving the collar or order to his Highness, who placed it round the Lyon's neck, saying: 'This Royal token and badge of your master's favour I give you to be worn by you all the days of your life in token of your precedence before all others of under degree and quality in confidence of your good and faithful service done or to be done.'

The High Commissioner now blessed the Lyon, who took his oath in the following terms:—

'I shall defend the Catholic faith to the uttermost of my power; I shall be leal and true, secret and serviceable to Our Sovereign Lord the King and to all estates, that is to say, to Emperors, Kings, Princes, Archdukes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Lords or Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, etc., Ladies, Widows and Maids of good fame, and shall pass their lawful adoes upon their expenses. And what message I take in hand to do I shall do the same truly without eiking or taking free. I shall forbear all open vices, common bordels, common hazard and common drinking in taverns. I shall fortify and defend the privilege of the Noble Office of Arms with all my power and shall never reveal any man's secrets, treason excepted. I shall observe and keep all the forenamed points; so help me, God, and be my part of paradise.'

Then one of the Heralds proclaimed by sound of trumpet furth of one of the windows: 'Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo, Knight, Baronet, Lyon King of Arms through all the Kingdom of Scotland and Isles thereto adjacent, with all the honours and privileges belonging thereto.' This done, his Royal Highness took the Lyon by both hands and caused him to rise, and the latter, taking off his crown, gave his Highness his humble thanks, and then cried aloud: 'Allarges of the Most High and Mighty Monarch Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,' etc. Thereafter, by sound of trumpet, all the Heralds and Pursuivants proclaimed the same words furth of the windows.

The Lyon, wearing his robe and crown, was now attended back to the room from whence he came in order to be divested. In the return the same manner was observed, with this difference, that the Lyon, with the Heralds and Pursuivants, cried and proclaimed: 'Allarges ut supra!'

On former occasions the ceremony of coronation usually began with a sermon suitable to the occasion, preached in the Chapel by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, in presence of his

Majesty or his High Commissioner. After the ceremony the High Commissioner and the nobility present were entertained to music, both vocal and instrumental, while the Lyon administered the oath to those Heralds and Pursuivants who had not yet taken it.

The most interesting ceremony of crowning the Lyon seems to have fallen into desuetude after the Union, since when Lyon seems to have appeared before the Lords of Council and Session and been sworn in.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Alexander Erskine, 2nd Baronet of Cambo, was the son of Sir Charles Erskine, the 1st Baronet (who was appointed Lyon on 4th January 1663), by his wife, Penelope, daughter of Arthur Barclay of Colhill, gentleman of his Majesty's Chamber. He was the grandson of Alexander, Viscount Fenton, by Anne, daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline. He succeeded his father in September 1677, when about fourteen years of age, so can have been only eighteen at the time of his coronation. He went out in the Rising of 1715 with the Earl of Mar, but surrendered and was imprisoned. Nothing, however, appears to have happened to him in consequence, as he continued to hold office till his death in 1727. He was also Joint Keeper of the Signet in 1711 and M.P. for Fife, 1710-13. He married in 1680 his cousin Mary, eldest daughter of Alexander, 3rd Earl of Kellie, and had a large family, who seemed to have largely monopolised the appointments in the Lyon Office. His son Charles, afterwards 3rd Baronet, was Bute Pursuivant from 1707 to 1715, when he became Lyon Clerk, a position which he held till 1724. Another son, David, was Rothesay Herald, 1718-24, and Lyon Clerk Depute, when he became Lyon Clerk and Lyon Depute,

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that, on the present Lyon's appointment, he appeared before the whole Court in his tabard and escorted by the Carriek and Falkland Pursuivants. After presenting his Commission and being sworn in, Lyon and Pursuivants proceeded to the Thistle Chapel in St. Giles' Cathedral, where the Dean of the Thistle and Chapel Royal conducted a short dedicatory service.

while his brother John, afterwards 4th Baronet, was Kintyre Pursuivant, 1707, and Albany Herald, 1726-54. William, 5th Baronet, another son, was Unicorn Pursuivant, 1707-15. A grandson, Sir Charles, the 8th Baronet, succeeded as 7th Earl of Kellie in 1797, but died unmarried 28th October 1799.

#### THE RIDING OF PARLIAMENT

This was an annual function and was a ceremonial of much splendour. The streets were cleared of traffic, and railed and guarded by the military, the Scottish Horse Grenadier Guards lining from the Palace Porch westwards, while the two battalions of the Scots Foot Guards occupied the space from their flanks to the Netherbow Port. Inside the city the Trained Bands, the Lord High Constable's Guards and the Earl Marischal's Guards performed similar duty. At the door of the Parliament House the officers were received by the Lord High Constable. Meanwhile, at Holyrood, the Lord Clerk Register, the Lord Lyon and the Heralds were summoning the members of the procession and arranging the same in the following order:—

Order of the Proceeding on Horse-back to be performed the first day of the ensuing Parliament by all the Members of Parliament in Convoing his Royal Highness, his Majesties High Commissioner, from the Abbey of Hallyrudehouse to the Parliament House and back again to the Palace the 28th day of July 1681.

About the space of half ane hour befor the Ryding begin, Lord High Chancellor and Lord Privy Seal (they being only present of the principal Officers of State) ride up in their Robes, the Chancellor on the right hand with Mace and Purse before him and the Privy Seall on the left; and in their return to the Palace they are to ride at a distance after the Guard.

Two Trumpets, in their coats and banners, bare-headed.	} To usher the way.
Two Pursuivants, in their coats and footmantles, bareheaded.	
The Commissioners for the Burghs, two and two.	
The Commissioners for the Shires, two and two.	

The four Officers of State who are not noblemen, two and two.

The Lords or Barrons of Parliament, two and two.

The Bishops, two and two {  
Edinburgh, Galloway, Dunkeld, Aberdeen,  
Moray, Ross, Brechin, Dunblane, Caithness,  
The Isles, Argyll, Orkney.

The Viscounts, two and two.

The Earles, two and two.

The two Archbishops (St. Andrews and Glasgow).

Four Trumpets, in their coats and banners, bareheaded, two and two.

Four Pursuivants, in their coats and footmantles, bareheaded, two and two.

Six Heralds, in their coats and footmantles, bareheaded, two and two.

The Lyon King of Arms, in his coat, robe, collar, batton and footmantle, bareheaded.

Three Maces with their maces and footmantles, bareheaded.	{	The Sword of State, borne by the Earl of Mar, bareheaded.	} Three Maces with their maces and footmantles, bareheaded.
		The Sceptre, borne by the Earl of Argyll, bareheaded.	
		The Crown, carried by the Marquess of Douglas, bareheaded.	

The Gentleman Usher with his White Rod aside, bareheaded, in the case foresaid (Sir Arch. Cockburn of Langton).	{	A Nobleman (Lord Loudoun) bearing the purse with his Royal Highness Commission, bareheaded.
		His Royal Highness, his Majesties High Commissioner, attended with his servants, pages, footmen; and on the return to the Palace, having the High Constable on his right hand and the Marisshall on his left, with capes of permission and in their robes.

The Master of the Horse, bareheaded, and aside, in the case foresaid.	{	His Royal Highness, his Majesties High Commissioner, attended with his servants, pages, footmen; and on the return to the Palace, having the High Constable on his right hand and the Marisshall on his left, with capes of permission and in their robes.

The Dukes (Hamilton, Buccleuch and Lennox) and Marquesses (Huntlie, Douglas and Montrose) attending his Majesties High Commissioner, in their robes.

The Captain of his Majesties Guard at the head of the Troop of Guards.

On arriving at the door of the Parliament House the Lord High Commissioner was received by the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marischal, and escorted between them to his

Throne, the Usher following. The Regalia having been laid on the table by the Peers who had carried it in the procession, the Lord Lyon took up his position on the right of the Throne and the Usher of the White Rod on the left.<sup>1</sup>

## ORDER OF THE THISTLE

The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle was revived by King James VII. on 29th May 1687, when twelve Knights were appointed. It was again re-established by Queen Anne on 31st December 1703.

The Warrant reviving the Order states that it was instituted by Achaius, King of Scots, in allusion to our Blessed Saviour and His Twelve Apostles. It also sets forth that, under the protection of our Blessed Lady and the Holy Apostle Saint Andrew, Patron of Scotland, the said Order was instituted for defence of the Christian religion, and in commemoration of a signal victory obtained by Achaius over Athelstan, King of the Saxons, after a bloody battle, during which there appeared in the heavens a white cross in the form of that upon which Saint Andrew suffered. This, however, may be regarded as a fable. The warrant further states that the Order continued down to the time of Mary, Queen of Scots, when it fell into desuetude during the unfortunate rebellion against that monarch. There is, however, no record of the existence of the Order at that time, but the collar and badge first appear in the Royal Arms on the Great Seal of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The Investiture of a Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle is another ceremonial which, unfortunately, has fallen into desuetude. The ceremony began by the Treasurer Depute, Lord Lyon, in his robes and baton, and the Clerk of the Privy Council proceeding to the Castle

<sup>1</sup> A series of folio plates by Alexander Kincaid showing the Order of Cavalcade at the opening of the first Parliament of James VII. is reproduced in *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 61.

to bring the Sword of State in the Lord High Commissioner's carriage. They were accompanied to the Castle Gate by the Heralds and Pursuivants, in their tabards, along with the Household Trumpeters. The Sword of State having been brought by the Clerk of Council out of the Castle, a procession was formed, the Trumpeters, Pursuivants and Heralds marching on foot in front of the Commissioner's carriage, the first-mentioned meanwhile sounding a march. When the Parliament Close was reached, the Lord Lyon and Treasurer Depute marched into the Council Chamber in front of the Sword. The Council Clerk having placed it on the cushion, the Commissioner delivered his commission to the Clerk, who received the same kneeling, and read it. The Commissioner, covered, being seated in the chair, the Lyon took up the Sword, and, while kneeling, drew it from its scabbard and presented it to the Commissioner, who thereupon knighted the new Knight, who had previously been brought forward by two junior Knights of the Order, and had knelt down. This done, the Commissioner returned the Sword to the Lord Lyon, who, still kneeling, put the blade in its scabbard, which was then placed on the cushion. Lyon now took up the Ribbon and, while still on his knees, delivered it to the Commissioner, who put it about the new Knight's neck. Lyon then delivered the Cross, which the Commissioner handed to the Knight, whereupon Lyon pinned it on.

The ceremony over, the Heralds, Pursuivants and Trumpeters, being ordered by the Council Clerk, proceeded to the window looking towards the Parliament Close and there thrice proclaimed the style and title of the new Knight. Thereafter the procession was re-formed and the Sword of State was returned to the Castle in the same manner as it had been brought down. A squad of horsemen formed an escort on both occasions. After the Union the Investiture of Knights took place at Holyroodhouse.

FRANCIS J. GRANT.

#### THE BARONY OF CALTON: PART I

THE Barony of Restalrig is of ancient standing. It is not possible to say definitely that the lands which it comprised were unified into a barony under any of the individuals described in early records as 'de Lestalric'; but about 1180 Edward de Lastalric gifted to the Nuns of North Berwick a toft of land at Leith and three acres at Grene-side.<sup>1</sup> The barony certainly existed in 1365, anterior to its occupation by the Logan family. This family became possessed of it in 1382 by marriage with the heiress, and had new charters of it from James v. and James vi.; and in 1605 Robert Logan of Restalrig sold the lands to James, Lord Balmerino, who obtained a fresh charter.<sup>2</sup> None of these titles mentions the extent of the barony, or its boundaries; but Rev. W. Burnett affirms that it embraced all the country 'from the Calton and the Water of Leith on the west to the Figgate Whins on the east, and from the shores of the Forth on the north side to the wall of the Royal Park and the Fishwives' Causey on the south.' He goes on to state that 'besides the buildings on the shore at Leith, mostly lying at the landing-place, where are now the Fish Quay and Bernard Street, it had two main places of occupation. One was the village of Restalrig, and the other the colony of the Calton. These were known as the Loch-end and the Craig-end, from their situation at the Loch and the Hill respectively, and sometimes as Easter Restalridge and Wester Restalridge.'<sup>3</sup> In any event, the barony was of considerable extent; and if at any time the

<sup>1</sup> Chartulary of North Berwick (Bannatyne Club).

<sup>2</sup> Register of the Great Seal.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. iv.

Laird wished to enjoy the thrill of being monarch of all he surveyed, he had a vantage point second to none. He had only to proceed to the highest point of his barony, known to-day as the Calton Hill, whence is to be seen one of the finest prospects in the world. For the earliest observers the view would embrace large tracts of woodland and morass, with here and there a sheet of water; and for most of the Logan lairds the scene would still be extremely rural—cultivated field and common land, with here and there a farm-house or fortalice; in the distance the seaport of Leith, comparatively small as yet; and to the south-west, stretching out a paw, as it were, towards the rocky height, the high-piled town of Edinburgh, begirt with wall and garden-ground.

A conspicuous feature of this eminence is the precipitous crag which forms its southern face, rising sheer from the valley to a height of about 200 feet. Divested of its present superstructures, and thus disclosing the upper part of the hill, its aspect would be even more imposing; and it is not surprising that in the earliest mention of it, it should be described simply as the 'Crag.' The foundation charter of Holyrood speaks of a road which passes '*ad unam craggam*' that is situated below the Castle (of Edinburgh) towards the east; and lands are disposed 'with part of the Cragge which pertains to the abbey.'<sup>1</sup> It was, however, only one of several 'craggs' in the vicinity of Edinburgh (*e.g.* Craiglockhart or the 'Craggis of Gorgie,' the Craggs of Braid, Craigmillar, etc.), and for differentiation it seems to have acquired the name 'Cragingalt,' and is so described in James II.'s charter to the Burgh of Edinburgh in 1456 of the lands now called Greenside. It may be of interest to note some later references, as they shed light on the history of the Hill. In 1549 Robert Logan of Restalrig granted to John Logan of Coitfield 13½ acres made up as follows:—6 acres occupied by Andrew Balfour, 3½ which belonged to the deceased John Kintray, and 2 occupied by Thomas Chalmer,

<sup>1</sup> *Munimenta Sancte Crucis*, p. 22.

all lying 'upon the Cragingalt,' and 2 acres occupied by Gilbert Logane lying 'under the Cragingalt' on the north side thereof.<sup>1</sup> In October 1571, during the siege of Edinburgh Castle by the 'King's men,' pioneers began to cast trenches, some upon the Craingengait, some about the West Port.<sup>2</sup> In January following, a corporal or sergeant in Captain Mitchell's band that lay in the Abbey, 'being at singular combat upon Craingengate with a suddart' (soldier) 'of the toun,' was wounded by one of the 'suddart's' friends.<sup>3</sup> In March 'Patrick Gordon, third brother to the Earl Henry, past with xxx gentillmen of the said erllis towarttis Craingait to thair pastyme, feiring no harme of thair adversaris'; nevertheless Captain David Home came from Leith with sixty soldiers and 'constranit thame to tak Dingwall<sup>4</sup> for thair refuge,' because there were no hagbuts with them.<sup>5</sup> In 1589 the magistrates of Edinburgh 'fynds it expedient that ane fyre be bigget . . . upoun the hight of Craingatt toward Leyth at the arryving of the queyne.'<sup>6</sup> In 1602 the Burgh Treasurer is to fee quarriers and 'putt thame to the passage at the eist end of Craingatt ledand to Leyth to cutt the craig and mak the passage mair easie.'<sup>7</sup> The name persisted as late as 1743, when certain lands in Restalrig were disposed 'with warrandice from the lands of Craigs called Craingate sometime pertaining to the late William M'Neill arable and unarable.'<sup>8</sup> From the above references it is clearly evident (and this is important) that Craingalt was the name of the whole Hill.

Certain parts of the Hill had, however, distinctive names, notably the precipitous southern front, with its 'terrace' along which Regent Road now runs. In the latter half of the 16th century it was known as the 'Dow-craig,' 'Item the . . .

<sup>1</sup> Prot. Book of John M'Nele (Canongate).

<sup>2</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> A fortified house to the north of Trinity College Church; ruins shown on Rothiemay's map.

<sup>5</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*.

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh Burgh Records.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Laing Charters, No. 3161.

day of . . . 1554 for takin of ane greit gebet furth of the Nether Tolbuith and beiring of it to the heycht of the Dow crag to haif hangit hommill Jok on, and downbringing of it agane to Sanct Paullis Wark, xij d.<sup>1</sup> In 1571 'my lord Regentis men of weare come in the nycht to the Dow craig abone the Trinitie College besyid Edinburgh and thair kest ane forth and placit thair three peice of ordinance thairin, to ding and seige the north-east quarter of the said burgh.'<sup>2</sup> Another narrator is more explicit: 'the Regents men had planted their ordnance upon the Dowcraig besyde the fold dyke of stone,<sup>3</sup> out of the whilk thair shot and dang away the men of warre in the dirtie blok-houses within the wall of Leith Wynd.'<sup>4</sup> He adds that three days afterwards there issued from the town about 200 horse and 120 hagbutters 'of purpose to have tane the foirt upoun the Dowcraig, and went als farre as Moutraise of the hill hard besyd it,' but were opposed by the Regent's men.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not it was ever called the 'Dhu-craig' is doubtful, notwithstanding Macfarlane.<sup>6</sup>

This part of the Hill was, during the seventeenth and succeeding centuries, known by the appellation 'M'Neills Craigs.' The reason is not far to seek, and rather upsets Grant's theory of a connection between '*Nigelli rupes*' and 'Dhu-craig.'<sup>7</sup> In 1588 the Crown confirmed a feu-charter by Robert Logan of Restalrig to John Makneill, notary public, and his spouse 'of all and whole my lands of my rock (*terras meas rupis mee*) called Craigingalt as well cultivated as uncultivated, bounded as follows:—beginning at the lower west part of the lands of Irnesyde<sup>8</sup> towards the north and thence ascending by the common way which goes by the bounds of

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Burgh Treasurers' Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> This is the 'sheepfold' apparently shown on Gordon of Rothiemay's plan, 1647.

<sup>4</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc., vol. 52, p. 635). This is a late seventeenth-century production.

<sup>7</sup> *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii. 101.

<sup>8</sup> A street of that name still exists near Queen Mary's 'Bath.'

the gardens of the burgh of Canongate towards the west to the College of the Holy Trinity near Edinburgh, and thence passing from the said college by the common way that leads from the burgh of Edinburgh to the town of Leith, as far as the lands called Grenesyde, and thence from the said lands of Grenesyde towards the east as far as an acre of land called Lawsounaiker now occupied by the said John Makneill, and thence rising directly by the south from the east side of the acres of land which John Logan of Coitfield has of me in wadset and which are now occupied by the said John, Andrew Balfour and the deceased Thomas Chalmer, as far as the upper part of the foresaid lands of Irnesyde, and thence descending by a dyke to the west end of the said lands of Irnesyde to the foresaid lower west part thereof'; and there are also disposed to him 9 acres and 2 butts of the lands of Restalrig, whereof 3 acres 'lie together under the Craigingalt on the north side thereof.'<sup>1</sup> This John MacNeill was clerk of the burgh of Canongate, and also of the barony of Restalrig (so far at least as its Leith properties were concerned); and it may interest the reader to know that five of his 'protocol books,' dating from 1549 to 1559, are deposited in H.M. General Register House.

There has been some speculation as to the origin and meaning of the name 'Calton.' A modern authority says 'prob. Gaelic *calltuinn*, or *calldainn*, a hazel or hazel-copse.'<sup>2</sup> Grant, quoting Lord Hailes's *Annals*, says '*Calton* or *Caldoun* is admitted to be a hill covered with bushes,' but goes on to suggest, having regard to the forest of Drumselch which formerly surrounded it, that *Calton* may more likely be derived from '*Choille-dun*.'<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately these derivations assign to the name, at least as applied to this hill, an antiquity which is not in keeping with the record evidence. The name scarcely appears at all before the seventeenth century; the only

<sup>1</sup> Register of the Great Seal.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Johnston's *Place Names of Scotland*.

<sup>3</sup> *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii. 100.

instance noticed being in the Register of South Leith kirk session, under date 1591, where Caldtoun is mentioned as one of the districts to be visited by the elders of the parish.<sup>1</sup> There is recorded in 1627 the Will of Margaret Wright 'in Caldtoune besyd the Colledge kirke of Edinburgh,' John Blaikie in Caldtoun being one of the witnesses.<sup>2</sup> From that date onwards there are occasional references to the name, which is always spelt either 'Caldtoun' or 'Coldtoun.' It appears on Gordon of Rothiemay's plan of 1647. In a charter of 1654 there are disposed 'all and hail the toune and landis of Caldtoune *alias* M<sup>k</sup>neillis craiges.'<sup>3</sup> It may be thought a far-fetched suggestion that 'Calton' has any relation to 'Craigengalt'; and yet, if it were found that a 'Craigengalt-toun' existed (a point which will be dealt with later), it might be possible through the customary process of attrition to convert 'Craigengalt-toun' into 'Caltoun,' not to mention preserving the first part of the word in the form 'Craigend.' The forms 'Caldtoun' and 'Coldtoun' seem to support an earlier form such as 'Galt-toun.' The scarcity of records for the period prevents further development of the argument. Certainly it appears improbable that 'Calton' is of Gaelic origin, in the present instance at least; and the same may be affirmed of 'Craigengalt.' 'Craig' is as much Saxon as Celtic; and 'galt' means a 'boar.'<sup>4</sup> The surname Craigengelt or Craigengilt gives other variations of the suffix, with the same signification. Perhaps the 'boar's rock' would be more convincing, applied to the hill in question, than 'rock of the foreigners.'<sup>5</sup>

The appellation 'Craigend' seems to be of even later date than 'Calton'; and as 'Lochend' appears no earlier, it

<sup>1</sup> Robertson's *South Leith Records*, i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Commissariat of Edinburgh, *Testaments* (2 Feb. 1628).

<sup>3</sup> Register of the Great Seal (Paper Reg., vol. 7, p. 193).

<sup>4</sup> New English Dictionary.

<sup>5</sup> Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, so interprets 'Craigengall,' a form found elsewhere in Scotland.

may be open to question whether the latter did not arise through a mistaken interpretation of the first part of 'Craigengalt-toun' (Craigend-Calton), and the apparent need of a counterpart at the other extremity of the barony. More probably, however, Lochend is simply the 'end of the Loch.' Names like Pocketsleeve or Croftangry, for example, show how easily false etymologies obscure the true meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Of the two roads leading from Edinburgh to the Port of Leith, one passes by the eastern end of the Calton Hill, the other through the valley at its western end. The former (known as the Easter Road) furnished the most natural approach from the Abbey of Holyrood and its precincts; while the latter gave more convenient access thereto from the eastern extremity of the walled burgh. It passed by way of Leith Wynd, through the hollow between Moutrieshill and the Craigengalt, on by the line of Leith Walk towards Leith. At first there seems to have been no connecting road from the Abbey in this direction, although a path of some kind may have existed, which later developed into the North Back of Canongate; but eastwards along this valley below the Crag ran the stream or 'stripe' which issued from the North Loch. The Laird of Restalrig granted to the burgh of Edinburgh, in 1398, for the purpose of access to their new port of Leith, his 'common roads, paths and passages whatsoever through the lands of my barony of Lestalrik and town of Leith leading to the foresid port,' with power to 'construct other new roads in length and breadth sufficient to them for their accommodation and use wherever they or their successors please through my barony of Lestalrik and town of Leith, to their foresaid port of Leith,' under certain exceptions.<sup>2</sup> This does not of course definitely indicate a road along the line above

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Maitland (*History of Edinburgh*, pp. 242, 256, etc.), by his customary spelling 'Craigend-gate,' seems to suggest that to him it meant 'the road by the end of the Craig'; or else 'the road through Craigend.'

<sup>2</sup> Charters of the Burgh of Edinburgh, p. 48.

mentioned; but doubtless it furnished the good town with an opportunity to provide a fresh avenue, or make the western highway more suitable for traffic and settlement.

At the foot of Leith Wynd the highway passed through a 'port' variously named St. Andrew's Port and Leith Wynd Port. The Flodden Wall did not extend quite as far as this 'port,' but the gateway was substantially flanked, on the west side by Trinity College and Hospital, and on the east side by St. Paul's Work, both of which structures stood outside the city boundaries. It is natural to suppose that, as in the case of Portsburgh, Potterrow and Pleasance, a small colony should cluster around this gateway, which on occasion was adorned, like the others, with the customary gruesome reminder of the law's long arm:—'1560, item, for ane imepriek to put ane mannis heid upoun at Sanct Andrews Port, price vs. iiii'.<sup>1</sup> The houses outwith the burgh would be as humble and unpretentious as most of those within, consisting in the earliest days of simple one-storey cottages 'framed in wood with plaster or mud-filling,' and roofed with 'hedder.'

A hamlet of some kind must have come into being during the fifteenth century, if not before; but the earliest reference so far found to it is in connection with a dispute between the Laird of Restalrig and the Town of Edinburgh in 1501.<sup>2</sup> As this record is not only interesting for its quaint phraseology, but has some bearing on the suggestion already made as to the name 'Craigengalt-toun,' it is here given in full:—

'(26) March 1501: Mr. James Henresoun as forspekar for the provest and bailzeis of Edinburgh allegit that the housis war the toune of Edinburgh heretage and annerdand to that protestacione he anserit til the sumondis.

'The Lord Lindsay as forspekar for the Lard of Restalrig protestit that as he allegit he proponit til folow the toune of Edinburgh anent

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Burgh Treasurers' Accounts.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, x., fol. 62, 63.

the possessione of the housis quihlk war his heretage that therefore he suld nocht be na hurt til his heretage.

'Andro Lord Gray askit ane instrument that Patrik Lord Lindsay of the Byris promyet til folow the persons of the toune of Edinburgh quihlkis war at the castin doune of the Lard of Restalrig housis of Craigingalt.

'In the accione and cause persewit be Jhone Logane of Restalrig and thir persons underwriten his tenandis that is to say Robin Hemp Andro Sawar and James Borthwic aganis Thomas Tod knicht provest of the burgh of Edinburgh, Robert Brus Jhone of Levingstoun and William Goldsmyth bailzeis of the sade burgh, for the wrangus vexacione troubling and inquieting of him in the peceable broiking and possessing of his housis and biggingis made and sett upon his land of Craigingalt besid Edinburgh. . . .'

Parties being personally present, the Burgh's agent proponed exceptions at law, and the case was continued to 5th July. From an entry, however, in the Town Council Minutes of date 30th April 1501, it would appear that the case was settled *extra judicium*: 'Thir personis underwriten, for themeselffis and in name of the hale communitie wairnit and callit heirto, thoct expedient and consentit that compositioun be maid with the Kingis hienes, als reasonable as can be gottin, tuiching the actioun movit aganis thame anent the doun casting of the houssis besyde Sanct Paullis hospitale, for the quihlk the communitie ar delatit to be indytit to this present justice air' (then follow the defenders' names).<sup>1</sup>

The next reference to a hamlet in this vicinity is in a licence from the Commendator of Holyrood in 1554 to the Cordiners of Canongate to erect and furnish an altar in the Abbey in honour of their patron saint, with an invitation also for the support of their brethren of the craft in Leith and in 'Sanct Leonards gate and besyde our chapell of Sanct Niniane outwith Sanct Androws port besyde Edinburgh.' A similar licence and invitation apply to the Tailor craft.<sup>2</sup> The mention of St. Ninian's Chapel introduces another name by

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Burgh Records.

<sup>2</sup> *Charters of Holyrood*, pp. 290, 292.

which the hamlet was long known, 'St. Ninian's Row' (which Gordon's plan renders 'St. Ringens suburbs'). Wilson says that nothing is known either of the founders or the date of erection of the chapel, the last remains of which were swept away in 1814 in clearing the site for the Regent Bridge. In April 1572 two soldiers of Leith that were in Edinburgh 'wer brocht furth and hangit upoun Mowtrais tries foiranent the chapell.'<sup>1</sup> Testaments of date 1568, 1574 and 1586 relate to dwellers in 'Sanct Ninianis Raw besyd Edinburgh';<sup>2</sup> and the name persists till the middle of the eighteenth century or later. A sasine of 1632 gives possession of an acre of land called 'Sanct Ninianes aiker' bounded on the west by the lands of Mutrayeshill and on the east by the common highway.<sup>3</sup> Another and less savoury description of the hamlet is 'the Beggar Row.' It appears as an alternative on Gordon's plan; but further allusion will be made to this at a later stage.

Little by little the hamlet grew. At first a few houses clinging to the precincts of St. Andrew's Port; then gradually gripping the foot of the 'Craig' and winding round towards the north, to the fork of the road, one branch of which led to Leith, while the other climbing the ridge to the neighbouring hamlet of Moutrieshill led along the 'Lang Dyke' to Kirkbraehead and the west. The line of this latter branch is clearly shown on a 'site-plan' of the General Register House, dated about 1769; and vestiges of the road itself still exist behind the houses in Leith Street. By 1647 there were houses on both sides of the highway; and by 1742 dwellings and shops extended along the North Back of Canongate on the side nearest the rock, making contact at the west end with the 'Lagh Calton.'<sup>4</sup> With this exception, the hamlet was isolated and constituted a separate entity. Its nearest

<sup>1</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Commissariat of Edinburgh: *Testaments*.

<sup>3</sup> Part. Reg. Sasines, Edinburgh, xix., fol. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Edgar's Plan.

neighbours, outwith the burgh, were Greenside, a place for tournament and sport from 1456, and only built over within the last 150 years; the lands of Lochbank, *alias* Halkerston's Croft, *alias* Whitecroft, lying beside the North Loch; and the hamlet and lands of Moutrieshill. This last figures in more than one skirmish between the 'King's men' and the 'Queen's men': 10th July 1571, the town's men of war came forth 'about Mowtrayis on the hill' with horses and footmen, at which time the dwellers in the town of Edinburgh came out at the Netherbow to the Abbey purposing to cut them off, but the soldiers under Captain Mitchell's charge 'met them half gait and chased thame in againe.'<sup>1</sup> It was no small 'toun,' for in 1602 Alexander Halbert, gardener 'besyd Mowtrayis of the hill,' paid rent for 25 acres of land, and had 500 loads of 'fuilzie' to dispose of.<sup>2</sup> 'Mowtries tries,' already referred to, must have been on the summit of the ridge, for some soldiers 'wer sent fourth to Mowtrais of the hill, and thair hanged, that thei of Leith nicht sie.'<sup>3</sup>

By the year 1631 the village of Calton had evidently grown to such size and importance as to demand special notice from its overlord; it constituted an equal, if not a rival, to its fellow at the other end of the barony. Craftsmen and tradesmen had congregated in it in such numbers that in that year Lord Balmerino granted a seal of cause, incorporating them in one society. In 1673 a further stage was reached, by a charter from the Crown erecting the two communities into one burgh of barony under the designation of Easter and Wester Restalrig; and in 1725 the Town of Edinburgh procured a charter of the lands of Caltoun, Back of Canongate, Yardheads of Leith, lands of Caltounhill, and mills on the Water of Leith, all which were disjoined from the Barony of Restalrig and united to the Common Good of the Burgh

<sup>1</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Commissariat of Edinburgh: *Testaments* (29 July 1602).

<sup>3</sup> Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 232.

of Edinburgh. There is no indication in the charter that any Barony of Calton was thereby constituted; but these subjects were thereafter administered by the magistrates of Edinburgh as a 'barony' in the same fashion as the baronies of Canon-gate and Portsburgh. When the 'village' of Leith was annexed to the Good Town in 1587, it was erected into a burgh of barony. The 'Barony of Calton' is perhaps to be regarded as something of a legal fiction.

It is not the intention of this article to deal exhaustively with the various properties that were embraced within the Barony of Calton; for such a survey would demand much longer research than it has been possible to devote to it. An attempt is rather made to sketch with some degree of fulness the life and habits of the community occupying the Burgh of Barony of Calton or Wester Restalrig itself; and the material is for the most part derived from the Minute Books and other papers of the Incorporated Trades of Calton, which are preserved in the City Chambers, and for convenient access to which the writer is deeply indebted to the kind offices of the Lord Provost and the Town Clerk. A certain amount of information is also furnished by articles that have already appeared in previous publications of the Old Edinburgh Club; and to the contributors all due acknowledgments are hereby expressed. Special thanks are accorded to Miss M. Wood, Mr. Robertson (Depute Town Clerk), and Mr. John Russell, for helpful advice and assistance.

The Records of the Incorporated Trades of Calton consist chiefly of Minutes of Meetings, in 11 volumes, beginning on 13th September 1723, and ending on 31st July 1845. There is also a volume dating from 1st November 1689 to 3rd August 1797, containing some minutes of meetings, but later resolving itself into a register of admissions of freemen. Another volume is described as the 'Baron Court Book of Calton,' and extends from 3rd June 1727 to 6th May 1847. Box-masters' Account Books, in connection with the management

of house property, extend from 1709 to 1832. Besides the lists of freemen already referred to, there are further lists to 1816; and a Letter Book covers the period 1830 to 1860. Journals, Ledgers and Scroll Minute Books, and loose papers in two tin boxes complete the series. Among the Burgh Records there is also preserved the Chartulary of Calton, in five volumes, dating from 24th June 1747, and containing a record of the properties feued or disposed to vassals.

From these and other records, and with the aid of a little volume prepared in 1887 by Mr. W. S. Irvine, Clerk to the Incorporation, an effort is here made to give some account of the rise, progress, and vicissitudes of the 'Society of the Incorporated Trades of Calton.'

#### THE INCORPORATED TRADES OF CALTON

The Incorporation of Calton owes its origin to a Deed of Gift by John, Lord Balmerino, in the year 1631, an extract of which is preserved among the Charters of the City of Edinburgh. It is in the following terms:—

'Be it kend to all men be thir present letters me John Lord of Balmerino Baron of the Barony of Restalrig Forsoemeickle as my tennents dwelling in that part of my said barony called the Craigend lying outwith Leith Wynd port viz. Robert Rule Robert Lennox Henrie Elphinston Robert Somervail Ninian Somervail John Blaikie William Lockhart William Black John Gib William Thomson and John Thomson William Sowermerton John Campbell Alexander Caithness Archbald Young hes heavielie regrated and shewen to me that they are oppressit and troubled be craftsmen of diverse trades who resorts and works within the bounds quhar my saids tennents dwelles and makes ther remaineing and abod within the samen to the great hurt and prejudice of my saids tennents dwelling within the bounds above-spezifit For the remead wherof they have humblie petitioned me to suffer and licentiat to exact and collect of every new intrant or tradesman of whatsoever calling and vocation he be of befor he be admitted to work in any part of the bounds abovewritten the soum of six pound

Scots to be put in an box and keiped thereintill for the help and supplie of the poor and decayed persones within the saids bounds and otherwayes employed to such other good uses as shall be found most meitt and expedient and that at my sight or the sight of the Baillzie of my said barony present and to come : And I finding the forsaid petition most reasonable and nowayes prejudiciall to any person Therfor I be thir presents gives and grants full power liberty and permission to the present inhabitants tradesmen within my bounds abovespecifeit to exact and collect from every new intrant or incomer of quahatsomever trad or vocation befor any libertie be granted to them or any of them to work within the bounds forsaid the said soum of entrie sylver of six pound Scots money quihilk shall be putt and kept in an box be my saids tennents to the use abovewritten And ordaines my Baillie of my said barony of Restalrig present and to come to concurr and assist my saids tennents in exacting and uplifting of the soum forsaid in all tyme comeing frae the saids new intrants or tradesmen, the boxmaster keiper of the said box being allwayes comptable to me and my Baillzie of the soumes of money exacted and to be uplifted to the use above mentioned : Ordaineing also thir presents to be insert and registrat in the court books of the said barony *ad futuram memoriam* : In witness quherof I have subseryved thir with my hand att Edinburgh the twintie on day of December the yeir of God j<sup>m</sup> vj<sup>o</sup> threttie on yeirs befor thir witness John Bannatyne son to John Bannatyn writer heirof James Libertoun John Maxwell servitor to Mr Joseph Johnston Robert Hog son to Thomas Hog James Paterson servitor to my Lord Balmerino : John Maxwell witnes, Rot. Hog witnes, Ja. Paterson witnes.'

And it is narrated in the extract that 'At Caldtoun the 7th day of January 1632 years, the which day Mr. John Elphinston bailie of the barony of Restalrig being sitting in judgment in a baron court fenced and holden by him in the dwelling house of Robert Rule in Caldtoun,' there compeared personally the said Robert Rule and other persons abovenamed (William Thomson being here called William Sampson), 'tennents to a noble lord John Lord Balmerino of his lordships houssis and chops in the Caldtoun *alias* the Craigend,' for themselves and in name and behalf of the remanent tenants and craftsmen dwelling therein, and produced 'the gift and patent' sub-

scribed by the said noble Lord in their favour, desiring that it might be registered in his Lordship's barony court book ; whereupon the bailie ordered it to be recorded. The Extract was made and signed by Mr. Robert Mitchelson, who was clerk to the Incorporation between the years 1689 and 1697.

Though no record has been preserved of the 'Society's' meetings and transactions until the year 1689, and much interesting and important material has thus been lost, there is abundant evidence in the earliest extant records that the Incorporation had been exercising its privileges and discharging its benevolent tasks for a long period of time. This will be shown later, as its various activities are reviewed in detail. The colony, however, had its vicissitudes during the course of the seventeenth century. It was visited in 1643 for the purpose of obtaining recruits for the Covenanting army ; and the 'fencible persones' so obtained (between the ages of 16 and 60) would duly make their way to the rendezvous on the Links of Leith.<sup>1</sup> A more dread visitation occurred in 1645, when the pestilence carried off 155 of the inhabitants of Craigend.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the event of greatest importance, however, which took place in the colony was the granting by the Crown on 6th June 1673 of a Charter in favour of John, Master of Balmerino, confirming his right to the lands and barony of Restalrig (with other lands), and of new granting the same to him ;<sup>3</sup> and the Signature for the charter proceeds in the following terms :—

'And furer his Majestie understanding that the toun of Restalrige and the toun of Caldtoun being a pairt and pendicle of the said barronie of Restalrig by reasoun of the place and situation therof will be very usefull and affurd much good and profeit to diverse of his Majesties leidges if the same wer erected in ane frie brugh of barronie, therfor and for better police to be had within the said kingdome and for certaine other good causes . . . maks constituts creats and erects the saids

<sup>1</sup> *South Leith Records*, i. p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Register of the Great Seal.

touns of Restalrig and Caltoun with the lands howses yeards and pertinents therof in ane frie brugh of barrony to be called in all tyme coming the brugh of barrony of Easter and Wester Restalrig . . . and commits to the inhabitants of the said touns of Restalrige and Caldoun alias Easter and Wester Restalrigs present and to com (who sall be admitted and receaved be the said John, Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids frie burgeses of the said touns) full power frie facultie privileg licence and libertie of buying and selling wein wax pitch glowe cloth brood and narrow woolen and linning and all wther kynde of merchant wair and staple goods and to pak and peell within the said touns and privilegedes therof with full power to the said John, Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids to have and hold baxters maltmakers fletchers fishmongers tayllours shoemakers wrychts smiths saidlers cutlers weavers and all uther craftsmen and mechaniks necessar to whom it shall be leisum to use and exers ther airts and tredds sickelyke and als freely as anie other craftsmen hes doen or may doe within the said kingdome, and als with full power and libertie to the said John, Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids yeerly to elect nominat creat and inpuitt baillies treasurers clarks serjants and all other officars necessar for goverment of the said brugh of barrony in tyme comeing, and sikelyke to build ane tolbuith and mercat croce within the said brugh of barrony in such places as the said John, Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids shall thinke fitt: and in lyke maner to have hold use celebrat and keep ane mercat day weekly wpon Thursday and three free fairs yeerly within the said brugh of barrony the first wpon the first Teusday of March, the secound upon the first Thursday of May, and the third wpon the last Thursday of October yeerly, and each of the saids fairs to endure for the space of five days with the privileged of ane publict mercat at the saids fairs and to wplift collect and receive all the customes dewties casualities and other profits therof: and with power to the saids baillies (who are to be admitted in maner foresaid) to hold burrow courts weekly in the said brugh of barrony wpon such days and sua oft as shall seem expedient to them and the said John Maister of Balmerinoch or his foresaids: and lykeways with power to the saids baillies with consent of the said John Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids to nominat creat and constitut clerks serjants demsters officars and all other members of court needfull to punish transgressours according to law to uplift the escheats unlaws and amerciements of court and if need beis to poynd and distringie therfore and to apply the

same to ther own uses, and in lyke maner with power to the saids baillies with consent of the saids John Maister of Balmerinoch and his foresaids to make lawes and statuts for the good of the said brugh and to attatch arreist incarcerat and punish transgressours within the said brugh of barrony according to the lawes of the said kingdome, and sickelyke to use and exerse all and sundrie uther liberties and privilegedes sicklyke and als freely as at any tyme bygone hath bein given and granted to any other brugh of barrony within the said kingdom or that any other brugh of barrony hes used and exerced or may use and exerce by the lawes and practise of the said kingdome.'

Whatever may have been the practice of the Restalrig section of the Burgh of Barony in consequence of this charter, there is no doubt that the Calton section made large use of its new privileges. The 'Society' became to all intents and purposes magistrates of the place; as Irvine puts it, 'The office-bearers or managers of the Incorporation were the local authority and executive within the bounds of the burgh. The managers undertook the usual departments of a police system, including watching, lighting, and cleaning the streets, upholding the roads and the public wells, etc.' Burgesses were created; officers were appointed; a tolbooth and prison were erected. In all these respects, at least, the functions of a Burgh of Barony were maintained; and although the records make no specific mention of markets or fairs, sundry acts relating to 'stallangers' may indicate the holding of markets, weekly or at longer intervals. The only period that might be deemed a 'fair' was the annual observance of 'Beltane day,' varying between the 2nd and 6th of May. All its records, however, clearly show that the Society never lost sight of its original constitution and purpose; all its activities are subservient to the maintenance of its trading privileges, and provision for its poor and infirm members. It thus occupied a somewhat unique position, and might be defined as a Friendly Society with magisterial powers over the community in which it operated.

In 1722 the Good Town cast envious eyes on the growing suburb of Calton, and entered into negotiations with Lord Balmerino for its purchase. The price to be paid for 'the superiority of Caldtoun, Back of the Canongate, and Yard-heads of Leith, and the property of the Caldtoun Craigs and Leith Mills' was submitted to arbitration; and decree was given that the sum of £49,000 Scots was to be paid for the above subjects, with four acres of Harts Knows and some other small additions. Thereupon John, Lord Balmerino, with consent of James, Master of Balmerino, granted Disposition on 16th and 17th December 1724; and a few days later the sum of £3090, 14s. 11d. sterling, being the balance of the total purchase price of £4083, 6s. 8d. sterling (upon which interest had been paid at 5 per cent.), was paid over. The Town immediately entered into the exercise of their 'baronial' rights by appointing Bailie Duncan Campbell to be Bailie of the Barony of Caldtoun and pertinents thereto belonging till Michaelmas next, and George Irving, W.S., to be Clerk to the said barony during the Council's pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

On 22nd June 1725 a Crown Charter of Resignation was procured granting and confirming to the City of Edinburgh in perpetuity the above subjects 'with the hail tenements houses biggings yards orcheyards breweries maltbarns parts pendicles and pertinents of the said hail lands,' together with the 'hail corn mills and other mills situat and built upon the Water of Leith belonging to John Lord Balmerino or James Master of Balmerino near the Town of Leith with the mill lands thirlage astricted multures,' etc., as presently possessed by Margaret Wallace, widow of Robert Cook, late tacksman thereof; 'and which Town of Caldtoun and pertinents is a part and pendicle of the Barony of Restalrig and the same is erected with the said Town of Restalrig into one free burgh of barony of Easter and Wester Restalrig' by Gift dated 6th June 1673: 'and furdur his Majesty . . . has disunited

<sup>1</sup> Town Council Minutes.

dissolved and disjoined and by the tenor hereof disunites dissolves and disjoines the lands mills thirlage multures tynds and others principally above disponed from the Barony of Restalrig and Burgh of Barony thereof and unites annexes and incorporates the same to the common good of the said burgh of Edinburgh in all time coming.'<sup>1</sup>

The Town immediately found itself up against a vested interest, and there arose a certain amount of friction between the Society and its new superiors. The latter found that they could not just make a clean sweep of existing things; for the Society flourished its 'Deed of Gift' and clung tenaciously to its 'rights.' The following excerpts from the Minutes exemplify their jealousy and vigilance:—

1726 May 9: the boxmaster reported that the Bailie 'was wanting a sight of our paton from my Lord Ballmirno to the Place,' and the masters considering the danger that may follow by giving their patent into the hands of the magistrates of Edinburgh, they appoint the boxmaster to register it in the 'general regestar,' and to take legal advice.

1726 June 3: the boxmaster reported that he went up to the town and communed with the bailie 'anent our paton,' who desired that an abstract of the accounts be drawn out and given to him 'in order to strengthen our paton,' which the masters thought not improper: and also reported legal advice 'that we should keep wp the principall paton from them unless we wer compeled therto.'

1726 August 12: the boxmaster reported that Mr Irving told him that the Treasurer would not receive the feu-duty until the Town Council understood upon what footing the Incorporation of Calton stood at: and the Bailie is to be informed so that he may have somewhat to answer in behalf of the Calton Trades.

1727 April 29: at 5 o'clock afternoon, the boxmaster and keymasters with some of the neighbourhood called in (to the number of 15) for advice, being assembled, the boxmaster 'presented a memoriall given him be Ballie Flint our ballie in which memoriall it appears that the Councell of Edinburgh his a meind to question the suffishancie of our paton, also the managment of the publick funds,' but the saids

<sup>1</sup> Register of the Great Seal.



masters with the advice of Mr Ritchie agree 'that the boxmaster according to his apoyntment my go up at twelve a clock a Monday and signefy to the ballie that he did call some of the neighbourhood together whos meind it was to knou of our ballie what the Councell of Edinburgh would have us to doe, and to pretend ignorance of the memoriall and creave the Councalls meind in wreitting.'

1727 May 22: meeting at 6 o'clock of the boxmaster and whole neighbourhood in the Convening House, anent the considering 'the explaining' of the powers and privileges granted or to be granted to the Society of Craftsmen in Caltoun by the Town of Edinburgh our present superiors (here the entry stops).

By this time the Society had presented a formal petition to the Town Council, who enacted thereupon as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

1727 June 2: The which day the Lord provost bailies council deacons of crafts ordinary and extraordinary being convened in Council, Anent a Petition given in for the boxmaster and assistants of the Caltoun thereto subscribing for themselves and in behalf of all the inhabitants there, shewing that by a grant from Lord Balmerino and by sundry acts and ordinances of the baron court of Caltoun for time out of mind they have been in use to proceed and act as a society, to levy and ingather 'upsetts and entry moityes from entrants to the use of their poor and to other uses concerted and agreed on by the baillie, to choise a boxmaster and assistants, and to administrate their affairs according to rules thereby laid down under the controll of the baillie; that of late doubts and difficulties have arisen touching the import and meaning of the powers and priviledges used and enjoyed by them, that an explanation of such doubts and difficulties appears necessary and expedient, and they bring their caice before the honourable Council to the end directions may be given to their baillie for making such a plan or schem as may be a rule for their government and administration for hereafter and so as it may be consistent both with the right of superiority and jurisdiction of the barony belonging to the City of Edinburgh and with the rights granted to their petitioners.' The Council empowered David Flint, their baillie of the said barony, to 'settle and explain.'

The result was that the following Act of the Baron Court was issued; and as it is virtually a reconstitution of the Society,

<sup>1</sup> Town Council Minutes.

and embodies Rules for its management and administration, it is here given at some length<sup>1</sup>:—

'Att Caldton the third day of June one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven years' the which day Mr David Flint baillie of the Barony of Caltoun alias Wester Restalridge sitting in judgment, considering that several doubts and difficulties have arisen touching the import and meaning of the rights and privileges granted by my Lord Balmerino to the inhabitants residing in Caldton and touching their use and exercise thereof which may be attended with consequences hurtful both to the City of Edinburgh and said inhabitants unless the same be explained settled and determined consistent with the jurisdiction and right of superiority of Caldton belonging to the said City and the rights belonging to the said inhabitants: And in terms of the act of Council dated 2nd instant: The said Bailie hereby statutes and ordains that under the limitations and conditions aftermentioned the erection of the inhabitants of Caldton into a Society shall hereafter subsist and endure in favour of the present constituent members thereof and their successors who shall be thereunto admitted and received in manner hereby provided:

I. That the said Society shall hold and enjoy all the heritage debts and sums of money to them belonging or that shall arise to them by any of the funds after mentioned or any other manner of way whatever:

II. Funds are to be applied for payment of debts, sustaining the poor, and such other uses as the Bailie shall agree to for the good of the Society:

III. Society to be managed by a boxmaster and 12 assistants under the control of the Bailie:

IV. Election of office-bearers to be on first Thursday of May yearly:

V. Boxmaster to be chosen out of a list of three given in by the Bailie to the Society:

VI. Bailie to choose 12 assistants out of the Society's list of 24:

VII. No person to continue boxmaster or assistant above two years together.

VIII. Members to have liberty to assemble for management of the funds, for trying intrants, and for concerting propositions to be laid before the Bailie for his approbation:

<sup>1</sup> It is printed *in extenso* in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*.

IX. To meet on the first Thursday of each quarter for making lists of pensions and supplies, and examining boxmaster's accounts :

X. Boxmaster's accounts to be laid before the Bailie on the day of the election to be approven or disapproven :

XI. Boxmaster to make good to the Society such articles as shall be disapproven :

XII. Not lawful to have or use any clerk but the clerk to the barony or his deputes, at any meeting :

XIII. All the Society's writings to be written by the clerk or his deputes :

XIV. Clerk's fee for indentures £2, for booking 7/ :

XV. No person to use any craft or employment until they obtain a right from the Bailie :

XVI. Freemen to be examined before admission :

XVII. Unfreemen's entry money to be £40 Scots :

XVIII. Entry money for sons or sons-in-law of freemen, £18 Scots :

XIX. Prentices who shall be booked within forty days after the date of their indentures, to pay £20 Scots :

XX. Prentices not booked, to forfeit the benefit :

XXI. Bailie's dues £4 Scots at admission of every freeman, Clerk's dues £1 10/ Scots :

XXII. Every freeman to pay 16/ Scots yearly, by quarterly instalments :

XXIII. Clerk's fees for attending the annual elections, £15 Scots :

XXIV. No apprentice to be made freeman until he serve as a journeyman for two years ; but he is not limited to serve in the Calton.

The above Act was read at every Beltane meeting until 4th May 1769 inclusive, except as modified by another Act of the Baron Court dated 27th August 1756. Certain further modifications were introduced by Acts of the Town Council dated 6th September 1769, 11th February 1801, 11th August 1813, 9th May 1821 and 14th September 1831 ; but as adequate reference will be made to these under their respective groups, no more need be said here, except to intimate that all later

citation of Rules, *e.g.* Rule I., Rule II., etc., has reference to the above Act of 1727.

These later enactments are virtually new Seals of Cause, and are sometimes so referred to in the Minutes. They were afterwards ordered to be printed for convenience of members :—

1760 August 7 : Represented that it would be greatly for the good of the Place and for the several members thereof in particular that the acts appointed to be observed by the Society should be printed, and several copies thereof to be cast off : unanimously agreed, and a committee to ' consider of the most proper acts to be made out by the clerk so as the same may be forthwith printed.'

1774 June 30 : Account due to David Willison for printing the Act of the Town Council of Edinburgh dated 6 Sept. 1769 in favour of the Incorporated Trades of Calton, constituting them into a Society or Incorporation : £1. 10/.

1801 March 27 : William Forbes, depute clerk, presented account of expenses of obtaining the late Act or Seal of Cause from the magistrates and Council of Edinburgh, superiors : £6. 16. 2½, and he is to get 5 guineas extra for his trouble.

A number of prints of the Acts of 1813 and 1821 still survive.

That some misunderstanding still continued as between the Town and its vassal is evidenced by the following item :—

1730 December 2 : Reported there was six years' fen duty resting by the ' publick ' to the town of Edinburgh : the masters ordered the boxmaster to pay the bygone dues, and in case the Treasurer should refuse the money, the boxmaster to ' instrument him for not accepting the same.'

The names under which the Society was familiarly known were various :—' the Society of Trades of Calton,' ' the Incorporated Trades,' ' the Trades,' ' the Place,' ' the Gate,' ' the Publick.' It was a very self-contained and self-reliant organism indeed. Its functions, as has been said, were

numerous; and for the reader's convenience the following classification is adopted, in treating of its activities in greater detail:—

Constituents; Office-bearers; Meetings; Trade Privileges; Burgh Administration; Burying Ground; Other Revenues; Care of the Poor; Education; Relations with South Leith Kirk-session; Miscellaneous.

## I

The 1631 Deed of Gift, although it furnishes the names of sundry 'tenants' of Lord Balmerino in Craigend, and in one sentence alludes to them in a general way as 'tradesmen,' does not condescend on the particular crafts or trades which were represented by the petitioners. There is nothing to show that the various crafts or trades had separate corporate entity, and that the 'incorporation' implied the binding together of sundry societies of craftsmen or tradesmen. There is of course the mention in 1554 in the Register of Holyrood of cordiners and tailors plying their craft outwith St. Andrew's Port; but it is evident that the allusion is not to organised societies, but rather to individual artisans to whom the opportunity was afforded of joining with organised societies in subscribing to the funds and benefiting from the ministrations of their respective patron saints. It is not possible, therefore, to tell in what proportions the various crafts and trades were represented in this community during the earlier period of its existence; only here and there among the public records is there any indication of the occupations followed in this small suburb of Edinburgh during the seventeenth century. These mention bakers (1646, 1657); brewer (1692); clubmaker (1657); cordiner (1646); dagmaker (1657); locksmith (1646); lorimer (1646); shoemaker (1646, 1692); smith (1686, 1692). The enumeration of crafts in the 1673 Crown Charter is of course couched in the customary phraseology of such documents, without relation to any particular

area. There is fortunately, however, in the earliest volume of the Calton Society's books a comprehensive list of 'The names of the friemen of the Incorporation of Craigend taken up upon the 24 of July 1696.' It contains 95 names, with a note of the crafts and trades represented. The subsequent record of admissions of freemen furnishes many more varieties of occupation; and to save space the following analysis is subjoined, indicating the state of crafts and trades as at 1696, and the number of admissions during the four quarters of the eighteenth century.

	1696	1697-1720	1721-50	1751-75	1776-97
Armourer . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..
Baker . . . . .	6	15	13	6	7
Barber & Wigmaker . . . . .	1	6	3	1	1
Bellfounder . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..
Bookseller . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Brewer . . . . .	7	26	27	14	1
Bricklayer . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Candlemaker . . . . .	..	..	..	1	2
Clockmaker . . . . .	..	..	1	1	..
Confectioner . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1
Cooper . . . . .	1	1	4	5	..
Cordiner . . . . .	14	51	44	1	..
Corkcutter . . . . .	..	..	..	2	1
Cutler . . . . .	..	1	1	..	..
Dyster . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..
Farmer . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..
Feltmaker . . . . .	2	..	..	..	..
Founder . . . . .	..	5	6	5	1
Gardener . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Glazier . . . . .	..	1	1	1	..
Glover . . . . .	1	2	1	..	..
Goldsmith . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..
Gunsmith . . . . .	2	1	..	..	..
Hairdresser . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Hammerman . . . . .	1	..	1	..	..
Hatter . . . . .	..	2	..	..	..

	1696	1697-1720	1721-50	1751-75	1776-97
Heelmaker . . . . .	3	1	9	2	4
Joiner . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..
Lastmaker . . . . .	..	2	3	1	..
Litster . . . . .	2	..	1	..	..
Lorimer . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..
Mason . . . . .	1	5	9	6	3
Merchant . . . . .	..	1	1	9	3
Painter . . . . .	..	..	1	2	1
Perfumer . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Plumber . . . . .	..	..	..	1	2
Printer . . . . .	..	..	..	..	2
Reedmaker . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..
Saddletreemaker . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Sailor . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Shipmaster . . . . .	..	..	..	2	..
Shoemaker . . . . .	24	2	6	34	41
Silkweaver (or Silkdyer) . . . . .	..	1	..	1	..
Skinner . . . . .	..	1	..	..	..
Slater . . . . .	1	4	4	2	2
Smith . . . . .	12	17	22	15	14
Staymaker . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..
Surgeon . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1
Tailor . . . . .	4	2	4	4	4
Tanner . . . . .	..	..	1	1	..
Vintner . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..
Watchmaker . . . . .	1	..	..	1	..
Weaver . . . . .	1	2	..	..	..
Whiteironsmith . . . . .	..	..	..	3	..
Wright . . . . .	8	9	6	4	6
Writer . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..
No occupation stated . . . . .	..	2	4	14	14
Totals . . . . .	92	164	176	144	118

The above table shows that the preponderance of intrants was in the first half of the eighteenth century. The most numerous class is that of shoemakers and cordiners (preference is given to the latter appellation for a time), with a total of

217; while the next largest class, wrights and smiths, has a total of 113, or including the founders, 130. Next come bakers, with a total of 47.

Despite the 1554 licence relative to the tailor craft, its membership was never large, so far as existing records show. Masons furnish a larger proportion. Of brewers there settled within the bounds a fair number, during the heyday of the Incorporation.<sup>1</sup> Among the worthies who grace the list of freemen are a farmer and three men of the sea; and one must not omit the bookseller and the two printers. The bookseller was none other than William Laing (1796), father of David Laing the antiquary; and the printers were David Willison (1785) and Andrew Simpson (1795). In 1799 Archibald Constable, 'bookseller in Edinburgh,' is admitted in right of above David Willison, his father-in-law; and Willison and William Blackwood, 'bookseller,' are appointed essaymasters to him.<sup>2</sup>

The burgess-rolls of many cities contain the names of individuals who, on account of political and social services, have received the distinction of honorary burgesses. The Incorporation of Calton could not afford to be so lavish with its favours; but its membership was recruited extensively in later times from tradesmen and others who were not resident in Calton, but who were doubtless attracted by the advantages it afforded in respect of provision for declining years, and particularly the reduced rates of purchase of burial ground. In 1791 (when there was a revision of rules), instead of the customary ones and twos applying for admission, there were

<sup>1</sup> One was Alex. Montgomery of Sloss (1715).

<sup>2</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography* does not furnish the parentage of William Blackwood, but simply states that 'the circumstances of his parents were very moderate.' As an essaymaker would in all likelihood be a freeman, it is noteworthy that on 28th March 1799 three brothers, Thomas, William and John Blackwood, 'merchants in Edinburgh,' were admitted to the freedom in right of their father, Alexander Blackwood, freeman shoemaker in Calton, who was admitted freeman on 7th November 1765. Does this solve the problem of William's ancestry?

on 30th June thirteen applicants, of whom seven were strangers; on 15th July nine, of whom seven were strangers; and on 28th July six, of whom five were strangers. Thereafter the composition of the Society became increasingly cosmopolitan.

The conditions of admission to membership are indicated by the Rules of 1727 already set forth. By Rule XVII every stranger (or 'unfreeman') seeking admission to the privileges of the Incorporation had to pay £40 Scots money. Although in 1631 the payment was only £6 Scots, it is likely that owing to perennial causes, such as the increased cost of living and the raising of the social standard, the figure either progressively or *per saltum* reached the above height in 1727.

The usual concessions were made to apprentices who entered in right of their masters, and relatives who entered in right of father or wife. In 1727 the sum for admission of apprentices was fixed at £20 Scots, and that for relatives at £18 Scots. Thereafter from time to time, as charitable demands on the Society's funds increased, augmentation was made on the dues for admission: in 1769 the strangers' entry money was raised from £3, 6s. 8d. sterling (the equivalent of £40 Scots) to £5, 6s. 8d. sterling (that is, £64 Scots); apprentices £3, 6s. 8d. sterling; relatives £2, 6s. 8d. (£28 Scots). In 1791 these sums were respectively increased to £14, 6s. 8d., £6, 6s. 8d., £3, 6s. 8d.; and in 1813 they rose to £40, 6s. 8d., £10, 6s. 8d., and £8, 6s. 8d. After that the situation became complicated owing to the introduction of an age qualification (for reasons hereafter dealt with); but in 1821 the minimum payments were £40, £25, and £10; and in 1831 by some modifications the figures were almost equalised, standing at £26, 5s.; £22, 11s. 6d.; and £21.

In addition to the payment of this entry money, there were dues payable to the Baron Bailie, the Clerk, and the Officer. This however did not exonerate the newcomer from all further responsibility or expense; it was incumbent upon

every freeman to contribute regularly each quarter to the funds of the Society. Failure in this direction was sufficient in aggravated cases to disqualify him for further enjoyment of the privileges of membership. Time and again a defaulter's name on the list of freemen would be annotated thus, 'hes no pretensions to the place.' Sometimes however the Society was inclined to be merciful:

1745 May 30: James Gilchrist barber freeman was due his quarter accounts for thirteen years, and agreed to pay up the same, only pleaded he ought to have discount of £8 Scots in respect he had paid 10/ sterling for each mortcloth for the funerals of his two wives, whereas had he been considered as a freeman he would only be liable in £2 Scots for each mortcloth. The meeting agrees to give discount as above.

A rule was introduced in 1756 that any freeman three years in arrears with quarter payments should *ipso facto* lose his freedom; and this remained in force throughout the remaining period of the Society's existence.

When this quarterly payment was introduced, or what was the amount to begin with, cannot be stated; but in 1705 the Baron Bailie authorised an increase from 2s. to 4s., and the 1727 Constitution (Rule XXII) fixed the amount at 16s. Scots yearly, viz. 4s. per quarter. This continued unchanged to the end; the 1831 Book of Rules states it at 4d. sterling.

At his admission each freeman had the rules of the Society read to him, or in later years (after 29th March 1781) was presented with a printed copy. Candidates for the freedom were not always received with a unanimous vote. Sometimes the difficulty arose on financial grounds; at other times owing to the refusal of, or insufficiency of an 'essay.' Moral qualifications were strictly enquired into:<sup>1</sup>

1725 June 18: James Bisset cordiner craves to be admitted freeman as marrying a freeman's daughter, but in respect she had borne a child before marriage appoints him to pay £3 Scots which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts* (Burgh Records Society), p. 176.

makes £21 Scots, and appoints the boxmaster to apply to the Bailie for an act that any guilty of the like in time coming shall lose the benefit of entering under £40 Scots.

Similarly the privilege of freedom was sometimes surrendered:—

1784 March 30: Petition by John Watt, heelmaker, Calton, asking that the minute electing him as a freeman might be cancelled, particularly on account of his being about to leave this place. Minute rescinded.

An inflexible rule in all well-organised Trade Societies was the 'examination' of the candidate for membership (Rule XVI) by skilled members of the craft to which he belonged; this being known in common parlance as his 'essay.' It took a form appropriate to the craft professed: the 'say' prescribed to James Ronaldson, tailor (23rd March 1725), was 'the chaking a coat on the table,' and there are many instances of a similar kind where the craftsman demonstrated with his chalk the latest mode: *e.g.*, John Dounie (24th January 1756) to 'chalk a man's coat upon the floor.' Among essays for a wright were a 'bairn's chair,' 'a wooden cazement for a window,' 'a desk for the Calton convening house'; and a cooper's essay was 'two buckets.' The essay prescribed most frequently to a member of the baxter craft was 'a pie,' for the adjudging of whose merits there were doubtless a larger number of specialists than usual; and perhaps this would apply with still more truth to cases like the following:—

1750 May 31: The meeting being fully satisfied of the qualifications of Thomas Young, brewer at the Water of Leith, for exercising his business as a brewer, admitted him freeman.

On certain occasions an essay was dispensed with:—

1745 May 30: Petition from Walter Lawson, smith, to be admitted freeman; the meeting recommended to Henry Miln and Thomas Ainslie, smiths, to inspect a piece of Walter Lawson's work and report

the sufficiency thereof, and dispense with making an essay 'in respect he has formerly acted as a freeman in Leith and was found sufficiently qualified.'

Apparently in the following instance no volunteer offered to take the 'trial':—

1801 July 30: Petition for Rev. Robert Chalmers, minister of the Associated Congregation at Haddington, praying to be admitted freeman of the Society in right of James Chalmers, smith, freeman of Calton, his father; . . . 6 August, the meeting having resumed consideration of the petition of the Rev. Robert Chalmers, and having heard a petition from William M'Ewan, manufacturer in Edinburgh, desiring admission as freeman in right of his wife, the meeting appointed essaymasters to take trial of the qualifications of the said William M'Ewan, 'and dispensed with an essay from the other petitioner.'

More likely, however, a case of this kind came under the exception made in 1756 exempting those who were 'to carry on the business of merchandizing or such other business as does not require an essay.'

## II

The affairs of the Society were administered by an Executive consisting of the following Officers:—a Baron Bailie, Clerk, Boxmaster, Keymasters, and Assistants; and for sundry necessary purposes there were a Baron Officer (or Sergeant) and a Constable.

Under the feudal system the overlord of a barony, though frequently exercising his judicial rights in proper person, usually appointed a depute or 'bailie' to hold courts and attend to the collection of rents and the settlement of local disputes. Lord Balmerino in his Deed of Gift in 1631 directed his bailie to take the necessary steps to give effect to the provisions in favour of the Calton Trades; and from that time onward the successive bailies of the Barony of Restalrig had jurisdiction both in regard to the Society, and

the Burgh which came into being in 1673. These bailies in turn might appoint deputes; and on special occasions when neither bailie-principal nor bailie-depute was available, the feudal superior gave commission to some one to represent him and transact business on his behalf, which at a later stage the superior ratified:—

1708 May 1: 'I John Lord Balmerino doe hereby appoynt William Broun constable to be my baillie for being present at the electione of a boxmaister and keymaisters to the incorporatione in Caltoun on Thursday nixt, and this to continue no longer nor for no other end.'

Even this formality was dispensed with on occasion, and the Society was left to manage its own affairs:—

'Ane letter from Sir James Elphinstone baillie of the barrony of Restalrig to John Vint boxmaister: "Craighouse 3rd May 1706, Sir, In respect I cannot conveniently be present this day at the electione of your boxmaister and other office bearers, I allow yow and the incorporatione to proceed therein with due order and I shall approve it. As to any other your concernes I shall come down when ye please."''

The first Baron Bailie of whom there is mention was Mr. John Elphinstone, who in 1632 ordered the Deed of Gift to be recorded. When the Trades books begin, the chief functionary is simply referred to as 'the bailzie'; but from 1701 to 1721 Sir James Elphinstone of Logie held that office. His depute, James Elphinstone, writer in Edinburgh, occasionally acted for him; but whether the depute or one of those having special mandate was acting, there always followed a formal ratification by the Bailie principal. It will be noted that this office, during Lord Balmerino's régime, was assigned to some member of his own family. Sir James Elphinstone was succeeded by Sir John Elphinstone of Logie; but shortly thereafter the Calton section of the barony changed hands, and a few days after its purchase by the Town the magistrates appointed one of their number to act as Baron Bailie, viz. Bailie Duncan Campbell (who had also the superintendence of Canongate), and in October 1726

David Flint, late treasurer, was appointed Baron Bailie of Calton. During his term of office a Baron Court Book was commenced, which did duty till 1847, when the old régime was at vanishing point, and even then the volume was only half filled. It opens with the full text of the 1727 Constitution already referred to; but the next item is dated 1743, and concerns the borrowing of money to pay off a bond. There is little in the Court book that is not reflected in the more voluminous Minutes of the Trades, and the Court book as such has nothing in common with the usual record of a feudal barony. As has been already pointed out, the Barony of Calton and the interests of the 'burgh' were practically commensurate; so far as his judicial functions were concerned, it is clear that the Baron Bailie's control extended only to the enforcement of such measures as the Trades had devised and found difficulty in putting into effect. Only once, it would seem, was there any variance between the Baron Bailie and the Trades, and on that occasion the Bailie's wishes were overridden. Certain honorary duties were however assigned to the Town's representative under the 1727 deed of constitution; the details being modified from time to time.

The Clerk, like the Baron Bailie, was a neutral person, not subject to the annual changes which attended the other members of the executive; but unlike the Baron Bailie, he seems to have been eligible for the Society. He was not identical with the Clerk to the Barony of Restalrig. It was not lawful to employ any clerk but the Clerk to the Barony (*i.e.* of Calton), or his deputes at any meeting, and all the Society's writings were to be by the Clerk or his deputes.

When the record begins, the Clerk is Mr. Robert Mitchelson; he died in 1698, and in his testament is described as 'writer in Edinburgh.' His successor was James Elphinstone, also writer in Edinburgh, who recorded minutes from 1698 to 1705, and seems thereafter to have been appointed bailie-depute of the Barony of Restalrig, in which capacity he

attended many of the annual election meetings from 1707 to 1716. His own depute, Christopher Russell, keeps the record from 1702 to 1723, Elphinstone only writing occasional items after 1702; but as Russell never describes himself otherwise than clerk-depute, it is possible that Elphinstone retained the principal clerkship. From 1723 to 1727 the Clerk is Henry Clow, who writes as well as his predecessors, although he was by profession a barber in Calton, and held office for a time as constable.

In 1725 the Society 'voted for a new clerk and that he who should be chosen should be a public notary'; but they must have early departed from this resolution, or their selection proved unhappy, as witness some of these spellings (1731-1740):—*dllifered* (delivered), *exmenanied* (examined), *shashon* (session), *onamslay* or *onanmllsay* (unanimously), *congwnk* (conjoint), *sobjek* (subject), *abrewelments* (habilliments). Fortunately there are lucid periods. The main body of the later record is very well written.

Each feudal barony had attached to it a Baron Officer; and the Barony of Restalrig was no exception. One William Scot held office in 1684;<sup>1</sup> and the office continued to exist throughout the history of the Society. His primary function was 'to execute the orders of the court' (1727); but as these were comparatively rare, his ordinary function came to be more that of janitor and caretaker of the Convening hall, and on ceremonial occasions he appeared resplendent in uniform.

With regard to the managing body, or executive proper, it is interesting to note that the Society apparently indulged no superstitious fears, for throughout its long and prosperous history its management always consisted of thirteen persons. These were, a Boxmaster or Convener, two Keymasters, and ten Assistants or Managers; and when in 1819 a Treasurer was appointed, the number of Assistants was reduced to nine, thus leaving the total as before.

<sup>1</sup> Register of Privy Council, vol. ix. (3rd Ser.), p. 513.

## III

In the early days there were four statutory times of meeting: Beltane (varying from 2nd to 6th May); Lammas (1st to 2nd August); Hallowmas (1st to 2nd November); Candlemas (2nd to 4th February). At each of these terms there was the receiving of quarterly accounts, and the allocation of a proportion to the Society's poor, and for salaries to the clerk and officer. These days of meeting were confirmed by the new Constitution of 1727, and in addition (Rule VIII) the members were permitted to meet when occasion required, for the discharge of necessary business.

At the first meeting under the new régime the 'role of the whole members of the Society was called, and the act of court dated the 3rd instant to regulat the government and administration of the Society was read,' and thereafter the election proceeded. This roll call and reading of the above act became the practice. The first mention of prayers being said at the opening of meetings is in 1724, and this custom also became regular, and was ratified in 1756, though it was not always put on record. The times of meeting varied between 3 and 7 P.M., but there were occasional sederunts as early as 8 A.M., and from 9 to 11 in the forenoon. Notice of meetings was given to members by way of 'schedule' or 'billet' delivered by the officer; and supplies of these were at various dates ordered to be printed. It was seldom that meetings were postponed for want of a quorum, although this happened now and again in the later period; but the attendance varied considerably, and measures had early to be taken to ensure a prompt response to the intimation, and, incidentally, to swell the assets of the Society. This was done by the imposition of fines:—

1736 August 5: The boxmaster, keymasters and assistant masters considering that the affairs of the corporation are much neglected by the members their not punctual attending the meetings thereof,

therefore they did and hereby doe enact statute and ordain that every member or members who shall be half an hour behind the hour to which they are warned to attend the meeting of the corporation shall pay for every such transgression the sum of one penny sterling, and that every member who shall be absent from any meeting of the incorporation (they being thereto duly warned) without sending an excuse to the satisfaction of the meeting shall for every such transgression pay the sum of two pence sterling, and that the member so transgressing shall have no indenture booked in the Trades books or have any vote in any matter or thing relative to the affairs of the Trade till such time as he pay up all his absents and seros<sup>1</sup> to the boxmaster for the time being.

It was enacted in 1756 that each freeman absent on Beltane day must pay 6s. Scots (6d.) to the Boxmaster. The frequency of entries such as the following tells its own tale :—

1761 June 25 : Sero box opened in presence of the meeting, and found therein 5/6 sterling, which was paid in to the boxmaster and with which he is to charge himself.

Perhaps it was on account of inevitable debates about the 'margin of safety,' that in 1764 the Boxmaster represented 'that it would be proper to have a clock in the Convening house, and Mr. Farquharson, watchmaker, Edinburgh, is to furnish the same, as he was willing to enter freeman of the place, he paying entry money and ordinary dues, and he is to be paid a reasonable price for his clock.' The account for his eight-day clock came to £7, 7s. sterling; and an account for its repair two years later amounted to 6s.

The Rule in 1821 was that at every stated quarterly meeting the roll was to be called precisely at the hour of meeting, and each absentee was to pay a fine of 3d. sterling, while if absent altogether he was to pay 6d.; and the fines for indispensable office-bearers, such as Convener, Treasurer, Keymasters or Clerk, were 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. respectively for the like faults. Members in arrears with their quarterly payments were after 1765 deprived of their right to vote at the meetings.

<sup>1</sup> Fines for being late: Latin *sero* = late.

It is not to be expected that the meetings would always be harmonious; but it is to the credit of the Society that occasions of friction were, so far as the Minutes reveal, of rare occurrence. A rule of 1756 states that 'to prevent all confusion and indecency it is agreed that at the meeting of the boxmaster and masters no person shall speak without addressing himself to the boxmaster, and that none shall interrupt another when speaking, under penalty of 1s. Scots.' The fine in 1821 for disrespect to the chair was 5s. sterling. On one occasion, however, partisanship manifested itself, and the Town Council of Edinburgh had to give a decision on the matter. A complaint was made in 1763 by several of the freemen, who alleged infringement of the Rules of 1727 'by a party who for the past 20 years have continued in the management of the funds and affairs of the Society and re-elected the assistants in direct opposition to the said regulations, and that over the bellies of the petitioners.' They asserted that 'it was the common practice of the party complained upon, who were the present assistants, instead of meeting in the court hall as they ought, to convene their creatures in taverns without giving the least knowledge thereof to the petitioners until the very time of election.' This was countered by assertions that the management had been 'bettered' and the funds 'strengthened' under the care of the persons complained of; but the petitioners were requested to submit to a committee such proposals as they had to make for the proper management of affairs. Some of the meetings owed their origin to pressing public questions; but this phase of the Society's activities will be dealt with later.

The principal event of the year was the Beltane meeting, coinciding with the fair day appointed in the Barony charter. On this day the Boxmaster gave in his accounts, duly audited; the new Boxmaster and other officials were elected, the Baron Bailie tendering the oath; while the retiring Boxmaster

handed over the cash in hand and the various pertinents of the Society, which in early days consisted of 'the box and chests with six mortcloathes, the dead bell, green cloath, and the haill papers and other goods belonging to the Incorporation.' The green cloth is elsewhere described as 'ane grein table cloath.'

Irvine writes: 'In the years of prosperity, Belton day was the great annual holiday of the Burgh—the children were released from school—the High Court was held . . . the Baron Bailie presided with all due circumstance of pomp and ceremony—the Officer, resplendent in official gown with badge and wand, mounting guard.'

It had been the custom at the Beltane meeting to provide a banquet for the assembled members; and in 1782 provision was made for those members 'who would chuse to attend but whose circumstances will not admit of such expense,' by devoting a sum from the funds of the Society towards this end. At first the sum appropriated was 40s. sterling; in 1786 it was increased to five guineas, and in 1791 it was 'agreed to pay the expense of the annual treat to the Baron not exceeding seven pounds seven shillings sterling.' It remained at this figure for many years, but later was increased to ten guineas.

For the vagaries of the Calton burgher, whose adventures Chambers recounts in his remarks on the Cape Club, it would seem that one cannot hold the Beltane 'convivialities' responsible.

#### IV

As has been shown, it was the unfettered invasion of the colony by 'craftsmen of diverse trades who resorts and works within the bounds' that formed the subject of complaint by Lord Balmerino's tenants in 1631; and it was then enacted that every newcomer wishing to exercise his craft or profession within the bounds of Calton must pay down £6 Scots.

By so doing he seems automatically to have become a freeman of the Society, which at that time embraced all the 'inhabitants tradesmen' within the Barony. That some change gradually developed is however argued in a retrospect contained in a Memorial of 1840:—

'It is important to remark that while in 1631 the whole of Lord Balmerino's feuars and tenants were erected into a Society, which seems to have for a time at least comprised all the inhabitants tradesmen of the Barony, the rules of 1727 appear to take for granted that thenceforward the Society was not to be of so comprehensive a character. Accordingly, it is believed, it will be found that a practice was speedily introduced of exercising the exclusive privilege of trade conferred upon the Society by compelling to enter as members those only who did not choose to compound for the liberty of exercising their ordinary calling within the limits of the Barony, by payment of a small annual fine to the Incorporation. . . . The rule with regard to unfreemen working within the bounds of the Barony was somewhat varied, and stood thus in the regulations of 1769: "That it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to occupy or use any craft, employment or retailing within the Caltoun or its pertinents until they first obtain right so to do from the said boxmaster and assistants, with the advice of the Baron Bailie for the time." The omission from this rule of the words at the close of the corresponding Rule of 1727 that "upon obtaining such a right they shall thereby be members of the said Society" arose no doubt from the practice already referred to of compounding with unfreemen carrying on trade within the Barony.'

A similar rule to that of 1769 governed the Society's attitude towards unfree traders, until the year 1834, when the momentous step was taken of resolving 'to discontinue the exaction of money from unfreemen for liberty to carry on trade, for the ensuing year'; and the Memorial goes on to state that 'this resolution, to which no objection from any quarter was made at the time, has been tacitly acquiesced in ever since, but not renewed.' Irvine calls this 'the turning-point of the Incorporation,' and says that the Act of 1846 abolishing exclusive trading privileges in Burghs in

Scotland, 'though but the embodiment of growing public opinion, which had been anticipated by the resolution voluntarily passed by the Incorporation in 1834, had a most material effect in loosening the bonds which held the Incorporation together, and paving the way for its gradually falling into something like a Mutual Benefit Society, dignified with such prestige as may be gathered from antiquity and a time-honoured name.'

A few instances are here given of the exercise of the Society's privilege:—

1724 Sept. 22 : David Lurax, hatmaker, is selling ale in the place, and John Bennat, wigmaker, exercising his trade there; and they promised the boxmaster they would be satisfied to pay an acknowledgment if they remained here; the question delayed till Martinmas.

1739 Feb. 22 : Reported that a soldier belonging to the Castle had come to the place and taken up 'selling of ale and shewing of gloves'; the boxmaster is to acquaint the Bailie and take Clerk Irving's advice.

1746 May 29 : boxmaster to take 5/ sterling from David Wilson for liberty to sell ale for a year, otherwise to pursue him to give over business.

1755 Dec. 25 : Mrs. Montgomery has resided within the bounds of the Calton since Whitsunday last, and carries on a 'pretty good trade of retailing liquors'; a committee appointed to cite her before them and assess her for her trade; which committee reported on 29th December that they had received 12/ from her as the first annual payment.

Sometimes the Society's attitude was more unpromising:—

1757 Feb. 24 : It being represented that Thomas Stevenson, mason, an unfreeman, was building a house within the limits of Caldtoun, resolve to stop his work and also not to suffer him to take water from the Caltoun wells.

On several occasions the aid of the Baron was invoked to restrain encroachments:—

1745 May 30 : Ordered the boxmaster to apply to the Baron Bailie

for restraining William Hill, weaver, from carrying on trade in this place, in regard he is no freeman.

1745 July 25 : Ordered the boxmaster to pursue such persons in the neighbourhood as presume to carry on business in the place without entering for the freedom.

1757 March 31 : In regard John Cunningham, brewer, has not appeared to be admitted a freeman neither last sederunt nor this, authorise the boxmaster, keymasters &c. to give in a complaint to the Baron that he may be stopt from carrying on his trade.

The most outstanding effort at resistance of the Society's claims took place in 1822. Two parties, Messrs. Muir & Sons, brewers, North Back of Canongate, and John Greig, ironmonger, Calton, had refused payment, and the Incorporation presented a petition to the Sheriff craving him to decern them in the sum of £2, 2s. each 'as an assessment for having carried on business during the year from Belton 1821 to Belton 1822, neither of the parties being freemen of the Incorporation, and to interdict them from carrying on business within the bounds of the Barony and Incorporation of Calton in all time coming until they shall be legally entitled so to do by entering with the said Incorporation.' The Society was successful in its claim, and an appeal on behalf of the defenders was dismissed. Prior to this time, in 1803, a list of non-freemen in Calton had been made up, 'and the Society having considered the amount of the annual sum to be demanded from such unfreemen in time coming for liberty to carry on trade, unanimously agreed that the same shall not be less than one pound sterling per annum while they continue unfreemen.' A periodical visitation of the bounds was made, to round up defaulters.

The brewing of ale and baking of bread for domestic use was of course the privilege of all the inhabitants, and is only referred to here to indicate the conditions set down in the Town's feu-charters to its vassals in the Calton, which were as follows:—To grind the corn and malt to be baked, brewed,

or used by them or their tenants at 'our mills of the said barony called Leith Mills,' or else to pay 1½d. sterling to the Town for each barrel of ale so brewed by them; and it shall not be lawful to sell ale, beer or bread unless brewed and baked in the said barony by those who grind their malt, meal, and wheat at 'our said mills.'

The option of a 1½d. payment was in accordance with an offer made by the Town in 1727 to the brewers, that all who should 'by a deed in writing subject themselves to pay to James Donaldson, treasurer, a duty of 1½d. sterling for each barrel of ale or beer containing 34 gallons English measure . . . and who shall free the city from the use of and service at the said milns or upholding the same on account of the thirlage of their malt thereto, shall be allowed to have and enjoy the use of hand or steel milns for grinding their malt, and shall be exempted from grinding their malt at Leith Milns and payment of multure therefor.'<sup>1</sup>

Free craftsmen of Calton often found their interests prejudged by the employment of outsiders; and in 1764, upon the complaint by Alexander Miller, glazier and freeman of Calton, that 'for some time past a custom had prevailed of employing unfreemen to the great prejudice of the place,' a ruling was obtained in the Baron Court 'that the practice complained of is very prejudicial to the interest of the Incorporated Trades of Calton, and that those residing in the barony ought only to employ freemen of Calton to work within the same, provided they do the work as well and cheap as others of the same trade; and recommends to the boxmaster and assistants to see this act put into execution.'

In those days craftsmen regarded neighbouring rivals of kindred occupation with bitter jealousy, and snatched every opportunity of testing the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. As has been shown, the cordiners of Calton were

<sup>1</sup> Town Council Minutes (28th Apr. 1727).

no mean company, and in 1724 a somewhat amusing encounter took place between them and the Incorporation of Cordiners of Edinburgh. A brief sketch of the proceedings may be of interest. In December of that year David Owen, cordiner in St. Ninian's Row, and the fiscal, raised action in the Sheriff Court against Alexander Davidson and George Crinzean, shoemakers in Edinburgh, for having set upon him in September as he was coming up the High Street of Edinburgh 'to deliver a letter to a carryer,' and held him fast while they 'searched his pockets, and tore his cloathes, and took out of his pockets two pair of shoes, although he was neither speaking to any person, making any disturbance, or selling any shoes'; and thereafter they came to his house and threatened him with prison if he wrought further at his employment. This threat had been made before, and a protest had been made by certain other cordiners in St. Ninian's Row against the Edinburgh cordiners for trying to deprive the complainers of their livelihood; while the situation was further aggravated by one Alexander Cairnie, shoemaker in St. Ninian's Row, who had been employed to make a pair of shoes for 'my Lady Lauderdale,' being attacked as he was coming up to her lodging with them by John Brown, cordiner at the foot of Leith Wynd (a near enough neighbour!), who took the shoes out of Cairnie's 'vest pocket' and made off with them. In defence the Edinburgh brethren pled their charter, and asserted that the shoemakers in St. Ninian's Row 'had always been in use of procuring and taking the said incorporations licence and liberty for making shoes there,' so that in seizing the shoes they did only what they were entitled to do by their privilege. They also produced 'a list of payments made by the Cordiners of Calton and St. Ninians Raw,' instancing 'Received from John Hodge cordiner in St. Ninians Raw for his importation which continued twelve years four pound' (29th November 1695), and a large number of other receipts of the like nature, including

one from Owen himself. Forty years' uninterrupted possession and exercise of the privilege of 'seizing shoes imported into the good town by unfreemen off mercat day and mercat time, and of seizing of insufficient shoes whither made within or without the town,' was, they argued, enough to exonerate them. It was answered by the complainers that the payments referred to were in the nature of extortions, and also that all the defenders produced in support of their contention was an act of Town Council dated 1st February 1686, which only stated 'that no unfreeman bring any boots or shoes or other made work to sell in the freedom of this burgh but upon the Mundayes and present the same to the mercat in time and place appointed under the pain of escheat thereof.' From the foresaid clause it was 'as clear as sunlight' that made work thus imported was only escheatable if presented for sale out-with market day; but the sheriff depute's apparent leanings towards favouring the defenders caused the complainers to obtain advocacy to the Court of Session. In their petition the whole of the Calton cordiners insist that they are frequently attacked and searched when they have no shoes or other cordiner work about them, and in any case they apprehend there is no prohibition upon their bringing in goods already sold, so as to deliver them to their customers who may happen to be within the burgh at the time; otherwise 'no gentleman can wear shoes or boots within the town of Edinburgh that are made out of it, and by the same reason they might pretend to take gentlemen's boots or shoes off their feet because not made within the city, as to seize what they had bought or brought in by another man, for what is once bought and the price paid . . . is as much the buyers as if he had used it for seven years.' They also complained that the Edinburgh cordiners had assumed the power of appointing visitors to the market, who gave preference to their own retailers and ignored the Calton craftsmen, declaring their work insufficient. The Court decided that the Calton

cordiners might import their purchased work on any day of the week.

Each craftsman was of course entitled to employ an apprentice, subject to certain conditions and rules. One of these rules seems to have been that no master could take a new apprentice within two years of a former one:—

1691 Nov. 2: 'paid by John Straitton £3 for transgressing the act in taking a prentice within two yeirs of his former prentice.'

1704 Aug. 1: 'received from Thomas Wishart £4 fine for taking two prentices contrary to an act made against taking of two prentices within two years.'

This regulation was re-enacted in 1756 in these terms: 'No master to take an apprentice for at least two years after his former one is booked, except upon allowance from the masters, and to pay five merks for the indulgence.' A further rule of this date was that no freeman was to take an apprentice until the boxmaster or keymasters were present, and the indenture was to be written by the clerk of the barony. The clerk's fee for this was in 1727 'not to exceed £2 Scots,' and in 1813 he received 10s. 6d. sterling. 'Booking' was an additional process, namely, registration of the indenture in the Court or Trades books, which in 1769 meant 5s. to the Society, in 1791, 10s., and in 1813, 20s. Omission to 'book' within forty days of the indenture meant forfeiture of the benefit of reduced fees at the admission of apprentices to the freedom.

The period of service is never clearly stated, but it would seem from a reference in the 1813 rules that it extended over at least five years; and the 1727 rules appoint that no apprentice is to be admitted freeman until he has served two years as a journeyman, although he could serve in this capacity elsewhere than in Calton. Prior to obtaining this privilege, the apprentice had to produce from his master a discharge of indentures, costing 2s. in 1813 as clerk's fee.

Sometimes there was a grievance on one side or the other. In 1724 a widow complained that though her son, apprenticed to a cordiner, was by the agreement to receive 16d. for the first half year and 18d. for the second half year (it would seem weekly), his master was owing the whole of the first half year's wage and for two weeks of the second, 'and his wife abuses him with her tongue.' The masters (of the Incorporation) order him to pay for the fortnight, and to find surety for payment of wages during the running of the agreement, or set the lad at liberty. In the same year another master is accused of beating his servant, and also allowing his children to beat him, and he is asked either to set him free or to give him 'mate and work and coreckshon in measur.' The masters order him to give his apprentice 3s. Scots per pair for plain shoes, and for any shoes 'stiched about' 4d. sterling, and the apprentice is appointed to make for his master five pairs of shoes per week, 'and what he feals of in his performance he shall be obleidged to fulfill after his tyme is run.' An apprentice who left his master's service without just cause, or without giving a month's warning 'according to the act of trade,' was fined five merks. A more commendable instance is as follows :—

1744 August 30 : Petition by Daniel Campbell, clogmaker, who in winter last lost the use of his hand by an accident, and was unable to earn bread for himself and his family, has lately got an apprentice by whose assistance he hopes to be able to earn his living ; but as he is not a freeman, and has not the means to procure admission, he craves to be allowed to use the apprentice till Whitsunday next, when he hoped to be in a condition to enter freeman. The request was granted, in respect of his circumstances, 'until Whitsunday.'

[It is hoped to illustrate the second part of this article, which will deal with the extent and administration of the Burgh, the Burying Ground, Charitable Provisions, etc.]

HENRY M. PATON.

#### GEORGE IV. BRIDGE AND THE WEST APPROACH

**I**N the interval between 1760 and 1827 the population of Edinburgh, taken apart from Leith, increased from 60,000 to 120,000. The citizens were at a loss to account for this extraordinary growth, which did not arise from the development of any particular branch of trade or industry, or from any other single or local cause, but was a consequence of the progress of the country in wealth and improvement, operating generally. There had been periods of difficulty, but these were temporary, and for the most part a spirit of confidence existed among the citizens, leading to the belief that Edinburgh would continue to advance, and that its prosperity would rest on a stable and permanent basis.

The area of the city had expanded to accommodate the inhabitants. At the beginning of last century the Old Town was densely covered with buildings, many of them old and ruinous, but all piled together close and high. The North and South Bridges had been constructed as part of an extensive plan to found a New Town which grew apace and prospered as the Old Town decayed. The new districts drew off all the wealthy and fashionable citizens, who were followed by the banks, public offices and leading places of amusement, also by a large proportion of the retail traders, the only considerable mercantile class in the city. The spacious, regular streets and splendid houses brought along a train of new ideas regarding ventilation and fresh air, domestic comfort and exterior elegance ; these taught the people to regard the dwellings of their forefathers as mean and unworthy. So great was the change in the popular notions with regard to these matters,

that the High Street as a place of residence was not deemed to be any more respectable than the Cowgate had been a few years earlier.

While one large suburb was building on the north, another of a less splendid but very respectable character was appearing on the south, and a third of some consequence was rising westwards. In the third decade of last century these three districts embraced two-thirds of the population and three-fourths of the wealth of the city. They stood, comparatively speaking, on level ground, and in the centre of the space occupied by them the Old Town rose in a lofty ridge, surrounded by ravines, as if intended to keep them apart and cut off their communications with one another. In the area which separated the New Town from the southern districts there was only one roadway along which carts and carriages could pass—that by the North and South Bridges. On the other hand, no direct route existed to connect the Old Town with the district on the west. In the year 1827 powers were obtained from Parliament to provide a remedy for these disadvantages, and the South and West approaches to the city were formed, the one becoming George IV. Bridge and the other Johnston Terrace. The events connected with the North and South Bridges and the formation of the Mound are fairly well known, but less attention has been paid to the South and West approaches, although the story of these enterprises is not lacking in interest.

After the Regent Bridge was built the thoroughfare to the east and west gradually came to be diverted from the ancient route along the High Street and Canongate. The upper portion of the High Street suffered and the Lawnmarket began to assume a deserted appearance. The communication with the Grassmarket by the West Bow was short, and in that sense convenient for foot passengers, but it was quite unsuited for vehicular traffic. It was narrow, tortuous and steep, and wholly inadequate for the rapid development of road traffic.

The Grassmarket was a great centre for business, its hostelries and carriers' quarters being crowded with people from country districts. The open space was a scene of noise and activity owing to the markets and fairs held daily for sheep, cattle, horses and corn. 'On market days,' says a writer of the time, 'broad as it is, it can with difficulty, or rather cannot at all, contain the crowd of cattle, market goods, and buyers and sellers resorting to it.'

The western access to the Grassmarket was along the West Port, which was another old-world thoroughfare, out of date like the Bow, and becoming more inadequate as business increased. Before the New Town was built, the principal entrance to the city from the north and west had been by the West Port. The old roads from these directions terminated at the head of the West Port, at a place which at one time was called the Twopenny Custom and later was known as Main Point. The name still survives and denotes the place where four modern thoroughfares converge on West Port, these being Bread Street, Fountainbridge, High Riggs and Lauriston Street. At the beginning of last century Main Point, apart from its local importance, was the centre which united the North road by Queensferry, the Falkirk road, the Glasgow roads, the Lanark road and the Dumfries road. It will be seen, therefore, that in the schemes for a new approach to the city from the west, Main Point came in as an important feature; just as in the schemes for a new approach from the south one of the objectives was the head of the Middle Meadow Walk.

Both schemes had been talked about for years, and as the suburbs grew so did the number of persons who took a real interest in them. Naturally this led to the preparation of various plans, each having supporters, and all more or less destructive of one another. One of these plans, dated 1817, is reproduced in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*,<sup>1</sup> and is entitled: 'Plan for opening a communication between the north and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 296.

south sides of the city by means of a bridge entering the Lawnmarket.'

A number of these plans have been preserved in the City Chambers; and the one to be mentioned first was executed in 1823 by the architect, Robert Reid, who built St. George's Parish Church. This plan shows a roadway designed to run from opposite Bank Street and communicating with the Meadows on the south and with Main Point on the west. The object was to provide new approaches to the Grassmarket, and the plan was prepared, if not on the instructions, at any rate in the interests of the traders in that area. As the scheme did not make any headway, it will be sufficient to describe it shortly by reference to the illustration which is here reproduced.

The road marked A ran south from Bank Street and crossed the Cowgate by an arch. The road marked B formed a communication to the west by means of an arcade designed to pass along the centre of the Grassmarket and to run in a straight and level line from Main Point to its junction with road A. The road marked C was to communicate on a lower level with the Grassmarket. Along the whole length of the arcade in the Grassmarket, marked D, a high level road was to be formed in the manner of a Roman aqueduct. This arcade, it was stated, could be constructed so that it would not only form a magnificent approach to the city but be rendered highly useful. The under part on the Grassmarket level would form a commodious market-place with vaults for storing grain and goods of all kinds. It might also serve other public purposes. An elegant approach to Heriot's Hospital from the high level is also shown on the sketch, and at the junction with the great road 'a magnificent situation for a grand triumphal arch' is indicated. The plan has the merit of originality, but it is hardly surprising that it was not taken seriously.

Mention should perhaps be made at this point of a fantastic scheme produced about this time by Robert Gourlay, Leith, which seems to have received little or no attention. It pro-



SKETCH BY ROBERT REID, ARCHITECT

Showing proposed New Line of Street and Road, from opposite Bank Street, communicating with Meadows on the south and Main Point on the west. This Sketch may be also profitably studied in connection with the paper on 'The Lands of High Riggs, Drumdryan and Tollcross,' pp. 151-180.

vided for a tunnel under the Esplanade and a hollow way under the Lawnmarket, both of them connecting Princes Street with the Grassmarket area. It also included a scheme for re-planning and re-building the Old Town.

In the year 1824 three schemes for providing a West approach to the Old Town were made public. The first was prepared by Thomas Hamilton, the architect of the High School, who, as it turned out, was to be closely connected with the enterprise. He published a 'Prospectus of a plan for opening a road from Main Point, West Port, to the High Street of Edinburgh.' The route he suggested avoided the disadvantages of the Grassmarket one. It was to commence at Main Point, run through the ground at the north back of Portsburgh, cross the West Church road by a bridge, and after passing along the south side of the Castle Rock, cut through the closes and garden ground behind the houses of the Castle-hill and join the High Street at the site of the old Weigh House. The architect pointed out that by this route the ascent would be slight and few buildings would require to be removed.

'The Old Town, generally,' says Hamilton's report, 'which for some years past has yielded considerably to the New as a place of business, would revive by means of the thoroughfare thus to be created and the bustle to which it would lead. The opening would also in point of beauty rival the finest of those which have lately been executed. As a promenade it would be extremely attractive, and the upper part of the Castle Bank, now a nuisance, might be turned into a shrubbery which would beautify the street and render the neighbourhood delightful. The High Street would be laid open throughout its whole length and, reaching from Holyroodhouse to Fountainbridge, would form one of the grandest and most picturesque streets in the world.'

Mr. Hamilton hazarded the opinion that the new roadway might pay itself if the ground along its length were acquired and feued out. He suggested two methods by which the plan might be executed. One was by the formation of a Joint Stock Company; the other was by the Magistrates, or a body of trustees, taking it up as an object of public benefit.

In June 1824 Thomas Leslie, architect, published a 'Plan of a proposed road from the High Street of Edinburgh to Haymarket where the junction of the old and new roads to Glasgow is formed.' The reference to Haymarket indicates that the architect had in view not merely local traffic, but also the increasing needs of stage coaches and carriers' carts traveling to Glasgow and other parts in the west. He indicated that Main Point was losing its importance since the old and new Glasgow roads and other highways united at Haymarket. Leslie's scheme provided for an improved line for the road along the Castle Bank. He pointed out that the undertaking would be expensive, as the elegant buildings which Hamilton had proposed for his new road would not be erected in the vicinity of the slaughter-houses, tanneries and dung-pits, which, as a matter of course, must be cleared away. He also suggested that the causeway between the Tron Church and the Weigh House might with advantage be lowered by several feet.

In December 1824 a third scheme was made public. This was prepared by Robert Stevenson, the grandfather of the Victorian writer, on behalf of the proprietors of the Grassmarket and vicinity. The purpose was to call attention to the necessity for forming an improved access at the east end of the Grassmarket. The proposed new street would begin at the Cowgatehead and ascend to the Lawnmarket, where an opening would be formed opposite Bank Street. Stevenson also suggested widening King's Stables Road, thus rendering unnecessary the proposed roadway on the south side of the Castle Bank. These improvements were intended to provide approaches to the Grassmarket 'sufficiently accessible and convenient and suitable to the great and increasing thoroughfare to the corn and other markets, a matter of real utility to the city.'

The Grassmarket proprietors brought Stevenson's plan to the notice of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the Lord President of the Court of Session and the Lord Advocate, as

well as the Bank of Scotland, which, together with the following banking firms, was interested in the locality: Sir William Forbes & Co.; Ramsay, Bonar & Co.; Thomas Kinnear & Co.; Donald Smith & Co.; and Thomas Allan & Co.

These schemes had a common origin in the popular feeling that the time had arrived when new approaches to the city were required to meet the needs of the thriving suburbs in the south and west. It was plain that a new road cut along the south bank of the Castle would continue the line of the High Street outwards to Fountainbridge. Thus the High Street would be converted into a thoroughfare giving easy communication with the districts referred to as well as with the great north and west roads. The proposal seemed to gain favour with the public. Prominent citizens lent their influence and a general call arose for its execution. The scheme was taken in hand at first by Lord Provost Alexander Henderson, and afterwards by his successor, William Trotter of Ballindean. Henderson, who was a seedsman, planted Princes Street Gardens with trees. He also took a leading part in financial affairs in the city. Trotter, who belonged to the Mortonhall family, was a well-known cabinetmaker. The pulpit in St. George's Parish Church is an example of his work.

At the period under discussion the Town Council was not a representative body. It was self-elected and had no power to undertake improvements or to impose assessments for such purposes. The Magistrates might hold one opinion and the inhabitants another, but generally the citizens looked to the Town Council to give them a lead in all things pertaining to the public welfare. Accordingly, the Lord Provost held a private meeting of thirty-four gentlemen in his own house, and thereafter a series of public meetings; and at these the scheme was expounded. Plans were submitted and cordially approved, and a Committee of citizens was appointed to carry them into effect.

At this stage the West approach alone was contemplated, the cost being estimated at £9000. But the Committee was no sooner formed than it was called on to face a more serious undertaking. A deputation from the southern districts of George Square, Lochrin and Lauriston strongly advocated a new approach to the south, without which, it was hinted, the plan for a west one would meet with opposition. Somewhat reluctantly the Committee acceded to this demand, not doubting, however, that the measure would be beneficial to the public. They also resolved to include improved accesses to the Grassmarket. Plans were ordered accordingly, and Hamilton & Burn, who were employed, were instructed that the new South approach must be in line with Bank Street. The architects, however, on making their survey, were of opinion that an opening in the line of the Mound was the better course, and they presented plans showing a route running from the Mound, and cutting through to the west of James's Court and Milne's Court, joining the High Street at a point where it was intended to form a handsome square. From this square (or Place), marked A on the plan, the West approach was to begin. The Castlehill was to be re-built; and the South approach, at first curving round by the back of the Lawnmarket, was eventually to link up with Bristo Street. In the centre of the square it was proposed to erect an equestrian statue of the King (George IV.).

By reference to the plan, it will be seen that it was proposed to enlarge Parliament Square by carrying the east wing to a point where it would face the Royal Exchange. Various plans had included this feature, the reason being that this portion of the High Street was in ruins as the result of the great fire of 1824. It was thought desirable to isolate St. Giles' and the Parliament House so as to reduce in future the risk of destruction by fire. The Committee were struck with the magnitude of the undertaking as now presented, but after investigation they decided unanimously to adopt it. In this



PLAN OF THE PROPOSED APPROACHES FROM THE SOUTH AND WEST TO THE HIGH STREET

form, therefore, the scheme was embodied in a Bill which came before Parliament.

The plans involved a lowering of the High Street, amounting it is said to ten or twelve feet at the place marked A. From this central point the Castlehill street led upwards by an average ascent of one in fifteen in a diverging line round the Esplanade to the Castle Gate. The descent by the Mound to Princes Street was one in thirteen; that to the bridge at King's Stables Road was one in eighteen; while that to the top of Bank Street was one in eighteen. The consent of the War Department was obtained to the cutting of the Castle Bank. From the point of view of amenity it was felt that this operation would improve the picturesque features of the Castle Rock as the Regent Road had improved the Calton Hill. The scheme, in short, was 'calculated to meet the difficulties of the most fastidious.' The friends of the improvements expressed their gratitude to the Lord Provost, 'through whose personal exertions and influence with various eminent individuals interested in the welfare of the city the arrangement' was 'likely to be brought about.'

The Bill, however, did not prosper. There was opposition in Edinburgh and in London, and the project failed. The opponents said that the Bill had been thrown out; while the promoters asserted that Provost Henderson 'with less than his usual firmness withdrew it in consequence of threatened opposition from two or three influential individuals.' These, it appears, were the members of the Parliamentary Committee in charge of the Bill, who expressed themselves strongly against its terms. They disapproved of the Mound line as occasioning too great a demolition of ancient buildings, and too deep a cutting at the High Street and Castlehill. Moreover, the scheme would be too costly.

The Committee of citizens was not disbanded after this rebuff. On the contrary, it held several meetings to deliberate on the project and on the opposition it had encountered.

Lord Provost Trotter was convinced that the improvements were of vital importance to the city, and on his suggestion it was resolved to invite a number of leading citizens to meet in the City Chambers with a view to making another application to Parliament if this appeared to be warranted by public opinion.

Three propositions were submitted by the Lord Provost at a meeting held on 23rd October 1826. The first was that there should be a lowering and levelling of the High Street, especially in the neighbourhood of the County Buildings (which had been erected in an awkward situation), and also in front of St. Giles', now fallen into a state of decay, but expected to be renovated by the munificence of the Government. Secondly, it was proposed that there should be an opening in the Castlehill, and that the north side of that street should be straightened to give a view of the Castle from the High Street. The third scheme provided for a street being formed from the head of the West Bow, along the south back of the Castle, to communicate with the districts west of the Castle, which were increasing rapidly. The meeting resolved that these proposals should be printed and circulated among the various public bodies, as well as announced in the newspapers; and that in the meantime the preliminary notices required by Parliament should be given in the form settled on the previous occasion.

At this stage it was again proposed to confine the new measure to the West approach and to allow the South approach to stand over for a future occasion. When this became known, the southern districts revived their agitation and insisted on both approaches, or none. Others, again, were hostile to the scheme in any form. In this dilemma the Committee resolved to test public opinion by consulting the whole of the Police Wards, thirty in number. The result was disclosed at a public meeting held on 11th December, when the Lord Provost announced that the Wards had expressed not only a great variety

of opinions, but had shown conflicting interests. 'Almost every Ward had proposed some particular object of its own'; while others disapproved *in toto*. Under these circumstances his Lordship stated that it 'appeared to the Town Council to be hopeless at the present moment to produce such a union of sentiment among the people as to render it either expedient or possible to obtain the sanction of the legislature.' However anxious they were to support every measure which might tend to adorn or improve the city, they did not conceive it proper to press an assessment which did not carry with it 'a more united assent of the community.'

Here the matter might have rested, and apparently the Lord Provost had resigned himself to such an issue. The city was rent into factions, and feelings were fierce to a degree unknown and difficult to conceive in this age of indifference. The Bill was the cause of quarrels at every street corner; it was the theme of every meeting and provoked a succession of pamphlets and newspaper articles, hinting suspicions of self-interest, making accusations of bribery, and using language which the Courts to-day would have little difficulty in holding to be defamatory. 'One would really think,' says a contemporary critic, 'that many gentlemen whose names are continually before the public in one shape or another till one is sick of seeing them must be possessed of the attributes of ubiquity and omnipresence to be enabled to discharge the various duties and functions they voluntarily impose on themselves and yet have leisure to sleep, eat and manage their own affairs.' On the other hand, some of the pamphlets were obviously written by gentlemen of learning, since they were full of classical quotations. In some of these publications a comparison was made between the Town Council and the Thirty Tyrants of ancient Athens.

The opinions given by the Wards did indeed create a stumbling-block, but the champions of the improvements were full of resource. At a private interview they proposed to the

Lord Provost that he should call a public meeting in the New Kirk Aisle and should again offer to go forward with the Bill, subject to the condition that a sufficient number of citizens were willing to indemnify the Town Council for the costs they would incur. This suggestion the Lord Provost was willing to consider. Accordingly, with the approval of the Town Council, a meeting was held on 18th December, at which the champions, as they were called, turned out in great force. The opponents were there too, but according to one account their voices were drowned in hisses and uproar. Amidst darkness and confusion the resolutions of the Ward Meetings and of the Town Council were annulled. It was determined to persist in the Bill for both approaches; and a subscription sheet was opened to furnish the required indemnity. The Lord Provost was loudly denounced for having altered his attitude on a flimsy pretext. 'No courtier could have backed out in more able style. Had the proposal been to pull down the whole city of Edinburgh, new as well as old, it would have been carried by acclamation. It is mere cant and humbug to place the confused and tumultuous *ex parte* vote of such a meeting in opposition to the irrefragable evidence afforded by the deliberate and well-authenticated reports of the Wards.' In such fashion the opponents expressed their feelings as to the great public meeting held in St. Giles', which turned out to be an important stage in the negotiations.

It is not surprising if many people who attended the meeting were unaware of the resolutions, for it was said they were carried 'in the dark.' A lengthy report appeared in the newspapers, detailing not only the resolutions but furnishing the speeches of Henry Cockburn, Sir John Sinclair, Sir Patrick Walker and others. From this source it appears that the Lord Provost had begun the proceedings by submitting the latest decisions of the Town Council. These were:—(1) to proceed with the Bill for the South and West approaches and for levelling the High Street on condition of being relieved of

the whole expenses; (2) to include a clause prohibiting building in East Princes Street Gardens; and (3) to refuse a similar clause regarding buildings in the Meadows. These decisions were confirmed. Various points were raised, but were delayed in order that the Town Council might give their decision regarding them on the same day as that to which the meeting was adjourned. It was at the same time resolved that the adjourned meeting should not be general, but should consist of the heads of public bodies, the general and resident commissioners of police, and members of Committees named, or to be named, by Wards and districts or public bodies.

A case was therefore prepared in support of the Bill. The former particulars as to the West approach were repeated, and, in regard to the South, it was stated that the plan of 1825 had been abandoned, and that it was now intended to form this approach in line with Bank Street. While the new roadways were to be nearly level, the new thoroughfare leading to the Grassmarket would be steep. All these improvements were important and necessary, and a commission of well-known citizens would be set up to see them carried out. The Town Council would undertake the repair of St. Giles' Church, and would give up to the public the Charity Workhouse ground in Forrest Road so that it might be laid out with the other improvements. Further, the Council would forgo all idea of building upon the valley between the Old and New Towns, and would erect no buildings on the Mound except a low colonnade, which, while it would beautify that quarter, would not intercept the view.

The case went on to state that the promoters had taken every step to make their proposals known to the citizens. The heads of the Bill had been given every publicity. They had also been discussed in private and at public meetings, in the newspapers, at regular meetings of the Wards, and by trade incorporations, legal and other societies. As a result it had been found that out of the thirty Police Wards, one was

in favour of delay, three disapproved and twenty-six approved. Out of sixty-one public bodies in the city, fifty-four had signified their approval. The estimated charges of the undertaking were as follows:—South approach, £33,146; West approach, £10,346; Grassmarket approach, £3768; Lowering and leveling of the High Street, £5260—total £52,520.

The indemnity required by the Town Council was given freely. Rumours were circulated that interested parties had offered bribes to the Town Council, in one case to the amount of £2000. These presumably referred to some of the proprietors whose lands were to benefit. The ground west of the Castle Rock and lying between it and Lothian Road belonged to Mr. Grindlay, tanner; Mr. Lawrie; Mr. Combe, brewer; and the feuars of the West Kirk glebe; but no charge was brought home to any of these parties. Grindlay and his trustees guaranteed £150; Combe £20; Sir John Sinclair £50; but the sums of other subscribers were small. Sheets were placed in banks and public offices, and within a month these were signed by 374 persons who guaranteed £2755. The guarantors were only to pay in the event of the Bill failing to pass, and as it turned out no call was made on any one.

The opposition, which was led by William Drysdale, W.S., had at one stage intimidated the Lord Provost, but in the end turned out a comparatively minor affair. It was believed to have proceeded from about a hundred individuals, chiefly connected with the New Town, who by extraordinary exertions had obtained about a thousand signatures to a counter petition. They held the view, for which there was some justification, that the times were unpropitious. The country was suffering depression in commerce and agriculture, and unemployment was rife. They stated, not unreasonably, that the deterioration of the Old Town could not be checked, but was the natural consequence of removal to the new districts and the change in habits and manners.

It is of interest to note that they asserted that the South

Bridge, which had monopolised the retail trades, was now declining along with Hunter Square and the Cross; they were giving place to Princes Street and St. Andrew Square. It was said, too, that George Square, Brown Square and Argyle Square had fallen in value and had ceased to be residential districts for the upper classes. They were now inhabited by dowagers, by a few country gentlemen who retained a predilection for their old family mansions, and by tradesmen. A reference was even made to the Royal Exchange. When it was projected, the High Street was the centre of business of every kind, but notwithstanding the superior accommodation it offered, the merchants and dealers would not quit their old haunts at the Cross, and the shops at the Exchange stood empty. 'It is now at a distance of seventy years as deserted as ever; and except the few individuals that may be seen pacing over its area to the City Chambers, or the private bankers, it is as dismal and lonely as the courtyard of a jail.' The argument, therefore, was that the New Town would continue to progress at the expense of the Old, and in proportion as the former extended to the north and west, the latter would be thrown more and more into the shade.

The opponents denied that the South approach could ever benefit the city. No one going from the centre of the New Town to the George Square district would willingly traverse the Mound, which hitherto had been used by foot-passengers, but seldom by carts, carriages or horsemen. It was vain to suggest that the new route would open up easy access to the walks in the Meadows, or to take it 'for granted that people in the New Town would abandon the beautiful rural walks and pleasure ground in their immediate neighbourhood and betake themselves to climb the ascent of the Mound in defiance of wind and dust, traverse the new approach and nearly a mile to boot, all for the laudable purpose of promenading round the marshy cheerless waste of the Meadows which has never been much frequented by the people of its own quarter.'

The West approach was also denounced as contrary to good taste and destructive of the picturesque beauty of the Castle. Nothing could prompt such an undertaking but the blind and sordid selfishness of private interest. Henry Cockburn at one public meeting characterised the project as absurd, 'and still more absurd to tax the community to make it. It would only be of use to the dirty coal wagons which would pass and re-pass along it,' the reference being to the coal carts from the Canal. Then it was alleged that some of the promoters had an interest beyond that of improving the city. The West approach was one of the most palpable jobs ever attempted to be palmed upon any community. They (the opposition) came forward at their own expense to protect themselves and their fellow-citizens from what they considered 'a wild and iniquitous job, a legal robbery, while the projectors with improvement and decoration on their lips, but power, profit and the *auri sacra fames* at their hearts,' were collecting subscriptions to forward their own selfish purposes.

The real grievance was, of course, the assessments proposed in the Bill. These briefly were a rate of one per cent. on proprietors and a half per cent. on tenants for twelve years, with an additional one per cent. on the parties whose properties would be benefited, and ten per cent. on newly-formed feu-duties. But the citizens of that time were not disciplined to bear burdens which become tolerable only from long usage. As one writer truthfully says, the desire of obtaining the advantages and of escaping the burdens of political society has ever been a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord. Compulsory assessments, it was argued, were only applicable to objects of necessity and obvious public utility, and this scheme was neither useful nor necessary.

Further, it was said that the burdens on the inhabitants of Edinburgh were more severe than in any other city in the kingdom; that those who resided within the royalty bore

heavier burdens than those beyond it; and that this inequality should have been put right by extending the royalty. Reasons were also put forward for assessing the three Lothians in a share of the expense because of the lucrative trade enjoyed by the farmers hailing from these counties in the Edinburgh markets. The objectors, repeating their argument that the improvements were urged by individuals solely for their own advantage, offered to withdraw their opposition if these individuals by forming a private company, or otherwise, would take upon themselves the risks incident to the speculation.

On Tuesday, 8th May 1827, the Bill came before the Committee of Parliament. William Dundas presided, and Serjeant Spankie and Henry Brougham appeared for the promoters, while Mr. Adam represented the opposition. The Committee, after hearing Serjeant Spankie, took evidence, and adjourned till Wednesday, on which day the evidence was closed. Mr. Adam then addressed the Committee, after which strangers were excluded. On their being readmitted, it was announced that the Committee had by a majority voted the preamble proved. Four members had voted against it. When the clauses were adjusted, it was announced that the Committee required a provision to be introduced to restrain the Town Council from building upon any part of the Meadows or of Bruntfield Links. This came as a surprise and had to be referred to the Town Council who, as has been already stated, had refused to come under this prohibition. An urgent message was therefore sent to Edinburgh recommending the Town Council to concede this point, otherwise the Bill would be lost. A meeting was at once held, and after a long discussion, the Town Council by eighteen votes to ten resolved to rescind their previous resolution and to agree to the clause. On this matter being adjusted, the Bill was passed and became an Act in the following month.

The Act is a lengthy document filling eighty-four foolscap pages of print. It authorised the formation of the West

approach and the erection of the King's Bridge.<sup>1</sup> The Act also authorised the construction of the South approach consisting of a roadway in line with Bank Street, which was carried across the valley by means of a series of arches. The new thoroughfare was called George IV. Bridge. The other clauses provided for the improvement of the West Bow, the alteration of the levels of the High Street, the widening of Castlehill and Bank Street, and the repair of St. Giles' Church, at a cost of £10,000. The erection of buildings in Princes Street Gardens west of the Mound had been prohibited in 1816, and the new Act made a similar prohibition as regards buildings in the Gardens east of that thoroughfare, with the exception of a theatre which was projected at the portion now occupied by the Scott Monument. This purpose, however, was abandoned when the monument was built. The execution of the Act was not entrusted to the Town Council, but to a body of Commissioners consisting of eighty-two individuals, of whom fourteen were *ex officio* members, including the Lord Provost, the four Bailies, the Dean of Guild, the Treasurer and the Convener of Trades. Forty were elective members and twenty-eight were members named in the Act.<sup>2</sup>

The first meeting of the Commissioners was held on 25th July 1827 in the City Chambers. Lord Provost Trotter occupied the chair. A letter was read from Henry Cockburn, one of their number, begging to resign his office on account of the fact that he was unable to give much time to the affairs of the Commission. Cockburn had at one stage been prominent as an objector, his chief purpose being to secure the clause prohibiting buildings in Princes Street Gardens. On one occasion, when the subject was being discussed, he seized his hat and walked out of the meeting followed by a number of other

<sup>1</sup> In 1852 the portion of the West approach nearest the Lawnmarket was called Johnston Terrace in honour of Lord Provost Sir William Johnston.

<sup>2</sup> It should be explained that the Act of 1827 was amended by a subsequent Act obtained in 1831.

gentlemen of the New Town. But when the prohibition was conceded, Cockburn changed his attitude, and in consequence was abused by his former friends. The Commission, however, were unfortunate in being deprived of his advice and assistance 'as a man of taste'; but as he persisted, the resignation was accepted and steps taken to fill the vacancy.

It is proposed to refer only to one of the matters raised at this meeting of the Commissioners. Sir John Sinclair said that now that they were in a fair way to proceed with these great improvements, it would give much *éclat* to their inauguration if the foundation ceremonies in connection with the new bridges were attended by a procession of the inhabitants as well as by a military and masonic parade. He should also be glad after the ceremonies to meet his brother Commissioners and others to drink success to the works thus propitiously begun. He suggested that the most suitable day would be the 15th August, as it was the anniversary of George the Fourth's landing at the pier of Leith. These proposals met with general approbation.

The shortness of the time allowed for the preparations was made good by the zeal of Lord Provost Trotter and his Committee. From the newspaper reports may be gathered some idea of the enthusiasm which pervaded the city on this great occasion. The passages here quoted are taken from the *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

'Wednesday the 15th of August, a day never to be forgot in the annals of our city nor those of Scotland at large, having been appointed for the commencement of the intended great approach from the west to the centre of the old town, and also for the new access from the south, great interest was excited. The weather unfortunately was very unfavourable—cold, misty and a thick settled penetrating drizzle, with occasional heavy rain, was its state during the whole of the day. Notwithstanding, as early as eight o'clock in the morning the note of preparation was apparent in a more than usual bustle, and numbers of strangers of all ranks were seen hurrying to their intended stations. Before ten o'clock the Royal Standard was hoisted on the Castle, and

the 92nd Highlanders with their band marched down to take their ground agreeably to the regulations. Soon after the King's Dragoon Guards came in from Piershill Barracks and took their post. Every place that afforded standing room of a few feet elevation was by this time occupied; not a window in the line of procession but was filled, and in spite of the weather many platforms were crowded with genteel persons of both sexes, and clusters of individuals hung upon house-tops regardless of the danger they were incurring.'

The procession, with Dragoon Guards in vanguard and in rear, was of extraordinary length. Besides Grand Lodge and the Magistrates and Council, the latter with their clerks, and 'preceded by the Sword and Mace of the City and Officers in their ancient costume,' it included the great Officers of State, many representatives of the nobility, University Professors, the Rector and Masters of the High School, professional men, and even distinguished foreigners.

'The procession, which extended the whole length of Princes Street, proceeded down the Lothian Road, Maryfield (*i.e.* King's Stables Road) and the back of the Castle to the site of the foundations of the Western Bridge; and when the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Commissioners arrived at the temporary gate opposite the spot, the whole halted. These personages, with the Most Worshipful the Grand Master, then advanced and ascended a platform to right and left, when the ceremony of laying the foundation stone commenced. . . . Having resumed their places, the whole procession moved forward by the Grassmarket and up the Candlemaker Row to Merchant Street. Here, in addition to platforms, there was an extensive scaffolding overlooking the scene, and crowded by spectators, mostly ladies. At the request of the Lord Provost one of the heralds read the preamble of the Act of Parliament, which was followed by three cheers. The King's and Masons' Anthems were then played by the military bands stationed in Merchant Street.'

The usual emblems were placed in the cavities, including four massive silver plates, each having a lengthy inscription, containing the names of the Town Council, the Commissioners and the Office-bearers of the Grand Lodge. After appropriate speeches, the procession was re-formed and proceeded by



Candlemaker Row, Bristo Street, Lothian Street, South Bridge and High Street to the front of the Royal Exchange, where the day's ceremony ended.

In the evening the Commissioners, with nearly three hundred noblemen and gentlemen, commemorated the important proceedings of the day by partaking together of an elegant dinner and dessert in the Waterloo Tavern. The Lord Provost was in the chair. Glee songs were sung, while the band of the 1st Dragoon Guards played a 'number of beautiful and appropriate airs.'

The toast of the King was proposed by the Lord Provost, who remarked that if the function had been an ordinary one he would have called upon them to drink His Majesty's health with four times four; but on this happy occasion he proposed that they should drink it 'with six times six.' This was done with the greatest enthusiasm. There were no fewer than thirty-eight toasts, and the speakers included Lord Forbes, Sir John Sinclair, Lord Nairne and Sir David Milne. The company were kept in excellent spirits till half-past one in the morning, when the Lord Provost left the chair, and soon after the gathering broke up. 'Nothing,' says a newspaper report, 'could exceed the cheerful hilarity displayed throughout the evening.'

Amid such festive scenes the South and West approaches to Edinburgh were inaugurated, which, as one speaker remarked at the dinner, were destined to add 'great and unspeakable advantages to our city.'

DAVID ROBERTSON.

INCORPORATION OF CORDINERS OF THE  
CANONGATE, 1538-1773

THE records of a trade guild or incorporation which counted kings and queens among its patrons or customers at one of the most momentous periods of Scottish history whet one's curiosity. Will they reflect light on, or retail gossip concerning, the great episodes in the tragic history of Holyroodhouse, about which one never tires of hearing? If not, shall we find the Cordiners (cordwainers or shoemakers) discussing the old fashions in footwear of which we know little? Will they, for example, describe the black satin shoes that were worn by Mary, Queen of Scots, one of which is in Cordwainers' Hall, London—a dainty shoe with satin strips set to overlap at the instep, and which, with jewelled buckle, secured the shoe to the foot? Or shall we be told something relating to that other shoe of brocaded satin which, according to tradition, the same fair Queen dropped on her ride to Hermitage—a relic that is now in the little museum of Jedburgh? May we expect to learn how the royal cordiner made for Darnley those marvellously contrived shoes out of an ell and a half of 'luke' velvet? One can imagine how the Cordiners shook their heads when, immediately after the murder of Darnley, they heard that one of the dress shoes or 'mullis' which one of their number had made for Maitland of Lethington had been picked up in the garden of Kirk o' Field.

Alas! the Minutes of those fateful years are lost; but even if they had not been lost they would have uttered no syllable

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of report on any of the great events of the time, for the Minute Book clerks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were no whit different from their successors of to-day in keeping to the business in hand. It is from reports of law-suits, from the records of the Privy Council, and from the Minutes of the Incorporation for the period 1610 to 1773 that we learn of the activities of the Cordiners, and of their landmark and memorial in the Canongate, to wit, the tenement opposite Moray House with the engraved scroll and open Bible with quotation—the tenement known as 'Shoemakers' Lands.'

The history of the Cordiners of the Canongate may be divided into four parts: (1) from 1538 to 1609; (2) from 1610 to 1652; (3) from 1653 to 1743; and (4) from 1744 to the close of their active career.

I

In 1538 the Bailies of the Canongate granted a charter or seal of cause in favour of the select company of shoemakers in that Burgh of Regality, who were thenceforward to be regarded as a trade incorporation with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by similar organisations throughout Scotland, rights which included the power to levy dues from the shoemakers and cobblers<sup>1</sup> in the Canongate who were not members. The older guilds on which the Incorporation of Cordiners was modelled had, if not an ecclesiastical origin, at least a strong association with the Church. The Cordiners, like all the other craft guilds, met in church for business as well as for worship, and their custom of beginning every meeting with prayer, which endured to the latest days of the craft, owes its origin to pre-Reformation times.

The Roman Catholic Church allotted to each craft guild its own patron saint or saints, who, among the Cordiners,

<sup>1</sup> Cobblers were vendors, as well as repairers, of old boots and shoes.

were Crispin and Crispinian, the two brothers who worked as shoemakers in Soissons and were martyred in A.D. 287 for their efforts in the cause of Christianity. Further, the title of deacon or kirk-master, enjoyed by the head of every craft, is derived from the ancient Church.<sup>1</sup> From it, too, the Cordiners, in 1554, obtained one of their most valuable concessions. The revenue derived from the fees paid to them by the shoemakers and cobblers of the Canongate was increased to a considerable degree by similar dues levied on the same class of artisans in the outlying parts of the Barony of Regality—North Leith, the Pleasance or St. Leonard's gate, and part of St. Ninian's Row. With that purpose in view (which, however, they diplomatically kept in the background) the Cordiners, one fine August day, waited upon the Lord Abbot in the Abbey church of Holyrood. In their petition to the Abbot, as Superior of the Barony, they began by craving permission to build an altar, and then sought an augmentation of the church services, praiseworthy objects which could only be accomplished by conferring power on their Incorporation to levy dues on the shoemakers in the places mentioned. The Abbot approved of the idea, though he appears to have had no faith in the prompt fulfilment of the Cordiners' promise to improve the church. For, in the 'Letter of Licence' which he issued (a document which ranks as a charter or warrant of much value to the Cordiners) the Abbot narrated that

'Andrew Purves, deacon or kirk maister, and others, having exposit that where first for the loving of God Almightye, the honour of the realme, the worship and profit of our burgh and the profit of all our sovereign lady's leiges and others repairing thereto, and for augmentation of divine service at ane altar to be biggit within our said abbey, where sanct Crispin and Crispinian, their patrons sall stand and for eschewing of unsufficient craftsmen of their occupation . . .

<sup>1</sup> The use of the title was at certain periods illegal. Cf. Act of Parl. (Scot.), 1555. The London Guild of Cordiners had a 'Master.'



PART OF THE INSIGNIA WORN BY THE DEACON

it is our will that the Cordiners dwelling within our Regality in the town of Leith on the north side of the water . . . in St. Leonard's gate and beside our chapel of St. Ninian outwith St. Andrew's port, be in brotherhood and fellowship with the deacon and masters of the cordiner craft in the Canongate, and to pay their duties with them for upholding divine service and to the altar whilk sall be biggit siklike as they suld do. Heirfor we have given these letters for us and our successors . . . full freedom and licence to the deacon and masters of the said craft of Cordiners and their successors, to receive and uptake from all . . . cordiners in Leith, St. Leonard's gate and St. Ninian's Row suchlike . . . duties as they take from the shoemakers in the Canongate. Provided that the deacon and masters build the altar within six years, and fee and uphold a chaplain . . . the money to be received from them to be warit upon the reparation and upholding of the altar, chaplain and service.'

The Cordiners, who doubtless availed themselves of the utmost limit of time allowed by the Abbot, must have congratulated themselves on having kept their money, for six years later there arrived the Reformation; the Reformers tolerated no altars. The Cordiners, however, had secured their chief purpose; the shoemakers of every part of the Regality were subject to them and would continue to pay to the coffers of their Incorporation in the Canongate.

There is no means of ascertaining what were the feelings of the Craft on realising the meaning of the Reformation. Gone for ever were the old *fêtes* with the miracle plays, in which they, along with other crafts, took part. Yet the boisterous farces and Robin Hood revels which were banned by Act of 1555 may, however, have been surreptitiously played, as they were in Edinburgh in 1561, when a 'cordiner's servant' was about to be hanged for breaking this law, to the indignation of all craftsmen, who rescued the victim and imprisoned the Bailies in a writing booth. Gone also was the annual procession on Corpus Christi Day when all the crafts, wearing their regalia and with banners displayed, marched through the bounds of the Barony.

But the Cordiners continued to hold their meetings in the Abbey Church. They also retained their seats there for public worship and paid the dues required for the upkeep of the services not only in that, their parish church, but in the church of North Leith, to which they were wont every year to march in procession, not for spiritual enlightenment but simply to impress the North Leith people with their superior right to seats in the church there.

Before admission to the Craft the Cordiners were obliged to swear on oath that they would

'fully maintain and uphold the religion presentlie publicly professed within this kingdome . . . as the undoubtit veritie and trewth of God, groundit upoun the Scriptoros, to witt the old and new Testamentis, and to profess the same sincerelie . . . and to renounce the contrarie religioun profest be our adversaries, the papists, as erroneous and fallss, not groundit upoun the sacred and canonicall writtin word of God.'

If in pre-Reformation times they had been in the habit of working on Sundays, that practice was checked by the Reformers, for any who were found 'schaipand or schewand on the Sabboth day or strolling in the streets or fields betuix tounis in time of preiching and praying on the said day' were to be fined eight shillings. Though the obligation to take the oath to uphold the Protestant faith remained to the close of the Craft's long career, there is only one instance where the craftsmen were sceptical of the orthodoxy of a candidate. James Dykes, the candidate in question, was, if not a Catholic, a loyal adherent of the House of Stewart. When, in 1680, he applied for admission to the Incorporation, James, Duke of York, was in residence at Holyroodhouse, and was in the habit of hearing Mass celebrated in the chapel there. Dykes may have been an attender. In any case, though he took the oath and was duly admitted, it was minuted 'that in case he shall be found at any time professing or maintaining the Roman Religion, callit papistrie, he shall lose his libertie.'

The Duke became King in 1685, and was deposed in 1688. In 1693, when fears were entertained of a Catholic rising in his favour, the Government of William III. passed an Act requiring every holder of a public office to take the Oath of Allegiance with the 'Assurance.' The 'Assurance' was a declaration of William's position as King *de jure* as well as *de facto*. Dykes, who had been elected Deacon in 1693, refused to take the Oath and 'Assurance.' He was therefore ineligible to perform the duties of Deacon and ought to have resigned. He did not, but left off calling meetings, and that was awkward for every one. The Craft in consequence summoned a meeting to consider what should be done; they then resolved to appoint the Deacon of the previous year to carry on as *interim* Deacon until Beltane 1694. A fresh appointment was then made, but so far from expelling Dykes, in terms of their Minute of 1680, the meeting approved of his appointment as Deacon's 'Second' or Vice-Chairman. James Dykes was evidently popular.

Every applicant for admission to the Incorporation had a series of oaths to take before he was admitted a freeman. He was obliged to swear that he would 'maintain and defend the liberties and privileges of this burgh and especially of our own Trade, with his body and goods'; that he would be obedient to his superiors, the Bailies and Council, and to their laws, constitutions and ordinances; that he would be respectful to the Deacon and masters and give due obedience to 'whatsomever things' they commanded concerning the welfare of the Craft; that he would concur with the Craft's officer and assist him when employed in the Craft's affairs; that he would honestly and faithfully serve his Majesty's lieges in his calling; would bear burden, conform to ability, in the exactions and contributions enjoined for the welfare of the Craft's affairs; and that he would perform, fulfil and observe 'all acts and statutes made or to be made and set down in the Trade's books.'

Nor was this all. The candidate had to satisfy the members of his ability to make a pair of boots, shoes and slippers, an examination which, in later times, was entrusted to the 'sey' or essay masters. No instance has been found of a candidate having been rejected on account of a badly made pair of boots or shoes or slippers, but one applicant who submitted as his essay the work of another was refused admission. On submitting his own handiwork, however, a few months later, he was duly admitted. The Cordiners were indeed a forgiving body.

In some craft incorporations undesirable candidates were occasionally 'turned down' because of the alleged insufficiency of their 'essay.' Another but less successful test was employed by the Canongate Cordiners. They required such candidates to make their essay in three days' time, while indulging others with the long period of twelve months. The Cordiners of North Leith, on the other hand, were not required to pass any examination until 1654, when two Cordiners of the Canongate and one of North Leith were appointed examiners of their 'essay.' A clogger—almost the only one who applied—was admitted after lodging as his 'sey' a pair of clogs; while a cordiner of 1682, who was already a member of the Incorporation, anticipating more profit from making the leather furnishings of hackney coaches (which had then become popular), had to satisfy his brethren of his competence to undertake the new branch of the trade before fixing up his signboard.

The Cordiners derived their income not only from the unfree shoemakers and cobblers of the Canongate, and the affiliated Cordiners of the Pleasance, St. Ninian's Row and North Leith, but from the 'upsets' or fees which were fixed according to the candidate's relationship to the Craft. Those who had served five years of apprenticeship, and the journeymen or 'servants' with seven years' service in Canongate, were admitted on payment of forty pounds Scots (£3, 6s. 8d.),

while the stranger, or 'incomer,' to the Canongate had to pay a hundred merks (£5, 11s. 1½d.). In addition, drinks and dinners had to be provided for the Craft, perquisites which were stopped in 1649, because 'the common good of the trade was nothing profited thereby.' A sum of £20 Scots was then substituted. Certain concessions were granted to those who had married the daughters of members of the Incorporation, but these concessions did not come into force until 1649.

There was a goodly proportion of apprentices who, like the 'Farmer's Boy,' married the master's daughter and in time succeeded to the master's business. One lawyer availed himself of the privilege accorded to sons-in-law of Cordiners (*i.e.* obtaining the privileges of membership) without passing the necessary test on condition that he would not undertake to trade as a cordiner. That lawyer had an eye on the Clerkship of the Incorporation. A few years afterwards the Clerk, an old man, resigned, and the 'freeman cordiner' lawyer secured the appointment.

The apprentices were lodged, fed, and taught their trade by the masters, who were evidently paid for these services by the parents, to judge by the difficulty experienced in finding any of the Craft willing to accept the orphan son of a member as an apprentice. It was long customary for the master to 'stand' a drink ('a four hours') to his fellows on receiving an apprentice, but the practice was discountenanced by a rule made in 1649 under which the 'prentice paid eight merks instead. Some masters were in the habit of paying small sums to their apprentices, contrary to the laws of the Craft. On several occasions the Deacon emphasised the illegality of the practice, though the apprentices might, in the last year of their apprenticeship, be paid 2s. Scots 'for ilk piece of work,' a sum which was increased in 1678 to 2s. 6d. and in 1726 to 3s. for each pair of boots or shoes made by them. The proportion of apprentices to masters was strictly regu-

lated, no master being permitted to employ more than one apprentice in three years. That rule, however, was rescinded in 1739, when, on account of 'the looseness of trade,' masters might have as many apprentices as they pleased. It is singular to find that no apprentice was allowed to leave the Canongate after expiry of his indenture unless he relinquished the trade of Cordiner or went overseas. The journeymen were also hampered in the choice of employers, and none from Edinburgh could be engaged unless permission had been given by the previous Edinburgh employer. It was an offence against the Craft for a master to lure a skilful journeyman from a brother craftsman, and the busy, prosperous Cordiners, who had more work than they could accomplish without employing more journeymen, were ordered to offer the surplus work to those who were free to undertake it. Only after failure to find such substitute was he entitled to engage the services of unfreemen. The hardest hit were the busy cobblers, who were on no account to have journeymen.

The laws of the Craft were directed towards making it a brotherhood, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the results seem to have been fairly successful. No brother was to assault another brother. If any had a grievance against his brother craftsman he must not go to law about it but complain to the Deacon. Whatever the Deacon said or did the craftsmen had to respect, and any who were discovered to have spoken disrespectfully of a law or of the Deacon were fined. Several instances of infractions of this rule will be mentioned later. One is irresistibly reminded of many points of similarity between these Crafts and Freemasons, particularly in regard to the law against revealing Trade secrets, that is telling to outsiders anything spoken about at the meetings of the Craft. We shall refer in our narrative to one case of the kind.

Varied in size were those wooden booths that were built close to the houses on both sides of the Canongate—from

Holyrood to St. Mary's Wynd. Some booths had a master and a journeyman and, perhaps, an apprentice; others had several journeymen all busy hammering or sewing. The booths that quickly arrested the attention of passers-by were those of armourers, whose shining morions and swords were closely examined by cavaliers and men of war. Then there were the booths of the Cordiners where ladies saw the latest styles in footwear, done in the best of craftsmanship. But there were booths that did not readily catch the eye, that had, in fact, become too small for the man with a growing business. The tenants of these would cast envious eyes on the better placed or larger booths, and would often try to secure them by secretly offering a higher rent. But the laws of the Cordiners did not permit these unbrotherly schemes, and to try to take another's booth or house 'ower his heid' was punishable in a fine of forty shillings. Again, the enterprising cordiner who surreptitiously leased two booths for his increasing business was, when discovered, fined forty shillings. It was impossible to escape detection, and every case of infraction of any of the Craft's laws was certain to be reported to the Incorporation.

The meetings of the Craft were deemed of the utmost importance. Every member was compelled to be present. Until 1653, when the Convening House was ready, the annual meeting, at which office-bearers were elected, was held on the Calton Hill on Beltane Day, or, if that day fell on a Sunday, on 2nd or 3rd May. The other meetings were held at the pleasure of the Deacon. Intimation to all members was made by the Craft officer,<sup>1</sup> who went from booth to booth 'wairning' each to repair to the Abbey Kirk, or the Canongate Tolbooth, or MacNeill's Craigs (as the Calton was called), or to the Convening House, at 'eleven hours of the forenoon of the morrow,' or at 'twa of this efternune,' according to

<sup>1</sup> From 1769 the officer delivered a billet to each member instead of making an oral intimation.

the time of intimation. If the officer called on the evening before the meeting, the names of those who failed to attend were entered in a book of 'Absents,' and the amounts of their fines were carefully noted up at the close of each quarter, when each had to pay. If, however, their summons to attend was made on the same day as the meeting was due to be held a smaller fine was exacted. Nor did the late-comers escape. They were termed 'ceros,' a corrupted form of *sero*, meaning late. The 'ceros' were those who came after the sand of the time-glass had run down and been reversed. The Clerk was prompt in entering the names of the 'ceros' in a book kept for the purpose, as well as in rendering the amount on quarter day. There were times, however, when the rule was relaxed and fines were remitted. The utmost endeavour was made to preserve decorum at the meetings. Each member was obliged to obey the Deacon, and not to speak when another was speaking. Specific rules were laid down but not always enforced for dealing with defaulters.

As already stated, the office-bearers were elected at the meeting held on Beltane Day. The Deacon was first chosen and held office for a year, or two years if he proved popular. He had the right of selecting his 'Second' or vice-chairman, but the practice from 1640 onwards was to elect the retiring Deacon. The ceremony adopted in the election of the Deacon was for the retiring Deacon to take by the hand the man whom he desired, to a part of the room where those whom the others proposed were assembled. Only those members who had paid their dues and were not in debt to the Craft had the right to vote. The history of the Incorporation shows that it was rare to find all the voters thus qualified to exercise their votes, in consequence of which there were at times disorderly meetings.

Then were elected the Boxmaster or Treasurer (whose post was for long the indispensable stepping-stone to the

Deaconship), the 'Masters,' or Council, who, until 1653, were six in number, when they were increased to nine. From 1663 they numbered ten.

The 'little masters' were a later part of the Craft Cabinet, and their duties were mainly to go through the Regality along with the officer and collect the licences paid by the unfree shoemakers and cobblers. The two Keymasters, who were also elected annually, kept the keys of the 'little kist,' in which were stored the Craft's writs. The large 'box,' containing the money, was for some years looked after by the Deacon and Boxmaster, but in the second half of the seventeenth century it was customary to appoint two members who held no other office. There was also from 1643 to 1682 a 'lityll quhyt tine box,' for which one member was made Keeper and another Keymaster. Every fortnight it was their duty, along with the Clerk, to 'goe throw it' and see that all was right. The Clerk held office *ad vitam aut culpam*, and was a lawyer or at least a 'writer,' a term which did not always indicate a qualified legal practitioner; several of the Craft's clerks were Notaries Public. It was a common practice for a Clerk who had held office for many years to resign on full pay, his successor having to consent to hand over the emoluments during the other's lifetime. One exception to that clerkly custom is recorded in 1732, when Alexander Home, who was son-in-law of a member and had become a freeman in virtue of that fact, was unanimously elected by the Craft, against the expressed wish of the retiring Clerk to nominate his successor. The custom of paying the Clerk an annual salary did not begin until 1678, but the older practice of rewarding him with certain fees was continued.

With a few exceptions the Clerk signed all Minutes until 1732, when both Deacon and Clerk signed. That innovation is not altogether explained by the illiteracy of the average Deacon, though in great measure it does account for it. The Craft did not attach much importance to the ability to read

and write until 1671, when an act of the Craft enjoined that only those who could 'read and wrytt' might sit with the Clerk to check the voting.

The officer,<sup>1</sup> who was also elected every year, was generally a poor member of the Craft, who was paid like the Clerk out of the fees of intrants and moneys for summoning members to meetings and special duties; but from 1752 he also received an annual salary. In one case, an officer who was a favourite was given a free house and an allowance for coats and boots. From 1731 there were also annually elected two members whose duties were simply to attend all meetings of journeymen and to report, doubtless, any projected plots to the masters.

The reports sometimes showed deficits, the Boxmaster 'restand' to the trade sums of money, and when the Incorporation lent money to those who were not always 'sure hands.' Keen partisanship attended the election of the Deacon, and when one was elected by the votes of those who were in debt to the Craft the election ought to have been void; but on some occasions the majority would not conform to the law until the matter had been reported to the court of the Conventry and a decision in favour of the minority had been given.

The good fellowship of the Cordiners was made evident in many ways. When a freeman fell ill he was visited, and if in need was given money. In the event of his death all the members were obliged to attend the funeral. Those who failed to do so without good reason were fined. Funerals demanded in most crafts the wearing of hats instead of the everyday bonnet; but the Cordiners, unlike most crafts, had no law on this point. They had their own mortcloth, or pall covering, which was part of the customary equipment of all funerals in those days. There are many references in the Minutes to widows who applied for financial assistance because

<sup>1</sup> 'Beadle' was the term used by the Guild of Cordwainers of London.

they could not meet the funeral expenses. In all such appeals the Cordiners acted graciously, and gave the necessary aid. Many of the widows became pensioners, receiving periodically sums of half a crown or three shillings, which had then greater purchasing power than it has to-day.

Care for the poor was indeed one of the cardinal objects of all trade incorporations, there being no sure sources of relief for those unable to work. The charity workhouse was introduced into the Canongate in 1761, when the Cordiners, with other crafts, were able more easily to make provision for their poor. To this institution the members contributed, and the Deacon was always one of the directors.

The increasing prosperity of the Cordiners of the Canongate was a source of annoyance to the Cordiners of Edinburgh, who could not brook rivals so close to them, and their jealousy was intensified by the practice of the Canongate shoemakers in competing with them in their weekly market. The Canongate Cordiners were often assaulted and their goods seized. Many free fights took place of which no records remain. In December 1568 the Canongate shoemakers went to their feudal chief—the Commendator of Holyrood—with a long tale of their woes. The Commendator then appealed to the Lords of Secret Council in behalf of his subjects. He mentioned these assaults as being 'molestations' of daily occurrence to the cordiners, tailors, smiths and other craftsmen of the Canongate. The North Leith Cordiners, who were of his Barony of Broughton, had been likewise maltreated, and some had been imprisoned because they declined to pay dues to the Edinburgh Cordiners. In consequence, the Lords of Council ordered the offenders 'to desist and cease fra all attempting of ony thing against others by violence . . . but to persew all their actions by order of law and justice.'

The Lords of Secret Council have been blamed for partiality towards the Edinburgh craft. Certainly they were never

really severe in their awards against the town of Edinburgh in the frequent appeals made by the craftsmen of the Canongate. These appeals, which were formulated only after repeated assaults, are therefore not reports of isolated acts of oppression. In 1607 the Bailies of the Canongate joined the Deacon of the Canongate Cordiners in his protest against the action of the Edinburgh Cordiners in committing the said Deacon (T. Lowrie) to ward for merely buying hides in the public market. In the narrative of that appeal we are told that 'although the like oppression has often been attempted before against the smiths, wrights and other craftsmen of the Canongate, this last act has proceeded only from the greed and instigation of John Kneland, Deacon of the Cordiners of Edinburgh, who desire to keep for themselves the whole profit of the public market.'<sup>1</sup> The Lords ordered the Edinburgh men to set Lowrie at liberty. Later, in the same year (1607), the Canongate Cordiners, represented by Charles Fortoun, Deacon, T. Lowrie, Thos. Masoun, John Paterson, Arthur Barrie and Hector Craig, complained to the Council that, having gone to the Edinburgh market to sell 'schone, mullis and other workmanship made of leather,' John Kneland and others had reft from them 'by way of bangstrie, ten pairs of shoes which they detain.'

## II

The Cordiners of 1610 evidently felt that that year would be memorable in their annals. They had, in a measure, established themselves in the eyes of all the authorities and had just concluded a fresh treaty of alliance with their neighbours, the Incorporations of Hammermen, Tailors and Baxters, the 'Band' of May 1546 having apparently been inadequate. The treaty of 1610 (the terms of which are printed in vol. xiv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*)

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, vol. vii. p. 321.

made the position still more secure, by the co-operation of these bodies in all appeals to Law and Parliament, and in the supervision by the Court of Conveners (comprising the deacons of the four allied Crafts and their 'Seconds') of all questions remitted to them by any of the four crafts mentioned. This Court of the Convenery, with its Deacon-Convenery, was undoubtedly of much value to all minorities in the crafts concerned, for it redressed the injustices which occasionally arose. In short, the Court of the Convenery was, for the craftsmen, a court of *dernier ressort*, whose decisions the craftsmen were bound to obey.

The Cordiners, having put their affairs in order by codifying their laws, altogether felt that they had entered upon a new era in their corporate life. The occasion being thus auspicious, the Deacon and masters decided to put away their unfinished Minute Book, and to begin afresh with a new one which they presented, and which, curiously, is the only survivor of all their records. A handsome volume of 792 pages, bound in brown leather, with the arms of the Cordiners in burnished gold on front and back of the volume (*i.e.* a crown surmounting a shoemaker's shaping knife), it served the Craft for no less than one hundred and sixty-three years. The book is indeed worthy of the dedication printed on a flyleaf at each end, which narrates that 'Alexander Law, Deacon, Thomas Lourie, Second, Cuthbert Pinkartoun, Boxmaster, John Craig, elder, Charles Fortoun, William Nicolson, Alexander Menteith, William Arthoure, Henrie Fethie, all being Masters to the saide Deacon, quha gevis this Buke freely to the Craft, and God's blessing.'

The public spirit shown by these office-bearers of 1610 is in striking contrast with the meanness displayed by their successors of May 1773, who, having reached the last vacant page in the book, utilise it in making the following entry:—

'This book being now filled up and exhausted by sundry acts and deeds of the Incorporation, therefore the meeting ordain the following

precedents and acts of the trades to be wrott and made out in one of their old books, wherein there appears to be plenty of room to hold the same for some years, and ordain this Sederunt book to be laid by but kept haill and entire so as to be seen or considered when necessary or called for att all times.'

The Minute Book is rather disappointing in the early years of the seventeenth century owing to the brevity of the entries. Indeed, it is not until about 1640 that the Clerk condescends to refer to some of the items discussed at the meetings. The earlier clerks contented themselves with entering the names of those who had been admitted freemen of the Incorporation from the year 1554. Probably these earlier Minutes would have been fuller had the members known how to read and write. Alexander Law, the donor of the book, was one of the illiterates, and the earliest Minute which bears the signature of the Deacon is one of the year 1622, when 'Archibald Lourie' signs 'with my hand, the 20 of March 1622.' But the practice of the Deacon signing the Minutes did not become general until 1739. Evidently the 'licences' granted by the Bailies of the Canongate to teachers were not fully taken advantage of by the craftsmen of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless the Cordiners, in 1671, made it a rule that at their meetings only 'the men of the Craft that can reid and wrytt' are to be 'chosed in to sitt with the clerk for gaithering and wrytting the books faithfullie, and they are sworn thereto.'

The topics discussed (but not minuted) at the meetings of the period 1610-1618 were the overbearing conduct of the Edinburgh Cordiners and the irregular ways of the Canongate Bailies. There was no cessation of hostilities. The Edinburgh Cordiners continued to assault their brethren, the Canongate Cordiners, on every convenient opportunity; while the maltmen, who formed the majority of the Canongate Council, tried to exclude the crafts' deacons from their place in the Council. The Canongate trades were further harassed by the rival claims of the Lord Superior, through his Bailie,

and the Bailies of the Canongate as regards the government of the lieges. In 1612 relief was obtained, first by the Privy Council ordaining both parties to proceed in their lawsuit with 'sick diligence as goodly may be,' and ordering both parties to find caution for ceasing to molest the inhabitants—the Bailies of the Canongate in a sum of 5000 merks and the Bailie of the Regality in 3000 merks.<sup>1</sup>

The indignation of the Incorporation was again roused when they learned that the Bailies had deposed their Deacon, Alexander Law, the donor of the Minute Book, because he had obeyed the Lord of the Regality and taken on the duties of a constable. This high-handed action had also incensed the said lord, Bellenden of Broughton, who lost no time in presenting his case before the Privy Council. 'Yet true it is,' he said, that 'John Thomson, one of the Bailies of the Canongate and seven councillors' (who are named), 'disdaining that any good ordour whair of they themselfis ar not capable, sould be establischt amangis thame, bot that all thingis sould be directit, ordourit and reullit be thame according to the formar abuse and confusioun' . . . deprived him of his place on the Council. The Lords of the Council found that the Bailies had proceeded unlawfully, and ordered them to restore Deacon Law to his seat on the Council.<sup>2</sup>

But the magistrates of the Canongate were not to be allowed to carry on as they had been doing. In that same year (1612) the Cordiners complained to the Privy Council of the 'verie grite abuse and corruption in the election of magistrates and office-bearers' which had gone on 'for the last twelve years,' by which 'the ancient and lovable form of election which had depended on the voices and consent of the multitude is now reduced to the voices and consent of thirteen persons only, of whom nine are maltmen and four deacons of crafts.' The latter were thus outvoted by the maltmen, who

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, vol. ix. p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 336.

had for twelve years mismanaged the affairs of the burgh. The Cordiners therefore appealed for an order on the burgh magistrates to return to the customary form, namely, that the old Council choose the new, and that both (old and new) should choose the Bailies and other office-bearers. Further, that one in each craft should vote on the election, and that no office-bearers be continued in office for more than one year, in accordance with the Act of James III., fifth Parliament, cap. 29.<sup>1</sup>

The craftsmen won, the Lords of Council decreeing that the Bailies and Councillors should elect seven persons who had not that year been on the Council. These would hold office during the forthcoming year, and would, along with the old Council, elect the Bailies and other office-bearers for the present year. The thirteen, who were to constitute the new Council, were thus to comprise the two old Bailies and the Treasurer, two new Bailies and a new Treasurer, together with the seven persons above referred to.

The Lords, in grandmotherly fashion, counselled the old Bailies to 'proceed to election in a peccable and quiet manner, with calmness, modesty and discretion, as becometh dewtiful, honest-heartit subjectis, forbearing all privat grudges, heart-burning, distemperat humours and passions . . .,' while 'the haill inhabitantis' were to 'reverence, acknowledge and obey the personis so to be electit and chosen in every thing concerning their office.' The Bailies certainly proceeded to the election with calmness and in a peaceable manner, but they took care to hold their meeting on a day when they knew that the Cordiners would be engaged with their own affairs. Not only so, but in order that none might attend the meeting at which the Council was elected, an officer was ready to lock the door in the face of the unwelcome Cordiners, as he ostentatiously did, putting 'the key in his pouches.' It was vain for the indignant shoemakers to make a fresh appeal,

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, vol. ix. p. 462.

for the Privy Council held that there had been no irregularity in the proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

Many years elapsed before the craftsmen had secure possession of their seats on the Council, and throughout the interval they had repeatedly to defend themselves against the violence of the Edinburgh Cordiners. In two cases (both in 1618) the victims complained to the Privy Council. Henry Fethie was walking quietly up the High Street one Sunday when two Edinburgh Cordiners 'spotted' him. Unable to restrain their animosity, they gave chase, and having caught Fethie, assaulted him and relieved him of his cloak and Sunday hat—and all this, as the complainer stated, 'without respect to the Lord's holie Sabbath.' The Lords ordered the culprits to return the cloak and hat to Fethie, but awarded no punishment. The other case was also a Sunday affair. Though they were forbidden to 'schaip and schew' on Sabbath, the Cordiners could apparently carry goods to their customers on that day. Alexander Simpson, who was an employee of Alex. Law, was proceeding along Leith Wynd 'within the liberties of the Canongate' with a pair of 'camrone heeled watt leather schone' when three Edinburgh men, two Cordiners and the town officer, set upon him and seized the shoes, which they kept. Again the Lords of Council refrained from punishing the delinquents, merely ordering them to restore the shoes or pay 30s. to Alex. Law.<sup>2</sup>

The burning question among Cordiners in many Scottish towns during the first two decades of the seventeenth century was the execrable leather provided by the tanners, and how to

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, vol. ix. p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Bruce, deacon, was arrested by order of the Deacon of the Edinburgh Cordiners while returning from a funeral at Greyfriars'. Taken to the Tolbooth, he was examined by the Edinburgh Cordiners as to the practice of the Canongate taking 'made work' into Edinburgh. On a later visit to town, Bruce was again arrested, and placed in gaol. He appealed to the Privy Council, who ordered his liberation and payment of his expenses in a sum of twenty merks.—R.P.C., vol. xiii. p. 139.

get a remedy. The leather which was bought by the Cordiners was 'weit, raw and stinkand.' The tanners, unlike other craftsmen, set up in business without having proved their fitness, and even without any apprenticeship. In the agitation which was begun in 1617 by the Edinburgh Cordiners petitioning the Privy Council,<sup>1</sup> the Canongate Cordiners had no share, whether, as is likely, from spite on the part of Edinburgh, or because they possessed competent tanners. The Edinburgh Cordiners, who were supported by their brethren of East and West Lothian, stressed the incompetency and 'sluggishness' of tanners in every part of the country, and told how the Cordiners of Border towns, like Dumfries, Annan, Kelso, Duns and Jedburgh, made sure of getting well-tanned hides by buying from tanners who came to their markets from Carlisle, Morpeth, Durham and other north of England towns. The Lords of Council took a serious view of a matter in which they, like every one else, were affected; accordingly, they decided to import English tanners as instructors to their Scots colleagues, and appointed Lord Erskine, son of the Earl of Mar, as general administrator.

Seventeen English tanners were obtained and sent as instructors to various towns in Scotland, to the indignation of the Cordiners throughout the country, who lost no opportunity of abusing the unfortunate Englishmen. In the frequent complaints to the Privy Council on behalf of the assaulted English instructors the Canongate Cordiners were never mentioned, but their guiltlessness was more probably due to the fact that no instructors had been sent to their burgh, than to any feelings of restraint or of decorum. If they were free from blame in this epidemic of assault, the Cordiners, in common with all the other crafts of the Canongate, had not scrupled to defy the king—James VI.—when, in preparation for his visit to Holyrood in 1617, he sought lodgings for his retinue and stables for their horses among the residents of

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, vol. xii. pp. 159-171.

the Canongate. The Bailies, who had tried to obey the royal command, had perforce to write a dutiful letter to His Majesty regretting their inability to comply, as the 'Canongate was full of noblemen, gentlemen and officers of His Majesty's forces.' No doubt that was an exaggeration, but the craftsmen and other householders had experience of James's views in regard to payment of accounts and were taking no risks. Their temerity in refusing to find the accommodation was to be punished, the Bailies being ordered to 'tak present order with the persons disobeying and refusing the said billets, and to punish them to the terror of others.' And there the matter seems to have ended.

Elsewhere we learn how every householder in the Canongate throughout the seventeenth century grumbled and protested vigorously, but generally in vain, against the authorities, who made a practice of quartering troops upon them and of compelling them to find room for distressed foreign workmen. Nevertheless the Cordiners, who doubtless secured more customers from these additions to the population, increased in wealth and began to look about for adding to their comfort and that of their poorer brethren. One of their main objects was the support of their indigent members, likewise the widows, who were given small sums periodically from the Craft's box. The Incorporation evidently felt that more could be done in this direction if they had property, from the rents of which they could depend on setting aside fixed sums for such poor. Again, it was a drawback to have to depend on others for leave to meet in the Abbey Church, or the Tolbooth, or worst of all to climb the Calton Hill in order to discuss their affairs—burdened in every case with the strong-boxes.

It is therefore not unreasonable to infer that the act which was passed in 1628 ordaining every member of the Incorporation to contribute quarterly a fixed sum was made with the object of obtaining such a property. Further, though we are in the habit of regarding the celebration of centenaries as

a custom of much later times, it would almost appear as though the Cordiners of 1628-1638 had the centenary of their Craft's institution in their mind. In August 1638 they took stock of their revenue, found it amounted to '600 or 700 merks Scots,' meditated on the kind of property that sum would realise, and decided that it would be insufficient, from the 'maills and duties' of its houses, to yield enough for their 'decayit members.'

Determined to find the money, they immediately drew up a 'Band of Union amangis themselfis' for securing a Convening House which would be a 'spur to uther, our neighbour Tradis to excel and stir thame up to the syke guid wark.' Every member was in consequence obliged to contribute monthly a minimum of four shillings. The Minutes disclose but one list, though there must have been several. In it items ranging from 24s., paid by the Deacon, to 4s. paid by ordinary members, are detailed. Two contributors from the Pleasance and the Leith Cordiners, who are not particularised, gave 53 shillings. Was the collection from the Leith Cordiners gladly given? That would be too much to expect, for in 1633 they had refused to pay the quarterly fees required of them under the Ordinance of 1628, and only complied after judgment had been given against them by the Baron Bailie of the Canongate. The Leith Cordiners must have lamented their unfortunate situation under an oligarchic Incorporation and a partisan tribunal.

The Cordiners of the Canongate were unremitting in their efforts to obtain their property. By November 1638 they had actually bought from Robert Robertson for £1000 Scots one of the three tenements which later comprised their historic 'Lands.' The centenary landmark consisted of 'ane foreland or tenement with ane back house lyand in the Cannogait on the north syd thairoff.' Eight years later (December 28, 1646) they purchased from the same proprietor the two adjoining 'tenements of land with tua yards and

pertinents,' paying for these 3700 merks, and to the magistrates of Edinburgh as superiors, a composition of 120 merks. The Clerk 'and his man,' for their pains, received 100 merks. The Incorporation, having but 1600 merks in their box, had to borrow the remainder. They granted a bond for 1500 merks to the Deacon, and another for 800 merks, to David Sheriff, a brewer, who was repaid at the following Martinmas, the money being found in the following manner:—500 merks from the Craft's box and 300 merks borrowed from the Craft's old friend, Alexander Law. A further sum of 1500 merks, borrowed from another member, James Paterson, enabled the Incorporation in 1647 to take possession of their 'Lands.' These must have enhanced the status of the Incorporation as well as provided a valuable investment. The Cordiners were thenceforth able to draw the rents from the tenants, whose names and rentals the Clerk carefully entered in the Minutes:—

' George Cairncross, for the hail houssis possest be him, viz. the four houssis and cellar: his dwelling hous and laich hous and his wark hous . . . . .	£96 6 8
George Peiris, for his dwelling hous and wark hous . . . . .	25 6 8
James Robesone, for the tua yairds . . . . .	40
Mathow Wedderburne, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	12
Adame Wedderburne, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	13 6 8
Archibald Hamilton, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	12
James Elsinie, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	9
Issobel Inglis, for hir dwelling hous . . . . .	8
David Shirreff, for his dwelling hous, brewhouse, loft and stabill . . . . .	62
Bessie Broun, for hir dwelling hous . . . . .	12
John Cockburne, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	16
Jonet Merteine, for hir dwelling hous . . . . .	26
James Paterson, for his dwelling hous and littill loft . . . . .	38 13 4
Robert Erskine, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	24
Patrik Angous, for his dwelling hous . . . . .	8
	<hr/>
	£402 13 4.'

The Clerk who was responsible for setting forth the above particulars in the Minutes did not detail the names of the successive proprietors, as did his predecessor of 1638 of the proprietors of the first tenement bought. But in the Canongate Register the names are detailed from the date of the Craft's purchase.

The Incorporation was undoubtedly virile and prosperous. The Deacon and masters at this period were, one fancied, becoming somewhat bumptious, self-righteous and overbearing; and the 'Shoemakers and Gowf Bal Makeris' of North Leith were made more and more a kind of milch cow for increasing their steadily growing wealth. That body of expert golf-ball makers, who have escaped the eye of the historians of golf, arouse one's interest for various reasons. They are probably the earliest association of golf-ball manufacturers in the kingdom, a fact alone which entitles their career to careful consideration. Unfortunately, the records of North Leith are too fragmentary to give the desired information; all that we know of them is that given in the Minutes, which represents them under the yoke of the Canongate Cordiners from 1554. Their title of 'Golf Ball Makers' was evidently an official one, derived in 1638 from the Crown, in succession to James Melville, who, in 1618, received (from James VI.) the title and monopoly for twenty years, partly in virtue of the excellence of his ball-making, and partly as an attempt to suppress the practice of importing golf balls from Holland. The North Leith shoemakers, the successors of Melville, were conveniently near the golfers on Leith Links, and though they have left no record of their proficiency in the game comparable with that of the Canongate Cordiner, James Paterson, the partner of the Duke of York, they evidently took a keen interest in golf. Andrew Dickson, the 'fore caddie' to the Duke, was either son or grandson of Andrew Dickson, 'Shoemaker and Gowff Ball Maker in North Leith.'

As members of the Barony of Broughton, they had to pay tribute to the Cordiners of the Canongate, the chief burgh of the Barony. If they grumbled and protested against the tyranny of their neighbours in the Canongate—and they did so in 1633—what must their feelings have been when they were summoned in 1640 to a meeting in the Canongate and concussed into a much stronger bond of vassalage? The Canongate Cordiners dignified the Bond as 'Articles and Institutiones set doune and condescendit upoun mutuallie betwixt,' but it was really downright coercion.

The Leith shoemakers and golf-ball makers were to have the privilege of admitting freemen, on condition that the 'bills' given in were handed over to the Canongate Incorporation. These sums were:—30s. in the case of a freeman's son, 40s. in that of an apprentice, and 5 merks for a stranger. The other dues to be paid by such intrants were: £5 from a freeman's son, £10 from an apprentice, and £20 from a stranger. Of these sums the Canongate Incorporation were to have two-thirds and the Leith shoemakers the remaining third, while a similar division was to be made in regard to the unlaws or fines paid. All other income received by the Leith shoemakers was to be halved with the Canongate Incorporation. As an afterthought there is added the rule that all apprentices are to pay 40s. for their 'booking,' which, along with 'the wine and other pertinents,' was to be delivered to the Canongate Incorporation.

There is a smugness about the Canongate Cordiners which finds expression in their final clause that these dues must be paid 'without defalcation and fraud.' They were 'to employ their awin third to pius uses as mantenance of their awin pur and utheris necessar affaires.'

Why the Leith men suffered these unfair terms and exactions for over thirteen years it is difficult to understand; but in 1654 they did appeal against them to the Court of the Deacon Convener of the Four United Trades, who reduced

the Articles of 1640, ordering the principal parchment to be destroyed and the copy in the Minutes deleted. In its place the Deacon Convener and his Court set forward a fresh code, which contained considerably better terms for the Leith shoemakers. First and foremost, the Canongate Incorporation were not to receive any part of the entrance fees paid by Leith Cordiners for admission to their fraternity. Nor was the overseer to continue (as in the past) to be chosen from the Canongate Cordiners. The selection, however, of the overseer was to be exercised by that body. In 1640 the Canongate Cordiners were quite unconcerned with the ability of the Leith shoemakers to make boots or shoes; they required no essay from any candidate. That was bad and contrary to the professed spirit of the Cordiners, whose certificate, entered in the Minutes, bore that the freeman named was competent to serve the lieges. Accordingly, in 1654, the Deacon Convener insisted on such a proof being shown by every candidate in North Leith—the essay master to be selected from one of their own number, but the essay to be made in the Canongate Convening House.<sup>1</sup>

The North Leith Cordiners gained much by their appeal to the Deacon Convener. Their rights and privileges were now almost equal to those of their brethren in the Canongate, among whom they might settle if they chose, on paying the ordinary entrance dues. The Canongate men could no longer impose arbitrary dues without the consent of the Deacon Convener of the Four United Trades, and they had now to pay their share in the upkeep of the parish church of North Leith.

There are two concessions which strike one as curious and of questionable advantage: (1) the right to the use of the Craft's mortcloth at funerals; and (2) the duty of the Canongate craftsmen to attend funerals of Leith Cordiners. The mortcloth of the Incorporation was to be available for the

<sup>1</sup> An exception was made in 1728, when John Niccol, in North Leith, was exempted from an essay as his 'qualifications are sufficiently attested.'

North Leith men, on the usual terms; while all the members of the Four United Trades—Hammermen, Tailors, Baxters and Cordiners—were thenceforth bound to be present at the funeral of every North Leith Cordiner; and not of them only but of their wives, sons and daughters! On the other hand, a similar obligation lay upon the North Leith Cordiners with regard to the Canongate brethren and their allies. The mortcloth, in those far-off times an indispensable pall covering, was both costly and scarce. It was in much demand by outsiders, who had to pay higher fees for the hire of a Trade Incorporation's mortcloth. And this demand was even greater after 1650 owing to the loss of the mortcloth belonging to the Church of Holyroodhouse.<sup>1</sup> Why all trades should have insisted on their members attending the funerals of not only their fellow craftsmen but those of their wives and families under penalty for absence, it is difficult to understand.

During the decade, 1640-1650, the Deacon and masters of the Incorporation of Canongate Cordiners took their duties seriously. They faithfully administered to each intrant the oath to 'maintain and defend' the National Covenant and (from 1643) the Solemn League and Covenant. If they exacted the utmost from the dependent Cordiners and Golf-ball Makers of North Leith, they were punctilious in seeing that none of their members infringed on the liberties of a neighbouring community, and they tried hard to maintain rigid discipline among their own Craft.

In April 1643 the Incorporation discovered that Archibald Lowrie had been engaged in making illegal contracts with shoemakers in South Leith, who were under the jurisdiction of Edinburgh. Nor was that all. William Lowrie, a brother of the delinquent, had been heard to 'utter most maliciouslie, irreverentlie and impertinentlie, most evill and improper speiches in the heiring of honest men, tending to the hurt and prejudice of their awin trad and libertie and hail libertie of

<sup>1</sup> Canongate Burgh Records in City Chambers.

other tradis within this burgh, expres contrair of all guid ordour and actis of Craft.'

Both brothers were summoned to a meeting of the Craft to answer the charges made against them. The Deacon of the Tailors' Incorporation, who was Convener of the Four United Trades, presided. Archibald, who had himself been Deacon a few years earlier, had to suffer the brunt of the Deacon Convener's homily on the enormity of his offence, which was 'to the prejudice of the Craft . . . who might be drawn in contest with their brethren of Edinburgh, betuixt quhom there has been continual love from strife and [bad] neighbourhood.' But the Deacon Convener was rather overstraining the goodwill sentiment in the Canongate and Edinburgh relationship. Having expressed his views, the Deacon Convener put the question of punishment to the meeting, when the members 'all in ane voce' resolved that Archibald Lowrie should have no place nor vote at any meeting until satisfaction was given. Then followed the charge against William Lowrie. If the meeting expected to find a penitent, they were speedily and rudely undeceived, for William defiantly admitted the truth of the accusation, and made matters worse by 'maist contemptuouslie declaring he would nowayes be impede by the said Deacon Convener nor his companie . . . and behavit himself as gif he had no respect to God or man, by shaking his head and chirping his teeth in inhuman manner, and uttering disdainful and opprobrious speeches, nowayes respecting nor acknowledging the place nor persons.' Again the meeting 'all in ane voce, in his presence, dischairges and excludes the said William Lowrie from having any vote . . . until he give full satisfaction for his said wrangs and misbehaviour, according to equitie.' It speaks much for the forbearance of the outraged Deacon and masters that they waited for six months before recording this Minute in the Minute Book, in the hope that the brothers would apologise. But the two Lowries 'abyding obstinat,' the Deacon was

forced to give effect to the sentence, and thus the entry, damaging to the memory of the brothers Lowrie, was made in the Minutes of September 1643, 'to remain perpetuallie to the exampell of utheris not to be countit the lyke.'

Two years later the Incorporation were in the throes of one of the plagues that periodically devastated Edinburgh. The year 1645 is also notable for the number of historic battles between Royalists and Covenanters, but in the Canongate it was long remembered with feelings of horror for the havoc wrought by the plague. The street was almost deserted, and the suffering were removed to huts built in the adjacent Park of Holyroodhouse. That the plague checked the activities of the Incorporation cannot be doubted, there being an ominous silence, so far as entries in the Minute Book are concerned, between 5th May 1645 and 23rd March 1646. Before the end of the spring of the latter year, the operations of the Cordiners were manifest once more in the fresh accessions to the membership. Moreover, towards the close of 1646 they obtained possession of their second and third tenements, though they did not occupy their Convening House for some years.

The arrival of Cromwell in the Canongate in 1648 may have excited the curiosity of the Cordiners, but it was the effrontery of Alexander Cairnes, merchant, in keeping boots and shoes for sale that put them out of temper. Some of the Incorporation entered his shop, seized the illicit goods, and frightened the shopkeeper. Cairnes was ordered to appear before the Deacon and masters, who administered the necessary rebuke, and fined him £3 Scots, which was duly paid. The office-bearers of 1648 were strict disciplinarians and keen temperance reformers. For several years Parliament had been vainly attempting to put down the growing evil of drunkenness. The Deacon and masters also determined to suppress it as well as swearing among their members. In their Act of 1648, after observing how by drunkenness 'the creatures (were) abused, much pretious tyme (was) misspent';

... how it 'impoverished men, besotted them in their spirits and unfitted them for the service of God and the dewties of their calling'; how it caused 'weaknes and manye diseases brocht upon the bodie' . . . it was enacted that whoever was found 'swearing, cursing or blaspheming the name of God . . . or profaning the Sabbath Day or drinking wyne, ail or beer or any other drink whatsoever in a tavern efter eight hours at evine; or be fund drunk at anie tyme, or drinking wyne in a tavern either in this towne or in the citie or suburbs about, shall be convened befor the trad (except upon lawful and necessar occasionis) and efter a sharp rebuik and admonition shall be fined 40s. Scots if he is a freeman, 20s. if a journeyman, and, if an apprentice, 13s. 4d.' For a second offence the penalty was to be doubled, while those found guilty a third time were to be dealt with by the Deacon Convener.

In this laudable endeavour to put down excessive drinking the Deacon and masters were really re-enacting an old law of the Incorporation made in 1610. Every apprentice, journeyman and freeman were to be informed of this Act, and at their entrance to the Craft were to pledge themselves to observe it. Two months later, in February 1649, the time-honoured custom of making intrants pay for a dinner to the Craft was ended by an Act that aimed no doubt at putting down the drinking which accompanied that meal, as was the case in the booking of apprentices, the engaging master having hitherto been obliged to supply a quantity of drink, known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a 'four hours.'

Some of these hard-drinking and hard-swearing members may have been dealt with by the zealous office-bearers, but if they were, their offences must have been condoned or forgiven under admonition, for no record appears of a fine having been imposed. The Incorporation was evidently as powerless to cope with the vices prevalent among their members as was the Government with the lieges at large. Drunkenness and bad language persisted, as subsequent records prove.



ARMOUR WORN BY THE CORDINER, WHO, AS 'THE BLACK PRINCE,' RODE IN THE PAGEANT OF ST. CRISPIN

## III

The intrusion of Cromwell's Commissioners in Scotland, and particularly in Edinburgh, marked a new era in the history of the Canongate. Elsewhere the effects of their rule were obliterated with the Restoration of Charles II; but in the Canongate the evil consequences remained until the burgh was absorbed by Edinburgh. This state of affairs was due to (1) the refusal of the Canongate magistrates to take the oath acknowledging the rule of Cromwell and his officers, as the Edinburgh magistrates had done; and (2) the vassalage of the Canongate to Edinburgh as a result of the purchase by Edinburgh in 1630 of the Superiority of the Canongate. Not until 1652 did Edinburgh interfere in the municipal government of the Canongate. In that year the magistrates of Edinburgh sent certain proposals for the approval of their Canongate brethren, proposals which were submitted to every Incorporation in the burgh of Regality. The terms were harsh. Edinburgh insisted on making choice of the Bailies of the Canongate from a number of selected Edinburgh burgesses or Canongate burgesses, as they thought proper. Secondly, the Council of the Canongate was to consist of two Bailies and thirteen burgesses of the Canongate, who were to be selected by the Edinburgh magistrates from a list of sixteen, sent to them by the Canongate Council, to which three were to be added by Edinburgh. Furthermore, it was stipulated that all who applied for burghship should be sworn and admitted by the Canongate Bailies, but the fees were to be handed over to Edinburgh.

The Edinburgh magistrates, evidently feeling that their terms would not find acceptance in the Canongate, intimated that they would at once appoint the Council for the Canongate. The Incorporation decided to send a refusal to each article in the Edinburgh edict, and arranged that their Deacon would meet the Deacons of the other crafts and take suitable

measures for opposing the tyrannical Edinburgh magistrates. What steps were actually taken the Minutes do not disclose, but elsewhere we learn that an official, known as the Baron Bailie, was intruded and—if the charges against him be true—exercised his powers despotically and corruptly.<sup>1</sup>

From the lack of information in the Minutes of the second half of the seventeenth century, and in respect of the numbers of intrants to the Incorporation, one might infer that the times were prosperous and that the Cordiners steadily increased in wealth. The first inference, however, would be wrong. The Privy Council records mention frequent appeals regarding the distressing poverty of the Canongate, the unfair quartering of troops upon the residents (which on one occasion led to a tumult among the apprentices), and the old complaint of intruded foreign workmen. If some of these complaints were true, it is equally true that many rich people resided in the Canongate and appear to have kept the Cordiners fully occupied. In 1671 the craftsmen reformed their procedure at annual meetings. In the code which they then drew up we are shown the meeting-hall with the Deacon in the chair, and the Clerk seated at the table, at which stands the Craft officer, ready to carry out all orders. The Clerk opens the proceedings with a special prayer, read only at annual meetings. Next, every member is questioned as to whether he has brought his quarterly accounts and paid these to the Boxmaster. All defaulters are watched lest they attempt to exercise their vote. This scrutiny of the members occurred every quarter-day. According to the 'Trew Order' made in 1671, defaulting members were to be removed; but that never seems to have been carried out. All members 'that can reid and wrytt' were accorded the privilege of sitting 'along with the Clerk for gaithering and wrytting the books faithfullie.' In the election of the Deacon the procedure was as follows:—The Deacon, on leaving his seat, took by the

<sup>1</sup> Court of Session Papers, 1739, Smart v. Jack.

hand one who had served as Boxmaster in some earlier year, and set him apart, there to await the completion of the leet. That done, the members selected another, who stood beside the man of the Deacon's choice and the Boxmaster for the year just ended. The Clerk, with the roll of members before him, then directed the officer to call upon the Deacon for his vote (or rather two votes), after which the members voted by a 'show of hands.' These being 'sichtit,' the official elected was known 'be pluralitie of votes and received by the hail craft, under sign taken by the hand.'

The Deacon's election was followed by that of the Boxmaster. The person retiring from the office, styled the 'old boxmaster,' was put on the leet along with two chosen by the members. Voting then proceeded in similar fashion to that in the case of the Deacon. Until 1671 the Deacon's 'Second,' or vice-Deacon, was selected by the vote of the Craft from a leet of three. But with the enacting of the 'Trew Order' in that year this arrangement ceased. It was then decided that when a new Deacon was elected, the retiring or 'old deacon' became automatically 'Second' to the new Deacon, to whom he was bound to 'give his best advyse.' Where, however, the Deacon was re-elected, the Craft had power to place two on the leet with the 'old' Second, the votes deciding who was to be the new Second.

The six masters (subsequently increased to ten) were selected from a leet of twenty, of whom sixteen were nominated by the Deacon. One, however, might be at once appointed by the Deacon and another by the Boxmaster, the remaining eight being selected by the votes of the Craft. Finally, all the members took oath to obey the acts of the Deacon, Boxmaster and masters. The officer, in addition, had to swear that he would faithfully carry out the duties put upon him by the Deacon. The Craft's entire laws were revised five years later, but only a few alterations were made on the code of 1610.

The Incorporation appear to have been very well satisfied

with their condition, and some of their money they spent in the external adornment of their Lands. In 1677 they placed over one of their doorways the elaborate escutcheon and scroll with open Bible and the first verse of the Scottish metrical version of the 133rd Psalm.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1682, the Incorporation bought a handsome deacon's chair for the Convening House, which stood behind the Lands. But hard times were in store. Only the annual meeting was held in 1682, when office-bearers were elected, but no additions were made to the membership. In 1683 only one was admitted from the Canon-gate and two from North Leith: in 1684 there was but one admission. The entire burgh at this time was in a state of depression. In 1685 the Deacons of the Trades joined the magistrates of the Canongate in petitioning the Privy Council for the redress of certain grievances. 'For several years past,' it was urged, 'they have been sadly and lamentably groaning under a great and insufferable burden in finding room for five companies of Foot soldiers and several of His Majesty's Guard, gentlemen of Artillery, Ordinance,' etc. Another grievance was the

'great and considerable yearly stent whereby the poor inhabitants are *redacted* to such straits and difficulties that the very *cloaths of their bedds* are dayly poynded for their respective proportions; and thereby through the same burden, are every day forced to desert the place, not only leaving behind them their wives and children to charity . . . but also leaving houses waste. And seeing the West Port and Potterrow are free of these, and as the Canongate, in respect of decay of trade and poverty and that a considerable part is inhabited by noblemen, gentlemen, officers and soldiers . . . who are not liable, they crave . . . to have speedy relief.'<sup>2</sup>

To this petition no redress was given. Indeed the burdens were increased that very year by an additional squadron of King's Guards.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This elaborately sculptured stone is reproduced on p. 39 of vol. xvii. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

<sup>2</sup> Register, Privy Council, 3rd ser., vol. xi. pp. 175-176.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.



TABARD WORN IN THE PAGEANT ON ST. CRISPIN'S DAY  
(For description, see p. 136)

As a result of these injustices strong resentment was felt by the Canongate people which found vent in frequent tumults. How far the Cordiners may have shared in this resentment it is impossible to judge; they probably benefited by getting additional customers. In 1677 they had, in obedience to the King's command, made 'as many shoes for the troops' as they could manage, for which, also by the King's command, they were to be 'carefully paid.'<sup>1</sup>

With the advent of the Revolution in 1688 matters improved. The Cordiners, along with the Hammermen, Baxters and Tailors, presented a petition to Parliament for ratification of all the privileges which they had enjoyed under their ancient Seals of Cause, and they were also granted exemption from all local taxes on their buildings.<sup>2</sup> Further, an appeal was made to the Incorporation by the shoemakers and cobblers of South Leith who worked at stalls situated on the boundary of North and South Leith. For many years they had paid to the Craft 40s. per annum for that privilege, but now pleaded their inability to pay so large a sum. The Craft reduced the fee to 7s. 6d.

The Incorporation having now time to put their affairs in order, the Deacon began by reminding the brethren of their neglect of the old and 'laudable custom' of marching in procession to 'hear sermon' in North Leith Church, and threatened absentees with a fine. There was never any occasion, however, to exhort the craftsmen<sup>3</sup> to take part in another time-honoured procession. For a long period it had been the custom on October 25—St. Crispin's Day—for the Craft to celebrate their patron saint by a splendid pageant. First, they met in the Convening House, where they elected one of their number 'King Crispin,' upon whose head they placed a crown similar to an actual royal

<sup>1</sup> Register, Privy Council, 3rd ser., vol. v. pp. 333-334.

<sup>2</sup> Acts, Parliament of Scotland, vol. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the journeymen were the chief actors in the procession.

crown.<sup>1</sup> Composed of crimson plush, it was fitted into a yellow metal framework, with 'jewels.' 'King Crispin' wore a red satin and ermine robe, carried a sceptre, and had his heralds and other officers of State, including a mail-clad knight known as the 'Black Prince.' The picturesque cavalcade, part of which was mounted, and all the members of which were dressed in quaint costumes, marched through the bounds, to the apparent delight of the community. How strongly the spectacle must have appealed to every member of the Craft is evident from the fact that it was held until at least 1820. Sir Daniel Wilson knew a person who had witnessed the pageant, and was able to recall an old survivor, the widow of the cordiner who, for many years, had played the part of the 'Black Prince.' The old lady had also acted the part of the 'Princess.' Some idea of the magnificence of that annual fête may be found by visiting the Municipal Museum in Lady Stair's House, where, in a large glass case, are displayed the regalia of the Incorporation, consisting of the crown, sceptre, sword of state, two faded tabards,<sup>2</sup> two velvet gold-braided caps with red and blue ostrich feathers, an array of batons and other accessories. To the right of the case is the suit of armour of the 'Black Prince.'

The Canongate Cordiners were romantic as well as practical. The amazing wealth of the Indies, and the Darien scheme for acquiring a share of it, fired their imagination,

<sup>1</sup> In 1820 the 'coronation' took place in the Picture Gallery of Holyroodhouse.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a description of the Royal Arms on one of the tabards (*circa* 1714-1801):—Quarterly 1st, Two coats impaled dexter Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale Or, sinister Or, a lion rampant Gules, armed and langued Azure, within a double tressure flory counter flory of the second; second, Azure, three fleur de lys Or, for France; third, Azure, a harp Or, stringed Argent, for Ireland; fourth, Per pale and per chevron 1st Gules, two lions passant guardant in pale Or, for Brunswick 2nd Or, semée of hearts a lion rampant Azure, for Lunenburg; 3rd Gules, a horse courant Argent, for Westphalia over all an inescutcheon Gules, charged with the golden crown of Charlemagne proper. These arms are repeated on the arms and back; suspended from the collar is the badge of the Cordiners—a shoemaker's knife surmounted by a Royal Crown. (*See Illustration.*)

as it did that of so many Scots of the time. At a meeting held on April 10, 1696, it was decided to 'give ane hundredth pound sterling' to the promoters.

But the Incorporation was far from being exemplary. The swearing and drinking, which had been so long deplored, continued, and in December 1698 the Deacon tried once more to mend the manners of his brethren. Censors were appointed, whose duty it was to take note of all offenders and to report them to a future meeting. Those who were proved guilty were to be fined 40s. for a first offence. But this plan does not appear to have had any more success than those of earlier days. In spite of their coarseness the craftsmen were careful of the funds. In 1704 the office-bearers decided that the old mortcloth, which had been in use for more than a century, was too dilapidated for further use. They therefore agreed to buy a new one of velvet, but, instead of drawing upon the Craft's money, they invited contributions from the members, and £156, 6s. was collected.

The Union of the Parliaments in 1707 did not materially affect the Cordiners. The aristocratic and the wealthy among the residents of the Canongate still remained. The intrants to the Incorporation, though not numerous, were not fewer in the years immediately following than those admitted just before the Union. From 1700 to 1708 the admissions numbered 13; from 1689 to 1709, 37; from 1709 to 1718, 17; and from 1709 to 1728, 38.

While steadily building up their fortunes, the Incorporation did not forget to give alms to decayed members and their widows. The risk of fire in their buildings had not indeed occurred to the Cordiners, until they received a communication from the directors of the 'Edinburgh Friendly Society against Fire,'<sup>1</sup> in which they were reminded of recent fires in 'Edinburgh and suburbs.' The Incorporation thereupon decided to invite the directors to 'visit and inspect' their

<sup>1</sup> The first insurance company established in Edinburgh.

rental, after which insurance was to be effected on £1840 of the property of the Craft.

A nasty jar they had in 1742, when the members were made aware that a portion of their funds was missing. Consequently, fresh regulations were drawn up with a view to restricting the powers of the Deacon and the Boxmaster, and to ending the practice of these officials in lending the Craft's money. In future all loans were to be granted only after leave had been given by a meeting of members. In every transaction the Keymasters were to be witnesses to all that was put into and taken out of the box. Then the Boxmaster's accounts were to be scrutinised by the Deacon and Masters before quarter-day—'to see if they are right cast and truly stated,' and any balance was to be put on the table at the meeting, 'to be disposed of as Trade think fit.'

The duties of the Boxmasters included letting the Craft's houses, uplifting the rents, paying the Incorporation's debts, and taking care of their property. If the Boxmaster kept his accounts correctly for more than two years he was to receive an honorarium. It is curious that no ex-Deacon or ex-Boxmaster could be again eligible for the office of Boxmaster unless he were 'in necessity,' in which case he was given £5 per annum as salary. Tradesmen were to be employed by the Trade, not by the Deacon or Boxmaster. The fines as well as the dues of intrants and apprentices were not to be in the custody of the Boxmaster but in that of a member appointed annually by the Craft. From the fines and dues were to come the grants to the poor of the Craft, and the kirk seats were to be repaired out of money derived from the same source.

Among other regulations enacted at this time was one that no member in debt to the Incorporation could vote at meetings—a law which was frequently broken and a cause of much disorder. It was also ordained that none holding a lucrative post either in the burgh or in the Craft should have

a vote, a rule which, it is not surprising to learn, was shortly afterwards rescinded.

The office-bearers clearly realised when these rules were made, that much money belonging to the Incorporation was missing. Creditors were pressing, though it is only by the slenderest of hints that one arrives at the facts. Well might the members decline the proposal made in 1743 by the Bailies of the burgh to contribute towards the establishment of a poorhouse in the Canongate, for the blow fell towards the close of the same year, when proceedings were instituted in the Court of Session to sequestrate the Incorporation. There was no escape. The Cordiners of the Canongate were declared bankrupt, Ninian Cunningham, writer, being appointed trustee. As a result, the 'Shoemakers' Lands' were taken from the Craft and sold. The creditors evidently realised the insolvency of the Incorporation long before the Deacon and Masters awoke to the fact. Moreover, the news of their sequestration led many to suspect fraud on the part of the office-bearers, and the creditors, with a view to ascertaining the facts, had the Deacon, Boxmaster, and Masters summoned to the Court of Session, where it was found that their insolvency was 'due to a long series of mismanagements in times past, and not to any fraud or wilful abuses committed by members still living.'

As the Cordiners 'signified their willingness to give up all the effects of their Incorporation,' the creditors were satisfied, all except 'Thomas Grant, late Bailie in the Canongate,' who was a creditor to the extent of £80, and who, after arrangements had been made by the trustee, 'laid arrestments in the hands of the tenants' of the Incorporation. The trustee, who raised an action to remove these arrestments, explained the facts to the Court, and told how the creditors had 'waived their right to the cordiners' quarterly payments and upsets of new members, as these went to the poor of the Incorporation.' As an afterthought, he added that they 'would never

come to anything.' Grant and his counsel, in their 'Information,' made full use of the liberty then allowed litigants to libel their opponents. The printed statement, while it must have caused pain to those concerned, is now distinctly amusing. After naming individually the Deacon, Boxmaster, and ten Masters, Grant refers to them as

'The Twelve Wise Men who, after stratagems to get peoples money into their clutches, were at an end, judged it proper to retire and abscond for no less than eight days in February 1743—particularly Deacon Smith, who fled the country and stayed in Carlisle and skulked there for six months. Conscious of their guilt as notorious, fraudulent bankrupts, they knew the Abbey would afford them no protection . . . that the masters of this Incorporation have, for a considerable time bypast, been carrying on a traffic in which the highest disingenuity and grossest fraud that possibly can occur, is now become manifest. The Incorporation made a fair appearance in the eye of the world and had the cunning to preserve its credit, while at the bottom it was unsound and rotten. May it not, then, be deservedly compared to a Band of Pirates or a Den of Robbers? Nay, the crime here perpetrated seems worse than open Robbery. Is there any action on Earth more full of perfidy and Deceit than to take the money of an honest, industrious person, when one knows he is not able to repay it?'

But the 'honest, industrious' ex-Bailie had to take his place beside the other creditors. The Cordiners were now 'landless' and almost penniless.

#### IV

With surprising ingenuity, however, the Cordiners set about the recapture of their old-time prosperity. They sought several avenues towards that objective. For one thing, they cut down the clerk's salary to a mere pittance, and for another, they cancelled all arrears due by various members, but gave warning that they would exact every penny from absentees from and latecomers to their meetings, in sums of 3d. and 1d. Scots respectively. Formerly, members in arrear with

their quarterly subscriptions were prohibited from voting, but they were now to be prosecuted. This resolution, however, was not carried out, probably because of the legal costs. Despite their financial state, the members continued to hold their meetings in the Convening House in Shoemakers' Close, no longer, however, as proprietors, but as tenants paying an annual rent, which was raised from 10s. in 1744 to 17s. in 1752.

Though all were bent on rebuilding the shattered fortunes of the Incorporation, the members individually were becoming increasingly troublesome to the office-bearers. At the first annual meeting after the bankruptcy, when a new Deacon was to be elected, exception was taken to the candidature of ex-Boxmaster James Cathie. One member alleged, after the manner of ex-Bailie Grant, that Cathie was unfit, in respect that he had, when Boxmaster, 'introrried with public money . . . and applied the same to his own use.' There were other allegations, all which, he added, were 'notoriously known to most part of the burgh of Canongate.' In these circumstances 'his election would be construed as an expression of the members' acquiescence in his irregularities.' The protest passed unheeded, Cathie being elected by a majority. His tenure of office was, however, of short duration, for on appeal to the Court of Conventry the election was declared null and void, members who were in arrear with their subscriptions having voted. But Cathie did not demit office without a protest, which was accompanied by an exhibition of bad temper towards his successful rival, whom he accused of having failed to return all payments received by him when collecting the dues of unfree cobblers and shoemakers. Whether the accusation was founded on fact or not, it did show a looseness in the Craft's supervision of the 'little masters,' which was quickly put right by requiring reports of the sums received each year from these sources, and insisting upon the officer accompanying the 'little masters' on their collecting 'rounds.'

magistrates, heritors, kirk session and Incorporated Trades in four equal parts. This arrangement was strongly disapproved of by the Cordiners, who instructed their Clerk to inform the magistrates that they 'would pay £1 stg. but no more on any account.'

Two years later (1757) the magistrates again offended the Cordiners, and delegates were appointed from the Incorporation to 'wait upon the magistrates to see what remedies they proposed to make regarding their seat which was rendered almost useless.' If the magistrates refused to 'put their seat as formerly,' they were to be sued for damages. The magistrates did refuse, and an action was raised in the Court of Session. The records of the result are unfortunately not extant; but it is abundantly clear that the Incorporation were keenly interested in their parish church, and that they kept their seats in repair, employing at various times a wright to make certain alterations, and on one occasion instructing a litster to dye black the 'cloth coverings.'

The Incorporation had been asked several times to help in the establishment of a poorhouse for the Canongate, but had been obliged to decline in view of their own indigence. In 1753, however, their fortunes were so far in the ascendant that they agreed to pay £5 stg., though they stipulated that they should 'not be bound to continue.' The same question was again raised in November 1759, when the Cordiners, on learning that the magistrates and heritors were bent on carrying on 'so pious and laudable a work,' decided to contribute £8 stg. In recognition of this aid the Deacon and Second were placed on the Board of Management.

As they steadily regained financial stability, the Cordiners became increasingly mindful of their own poor. One of their dependants was ex-Deacon Robert Merston, who, in 1754, petitioned for help, as his furniture had been seized for payment of rent 'and would be roused next day.' His debt was £2, 2s. stg. In his petition Merston said he was 'reduced to

straits by misfortunes.' The sum required to defray the debt was thereupon taken from the box and sent to Merston. Two years later Merston, 'an old member, now in great distress,' received 10s. stg. 'of charity, to support him in his indigent circumstances.' In the same year John Christie, another 'old member,' was given 5s. stg., while seven widows of members each received 2s. per quarter 'till further orders.'

In 1755 the members, with a view to making their money yield as much as possible, instructed the Boxmaster to take out the sum in the box and put it, along with other sums amounting to £40 stg., into the bank of William Cumming for 'such interest as he will give.' But Cumming declined to deal with the Incorporation, and the money was lent to Thomas Foggo, banker, 'on his note,' till further orders. Later, the Craft were disappointed to learn that the rate of interest was lower than they had expected. Nevertheless, they were able to purchase in 1758, by means of a loan, the top flat of one of their old tenements for £21, 15s.

The Canongate between the years 1749 and 1774 was a very different thoroughfare from that of two centuries earlier. Not only had the picturesque but inflammable wooden houses been superseded by stone tenements,<sup>1</sup> but the long familiar craftsmen's booths were now few. By this time the master cordiners had adopted the fashion of permitting their journeymen and apprentices to work in the houses of different people, an arrangement which relieved masters of the difficulty of finding suitable shop accommodation. Moreover, the monetary saving to the masters was a benefit to those journeymen who found room for others to work alongside them, because, from each workman who worked there, the householder charged 1d. per week. The apprentices alone were likely to suffer. They were supposed to learn from the master, but in most instances it was the journeymen who were

<sup>1</sup> An Act of the Privy Council in 1674 required all tenements to be built of stone and lime.—Register, Privy Council, 3rd ser., vol. iv. p. 182.

deputed to teach them. As the latter were paid, not by the day or the week, but for each pair of boots or shoes made, the time spent on the apprentices' training must have been scanty.

Another problem, and a much more serious one, was manifest not only among the Cordiner journeymen of the Canongate, but among craftsmen in every considerable town in Scotland and England—the problem of their wages. The masters might congratulate themselves on economising in shop accommodation, but they were unaware of the measures devised in these private houses—measures which were soon to involve masters and workmen in expensive litigation, with the prospect of imprisonment in the case of the latter for daring to rebel against unfair conditions.

But before these conflicts arrived the Incorporation had engaged in several lawsuits while avoiding others. For example, they declined, in 1753, by a majority of 14 to 3, to be drawn into opposition to a project of Edinburgh which sought from Parliament power to have North Leith joined to South Leith.

The Incorporation was considerate of the needs of their officer, William Cathie, who, besides having a free house, and coal and light in their Convening House, received periodically '£1 stg. to help to buy a coat,' and '5s. to buy a pair of shoes,' because he was 'an old and good servant.' Cathie's widow, again, was permitted to remain in the house at a rent of £2 stg. But the old ideals of brotherhood were too often lost sight of. In April 1755 a serious infraction of one of the Craft's oldest laws was revealed when John Nairn and Andrew Gray were overheard, in Mrs. Orrock's house in Leith Wynd, revealing Trade secrets. Both denied the charge, which was made by the Boxmaster. The latter's word was preferred, and, on a vote being taken for expulsion, the craftsmen showed their feelings in various ways. Six voted for expulsion; other six did not vote, while three left the meeting before the

vote was taken. Nairn and Gray were expelled, but were readmitted a month later.

More serious was the disorder that marked the meetings of this period; so much so that, in 1760, a member protested that as the meetings of the Craft were 'very irregular and turbulent, he ought not to be liable in payment of fines for absence.' While David Hendry did not disturb a meeting, he 'in a public manner said that he despised the Trade and their posts and would not serve, though elected, as a little master.' For this he was summoned to a meeting, and after his case had been heard, was told to wait outside the room until a decision was reached. Hendry accordingly withdrew, but not to wait. The situation was most amusing: the judges ready to administer punishment and the prisoner gone! A further summons was issued, but we hear no more of Hendry.

The case of William Ramsay was in some respects much worse, for he had called the Deacon a 'scoundrel.' On being summoned Ramsay apologised, and urged as his excuse that he had been drunk, and 'doubted not the truth of the accusation.' The majority were in favour of Ramsay's suspension for a year, but that sentence was revoked a month later, on the motion of the Deacon, who 'heard that the culprit was sensible of his fault.'

The last decade of the Craft's career, covered by these Minutes, shows us a picture of a well-regulated organisation with a large interest in the Insurance Company of Edinburgh, and with a share in the control of several public concerns. The Deacon and masters still keep a vigilant eye upon those who infringe their privileges—the 'unfree' shoemakers and cobblers, and resort to the Sheriff Court when they deem it necessary to bear down the obstinate. Further, the Craftsmen are exemplary in their care of the poor 'decayed' members and their dependants, withholding assistance from none but widow Cathie, whose application is rejected 'because she had

sufficient already.' There is the distressing case of one member who, not long after getting ten shillings in charity from the Incorporation, is put in prison for debt. And from prison he sends word that if the Incorporation will but lend him thirty shillings to permit of his liberation, he will repay the loan. The members are anxious to relieve their fellow-member, but rightly entertain no hope of repayment. The applicant's case is hopeless, but they give him twenty shillings to assist him towards getting his freedom. Another gratuity of ten shillings is given from the Craft's funds, and this 'old, failed member' is finally 'enrolled as a pensioner of the Incorporation' along with eleven widows. In 1772 the annuities paid to these pensioners are considered with a view to increases being made. Moreover, the Craftsmen are equally sympathetic with those who have fallen behind with their quarterly subscriptions, and with those, too, whose fines for absence from meetings have reached large figures. All these defaulters get rebates.

On the other hand, a deaf ear is turned to all appeals by employees for an increase in their wages. The journeymen had been in the habit of holding their meetings in the old Convening House in Shoemakers' Close; and in 1768, when they were unable to pay the rent, the Incorporation granted an extension of time. The journeymen were disappointed, and evidently feeling that they must adopt the measures common among craftsmen in the late eighteenth century of combining to secure fair treatment, twenty-five undertake to finish the tasks upon which they were employed, and then to seek employment from those who will give them an increase of twopence on each pair of shoes and sixpence on each pair of boots which they made. Their pay was not regular, but depended on the work accomplished, and was at the rate of 1s. 10d. for a pair of boots. They therefore regarded themselves free to offer their services wherever they pleased. But as the law then was, they were in the

wrong, and the Incorporation took every step to crush these unfortunate journeymen. The Craft made agreements with the Cordiners' Incorporations of Edinburgh, Potterrow and Portsburgh, as well as with those of Glasgow and Dundee, to the effect that no journeymen from the Canongate would be employed by any of these organisations for a period of six months. The Incorporation also applied to the Sheriff for a warrant to imprison the twenty-five 'rebellious' journeymen, and succeeded in getting thirteen sent to gaol until they undertook to return to work. The journeymen concerned, though they signed their bond to resume work, interpreted the Sheriff's order as applying to work for *any* cordiner. They accordingly transferred their services, some to complaisant masters who were not members of the Incorporation. Others set up for themselves in the Mint (Cowgate) and St. Ninian's Row, where all were 'free.' This led to further applications to the Sheriff by the Incorporation, and appeals by the journeymen, who finally raised an action in the Court of Session. The Minutes are disappointingly meagre in detailing the progress of this lawsuit, which occupied a whole year before a decision was reached. The grievances of the journeymen, as given in the *Memorial* laid before the Court in 1770, are interesting in many ways. For twenty years their wages had been stationary, while the cost of living, notably house rents and prices of foodstuffs, had increased. About 1750 'channeled pumps' had been the fashionable footwear, but these had gone completely out of fashion. As the 'channeled pumps' were easily made, their disuse had meant a loss of 2s. 6d or 3s. on the weekly wage.

How the action ended we are unable to state, for no record can be traced in the entries in the Court of Session Minutes of the period, nor in the Minutes of the Incorporation. All that the Cordiners chronicle are the expenses to which they were put, and the proportion which the Edinburgh Incorporation assigned to them. These costs they at first flatly refused

to pay, but later decided to refer the question to 'two goodmen' of the Canongate whom they found in two brewers. If they disagreed, the matter was to be decided by a third person. And there the Minutes end.

Nothing of the later history of the Incorporation is known until 1833, when the office-bearers were examined, along with other privileged crafts, by the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon all Craft Guilds in Scotland. It was evidently declining then, and in 1843 the decline became accentuated by 'frequent deaths' and no accessions to the membership. Money difficulties made matters worse. From the few Minutes found recently in a thin ledger, we learn that the Deacon did duty, or, to be exact, failed to do duty as Deacon and Boxmaster and refused to deliver either books or money to the Incorporation. The kirk session of North Leith pressed for payment of a debt which the members could not pay because the rents of small houses due to them had not been paid. Finally, in 1852 they realised that it was impossible, 'even if it had been desirable to keep up the Incorporation any longer.' Accordingly, it was decided 'to realise the small property belonging to the body, and to divide the same . . . and so close the concern.'

C. A. MALCOLM.

#### NOTES ON LANDS OF HIGH RIGGS, DRUMDRYAN, AND TOLLCROSS

THE earliest authentic information regarding the lands of High Riggs, Drumdryan, and Tollcross goes back to the beginning of the fifteenth century. How long before that they were known by these names cannot be stated, but the surprising thing is, that at the present day these distinctive titles are still applied to portions of the original areas.

Situated south-west of Edinburgh Castle, the history of these lands well repays study. Those of High Riggs, as having the largest area, first demand attention. The name suggests a stretch of land under cultivation. The lands of High Riggs extended from the Potterrow on the east to Drumdryan on the west, and formed a plateau which gently sloped to a shallow sheet of water known as the South Loch. They were bounded on the north side by the Grassmarket and West Port. The original grant of High Riggs to the family of Touris of Inverleith has not been preserved, but probably the earliest recorded mention of the lands is in a charter granted in 1439 by John Touris to his son. Here is an abstract of the charter<sup>1</sup>:—

Apud Edinburgh, 2nd Sepr. 1458. Rex confirmavit cartam Johannis de Touris de Inverleith et domini de Dalry (qua concessit filio suo Petro de Touris heredibus ejus vel assignatis pro ejus servitio)—terras de Heriggis prope juxta burgum de Edinburgh, vic. ejusdem, ex parte australi dicte ville, inter viam regiam que ducit a dicta ville ex parte orientali ecclesie. S. Joh. Bapt. sub muro castri de Edinburgh ad le Borrow-mure<sup>2</sup> ex parte una, et communem viam regiam que ducit

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Great Seal*, vol. ii., 1424-1513, item 616.

<sup>2</sup> Certainly not St. John's Chapel on Burgh Muir, which was not built till the year of Flodden. See *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. x. pp. 97-8. The church referred to appears to have been near the foot of the Castle Rock, and *Laing Charters*, Nos. 118 and 137, seem to indicate that it was within the burgh.

a dicta villa per le Tolcours ex parte occidentali, ex parte altera, necnon jacen inter dictam villam ex parte boreali et terram de Drumdriain ex parte australi:—Reddend. unum denarium argenti nomine albe firme, ac etiam 12 mercas ad sustentationem unius capellani cotidie (divina) celebraturi. . . . Trinitatis in insula Beate Katerine virginis in ecclesia S Egidii de Edinburgh, pro animabus patris sui et matris, etc. Cristiane sponse sue.—[Test. Geo Lawdor and six other names.] Apud Edinburgh, April 14, 1439.<sup>1</sup>

From 'Acta Dom. Auditorum,' under date 19th May 1491, we learn of an action being raised by Alexander Nicolson, son and heir of John Nicolson, against members of assize, for having in error served him as heir to his father in the lands of Hieriggis (apparently some technical omission as to the superior, James of Touris, whose own titles may have been in question). The Lords Auditors reduced the service. Another entry in 'Acta Dom. Concilii,' dated 23rd January 1492-3, makes allusion to the Lords having appointed the terms of a Decree-arbitral to be enforced in a submission between Richard Lawson on the one part, and John Preston and Henry Preston on the other, anent the lands of Hieryggis.

The last-mentioned item is of particular interest if for no other reason than because it contains the earliest known reference to a family associated with this district of Edinburgh for several centuries, a family, moreover, which played some part in national history in the sixteenth century—the Lawsons of High Riggs. Richard Lawson, referred to above, was an

<sup>1</sup> The following is a translation:—

The King confirms in 1458 a Charter granted in 1439 by John Touris of Inverleith, Laird of Dalry, to Peter of Touris, his son and heirs and assignees of the lands of Heriggis, close beside the burgh of Edinburgh on south side thereof, between the King's way, which leads from the said town by the east side of the Church of St. John the Baptist, beneath the Castle wall, to the Borrowmure on the one part, and the King's highway, leading from the town by the Tolcours on the west on the other part, likewise lying between the said town on the north, and the lands of Drumdriain on the south; for payment of a silver penny in name of blench farm, and 12 merks for support of a chaplain at the Trinity altar in the aisle of St. Katherine the Virgin in St. Giles' Church, on behalf of the souls of (the granter's) father and mother, Christian, his spouse, etc.

outstanding personality in Edinburgh at the end of the fifteenth century. As Town Clerk in 1482, and Justice Clerk in 1489-95, he was largely employed in State business. Richard Lawson was Provost of Edinburgh in 1492 and again in 1504-5, and, as a member of the King's Council, his name is mentioned in a number of Scottish treaties made with England. He was frequently sent as ambassador to the English Court. Richard Lawson owned the estate of Cairnmuir and other lands in Scotland. He died in 1507 and was succeeded by his son Robert, who fell at Flodden. Another representative of this family was James Lawson, who was a Senator of the College of Justice in 1532-35. He also was Provost of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup>

Later in the same century, in 1568, we hear of John Lawson opposing the Town Council, who had built a wall upon his lands of High Riggs, and thereby caused the water of the South Loch to flood part of his property. As the Council firmly declined to remove it, John Lawson 'cast down and broke thair new dike.'<sup>2</sup> When the damage was discovered the Town Council summoned the inhabitants with 'schole and mattok and spaid' to pass with the Bailies to repair the damage done. This incident shows the extent westwards of the lands of High Riggs, as the only place the water could pass through this area was near what is now Tarvit Street. In 1573 there was more friction between John Lawson and the Town Council. On 25th November the city fathers drew the attention of the laird of High Riggs to the ruinous state of the gallery at the nether end of his 'greit biging.' As this had become a danger to all who made use of the common passage of the 'Ovir Bow,' the Council ordained him to take it down. In the event of non-compliance the Council decided to remove the decayed gallery at the laird's expense. Lawson

<sup>1</sup> *Burgh Records*, vol. iii., App. of Provosts. See also Buchan's *History of Peebles-shire*, vol. iii. p. 149 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Burgh Records*, vol. iii. pp. 256-7.

was also ordered to remove certain houses which he was building upon the town's common passage, outwith the West Port 'foirnent his sclait barn.'

How these complaints were settled does not appear, but the entries from the Burgh Records are interesting inasmuch as they disclose where the mansion of the Lawsons of High Riggs stood. The mention of the 'Ovir Bow' points to a house in keeping with the wealth and importance of the family. Moreover, the fact of John Lawson building houses outwith the West Port, near his 'sclait barn,' might suggest that the 'greit biging' in the Ovir Bow was beyond repair, and that he was erecting a new dwelling. In Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* there is shown a seventeenth-century building which is said to have been the mansion of the Lawsons of High Riggs. It was removed so recently as 1877.

Information is meagre regarding the later history of the Lawsons of High Riggs.<sup>1</sup> Precisely when their occupation of the lands of High Riggs ceased, it is difficult to say. The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the first alteration in the area of these lands. In 1618 the Town Council purchased from Touris of Inverleith 10 Scots acres of the lands of High Riggs south of the Flodden Wall, eight and one-half acres of which they later resold to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital. By this transaction nearly one-third of the area of High Riggs was disposed of. The Lawsons, who probably severed their connection with the lands about this time, retired to the ancestral estate of Cairnmuir in Peeblesshire, which ultimately descended to a William Lawson, who went to Canada in 1836. Three years later, Cairnmuir was sold with his consent. He died in 1847. His step-brothers, James and John, went to New Zealand. Their descendants represent the ancient family of the Lawsons of High Riggs.<sup>2</sup>

That there was, for many years previous to the formation of the present thoroughfare, some kind of road running through

<sup>1</sup> See Buchan's *History of Peeblesshire*, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

the lands of High Riggs is certain, but what course it took is unknown. The enclosing of the acres (sold to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital) by the building of the Telfer Wall in 1636 definitely guided the direction in which the thoroughfare now named Lauriston runs. It not only bisected the lands of High Riggs from east to west, but gave direct access to all parts of the property on the north and south.

One can only speculate as to how the word 'Lauriston' came into the nomenclature of Edinburgh. The terms 'Louriestoun' or 'Lowriestoun' appear in some of the earlier maps of the district, and in a document of 1681 the district is referred to as Lauriestoun Yairds. The addition of 'toun' or 'ton' to place names is quite common and generally signifies that it is the abode of one who bears the name prefixed. Now there was a family of the name of Lowrie, who for many years exercised a dominating influence in the northern portion of High Riggs, *i.e.* the West Port or Wester Portsburgh. The economic possibilities of this neighbourhood were recognised by the Touris family, who for many years kept the superiority entirely in their own hands. But they were non-resident; they therefore appointed the Baron-Bailie to look after their interests.

Early in the seventeenth century that post was filled by one Thomas Lowrie.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by John Lowrie. A charter mentions that two crofts of arable land (which were sold) were bounded on the east by the 'big yaird,' belonging to the heirs of the late John Lowrie. Still later, in the year 1674, the Baron-Bailie was Francis Lowrie, who resided in a house which had his armorial bearings above the entrance door. Furthermore, it should be noted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the ground on which Heriot Place stands, and as far as Lauriston Terrace on the south, belonged

<sup>1</sup> See *Register of the Privy Council* for references to the name Lowrie, vol. x. p. 419; vol. xi. pp. 84, 139, 264, 272, 353, 592, 610; vol. xii. p. 15; vol. v., Second Series, pp. 200, 207-8, 222-3. *Laing Charters*, item 1983.

to a Robert Laurie. For many years the Lauriston district was always said to be 'outwith the West Port.'

The erection of the Telfer Wall appears to have retarded the opening up and development for residential purposes of the remaining portions of High Riggs. Up to the opening years of the eighteenth century there was probably not a dwelling on any part of these lands. The whole area (on the south), from Bristo on the east to Drumdryan on the west, was subdivided into enclosures of various dimensions and put to various uses.

One of the earliest proprietors of several of these enclosures was Gideon Shaw, who is termed 'of Lauriston.' Shaw was Registrar of Tobacco for Scotland. His property was situated nearly opposite to the Vennel, and extended southwards to the Meadows, which bounded it. Westwards it stretched to the east side of what is now Lauriston Gardens and, returning eastwards to the south end of Archibald Place, it joined the portion which fronted Lauriston. The whole area extended to about fifteen acres, and was of an L-shape. When Shaw acquired this property is not known, but he was residing in the neighbourhood in 1726, as we learn from a remarkable discovery made on his property in that year. It appears that a gardener in trenching a piece of his land found five human skulls. There was no trace of the bodies of the men to whom they belonged. Each skull was broken on the crown. The garden had formerly been owned or tenanted by Alexander Tweedie, who, when dying, said that there was treasure hid in it, though not silver or gold. The spot where the five skulls were found was near the top of Lauriston Terrace. Shaw had the skulls placed on a table in his summer-house and covered with a linen cloth. A strange story lies behind the finding of these skulls on the lands of Gideon Shaw of Lauriston. Forty-five years before, five Covenanters had been hanged at the Gallowlee betwixt Leith and Edinburgh. Their heads were stuck on the spikes of the Pleasance Port, the hangman driving them

down, so that the spikes came through the skulls. The bodies of these Covenanters were originally buried at the Gallowlee, but were afterwards reburied in the West Churchyard. About the same time the skulls were taken down from the Pleasance Port, the intention being to bury them with the bodies. But as it was daylight this could not be done without incurring grave risks. Eventually, Alexander Tweedie, above mentioned (who was one of the party), placed the five skulls in a box and buried them in his garden in Lauristoun Yairds. This incident occurred in October 1681, and the skulls lay undisturbed for forty-five years. After lying for twelve days in Shaw's summer-house, the skulls found a final resting-place in Greyfriars' Churchyard, close to the Martyrs' Monument.<sup>1</sup>

But to return to Gideon Shaw. He was descended from the Shaws of Sauchie. His great-grandfather, Patrick Shaw, was minister of Selkirk in 1596; Patrick's son John<sup>2</sup> was minister of the same parish from 1634 to 1664. He married Anna, daughter of Sir John Murray of Philiphaugh. One of John Shaw's sons, who was named Gideon, was in 1660 apprenticed to David French, bookseller in Edinburgh. This seems to have been the grandfather of Gideon Shaw who owned property in High Riggs. As has been mentioned, he was residing there in 1726, *i.e.*, at least twelve years before George Watson's Hospital was erected. From this institution his property was divided by a passage, known afterwards as Wharton Lane. This was a narrow thoroughfare intended for foot passengers only, having been formed merely as a means of access to the Hospital out-buildings. Wharton Lane was then the only entrance to the Meadows between the Meadow Walk and Tollcross. About 1760 Shaw appears to have feued a portion of his grounds for building purposes. At any rate he then formed a road through his own property to the west

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted for the details of this story to a booklet published by Dr. Hay Fleming in 1925.

<sup>2</sup> *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. ii. p. 194. Douglas, *Baronage*, p. 212.

of Wharton Lane which was wide enough for vehicular traffic. This he named Lauriston Lane, part of which still exists. In 1768 Shaw granted feus for the erection of five or six self-contained dwellings, all entering from the lane. Later on, the portion of his property from Wharton Lane to Lauriston Lane, facing Lauriston, was also built upon, and came to be known as Wharton Place. All the houses in Lauriston Lane, and fronting the main thoroughfare, remained until their sites were required for the erection of the Royal Infirmary.

Always a quiet and pleasant portion of the city to reside in, Lauriston appealed to numbers of professional men, ministers in particular. Among those occupying houses on Gideon Shaw's property were Dr. John Erskine of Old Greyfriars'; Andrew Bell, the famous engraver and co-founder of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and Thomas Wharton, Commissioner of Customs, a colleague of Adam Smith. Wharton resided in a large mansion at the south end of Wharton Lane. It faced the Meadows, and was sometimes called Lauriston Lodge and at other times Wharton House.

On 14th March 1774 Alexander Shaw, writer, Edinburgh, son and heir of Gideon, granted a disposition narrating that his deceased father had left large sums due by him, in several of which he stood jointly bound. He therefore found himself unable to extricate his affairs without a sale of the lands. These are described as follows :—

All and whole these six acres and forty falls of arable land of the lands of High Riggs for the most part converted into yards and orchards, lying betwixt the lands sometime belonging to Sir Alexander Towris of Innerleth and the quarry on the west. As also these eight acres and six falls of arable land of the lands of High Riggs now also converted into yards and inclosed for the most part within hedges, sometime possessed by James and Alexander Heriot and Edward Cunningham, together with the right to the feu duties payable from the subjects in Lauriston Lane.

The over-feu payable to the Town Council as superiors was

twelve shillings and eleven pence and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of a penny. The whole property being situated in the parish of Saint Cuthbert's, or West Kirk, the minister's stipend due on them was allocated to one particular part. Practically all the sites having frontage to Lauriston Place were sold before the end of the eighteenth century, but nothing was done in the way of building until the beginning of the nineteenth.

With the exception of George Heriot's and George Watson's Hospitals and the houses in Lauriston Lane, there was not much building between the Vennel and Drumdryan before the year 1800. The few houses erected before that date were self-contained and, being usually surrounded by ornamental grounds of generous proportions, made the district one of the most delightful residential suburbs of Edinburgh. The breaking up of Gideon Shaw's property altered the rural character of the place, the trend being in the direction of rows of self-contained houses with modest back-gardens, together with lofty flatted tenements, most of which remain to this day.

Perhaps the earliest development of the lands of High Riggs after the erection of the two hospitals near to Lauriston Lane was the removal of 200 yards of the City Wall on the south side of Heriot's Hospital. The masonry was offered for sale<sup>1</sup> and two years later was removed. This was followed, after an interval of some years, by building operations being begun on the north side, nearly opposite to Lauriston Lane. It was the largest part in the neighbourhood unbuilt on belonging to one proprietor, and it had a long frontage extending from near the Vennel to a point opposite Chalmers' Hospital. On the other hand, it stretched back to the north boundary of Keir Street, the origin of which name is easily explained by the following advertisement which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 8th April 1782 :—

To be let, that large and commodious house, lately built by the

<sup>1</sup> See *Caledonian Mercury*, 5th July 1786.

deceased Mr. Keir, and now possessed by Mr. Graham—and two small inclosures contiguous to the house, both laid down in grass.

Adam Keir, who had his house to the north of Lauriston, was a baker at the Cross. He appears to have prospered, as he was not only proprietor of this large and valuable site, but superior of part of the lands of Gorgie, which he had acquired in 1778. Adam Keir was also interested in the mills at Bell's Brae at the Dean. When he built his house west of the Vennel cannot be stated, but it appears in Edgar's map of 1765.

In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 23rd March 1799, we find another advertisement which sheds light on the early building operations in this portion of Lauriston :—

To be sold, a field at Lauriston having a large and free front to the south, extremely well calculated for either a single villa with a garden and policy, or for building neat and commodious lodgings with gardens, offices, etc.—Mr. Keir, the proprietor, or D. Thompson, W.S., South Frederick Street, will inform as to further particulars.

Adam Keir, whose name appears in the above, was the son of the original proprietor. He followed his father's trade, but probably did not live to see the full effects of his advertisement, as he died at his house at Lauriston on 7th February 1808 at the age of 82.<sup>1</sup>

A few of these 'neat and commodious lodgings' were probably erected at the west end of the property before the second Adam Keir died. The remaining portion of the frontage appears to have been acquired by a Mrs. Bertram, who discontinued the style of building adopted, and erected instead that row of substantial and lofty tenements that now form such a conspicuous feature of Lauriston Place.

Directly opposite the centre of these tenements is Archibald Place. It occupies the site of what was known as Archibald's Nursery, which entered from Lauriston Place and stretched southwards to where are now the entrance gates to George

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Magazine.*

Watson's School. The nursery was established about 1780 by Joseph Archibald, seedsman. Archibald's place of business was first in Chapel Street, and then in West Nicolson Street, where he combined with his business as seedsman an office for the 'General Penny Post.' Subsequent to 1822 the business was being carried on by his son, George Archibald, at 66 Nicolson Street. By this time, however, the nursery had been removed from Lauriston to the Grange Farm. George Archibald was still in business in 1837. He then resided at 5 Archibald Place.

About 1821-22 a number of feus were given off from the ground occupied by Archibald's Nursery. The results must have been distinctly encouraging, as on 2nd February 1824 the following advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* :—

To be feued, several remaining stances in that new street (lately Archibald's Nursery). The situation is most pleasant, and the air very free, which from its contiguity with the city, and at the same time so very retired, they will form most desirable residences. Plans and elevations by Mr. Patrick Wilson, architect, may be seen by applying to George Archibald, seedsman, 66 Nicolson Street.

On this site was built the row of self-contained houses on the west side of Archibald Place, nearest its lower end, which, with the massive tenements opposite, remain exactly as they were designed by Patrick Wilson over one hundred years ago.

The extensive row of buildings stretching westwards from Archibald Place to Chalmers Street now claims attention. The site was offered for sale many years before the development of the land occupied by Archibald's Nursery. It formed originally a portion of Gideon Shaw's property, and appears to have been acquired in 1779 by Thomas Bell, who sold part of it to Thomas Crichton, merchant in Edinburgh.

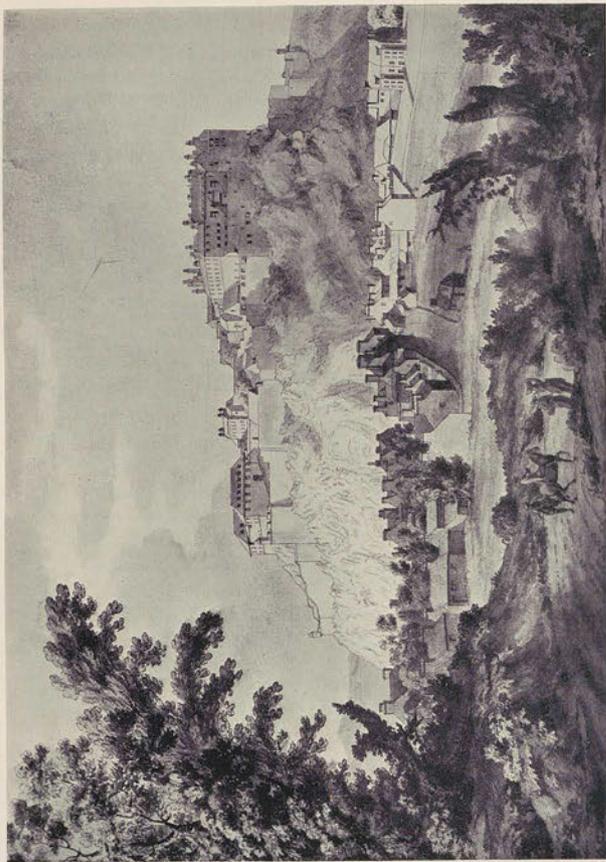
The first three houses to the west of Archibald Place date from about 1816. They are different from the others in the

row, having two round pillars at each entrance. As the ground on which each of them stood extended southwards for about one hundred and eighty feet, being bounded by Archibald's Nursery, it will be seen that a large area was left as open space. The drawback then, and indeed down to within living memory, was the want of access to the Meadows from Lauriston. Apropos of this, the following advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 5th January 1788:—

To be feued at Lauriston, Edinburgh, six Scots acres of ground for building on, the whole being laid out according to a plan. The buildings when complete will form an elegant oblong square, to be called Lauriston Place. Each house will have besides, a sufficient quantity of back ground for gardens. The situation is well known to be remarkably warm and dry, having a gentle declivity to the south, and commanding views both extensive and delightful. The old city wall, which greatly retarded the buildings on the south side of the town, is now removed. A new and elegant road 60 feet wide is begun to be made from the Lothian Road to Bristo Port by Lauriston, and at the foot of the ground there is an entry to the Meadows, one of the best public walks in the kingdom.

The inhabitants will be exempted from several taxes, to which those of the Royalty of the City of Edinburgh are subjected, such as the Stent on Trade, Minister's Stipend, which last burden alone is no less than six per cent. upon the valued rent. No premium or purchase money will be demanded, nor will payment of the feued sites commence until the buildings are finished.—Apply to Mr. Robertson, the proprietor, at Lauriston.

The 'Mr. Robertson' referred to was the printer of the *Caledonian Mercury*. His interesting financial proposals for easy entry, along with the other advantages offered, appear to have obtained a poor response, for what now occupies the site proves that the original plans had to be abandoned. One or two feus were taken up, but it was not till 1831 that the whole frontage was completed by the addition of six self-contained residences.



LAURISTON ABOUT 1780

From a drawing in the possession of A. O. Curle, Esq., C.Y.O. The view is taken from about Drumdryan House. The street shown in the centre leading in the direction of the Castle is that now named High Riggs, which led to 'The Twopenny Custom.' The house on the right with bow windows was built between 1772 and 1775. It was situated on the road now called Lauriston Street, and its site is occupied by the Church of the Sacred Heart.

The allusion in the advertisement just quoted to 'an entry to the Meadows' deserves some notice, since it remains to this day, though under entirely different conditions. Some may remember the original entry at the foot of Chalmers Street, which, until the closing decades of last century, was always kept locked. Afterwards the high iron gate was taken off its hinges, thus affording entry to the Meadows for pedestrians. On one day in each year, however, it was rehung, and kept securely closed, in order to signify that the entrance was a private one. This procedure is now abolished, though the iron-railed parapet wall, but with no gate, remains. It is possible that this entry was used in pre-Reformation times as a means of reaching the chapel of the Virgin Mary, under the Castle walls, and after the Reformation, by worshippers at St. Cuthbert's who dwelt on the south-west portion of the Burgh Muir.

Throughout the nineteenth century Lauriston was a popular place of residence with well-to-do and distinguished citizens. As will be shown, not a few of the landed gentry had town houses there, and at least one member of the Scottish peerage—the Earl of Wemyss, who lived in what is believed to have been the largest private mansion in Lauriston. All Edinburgh maps of late eighteenth-century date show the Wemyss house situated on the south side of the main thoroughfare, and in well-wooded grounds which stretched southwards to the margin of the South Loch. Its site is now covered by Chalmers' Hospital. It was a large mansion approached by a circular drive, at the town end of which was an entrance lodge. On its east side was a narrow lane. On 27th May 1801 Lord Wemyss was infert in a large West Park at Lauriston, extending to six acres 5½ falls, with house, etc., thereon. He acquired the property from James Syme of Northfield, who acquired it from John Robertson of Chesterhall. In Edgar's map of 1765 no buildings are shown on the site, which seems to point to the house being of later date. In

the Edinburgh directories for the years 1805-8 the Earl of Wemyss' address is given as Lauriston. This was Francis, the seventh Earl, who inherited the Earldom of March and lands and lordship of Neidpath at the decease, in 1810, of the fourth Duke of Queensberry. When this Earl died in 1853, Lauriston House and grounds came into the market and were sold on 11th November 1854 to the Faculty of Advocates, as Trustees of George Chalmers, 'plumber in Edinburgh,' who died on 10th March 1836, and bequeathed the greater part of his fortune, estimated at £30,000, for the erection of an Hospital for the sick and hurt. This institution was opened to the public in 1864. When the Faculty of Advocates purchased Lord Wemyss' mansion in Lauriston they proceeded to form Chalmers Street and to lay out the ground for feuing, some two acres being reserved for the purposes of the Hospital.

Occupying a site nearly opposite to Chalmers' Hospital was Ramsay Lodge, another mansion which stood in spacious grounds. Until the middle of the eighteenth century this portion of Lauriston was arable land. In Edgar's map (1742) it is marked as 'Mr. Burton's property.' About half of the ground was subsequently acquired by Adam Keir, who, as has been noted, broke it up into building stances. The remainder passed into the possession of James Ramsay, who built a house for himself thereon and preserved, as far as possible, the rural beauty of the surroundings.

On 23rd May 1761 James Burton, tanner in Portsburgh, gave sasine to James Ramsay, Accomptant in the Excise Office, and to Elizabeth Small, his spouse, of a piece of land in High Riggs, and on it Ramsay erected the mansion which went by his name. Some years later, however, he acquired another portion on which, about 1770, he built another house. In the following advertisements, from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, accurate details are furnished as to the extent of his property at the dates given :—

(1793) To be sold at Lauriston, these portions of the lands of High Riggs belonging to Mr. James Ramsay. These lands contain, in whole, 3 acres.

Lot 1. Ramsay Lodge, with the field wherein it stands.

Lot 2. That lodging<sup>1</sup> in the adjoining field, presently possessed by Mr. Ramsay, with the garden and field lying eastwards of the house and garden. The present access to this property being rather inconvenient, it is proposed to allow the proprietors to make an avenue from Lauriston Road along the west side of Ramsay Lodge.

(1797) To be sold that house commonly called Ramsay Lodge, in the district of Lauriston, consisting of three stories—as at present possessed by Mrs. Ramsay, relict of the deceased Mr. Ramsay, Accomptant of Excise.<sup>2</sup>

(1803) To be sold, Ramsay Lodge, situated at the head of Lady Lawson's Wynd, Lauriston, with a garden and two parks adjoining of nearly two acres of ground. The house contains dining and drawing rooms, five bedrooms, and other apartments—all in excellent condition and very desirable to a family wishing to possess a town and country residence.—Apply to John Tawse, writer, York Place.

Nothing definite can be gleaned as to the date of the erection of the row of small self-contained houses that still remain in Lauriston between the Fire Station and No. 54, but it is not unlikely that feuing took place as the result of the earliest of the advertisements above mentioned. No. 54 was the residence of Gourlay Steell, R.S.A., the celebrated animal painter. His studio was erected in a garden at the back. At what was then No. 82 there resided in 1848 Dr. Carson, who succeeded Professor Pillans as Rector of the High School of Edinburgh in 1820.

Before the end of 1830 Ramsay Lodge and grounds were sold to William Laing, the famous Edinburgh bookseller, and father of the still more famous Dr. David Laing, whose career as antiquary and bibliophile is too well known to justify

<sup>1</sup> Known by the name of Willow Grove.

<sup>2</sup> James Ramsay died 1st December 1796. *Scots Magazine*.

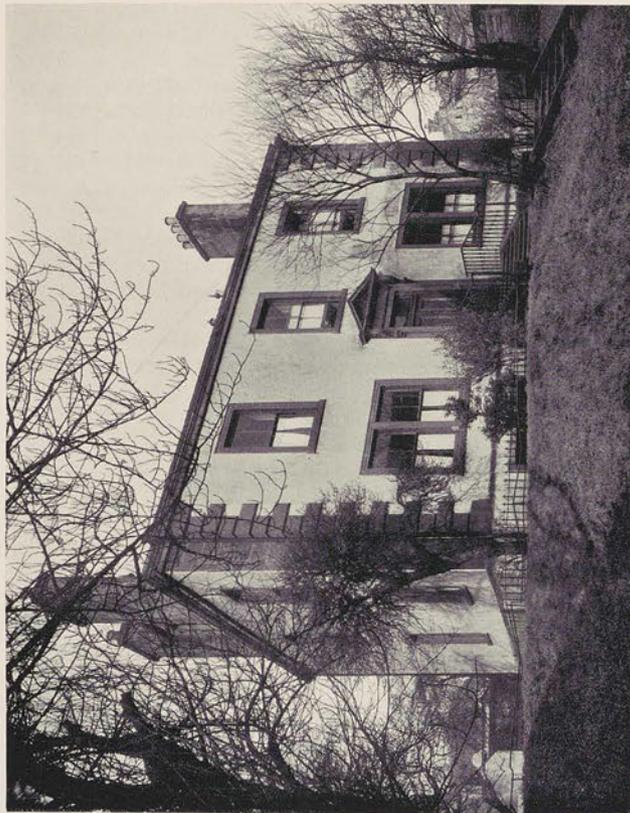
setting forth in these pages. William Laing died at Ramsay Lodge on 10th April 1832. His son, David, continued to live in Lauriston till 1843, when he disposed of Ramsay Lodge and grounds for £3300 to the Town Council for a Cattle Market. It was then that Dr. Laing removed to a villa in Portobello, which was his home for the rest of his days.

From 1843 till near the end of last century the site of Ramsay Lodge was used as a cattle market, and when the Town transferred the sale of cattle and sheep to Gorgie, this part of Lauriston underwent further transformation by the erection of the Central Fire Station and, later, of the Edinburgh College of Art.

To the west of the site on which stood Lord Wemyss' mansion (now occupied by Chalmers' Hospital) is a building of considerable historical interest. Erected about 1770, this was originally the Edinburgh home of the Borthwicks of Crookston, a Midlothian family which has its roots deep in the past, being as old as the fifteenth century, if not older. Moreover, this house has the distinction of being the only mansion on the lands of High Riggs that remains in its original condition. It was occupied continuously by the Borthwicks till the year 1849. Screened by a high wall, and slightly sunk below the level of the thoroughfare, only a portion of the house can be seen from Lauriston Place. The carriage entrance, surmounted by a wrought-iron support for a lamp, still exists. The drive passed round to the south side of the mansion, where is still the main entrance.

About 1850 the house came to be known as Lauriston Lodge, and was occupied by Robert Dundas Cay. In 1859 the widow of Colonel Hutchison, who then appears to have owned the property,<sup>1</sup> built the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna on the grounds south of the house, with which it is incorporated. The original frontage of the Borthwick property seems to have been of greater extent than now appears,

<sup>1</sup> Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 363.



OLD HOUSE AT NORTH-EAST CORNER OF LAURISTON GARDENS, FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY THE BORTHWICKS OF CROOKSTON

and it is highly probable that Lauriston Gardens was formed out of a portion of it.

Further west, and adjoining the Hall of Lauriston Place Church, stood formerly the mansion of the Hogs of Newliston. They acquired the Lauriston property in 1790 from the trustees of James Balmain, Commissioner of Excise. The house was built by James Mackenzie, goldsmith, Edinburgh, and Balmain. In Faden and Jeffrey's map of 1773 a house is shown on the spot. Thomas Hog, who bought the property, was a son of that Roger Hog who figures in *Kay's Portraits* (vol. i. p. 45). Roger Hog was at one time a merchant in London, where he amassed a huge fortune. The house of the Hogs of Newliston had its rear side to the main thoroughfare, and, like that of the Borthwicks of Crockston, was screened by a high wall. The front faced the south and the grounds extended to the rear of Panmure Place. Lauriston Park was formed out of the Hog property. The mansion of the Newliston family was only removed to allow of the erection of the Simpson Memorial Hospital. One of its last occupants was John Hill Burton, the historian, who resided there for six years, from 1854 till 1861, when he removed to Craighouse. Mrs. Burton, in the delightful sketch of her husband contributed to the large-paper edition of *The Book-Hunter*, furnishes some interesting particulars about 27 Lauriston Place, as the former abode of the Hogs of Newliston was then known. In 1854 the surroundings were half-rural. 'The house stood in a good old-fashioned garden of its own, beyond which lay a field containing some old trees; and the house possessed good offices, stables, etc., which were soon adapted to a workshop for Dr. Burton himself, and rabbit- and pigeon-houses for his children. The productiveness of the garden was marred by the incursions of rabbits—not the children's pets, but wild rabbits—however incredible that may appear now.'<sup>1</sup> No. 27 Lauriston Place was then considered sufficiently rural to

<sup>1</sup> The writer can personally testify to the accuracy of Mrs. Burton's description.

obviate the necessity of going to the country, and during the six years of their occupancy, the Burtons seldom left it. While living here Burton conceived the idea of writing his *History of Scotland*. It is interesting to add that the first company of volunteers formed in Scotland drilled in the field behind Burton's house in Lauriston.

Next the mansion of the Hogs of Newliston was another belonging to Simon Cunningham, and latterly to Mrs. Cunningham. The ground attached to the house stretched from Lauriston Park to Home Street, from which it was divided by a narrow lane which still remains. Here stood a couple of houses, two stories in height. The larger, which was L-shaped, occupied the corner of Lauriston Park; the other was close to Home Street. The open space between the two was surrounded by a high wall which completely screened the park, which extended to where All Saints' Episcopal Church stands. These houses were known as Nos. 23 and 25 Lauriston Place. In 1850 No. 25 was occupied by the Misses Glen, who were the owners. At their decease the whole of the ground was let for workshops. Then about 1870 these, as well as the houses, were removed, and a new street formed through the centre of the property. It was named Glen Street, after the proprietors of the ground.

#### DRUMDRYAN

Seeing that the lands mentioned in the Charter granted by Johannis de Touris de Inverleth in 1458 merge more or less into each other, another abstract of that Charter, dealing with the lands of Drumdryan and Tollcross, now follows<sup>1</sup> :—

Apud Edinburgh, 2nd Sept. 1458.

No. 617. Rex confirmavit cartam Johannis de Touris de Inverleth et dom. de Dalry (qua concessit filio suo Nicholao de Touris et heredibus ejus, pro ejus servitio, etc.—terram 12 acrarum quam tunc tenuit. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Great Seal*, vol ii., item 617.

Goldsmytht ad firmam jacentem inter . . . ex parte una et terram de le Commoune Lone, ex parte altera; peciam terre 10 acrarum de terris de Drumdriain quam tunc tenuit ad firmam Cuthbertus de Wrichtishouse in territorio de Dalry juxta le Heriggis; ac etiam peciam terre 10 acrarum de terris quam tunc tenuit David Rede ad firmam in territorio de Dalry juxta le Tolcoirs. Reddend. unum denarium nomine albe firme.—Apud Edin., 14 April 1439.

Test. Geo. Lawder & six others.<sup>1</sup>

The name Drumdryan by its prefix (according to Professor Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, p. 144) signifies a blackthorn ridge. The lands of Drumdryan occupied for the most part elevated ground. On the north they were bounded by the High Riggs, while to the south lay the rising ground of the Burgh Muir. These lands, from time to time, were heired by members of the Touris family until 1649, when they ceased to be their property.<sup>2</sup> In that year the City of Edinburgh acquired the superiority of Easter and Wester Portsburgh, then occupied by eighty vassals.

Patrick McDowall of Creichen, W.S., acquired them in 1709 by charter from the Magistrates of Edinburgh as superiors of the lands. From the sasine in his favour (recorded 21st December 1709) it appears that they were owned as early as 1664 by Robert Gray, merchant, Edinburgh, who acquired part, if not the whole, from one John Watson. McDowall seems to have acquired right to certain annualrents which Gray had granted from the lands. Drumdryan was then undeveloped, and about 1730 McDowall spent considerable sums of money in forming roads through it. This he did in conjunction with Hope of Rankeillor, who drained the South Loch, which bounded a part of the lands of

<sup>1</sup> The following is a summary :—

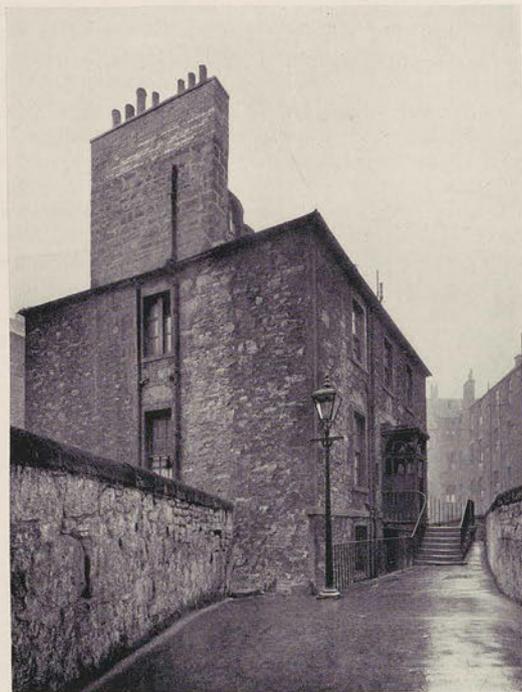
The King, in 1458, confirms charter granted in 1439 by John of Tours of Inverleth to his son Nicol and heirs. (1) 12 acres held by . . . Goldsmith in feufarm between . . . and the Common Lone; (2) 10 acres of the lands of Drumdryan, held by Cuthbert of Wrichtishouse in feufarm in the territory of Dalry beside the Heriggis; (3) 10 acres of land held by David Rede in feufarm in territory of Dalry, beside the Tolcoirs.

<sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones Speciales*.

Drumdryan. McDowall erected his own residence on that portion of ground of Drumdryan now occupied by the King's Theatre. This enabled him to have direct access from the road leading from the West Port to Wright's Houses, which bounded the western part of his lands. McDowall called his house Drumdryan, but later on it came to be known as Leven Lodge. This alteration of name will be referred to presently, as it is usually assumed that the original Drumdryan House is the one that still survives to the rear of Brougham Place.

The lands of Drumdryan covered an area of ten acres and formed an oblong square. They skirted the Meadows on the south, and then the line was carried northwards to near the lower part of Lauriston Street. Thence it returned westwards on the rear of the Cowfeeder Row and the road leading to Wright's Houses. The part behind the Cowfeeder Row was on the land of High Riggs, and came to be known as Creichen's Gardens, doubtless after McDowall's ancestral home; it bore this name until well into the nineteenth century.

Patrick McDowall died in 1734. Charles McDowall of Creichen, advocate, his son, had sasine of the lands of Drumdryan and Headriggs on 30th August 1743. He seems to have added to the original house a handsome dining-room, with three tall windows facing south. As the writer attended a school which was held in this dining-room, his recollections of the interior may be of interest. The addition to the original mansion, for which Charles McDowall was probably responsible, was three stories in height. The dining-room was entered by two stairs, one having been constructed when the mansion was converted into a school-room. The original was a wide, massive oak stair with handsomely turned balusters. The kitchen was on the ground floor, and at its east end was an arched fireplace of generous proportions, with the date 1745 deeply incised on the keystone of the arch.



DRUMDRYAN HOUSE (TARVIT STREET)

A handsome carriage-way and a small door on the left gave access to the south front of the house.

Charles McDowall sold the house of Drumdryan in 1745 to Thomas Dundas of Fingask, who in 1750 sold it to Alexander, fifth Earl of Leven, who renamed it Leven Lodge, the appellation by which it was known until it was removed about 1905. After the Earl's death, his son, Alexander Leslie, with consent of his mother, disposed it in 1757 to Archibald Swinton of the East India Company, who in 1770 conveyed it to Joseph Williamson, advocate. In Williamson's sasine (recorded 20th April 1773) the house is described as 'that dwelling house at Drumdryan now denominated Leven Lodge.' The mansion was the residence of Mary, Countess of Sutherland, and on 24th May 1765 her only surviving daughter, Elizabeth Sutherland, was born there. She became Countess of Sutherland in her own right, and by marriage Marchioness of Stafford and Duchess-Countess of Sutherland. While living at Leven Lodge the future Duchess attended a school kept by Jean Duncan in Lady Lawson's Wynd, where, among other accomplishments, she was taught spinning.

About 1763 Charles McDowall began to break up the lands of Drumdryan. A sasine of part of Creichen's Gardens, dated 1775, minutely details the boundaries and mentions the owners.

Sasine granted to John Tod, merchant, Edinburgh, of one acre and four falls or thereby, Scots measure, and which is bounded as follows, by a ditch or stank which separates the said lands of High Riggs from the property of Drumdryan, formerly disposed by Charles McDowall, of Crichen, advocate, to Thomas Dundas of Fingask, Esq., on the south, partly by that part let by John Adam, architect, in Edinburgh, to James Kerr, writer in Edinburgh, and partly by the other parts purchased by the said James Kerr from Lady Leven on the east, by that lot sold by the said John Adam to James Mackenzie, jeweller in Edinburgh, on the west, and by a road new made and staked east from Mr. Moncrieff's ice-house to the road or highway from the twopenny custom to the Wright's Houses on the north.

In the same year (1775) sasines were granted of other parts to John Dove, builder, James Weir, wright of Tollcross, James Dun, wright in Portsburgh, and Thomas Sievewright, of Plewlands and Meggatland.

The period from 1770 to 1780 appears to have witnessed a number of new proprietors of the lands of Drumdryan. The ground from Chalmers Street on the east to Leven Lodge on the west, and as far as Tollcross on the north, was acquired by Fairholm of Greenhill (probably George).

When, about 1774, a new road was formed leading from the main thoroughfare to Lady Leven's property, advantage was taken of this access to erect a mansion which came to be known as Drumdryan House. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 6th April 1774, we read: 'To be sold, a new-built house at Drumdryan on the north-west side of Hope's Park, consisting of three stories and garrets, besides vaults below the kitchen—also two enclosures. Apply to Dr. Spens, the proprietor, in Niddry's Wynd.' Dr. Nathaniel Spens was a well-known citizen at the end of the eighteenth and opening years of the nineteenth century. He was the fourth son of Thomas Spens of Lathallan, in Fifeshire, by Janet, daughter of Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, and was born in 1728. He married Mary, daughter of James Milliken of that ilk, and had by her four sons and one daughter. His wife died on 3rd March 1774 and, as will be noted, the 'new-built house at Drumdryan' was offered for sale a month after her death. It is possible that Mrs. Spens's death may have determined Dr. Spens to part with it. Be that as it may, he seems to have been unable to find a purchaser, for three years later his daughter, Janet, died at Drumdryan. In 1777 he disposed his part of Drumdryan to James Home Rigg, whose family acquired all the lands of Drumdryan, together with the second mansion of that name.

The formation of Lothian Road before the close of the eighteenth century gave a great impetus to the opening up

of this locality for residential purposes. Speculation was rife, and all kinds of dwellings were erected. Large areas were bought outright as an investment. For example, the lands of Drumdryan passed to the family of Rigg of Tarvit, in Fifeshire. Previously the major part of these lands had been held by the Fairholms of Greenhill, but for some reason George Fairholm sold them in 1788 by public roup. Here are the particulars:—

To be sold upon the 23rd day of January 1788. The lands of Drumdryan and inclosure or garden on the north thereof, all properly enclosed, and consisting of twelve acres, with the teinds and a seat in the West Church in the parish of St. Cuthbert's.

There is an elegant dwelling-house, lately built upon the lands, consisting of ten fire rooms, with closets, kitchen, and other conveniences. The entry of the house is within the Toll Bar, and the whole are held of the Town of Edinburgh for payment of a feu-duty of four merks (Scots). The house and grounds are pleasantly situated within a few minutes' walk of the Cross of Edinburgh, and are but a short distance from the New Town by the Lothian Road, which terminates upon the above inclosure, and has rendered upwards of 600 feet in front thereof a desirable situation for building upon without detriment to the house or other ground. The upset price will be £2400 sterling.—Apply to David Forbes, writer, Edinburgh.

The new proprietor was James Home Rigg of Morton and Downfield, near Cupar, Fife. The earliest member of this family of whom information has been obtained is William Rigg, who acquired Downfield in 1720. His residence, Tarvit House, is situated about half a mile south of Cupar on the banks of the Eden. Downfield, the other family property, is in the parish of Clatto. James Home Rigg succeeded his elder brother in the estate of Morton in 1780. He was a large shareholder in the Bank of Scotland, as were Roger Hog of Newliston and the two brothers Fairholm. Rigg married the sister of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. He died at his Edinburgh house in Gosford's Close on 23rd January 1788. As this house was advertised to let in March, it may be assumed

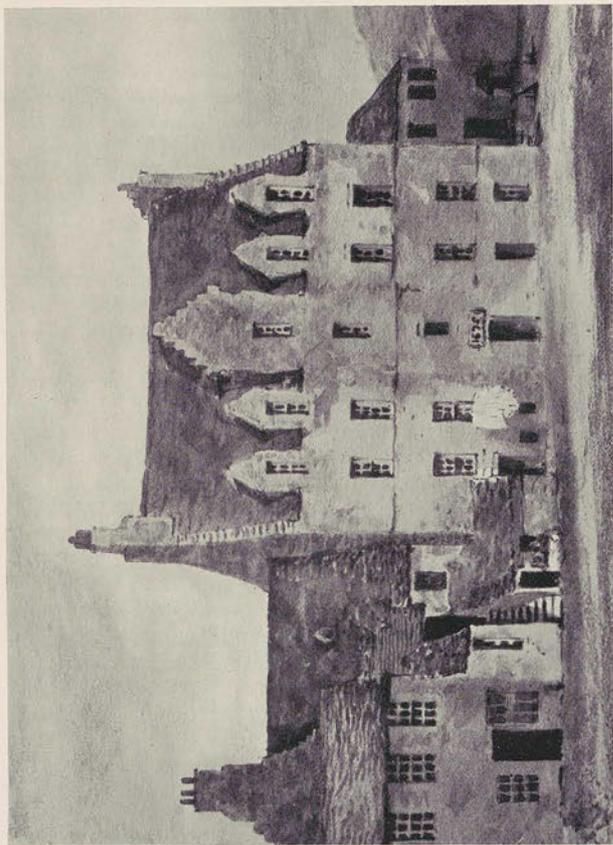
that it was Rigg's son (he bore the same name) who was the buyer, or at any rate concluded the bargain after his father's death.

The Home Rigg family took up residence at Drumdryan House and lived there for some years ; but on 10th February 1794 the mansion was seeking a tenant, as the following advertisement shows :—

To be let, the house of Drumdryan, with offices and garden ground round the house, as possessed by the late Mrs. Home Rigg. The garden and ground contain about two and a half acres. More ground may be had if needed.—Apply to James Thomson, W.S., North Castle Street.

From Drumdryan House the Home Rigg family removed to 68 Queen Street, which was their residence as late as 1837. Drumdryan House still remains, though in a forlorn state, at the rear of the tenements in Brougham Place. Reached by a passage or pend in Tarvit Street, it is completely surrounded by tenements, and its very existence, much less its history, is known to few. After 1800, active steps were taken to let out the grounds for feuing purposes. Plans were prepared and streets and terraces were projected. The new thoroughfares were to bear such titles as Morton Terrace and Downfield Crescent, and were intended to occupy the site of Lonsdale Terrace. There was also to be a Rigg Street on that part of the Drumdryan property now named Panmure Place. The extensive frontage from Lauriston Place to Leven Lodge was named Home Street, while the roadway which passed from that point to Drumdryan House was appropriately named Tarvit Street, after the Fifeshire home of the Home Rigg family. Home Street and Tarvit Street, together with the old mansion, are now all that serve to remind us of the connection of the Home Rigg family with the lands of Drumdryan.

The original Drumdryan House, renamed Leven Lodge, and situated in the immediate vicinity of the later one, now claims further notice. Part of its history has already been told. In 1770 it was the property of Joseph Williamson,



VALLEYFIELD HOUSE

From a water-colour drawing in the Watson Collection, Scottish National Gallery. The mansion stood at the north-west corner of Brumfield Links. Its site is now occupied by Glengyle Terrace.

advocate, a son of the Rev. David Williamson, minister of the West Kirk, better known as 'Dainty Davie.' Williamson was Town Clerk of Edinburgh in 1742, and in the same year was appointed Conjoint Clerk to the Royal Burghs. He married (1) Agnes, daughter of John Luke of Foxhall, and (2) Joan Neilson. Williamson died in Leven Lodge (1795), aged 89 years.

Joseph Williamson lived in Leven Lodge with no fewer than four generations, and for several years before his death saw the fifth. Joseph, his grandson, had such a large family that for some years he occupied Valleyfield House, which was a part of the Leven Lodge property. After Joseph Williamson's death in 1795, the family left the locality. A brewery erected about the year 1760 beside Leven Lodge greatly depreciated the property. The brewery, which remained in active use till the opening years of the present century, was undoubtedly responsible for the departure of both the Home Rigg and Williamson families from the district. The buildings indeed were nearly opposite to the carriage entrance of Drumdryan House. The amenity suffered further injury by the opening of a licensed house on the south side of the carriage entrance to Leven Lodge. Notwithstanding that Leven Lodge had fallen on evil days, it was occupied for a few years after 1800 by a member of the aristocracy.

A detailed account of Leven Lodge is given in the sasine granted to David Williamson, Major, 4th Regiment of Foot, as heir to Joseph Williamson, advocate, his grandfather. He was seised on 17th May 1808, as follows :—

In the house of Drumdryan, *now called* Leven Lodge, with the Green-house, Stables, Coach-house, Byre, and other offices, thereto belonging, the garden adjacent thereto, which includes the garden formerly possessed by Robert Kello, vintner at Drumdryan (under exception), and grass enclosure on the east thereof, and the summer-house at the north-west corner of Hope's Park, adjoining by a bridge to the said grass enclosure, with a small piece of ground adjacent thereto, and the Teinds, parish of St. Cuthbert's.

Emelia Williamson, sister of David, occupied Valleyfield House, which stood about one hundred yards south from Leven Lodge. Originally it was no part of that property. All that is known of this house is recorded by Dr. Moir Bryce in vol. x. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (pp. 241-2). In 1813 the house and grounds became the property of Walter Turnbull, and for many years after underwent little alteration. The writer has a vivid recollection of the place before it was covered with streets and terraces, as the features mentioned in the sasine quoted on page 175 still remained, with the exception of the bridge over the Lochrin burn. Large dairies were established in close proximity to both Leven Lodge and Valleyfield House. The summer house was still to the fore and was then known as Lord Leven's Bath. The large open area between the two houses was utilised as a market garden, which was entered from Leven Street, the door being surmounted by a modest sign-board bearing the announcement, 'Fruits and Flowers in their Season.' It was known as Marshall's Garden.

Valleyfield House, which latterly had become much dilapidated, was demolished when Glengyle Terrace was built. When digging the foundations of one of the tenements a number of skeletons were unearthed. From 1867 to 1870 most of the lands of Drumdryan and Valleyfield were covered with streets and terraces.

#### TOLLCROSS

An endeavour has been made to account for the origin of the names 'High Riggs' and 'Drumdryan,' but a more difficult problem arises when an attempt is made to arrive at the real signification of the word Tollcross, which is met with in other places besides Edinburgh. To many it suggests a toll bar, though there is no record of one ever having been established on the lands of Tollcross. Nearly equal in area to the lands of Drumdryan, those of Tollcross are less prominent in historical

records. They are mentioned in charters granted to the heirs of the Touris family between 1458 and 1648, but otherwise information is scanty.

In 1642 the lands of Tollcross were bought by Thomas Mudie or Moodie of Dalry, who was a large landowner in the western suburbs of Edinburgh. It was Moodie who astonished the Town Council by an offer of 20,000 merks for the erection of a church in the Grassmarket. Probably a strong believer in the principles of the National Covenant, his enthusiasm for the cause decided him to execute a bond for the above sum, dated 26th December 1649. The money was duly paid over, but, as is well known, the terms of the bequest were never carried out, and eventually a portion of the Moodie gift was devoted to the erection of the Canongate Church.

Moodie died a year or two after making his bequest, and two crofts at Tollcross were sold by his daughter and heiress, Janet (with consent of her husband, Alexander Maxwell), on 19th September 1654 to Patrick Browne, butcher and burgess of Edinburgh, who erected a mansion on the northern croft. Another charter was granted on 29th July 1662, to Thomas Browne, son and heir of the late Patrick Browne, in which reference is made to 'two crofts of arable lands at Toweroce, extending to 9 acres or thereabouts, with the new mansion house, etc.' The area, which formed a square, stretched from the west end of High Riggs to Thornybauk. Its northern boundary was Morrison Street; its eastern, Riego Street and Lothian Road; while Thornybauk and Semple Street fenced it in on the west. By a charter of the same date as Thomas Browne's, there was granted to Gabriel Weir of Dalry Mill, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and Susan Lockhart and the survivor, the miltures of three acres of land belonging to Thomas Browne. In December 1679 Walter Weir, heir of Gabriel Weir, succeeded to the lands at Toweroce.

In the eighteenth century we hear of a James Weir, who carried on the trade of wright and builder at Tollcross. He

purchased part of Creichen's Gardens, and in 1770 built a house for Lady Euphemia Stuart, daughter of the deceased James, Earl of Moray, on the west side of the road leading from Portsburgh to Wright's Houses. That James Weir had substantial interests in the locality is brought out by the Valuation Roll of 1814, where he is rated in the sum of £52, 10s., payable to the superior of the ground which he owned. In the maps of Edinburgh, dating about 1800, this land is named Major Weir's property.<sup>1</sup> Whether he was descended from the Weirs who owned the lands in the reign of Charles II. is unknown. Major James Weir appears to have served through the Peninsular war, a circumstance which may explain why he named one of the new streets on his property at Tollcross—Riego Street.<sup>2</sup>

The formation of the Lothian Road about 1788 brought about great changes in Major Weir's property. It is evident that some hitch occurred when the new thoroughfare reached what is now Earl Grey Street, the contrast between the spaciousness of the roadway up to this point and the extreme contractedness of the portion beyond as far as Tollcross, being most striking. What led to the narrowing of the thoroughfare at Earl Grey Street, or who was responsible for it, cannot now be stated, but probably building schemes had something to do with it.

Besides the main thoroughfare two streets were formed parallel to it. One, as we have seen, was named Riego Street, which still survives; the other, named Dunbar Street, has now been demolished. The latter was a dingy street running west, in which there was a curious jumble of tenements, workshops, byres, and joiners' yards. The portion of roadway from the south end of Lothian Road to Tollcross was originally called Wellington Street, in honour of the great Duke, but subsequent to 1830 it was renamed after Earl Grey, whose Ministry carried the first Reform Bill.

<sup>1</sup> No connection, so far as is known, of the notorious Major Weir.

<sup>2</sup> Communicated by Mr. C. B. Boog Watson.

The northern portion of the lands of Tollcross has also been subject to many changes, but at no time was it built over in the same manner as the southern portion. Great expectations were entertained as a result of the opening of the Union Canal, and it is interesting to note that the lofty tenements on the east side of Lothian Road were called Downie Place out of compliment to the first chairman of the Union Canal Company. But the advantages of the undertaking to the locality were only slightly realised.

In conclusion, mention must be made of an interesting memorial, which, though not actually on the lands of Drumdryan, is, by reason of its closeness to them, entitled to a place in these notes. Until well within living memory there stood at the corner of Gilmore Place and Home Street a large mansion named Lochrin House. It was built by Samuel Gilmore, a rope spinner in the Grassmarket, who acquired a considerable piece of land adjoining Tollcross, and who opened up the street named Gilmore Place. Originally known as Park House, it was occupied about 1797 by James Haig, one of the proprietors of the large distillery that was close to it. In the north-west corner of the grounds to the rear of the house was a building in the gable of which was a large stone tablet placed between two massive rounded pillars with carved capitals, and surmounted with an arched cornice. In the recess, formed by the arch, was an armorial shield showing the Insignia of the Incorporation of Cordiners or Shoemakers of Portsburgh, with the date 1636. On the tablet below was the following inscription (partly obliterated):—

By the blessing of the upright the gifts is given from . . .  
 As God our inheritance had blessed and our stores increased  
 So do we to the poor supplie  
 And for advantage and policee  
 This building dedicate and pray  
 God's grace this blest may be  
 The blessing . . .

It might be naturally assumed that the monument had been removed from some other building and re-erected here, but this is doubtful. The explanation seems to be that the building in which this curious memorial was inserted was erected by the Incorporation of Wester Portsburgh as a retreat for their aged and infirm members. Architecturally, both house and memorial, as the writer can personally testify, were of early seventeenth-century construction. The structure was roofless, and the chimneys were finished with hewn stone with cornices. The almshouse, with its quaint memorial stone, also the mansion, were removed to make room for the extensive row of houses that now cover the site. The only relic preserved was the memorial tablet, which was taken to the Greyfriars' Churchyard, where it remained for a year or two; but all trace of it has now, unfortunately, been lost.

JOHN SMITH.

#### THE QUARRYING OF SALISBURY CRAGS<sup>1</sup>

IN a leading article in *The Scotsman* of 16th April 1825 it was pointed out that if the civic authorities desired an object for assessment, they could not do better than 'look to the mutilated honours of Salisbury Crag.' The implications of this striking phrase are to be found in what that newspaper describes as the anomalous and absurd spectacle of the inhabitants of Edinburgh 'seeking, in great numbers, to be taxed for the purpose of carrying on various improvements in point of taste,' while meekly allowing 'the finest natural beauties, the richest ornaments, the noblest monuments of the place, to be wantonly destroyed before their eyes.' The article concludes with the hortatory advice that no one in Edinburgh should henceforth pretend to taste, or to love of natural scenery, who 'has not exerted himself by writing, speaking, and subscribing, to arrest the progress of those who would destroy everything beautiful or romantic in the vicinity of the city.'

The warning note was not sounded a moment too soon. The vandals had got the upper hand and were doing sorry work at Salisbury Crag. The bold escarpment of crescent-shaped rock under the shadow of Arthur Seat, one of the grandest of Nature's monuments in the British Isles, and of surpassing interest and importance geologically, was in danger of being destroyed. Quarrying operations had been inter-

<sup>1</sup> Much of the information contained in this paper is derived from the evidence adduced in connection with the prolonged litigation. The following legal authorities have been consulted:—Shaw, *Court of Session Cases*, 1826, vol. iv. p. 830; *Ibid.*, 1830, vol. viii. p. 867; Wilson and Shaw, *House of Lords' Cases*, 1826, vol. ii. p. 468; *Ibid.*, 1831, vol. v. p. 570; *Court of Session Papers*, 1826, No. 505; *Ibid.*, 1830, No. 417. Non-legal references are quoted in the footnotes in the ordinary way.

mittently carried on at Salisbury Crags and neighbourhood for upwards of two centuries, but, fortunately, on a scale that did not appreciably injure the face of the gigantic ridge. Early in the nineteenth century, however, they became alarmingly intensive, and the effects are seen to this day in the enormous gaps that occur at intervals along the entire length of the cliff.

That Salisbury Crags, so late as the close of the eighteenth century, must have been a superb, even an awe-inspiring sight, seems evident, for, notwithstanding all the subsequent havoc, they still impress, still make powerful appeal to all capable of being moved by the sublime and the beautiful. Sir Walter Scott had the good fortune to be acquainted with Salisbury Crags before gunpowder and the pick-axe had done their worst, and in *Heart of Midlothian* has immortalised the rugged grandeur of this stupendous natural feature. 'If I were to choose a spot,' he writes at the beginning of chapter viii., 'from which the rising or setting sun could be seen to the greatest possible advantage, it would be that wild path winding around the foot of the high belt of semi-circular rocks, called Salisbury Crags.' From their base Scott makes Reuben Butler view the dawn of the day after the murder of Porteous. And it should be added that this 'fascinating' and 'romantic' path was Sir Walter's 'favourite evening and morning resort.' Moreover, he was afforded much pleasure when, in 1820, mainly owing to the allusion to it in *Heart of Midlothian*, the track at the foot of Salisbury Crags was transformed by out-of-work weavers from the West of Scotland into what he calls 'a beautiful and solid pathway'—the Radical Road that we know. The committee of gentlemen in charge of the scheme proposed to 'sow the rocks with wall-flowers and other odoriferous and flowering plants' from the Cape of Good Hope and other foreign parts, but those in authority objected on the ground that the proposal, if carried out, would interfere with the grazing rights of tenants in the King's Park.

The advice tendered by *The Scotsman* did not go unheeded. All through the reign of George the Fourth, and for some time longer, the defacement of Salisbury Crags was one of the most prominent public questions locally, and weighed heavily on the consciences of citizens to whom the beauty of Edinburgh and its environs was a thing of moment. Quarrying in the Park of Holyroodhouse, as has been indicated, was not a modern practice. From the days of Queen Mary stones had been removed from this quarter to pave the streets of the city and to mend the roads in the vicinity. But it was not till the early decades of the nineteenth century that, owing to a variety of causes to be hereafter explained, stone was wrought on a scale that foreshadowed irretrievable injury. During this period the destruction of Salisbury Crags was in process of becoming an eventuality. In the end legal action was taken by the public-spirited portion of the community. The case dragged on for twelve years, first in the Court of Session, and then in the House of Lords. The affair of Salisbury Crags, as will be shown, even reached the ears of George the Fourth, who brought his influence to bear against the despoilers.

The object of this article is not so much to set forth the arguments submitted by the parties to the protracted lawsuit as to recapitulate certain facts brought out in evidence which shed light on the nature and extent of the quarrying operations within the precincts of the Royal Park. Furthermore, and as a sequel, an attempt will be made to show how, a little more than a hundred years ago, persons of taste, and with a sense of beauty, formed a solid phalanx, and saved the rocks from utter destruction.

## I

Edinburgh has from remote times derived an inexhaustible supply of stone from the neighbourhood of Arthur Seat. Salisbury Crags, it is true, is not specifically mentioned in the early records of the Town Council, but there can be little

doubt that it was from this source that the stone was obtained, since there was no other quarry within easy reach of the city. The Magistrates, it would appear, enjoyed a grant from the Crown empowering them to hew the rock, there being then no other authority from which such a privilege could be derived.

The King's Park seems to have been enclosed by James v. in 1540 when he added the lands of St. Leonard's, the abbot's meadow, the lands of Cloksorrow Mill and others to the Royal domain. This extension took place between March and August—'the tyme he causit big the park.'<sup>1</sup> In the following year the Town Council contributed towards the erection of this wall. It can hardly be supposed that the stones for this structure were quarried from any other place than Salisbury Craggs. The wall is further mentioned in 1554. On 15th June of that year the Council, at the request of the Queen Regent, 'consentit to big on thair expens the hail sloppis in the park dike circuit about Arthour Sett, Salisborie, and Dudingstoun Craggis, vnder protestatioun that the samin preiugit nocht thame anent the calsay stanis quhilk thai wer in vs to gett furth of the saidis cragis quhen thai had ado thairwith.' In other words, the Council, while agreeing to carry out the Royal behest, stipulated that they should still continue to hew 'calsay stanis' from the 'saidis cragis.' It is plain, therefore, that the practice of abstracting rock from Salisbury Craggs existed previous to 1554.

That the privilege was enjoyed under a grant from the Crown is made clear by the next entry in the Minutes of the Council. On 28th March 1599 John Robertson, flesher and tacksman 'to the Kings grace of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> park,' consented 'that the toun suld haif thair calsay staynes furth of the samyn,' provided no damage was done to 'his corne, girs or guidis.' If, however, his crops were injured the town was to recompense him.

<sup>1</sup> Register of Acts and Decrees, vol. ii., fol. 27.

Neither of these entries contains any reference to a rent having been paid for the liberty of quarrying stones from Salisbury Craggs, a circumstance which tends to confirm the view that the right was granted to the citizens of the King's freewill. These extracts also seem to support the contention that the office of Keeper of the Park of Holyroodhouse was as yet non-existent. It will be noted that the application to the Council to build up the slaps in the wall encircling the Royal Park was made 'at the request of Marie, Regent of the Realm, comperand by Lord Dunfermline and Sir John Campbell, her master household.' This, one would suppose, could scarcely have happened if there had been a Keeper.

In the prolonged litigation concerning the quarrying of Salisbury Craggs, to which reference will be made presently, no evidence was forthcoming that such an official existed before 1646, and it was assumed both in the Court of Session and in the House of Lords that the creation of the office dated from that year. In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor, alluding to the Charter of 1646 which conferred the office of Keeper on Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, used these words:—'If I should say that it was created in his person, he being apparently the first enjoyer of it, I should certainly not go beyond the facts which appear here in the cause; for it is much more like the creation of an office for the first time than anything else; at all events we have not any thing to show that any person exercised it before.' But the Lord Chancellor was in error, as were the Lords of Session before whom the case was tried. All the sources of information were not tapped, with the result that the case was argued on imperfect knowledge. As a matter of fact, there had been several Keepers before 1646. Lord Balmerino was appointed Keeper of Holyroodhouse with its precincts and parks on 9th August 1603.<sup>1</sup> On Balmerino's forfeiture for treason the appointment was, on 20th January 1610, transferred to George,

<sup>1</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 557, where the authority cited is 'Balmerino's Writs.'

Earl of Dunbar.<sup>1</sup> On his death the office was conferred on Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, the date of appointment being 6th April 1611.<sup>2</sup> Dunfermline died in 1622, and for the next twenty-four years the office appears to have been vacant; at least no record of any appointment has been found.

In 1646, in consideration (it is stated but not proved) of a debt of £10,000, Charles I. granted a charter to Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, a younger son of the first Earl of Haddington, by which he was appointed Heritable Keeper of the Royal Park of Holyroodhouse. Certain emoluments were attached to the position. The Heritable Keeper was given a suite of rooms at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and he had the use of the adjoining grounds. He also had a small annual salary which varied, and out of this allowance he was obliged to pay under-Keepers, who saw that no unauthorised persons were allowed within the precincts of the Royal Park. Finally, the Heritable Keeper occasionally supplied hay and fodder for the horses in the Royal stables.

In the litigation it was contended on behalf of the defender, the Earl of Haddington, that the Keepership, besides carrying with it certain rights and profits, involved the privilege of working portions of whinstone in the Royal Park. An attempt was also made to show that from 1646, the date of the grant by Charles I., the Keeper had been in the habit of hewing and selling the stones (or permitting others to do so) for his own benefit. But however that may be, it is a fact that after the Royal grant, as before it, stones continued to be quarried within the Park of Holyroodhouse. The Keeper at this time received no money from the Town Council. By virtue of the King's favour granted to them long anterior to this date, the Magistrates removed stones for paving the streets of Edin-

<sup>1</sup> Register of Great Seal, vol. vii., No. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 461. The writer is indebted to Mr. William Angus, Curator of Historical Records, General Register House, for the important discovery that there were Keepers of the Royal Park of Holyroodhouse before 1646.

burgh without consulting the Keeper, but paid compensation for injury to pasturage.

The 'calsay stanes' are a prominent topic in the entries of the Town Council records for the seventeenth century. On 28th October 1664 the City Treasurer was instructed 'to agree with the layers of the calsey (the paviers of Edinburgh) for wining of calsey stones out of the park, for the service of the town's common calseys, of such square and thickness as shall be preseryvit to them.' Four years later, 24th October 1668, the Council authorised their Treasurer 'to agree wt any persone for winning of stones in the park for the use of the calsey.'

The earliest mention in the Minutes of the Heritable Keeper occurs in 1675, when (3rd December) Bailie Hay (the Treasurer) and Deacon Hamiltoune were appointed 'to speak with Sir James Hamiltoune,' that, in 'seting of the King's park,' liberty be 'reserved to the good town to wine stains, and lead the same from the said wark, for helping and making the public calsay.' Twelve days later Bailie Hay reported that Sir James Hamilton had consented to the town taking 'calsey stones out of the King's park' on the understanding that if, 'in the winning of stones and carrying them off the ground, there be any prejudice done to his tacksman,' the damage was to be assessed by four arbiters, two to be appointed by the town and two by the tacksman. Though the Heritable Keeper acquiesced in the request, it distinctly appears that the Council did not apply to him for permission to quarry, but only for authority to cross the grass in order to reach the scene of operations. Obviously the purpose of the reservation was that, in the exercise of a privilege already granted, the town should not be involved in a dispute with the Keeper's tenant, who might possibly claim a right to prevent access to the quarry through his pasture lands.

Not till 1680 is there any trace of payment by the Town Council for the liberty of quarrying stones in the King's Park. On 19th March the Magistrates instructed Magnus Prince,

their Treasurer, 'to pay to the relict of Alexander Todrig, keiper of the King's park, £40 Scots in return for 'two thousand and fyve hundred calsey stones . . . furnished by the said deceist Alexander Todrig to the good town.' This sum, it will be observed, was not paid to Sir James Hamilton. Indeed there is reason for believing that neither before nor for half a century after the office of Heritable Keeper was vested in Hamilton was any emolument derived by the Haddington family from the stone quarried within the Park. Nor is there any evidence in the early records of the Council that the town obtained their right to work stone at Salisbury Crags from the Keeper of the Royal Park. The expressions employed are not that the town shall have leave to quarry, but that the Council shall not be prejudged in that right—words which, as was emphasised in the lawsuit, point to a very different origin of the privilege.

## II

A fresh chapter in the history of the quarrying operations at Salisbury Crags was opened in 1691, when the Keepership of Holyrood Park, which had formerly been held by Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, was transferred to Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, by a new charter dated 23rd January 1691. The office of Hereditary Keeper, which continued in the possession of the family till nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, carried with it, according to the sixth Earl's descendants, a right to the profits of the quarries in the Park.

The first entry in the Council records after the Keepership had passed into the hands of the sixth Lord Haddington is dated 20th January 1697, and declares that several persons had been appointed 'to furnish calsey stones' which were 'now ready to be carried out of the King's park'; that the Treasurer was 'to advance money for that use'; and that the stones were to be removed to 'ane convenient place, for the

use of the good town.' Unfortunately, a certain ambiguity lurks in the entry, which makes it difficult to say to whom the money was to be paid—to the men appointed to furnish the stones, or to those entrusted with their removal.

An early instance of Lord Haddington exercising his authority as Hereditary Keeper is afforded by the fact that, on 19th December 1711, his Lordship granted a nine years' lease to David Smith of the 'grass and pasturage' of the Park of Holyroodhouse, together with 'houses, biggings, meadows, and hail pertinents of the samyn' at an annual rent of 'four thousand ane hundredth twenty-five merks Scots.' Smith, at the same time, came under an agreement 'that neither he nor any other' would plough up 'any part of the said park, nor cast any faille or divotts, or winn any stones for building (except causeway stones)' save 'what sall be necessary for repairing the saids houses during this present tack.'

In 1717 the Town Council approached Smith with a proposition which seems to indicate a break with the past. They proposed to pay Lord Haddington's tacksman a yearly rent for the liberty of digging for 'calsey stanes, and carrying the same off for the good town's use.' It is not clear whether the negotiations were successful, but in any case it may be pertinently asked: What had become of the privilege granted by the Crown—a privilege by which, from early times, it had been lawful to remove stones from the Royal Park for paving the streets of Edinburgh without payment of any kind? If the ancient right was not abrogated (and it is not easy to understand how it could be), why was it necessary to pay the Keeper's tacksman?

The next entry brings us to the year 1748, when a portion of the Park was let to George Knox, son of Archibald Knox of Mayshiell, at a rent of £250, for the period of twenty-one years immediately following the entry of the tenant. The lease included not only the houses, grass and pasturage, but what was far more important from the point of view of the present in-

vestigation—the 'liberty to open and work stone quarries . . . in any part of the grounds of the said lands,' and to sell the material. In David Smith's lease there was a clause that he would not 'winn any stones for building (except causeway stones)' save what were necessary to repair the houses on his land.

Knox, on the other hand, was allowed to become a quarry-master in the full sense of the term. And judging by an account book kept by him, which was produced in the lawsuit against Lord Haddington in the nineteenth century, he was a diligent one. Beginning with the year 1755 and ending with 1757, Knox's account book contained the quantities of stone sold on credit for paving and building purposes, likewise entries of the wages paid to the quarriers and other workmen. Part of Salisbury Crags was included in Knox's lease, and in 1764 he, like David Smith, was approached by the Town Council, who desired liberty to quarry stones for paving the streets. Knox agreed, the rent being fixed at £20 a year. The Council employed the quarrymen and furnished the tools.

Knox was not the only tacksman. A portion of the Park had been let by Lord Haddington as a separate subject to Andrew Sinclair, an Edinburgh merchant, who wrought stones there to a great extent for purposes other than those of paving the streets. An enterprising man, Sinclair became desirous of supplying the town from his quarry, thus saving the Magistrates the trouble of working the stone under their agreement with Knox. With this object in view, he memorialised the Town Council. Sinclair stated that he was 'tacksman of the stone quarry in the King's park, and thereby had occasion to carry on a very extensive work,' for which purpose he had 'a great number of hands daily employed in making causeway stones for payment.' As the good town frequently needed supplies of this kind of stone, Sinclair apprehended that it would be mutually advantageous if the Council 'could agree upon terms for the memorialist's furnishing the town . . .

with such stones as they have a demand for.' Sinclair undertook to supply any quantity of 'dressed or undressed stones' the town might require till the year 1770, at the following rates:—The best dressed stones at 8s. 6d. per ton, and undressed stones at 1s. 8d. per cart, each containing twelve cwt. He also obligingly offered to relieve the Council of the annual rent of £20 which they were then paying to Knox, and, as a further inducement, expressed his willingness to employ the more experienced of the town's workmen on the same terms as those given to his own quarrymen. Sinclair, in effect, was aiming at a monopoly, since he made it obligatory for the town to buy all the stones they needed from him. The Council were 'not to supply themselves with stones anywhere else without the consent of the memorialist.'

Sinclair's petition, along with another in pretty similar terms presented by Robert Campbell, merchant in Stirling, was remitted by the Council to a Committee, which reported (22nd February 1764) favourably on the project. Easier terms, however, were desired. Having computed the cost for some years past, the Committee found that the price for dressed stones had never been less than 8s. 6d. per ton, while the rate for undressed stones was 3s. 3d. per ton, 'besides tear and wear of quarry-graith, etc.' It had also been learned, after inquiry, that 'the stones of the rock in the King's park' were the best in every respect.

Campbell had offered lower prices than Sinclair, and the Council were not slow to take advantage of this fact in bargaining with Sinclair. If the latter would supply, at 7s. per ton, dressed stones 'equal to the best causeway stones that have been used in paving the streets of Edinburgh,' and undressed at 1s. 6d. per cart of twelve cwt. (the prices at which Campbell had offered to supply them), the Committee were prepared to recommend that the Council should contract with Sinclair, provided he was still willing to take Knox's tack off the town's hands; to purchase the town's quarry-graith and tools at a

valuation; and to employ 'all the town's layers, hewers and dressers,' except when the layers were employed in paving the streets. Sinclair ultimately agreed to these terms, and entered into a contract with the Council for three years. The interest of the transaction lies not in the terms arranged, but in the fact that Sinclair intended to develop quarrying operations as much as ever he could for his own benefit. As a matter of fact, he was not content with supplying the needs of the town but was in the habit of sending shiploads of stones from the Park of Holyroodhouse to London. The streets of the Metropolis, as well as those of Edinburgh and other places, were being paved from Salisbury Crags.

Notwithstanding that he had lost the town's contract to Sinclair, Knox, on 12th June 1771, obtained from Lord Haddington a new three years' lease at a yearly rent of £400 of 'all and whole the park of Holyroodhouse, with the grass and pasturage thereof, houses, biggings, yards, parts, pendicles and pertinents of the same.' There was, however, an essential difference between the old lease and the new. The quarries which Knox had formerly worked as a source of profit were not included under the contract of 1771, despite the fact that the rent was substantially increased. Lord Haddington reserved for himself 'the whole stone and sand quarries, and the houses belonging to them,' probably because in the interval they had become lucrative. Indeed, Sinclair's transaction with the Town Council is confirmatory of the view that extensive workings were by this time in progress at Salisbury Crags, and that quarrying there was a money-making concern. None the less, it cannot be said that the operations of the eighteenth century, considerable though they were, appreciably injured a rock surface of vast extent. That catastrophe, as will be shown, was reserved for the nineteenth century. Probably Knox did not renew his lease in 1774. At all events, from 1777 until Candlemas 1780, David Waugh was tenant of the Park of Holyroodhouse, for which he paid a yearly rent of £460 (an increase

of £60 on Knox's). Waugh also seems to have leased a quarry (or quarries) for £40. But the exact import of this part of his contract cannot now be stated.

### III

The serious defacement of Salisbury Crags belongs, as has been indicated, to the nineteenth century, particularly to the last years of the reign of George the Third. Various causes can be assigned for the rapid and widespread denudation, which, although taking place with the full knowledge of the citizens, was, strange to say, allowed to continue for a considerable time unchecked. It may be well to enumerate the main causes before describing the extent of the havoc.

Several public works of great magnitude were in progress in Edinburgh in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, all of which required enormous quantities of stone of every description. There were several quarries in the vicinity of Edinburgh, notably Craigleith, from which much of the masonry of the period was reared, but it is indisputable that those in the Park of Holyroodhouse contributed a large share of building material. In the closing years of the eighteenth century Lord Haddington permitted the removal of stones for the construction of the Bridewell on the Calton Hill. Paving stones, however (as formerly), were the staple, and the supplies were hugely increased by means of the construction of the spacious eastern approach to the city. Regent Road and Waterloo Place, which belong to the period 1810-20, appear to have been entirely levelled up and paved with material from Salisbury Crags.

In 1814 the Town Council entered into an agreement with the Earl whereby they obtained 'that space not exceeding two hundred yards, running along the face of that part of the rock of Salisbury Crags, which was worked in the year 1666 by the contractors for paving the streets of the city of London,

for the space of nine years, to quarry stones for paving the streets of Edinburgh.' The Council was to pay Lord Haddington £105 per annum, and a clause was inserted in the contract that the Magistrates were on no account to work more stones from the rock yearly than for 'the fair consumption of the city.' It was also agreed that there was to be 'no depot, magazine, or collection of stones formed or made for the purpose of affording a supply after the expiry of the tack.' This restriction might imply that Lord Haddington, conscious that the ravages at Salisbury Crags were assuming formidable dimensions, was, for prudential reasons, trying to limit the operations as much as possible without endangering the profits. The Town Council, it should be added, had rights over other quarries in the Park. These must at one time have been numerous, for it is on record that the workings were eventually reduced to three.

Adjoining the portion of the Crags worked by the Town Council under the agreement of 1814 was another quarry which, for many years, the trustees for the public roads of Midlothian had wrought. The operations of the road trustees were even on a larger scale than those of the city. But, while the stone was quarried by permission of Lord Haddington, it is not proved that the Earl derived any profit therefrom. Apparently his Lordship differentiated between road metal and the whinstone used in paving the streets of Edinburgh, possibly on the ground that the former largely consisted of debris, and was therefore not of much commercial value.

In addition to the greatly augmented demands of the Town Council and the road trustees for Midlothian, the former for whinstone and the latter for rubble with which to construct and repair the highways throughout the county, large supplies of rock from Salisbury Crags were still being transported to London and other English cities. Consequently, the quarries in the Park were being worked to an unprecedented extent. From the commencement, in the spring of 1818, of the contract

for paving the Regent Road, till the end of October 1819, it was estimated that 10,920 cubic yards of rock were quarried for that purpose alone. In 1818 ninety superficial roods of dressed causeway were executed, but in the following year no fewer than 183 superficial roods were wrought. Nor was this all. The quarries at Salisbury Crags also yielded 108 superficial roods of rubble causeway; and as every superficial rood of dressed causeway necessitated the quarrying of from 35 to 40 cubic yards of rock, it was reckoned that the quantity of stone abstracted in 1818 for paving the road over the Calton Hill was 3600 cubic yards. In 1819 as many as 7320 cubic yards are said to have been excavated apart from what was taken for rubble work. It remains to be added that, in terms of the Regent Road contract, Lord Haddington received twelve shillings for every rood of finished causeway.

But the full measure of spoliation had not yet been reached. From 15th June 1815 to 4th June 1819 the quantity of rock quarried for paving the streets of Edinburgh generally was estimated at 15,950 tons, but upwards of double that amount was wrought for other purposes during the same period. Altogether between 45,000 and 50,000 tons of stone, it is stated, were removed from Salisbury Crags during the four years, being at the rate of about 12,000 tons per annum. The representatives of Lord Haddington, it is true, characterised this estimate as 'very greatly exaggerated.' Be that as it may, there can be no question that the operations were of such a character as to cause serious disfigurement to the face of the cliff, as any one may see at the present hour.

A strong light is shed on the extent of the dilapidation by a report drawn up by one Brown, superintendent of the public works of the city. There we meet with the startling statement that for every ton of stone carted away from Salisbury Crags two tons were thrown into the valley below. According to this testimony, while 12,000 tons were sold every year, 24,000 tons were cast aside. In brief, 36,000 tons were hewn annu-

ally from the cliff, or nearly 100 tons a day. It was argued, on behalf of Lord Haddington, that what was thrown down the bank was not waste product, the rubble being used for mending the roads. But the crucial point is that, whether waste product or not, this vast quantity of stone had been wrought from Salisbury Crags.

Needless to say the effects of so enormous a dislodgement were soon apparent. Instead of the precipitous and unbroken front which till then this grand natural feature had exhibited, there were deep and jagged indentations, and in several places, as may still be seen, the rock was almost cut away. It was obvious, therefore, that the amenity of the Park of Holyroodhouse was being seriously spoiled, and that unless quarrying were drastically restricted, the Crags would suffer absolute disaster.

## IV

At last legal action was taken. His Majesty's Officers of State for Scotland, consisting of the Duke of Gordon (Keeper of the Great Seal), the second Viscount Melville (Lord Privy Seal), William Dundas (Lord Clerk Register), Sir William Rae, Bart. (Lord Advocate), and David Boyle (Lord Justice-Clerk), resolved to question the validity of the claim of Lord Haddington that, in his capacity as Hereditary Keeper of the Royal Park of Holyroodhouse, he was entitled to work the quarries there.

On 5th February 1819 an action was raised in the Court of Session, the purpose of which was 'to restrain certain operations authorised or conducted by Lord Haddington, tending materially to the detriment' of the Royal Park. The Officers of State contended that, under cover of a grant for preserving the Park, the Royal domain was being destroyed; that a usage, limited in its nature, was being 'unlimitedly extended'; and that Edinburgh was in danger of being deprived of 'some of its most striking beauties' by quarrying

operations sanctioned by Lord Haddington. Further, the petitioners drew a distinction between the profits pertaining to the Hereditary Keepership and those attaching to the minerals in the Park. The Earl, it was maintained, was not entitled to 'exhaust or dilapidate or alienate' the Royal property by working quarries to the extent of materially injuring that which he was appointed to protect. There was not, the Officers of State argued, the smallest ground for holding that the Keepership conferred a title to trench upon or exhaust the subject. It was manifestly the duty of a Keeper to take charge of the subject, not to destroy it. If that argument were sound, it followed that Lord Haddington was only entitled to the profits arising out of its increase. Another point made by the Officers of State was that the fact that the Town Council had for centuries, through the tolerance of the Crown, been in the habit of quarrying at Salisbury Crags, did not make it lawful for Lord Haddington also to remove stone. The feudalised right of the Hereditary Keeper must not be confounded with a grant of the property.

Lord Haddington's defence was that although he had no feudal right in the soil of the Royal Park, yet he held a feudal grant, conveying to him the office of Hereditary Keeper with all the emoluments arising out of the Park. The quarries had been worked for profit before the date of the grant of the office, and by virtue of that grant he was entitled to continue the working of stone for the sake of the emoluments.

The action came before the Lord Ordinary (Lord Pitmilley), who pronounced an interlocutor, in which he found that previous to 1646, the date of the grant to Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, quarries were wrought in the Park from which profits were derived. Lord Pitmilley therefore decided, with reference to the usage anterior to the grant, that 'the terms of the conveyance import a right in the grantees of working the quarries.' Accordingly he sustained the defences, assolizied the defender, and decerned. It is noteworthy that, at a later

stage of the litigation, Lord Pitmilley declared that his interlocutor had been misunderstood. It merely, he said, gave an absolver from a summons which contained only a conclusion that Lord Haddington had no right to work the quarries at all, 'but certainly did not find that the Earl was entitled to work them without control or limitation.'

The next stage in the action was reached on 15th January 1822, when the Officers of State for Scotland presented a petition to the Second Division of the Court of Session craving that Lord Pitmilley's judgment be reviewed. On 26th November of the same year their Lordships pronounced the following interlocutor:—'The Lords having advised this petition with answers thereto; in respect no abuse is alleged to have been committed, adhere to the interlocutor reclaimed against *in hoc statu*.' The interlocutor of the Second Division was reviewed in another petition presented by the Officers of State on 16th December, in which it was pointed out that from the supposed date of the creation of the office of Hereditary Keeper (1646) down to the year 1711, there was no evidence that the holders either claimed or exercised any right of authorising tenants to hew stones in any portion of the Park. Their Lordships gave judgment on 24th June 1823, in the following terms:—'The Lords, having advised this petition with answers thereto . . . find that the defender has no feudal right of property in the Park of Holyroodhouse; but *quoad ultra*, adhere to the interlocutor reclaimed against and refuse the desire of the petition.'

Following upon this judgment, the Officers of State entered an appeal to the House of Lords. After hearing counsel, their Lordships, on 19th May 1826, affirmed that portion of the interlocutor of 24th June 1823 which found that Lord Haddington had no feudal right of property to the Park. As to the remainder of this interlocutor, as well as the others complained of in the appeal, their Lordships remitted the cause back to the Court of Session for review; ordered the lower Court to

take the opinion of other Judges of the Court of Session in writing as regards questions of law which might arise; and 'after such review the Court do decern in the said cause, as may be just.'

The remit from the House of Lords duly came before the Second Division, and, on 4th June 1830, their Lordships by a majority pronounced the following interlocutor:—'Find: That from time immemorial quarries for stones had been worked within the Park of Holyroodhouse by the defender's ancestors; but further find that the defender's right in that respect is of a limited nature, and that he has not a right to work quarries for general and unlimited sale, and before answers as to the nature of any limited right, allow the pursuers to give in a special condescence of what they aver as to the usage in these respects, and when given in, allow the defender to give in answers thereto.'

Into the further litigation in the Court of Session there is no need to enter, since it revealed little that has not already been stated. Suffice it to say that the final judgment was given in the House of Lords on 24th September 1831, when it was declared that Lord Haddington had no right or title to work quarries, or to do or authorise any act or operations by which the property of the Royal Park might be dilapidated or exhausted. In advising that the decision of the Court below be reversed, the Lord Chancellor maintained that the Court of Session had never faced the question of the very extraordinary nature of the grant to Lord Haddington's family, if the right of the quarries was really conveyed. The Keeper was the representative of the Crown who was entrusted to keep the Park for the Crown, but this, according to the construction of the Court below, was a grant, not to keep but to take—not to preserve but to destroy. After minutely examining the evidence produced in support of the usage, the Lord Chancellor argued that there was no ground, either in law or in fact, for the judgment of the Court of Session.

## V

While the case of the State Officers for Scotland *v.* the Earl of Haddington was pursuing its tedious course, a campaign of persistent and well-directed opposition to the depredations at Salisbury Crags was carried on in Edinburgh. Criticism, some of it intelligent and well-informed, was brought to bear on the situation through the medium of the Press. Public meetings were then a rarity, but at least one was called to discuss the question of the hour; and if the voice of protest was not so vocal in the unreformed Town Council as it might have been, Lord Provost Trotter at any rate was quite alive to the vandalism that was taking place in the Park of Holyroodhouse, and became the moving spirit of a committee of influential citizens appointed to investigate the quarrying operations and to bring the public into touch with the actual facts.

The popular clamour reached its height in 1825 and the following year. During that period a series of letters appeared in the local newspapers, in which Lord Haddington was rebuked for allowing stone to be quarried within the Royal Park. But the criticism was not wholly adverse. There were some who, while deploring the defacement of Salisbury Crags, thought that the Earl had been badly treated. His most able champion was Robert Chambers, author of the *Traditions of Edinburgh*. In a letter contributed to the *Edinburgh Advertiser*<sup>1</sup> of 15th April 1825 he expressed surprise that no one had attempted to vindicate Lord Haddington, whose part in the affair had been reflected upon so malignantly in the Press that one would suppose that the inhabitants of Edinburgh had 'fairly begun to consider his Lordship as an evil spirit whose workings' were 'at once dark, terrible, and not to be averted.' Chambers then proceeds:—

'The truth is his Lordship is not at all to blame in this unhappy

<sup>1</sup> The letter is signed 'An Inhabitant of Edinburgh,' but the President of the Club informs the writer that it was penned by his grandfather—Robert Chambers.

business. The most enthusiastic admirer of naked rocks must own that his Lordship was not handsomely treated at the outset of the affair. He was exercising in peace a right which had never been disputed, when, all at once, he was attacked as a sort of public robber. . . . The people who professed such interest in the case left the whole matter to be managed by anonymous correspondents in newspapers, who proceeded to shoot off at his Lordship a series of pestilent paragraphs, throwing discredit upon his right, and exasperating his feelings. . . . I am perfectly assured that the Earl of Haddington would never have hesitated for a moment between the alternative of offending a large and respectable class of the community, and putting the paltry sum of £200 yearly into his pocket—had he been deferentially *led* and not insolently *driven*.<sup>2</sup>

The natural construction to be placed on the last sentence seems to be that the Earl's action in allowing the operations to continue after the protest had no other basis than mulish obstinacy. In short, Lord Haddington knowingly pursued a wrongful course, one which was seriously detrimental to the public interest, for no other reason than because his opponents did not show him sufficient respect. Yet, further on in his letter, Chambers tells us that Lord Haddington yielded to the remonstrances two years before by ceasing to let Salisbury Crags for quarrying purposes, and that if spoliation still continued, the blame lay with the road trustees from whom he received not a penny of profit.

'These arbitrary and unaccountable authorities *alone* have taken stones from the quarry during that period, and do so . . . much against the will of the Earl of Haddington, who, however, cannot prevent them from exercising the right vested in them by Act of Parliament, by which they are at liberty to take stones wherever they can find them. Moreover, to show how little his Lordship is disposed to destroy the beautiful scenery of our "romantic town," let the following recent circumstance be recorded to his honour. At a late meeting of these Gothic trustees it was resolved to take the stones for a certain district of road from the picturesque cliff at Windygowl, which overhangs Duddingston Loch to the westward, and forms one of the finest features of the scenery

thereabouts. This his Lordship remonstrated vehemently against; but his agent has been . . . informed that the resolution cannot be altered.'

In the concluding portion of his letter, Chambers takes up the position that the agitation has been overdone. 'Had the Edinburgh public,' he writes, 'beheld the ravages committed on the Craggs with less fierce indignation, and treated the subject with greater temper, many heart-burnings might have been saved, and Edina would not this day have to regret the loss of a tithe of the jewels of her crown.' This seems a reversion to the view that, had the citizens been calmer, Lord Haddington would have arrested the hand of the despoiler earlier than he did.

*The Scotsman* took the letter signed 'An Inhabitant of Edinburgh' as the text for a leading article, in which the road trustees were incisively dealt with. It was urged that Lord Haddington had the excuse of right, and had sacrificed pecuniary interests in ceasing to let the quarries. The road trustees, again, 'seemed to act from caprice . . . for they were tied to no spot.' That Lord Haddington was not now the guilty party as regards 'the continued destruction of the interesting scenery of the Royal Park' was also the argument of a letter signed 'A True Scotsman,' which appeared in the *Edinburgh Observer* of 19th April 1825. Its main purpose, however, was to submit some novel suggestions whereby 'the real aggressors, if they shall continue to persist in their obstinate opposition to the unequivocally expressed voice of public opinion, may receive a just and self-merited mark of public reprobation.'

This correspondent proposed, first of all, that the Lord Provost should convene a public meeting in order to ascertain the views of the inhabitants. To this meeting Lord Haddington should be invited. If his Lordship, he adds, would 'interdict his heirs and successors from ever working Salisbury quarries more,' he (the correspondent) would 'cheerfully con-

tribute . . . towards the erection of a monument on the summit of Salisbury Craggs, as a tribute of respect to the noble individual who had thus come forward and distinguished himself by an act of such nobly disinterested patriotism.' 'True Scotsman' also favoured a monument for the road trustees, but of a very different kind. If these gentlemen persisted in 'destroying wantonly and unnecessarily the finest natural beauties of the city—dear to us . . . from so many interesting associations of history, poetry and romance,' there should be erected 'in some conspicuous and frequented thoroughfare' an obelisk on which their names would be inscribed, so that posterity might know the destroyers of Salisbury Craggs.

The correspondence in the Press, violent, unfair and irrelevant though some of it might be, led at least to practical action. At the instigation of Roger Aytoun, W.S., a representative committee was formed to take stock of the operations in the Park of Holyroodhouse. At a meeting held in Edinburgh on 21st November 1825, and attended by Lord Provost Trotter, Baron Clerk Rattray, Sir George Clerk, Sir John Hope, Sir John Dalrymple and Sir Henry Jardine, Aytoun, who was Convener, made an illuminating statement. Having had his attention directed by the correspondence in the newspapers to the demolition of Salisbury Craggs, he had personally inspected the quarries and collected as much information about them as he could. The Convener explained that 'several quarries,' at which many men were employed, showed considerable activity. The first on the south side had been wrought to such an extent that the whinstone, which lay upon a bed of red freestone, had been nearly cut away. The operations had been clumsy and without regard to amenity. Further north were two quarries, which were wrought by Messrs. Bell, the tacksmen of Lord Haddington. Messrs. Bell sold dressed pavement, but the rubble was disposed of at eightpence per cart load to the contractors for Wrightshouses, Slateford, and Calder District of roads. A third quarry, which was causing

great havoc at one of the most prominent parts of Salisbury Crag, was wholly set apart for the road trustees of the Dalkeith and Lasswade Districts, who defrayed the expense of quarrying, but paid no rent. Then, towards the north-east, and overlooking the Palace of Holyroodhouse, there was a large quarry from which the city derived its main supply of stone for paving purposes. The Middle District and the Cramond and Post-road Districts were liberally supplied from the same source. The result was that the whinstone had been almost wrought through, and little but freestone of a very indifferent quality was left.

In his tour of inspection the Convener had been impressed with the fact that the quarrying had been gone about without any regard for amenity. The contractors abstracted stone at the places where it could be worked most easily. It was also the Convener's view that if the demand for stones to mend the roads ('which accounted for the greatest part of the consumpt') were to cease, the 'demolition of the Crag would be much diminished.' Formerly, the supply of stone for the roads had been obtained from quarries at Parson's Green, St. Leonard's Hill and 'at the southmost quarry near Arthur's Seat,' but for the past eighteen years enormous quantities had been derived from Salisbury Crag, which was probably due to the discovery that whinstone could be wrought there without any 'tiring.'

Such was the Convener's survey of the state of Salisbury Crag. After 'a full communing on the subject,' the committee unanimously resolved to request James Jardine, civil engineer, to inspect the quarries in the face of the Crag and elsewhere in the Royal Park, and to report. Further, with the object of relieving the heavy drain caused by the operations of the road trustees, the committee recommended that Conveners of Districts should inquire whether there were any quarries in their neighbourhood from which they might procure road metal.

## VI

Writing of memorable local events of the year 1826, Anderson, in his *History of Edinburgh*, has this passage:—'Another striking feature of the vicinity of Edinburgh was at this time threatened with destruction. The bold promontory of Salisbury Crag was actually invaded by the pick-axe for the purpose of procuring stones to causeway the streets of the city. This proceeding—one worthy of the days of the Goths and the Vandals—met with merited obloquy, and, after a good deal of public remonstrance, was also staid (*sic*).'

While an inaccurate description of the actual state of affairs, Anderson's statement at all events stresses the fact that the mutilation of Salisbury Crag was at this time a public question of much importance. In point of fact, the controversy was waged as keenly in 1826 as it had been in the previous year, but with this difference, that a powerful protagonist came prominently to the front—one who did not rest until the matter had been brought to the notice of the King. This was Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the antiquarian friend of Sir Walter Scott. Sharpe was of lethargic temperament, but the spectacle of Salisbury Crag being blasted to pieces roused him, and, as his printed correspondence shows, he succeeded to the extent of inducing George the Fourth to move in the matter.

In January 1826 Sharpe wrote to Sir Patrick Walker of Dalry lamenting the terrible havoc that was taking place in the Park of Holyroodhouse. He mentions, how, as he was returning from the winter amusements at Duddingston Loch, he had his 'eyes shocked' and his 'spirit moved' by the sad spectacle of Salisbury Crag laid in ruins by ill-taste and avarice.<sup>1</sup> The letter to Sir Patrick Walker was followed by another to Lady Gwydyr, who had considerable influence at

<sup>1</sup> C. K. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 355.

Court, and who, as a descendant of a Scottish noble family, might be expected, Sharpe thought, to take a special and not ineffectual interest in the matter. Nor was Sharpe disappointed. Lady Gwydyr, who was as much incensed against the destruction as her correspondent, lost no time in drawing the attention of those in high places to the condition of the Crags. On 31st January she writes to her friend:—'My dear Mr. Sharpe, I have at last accomplished your object by representing to H.M. (the King) the barbarous attack now making upon Salisbury Crags, and I assure you that we could not have desired a more favourable result. The proper authorities are to be written to upon the subject, and since I left the R. Lodge, I have received a letter from our enthusiastic countryman Strathavon, stating that Sir William Knighton<sup>1</sup> is the person appointed to inquire into the affair. In consequence, I have dispatched a letter to Sir William, imploring of him to lose no time in crying "St. George to the rescue!"'<sup>2</sup>

Sharpe was much gratified with the success of his efforts, and cordially replied to Lady Gwydyr on 5th March.

'The news you are so good as to communicate about Salisbury Crags are (*sic*) most delightful, and I can assure you that these rocks are in the very centre of his Majesty's park, and its principal beauty. King James the Sixth made the Haddington family hereditary rangers of said park, but he certainly never intended that they should make it a quarry under the very windows of his own palace. I hear that Lord Binning<sup>3</sup> is very violent and valiant, as to the rights of his papa, and perhaps may influence Lord Melville,<sup>4</sup> but if the King takes an interest in the matter, the thing is as good as done. And, I think, dear Madam, that by thus interposing to save these rough rocks, you have erected to yourself a much richer and nobler monument than could have even been fashioned by Phidias out of the purest Parian marble.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keeper of the Privy Purse to George IV.

<sup>2</sup> C. K. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> He succeeded as eighth Earl of Haddington in 1828.

<sup>4</sup> He was one of the Officers of State who raised the action against Lord Haddington.

<sup>5</sup> C. K. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 360-61.

It does not appear from Sharpe's *Correspondence* what action, if any, was taken after Sir William Knighton had investigated the matter. But it is evident that, so far as the Court was concerned, there was not much expedition. The only glimpse is contained in a letter which Lady Gwydyr addressed to Sharpe on 27th August 1827, fully eighteen months after the latter had begun his efforts to get the King interested. Lady Gwydyr writes:—'The speeches on the trial about Salisbury Crags were so complimentary and complicated that I was considerably puzzled, but I am perfectly satisfied with the result.'<sup>1</sup>

Sharpe's intervention may have been one of the reasons which led Lord Provost Trotter to take fresh action. Anyhow, on 6th February 1826, a week after Sharpe had opened correspondence with the object of inducing the King to act, the Lord Provost wrote to James Hope, W.S., the agent of Lord Haddington, 'earnestly soliciting' his 'kind interference and good offices to prevent the Earl of Haddington's tenant from further working' a certain portion of Salisbury Crags. Hope replied at considerable length on 13th February. He explained that one of the tenants, John Simpson, who claimed to be acting under the authority of the road trustees for the Cramond District, was obliged to blast more rock than was necessary to meet the needs of the road trustees, so that his employees might not remain idle. Hope had repeatedly explained to Simpson that it was possible to hew 10,000 cubic yards of rock without spoiling the appearance of the Crags. But the latter had rejected his advice on the ground that the rock specified was too hard to work, and therefore would not be remunerative. Simpson, in short, had chosen the line of least resistance: he had confined his operations to the softer portions of rock, with lamentable results.

Hope then proceeds to defend Lord Haddington from the

<sup>1</sup> C. K. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 396-97. Lady Gwydyr apparently is referring to matters connected with the litigation.

aspersions heaped upon him. The Earl, he tells the Lord Provost, was 'more interested in the beauty of the hill, and more anxious to preserve it' than those who found an ear with the Chief Magistrate.

'It was a matter of special anxiety to himself (the Earl), not only that the general appearance of the hill should not be injured, but that there should be carefully preserved . . . those interesting appearances which the late Dr. Hutton<sup>1</sup> and others had pointed out as . . . illustrations of curious and interesting geological doctrines; and it was especially explained to the tacksmen how careful they should be not to injure nor to approach them. . . . But I lament to say that Sir James Hall<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Hope,<sup>3</sup> after an inspection last week, had the mortification to find that Mr. Simpson had destroyed one of the specimens. I have only to add, in conclusion, that the Craigs were never considered as a matter of profit by Lord Haddington; that the rock had not been wrought to any extent by his Lordship's permission, until the Commissioners for the Calton Road, and the City of Edinburgh for the public . . . made application to his Lordship to take stone; [and] that the [road] trustees have long wrought the rock without payment of any consideration.'

Later in the month, 25th February, Lord Haddington's agent wrote to the Clerk of the Road Trustees that the place at which Simpson was 'beginning his ravages is the great specimen in illustration of Dr. Hutton's doctrines, referred to by him, and exhibited to all strangers.' Simpson eventually destroyed this rock.

On 28th February Lord Haddington's agent, accompanied by Sir James Hall and Professor Hope, visited the Craigs, and discovered that 'the part of the rock which Simpson had begun to "tir" was not only the most prominent part of the whole, but directly above the most magnificent specimen of the whole rock.' It was felt that the Rubicon had now been crossed, and Lord Haddington resolved upon legal action.

<sup>1</sup> James Hutton, the celebrated geologist.

<sup>2</sup> The geologist and chemist. He was an intimate friend of Hutton.

<sup>3</sup> Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh University.

In June 1826 a Bill of Suspension and Interdict against John Simpson, residing in Dalrymple Place, Edinburgh, and Alexander Harper, residing at Fernilee, was brought before the Second Division of the Court of Session. The Earl sought to prohibit Simpson and Harper from 'working, tiring, quarrying or carrying off any stones or rocks' from Salisbury Craigs or any other portion of the Royal Park, or from encroaching on or damaging the pasture grass, or in any other manner of way damaging the rock.

The facts of the case were recounted, and it was stated that Simpson and Harper had been engaged for some time in uncovering the topmost layers, so that the rock below might be wrought. In this way large quantities of stone had been taken from the Craigs. These, it was pretended, were for repairing the public roads, but in reality they were being sold by the defenders for various purposes. On behalf of Lord Haddington, it was pointed out, that, although his Lordship derived no profits from the workings of Simpson and Harper, he was at first unwilling to interfere with what was understood to be for the public advantage. Latterly, however, the operations had attained such magnitude that the Craigs were literally disappearing. In these circumstances, his Lordship felt bound to take action, more especially as further quarrying to an extent yet unprecedented was threatened. On 7th June Lord Medwyn granted interdict, and the havoc, so far as Simpson and Harper were concerned, came to an end.

By this time public execration at the blasting of Salisbury Craigs had grown so loud that even the road trustees were at last constrained to follow the advice of the Lord Provost's Committee, and seek quarries in their respective districts. In February 1826 the trustees of the Middle District of Roads resolved that, while searching for a quarry within their own territory, they would not hew rock from the face of the Craigs, but only in such places as were selected by the Committee's engineer. It is interesting to add that the Middle District

had quarried in the Royal Park since the year 1759, while the trustees of the turnpike roads of Midlothian had done so since the reign of Anne. Further, before the passing of the first Turnpike Act, the Justices repaired the roads with stones derived from the Park.

The smashing of Salisbury Crag, and the privileges claimed by Lord Haddington as Hereditary Keeper, continued to agitate the public mind even after the final judgment of the House of Lords in 1831. But the hostile feeling engendered was at length allayed by the purchase of the rights of the Haddington family. In 1845 the sum of £30,674, 1s. 8d. was paid to Thomas, the ninth Earl, as compensation for the surrender of the office of Hereditary Keeper of the Royal Park of Holyroodhouse. The control of the Royal domain then passed to the Board of Woods and Works. Later, on the separation of the two departments, the custody was vested in the Office of Works, who are still in control. From the date of the House of Lords' judgment, exactly a hundred years ago, no quarrying operations in any shape or form have been allowed within the Park. Nevertheless, the destruction wrought in the age of the Hanoverians is too great to be effaced. Salisbury Crag will bear the marks of insensate folly for all time.

W. FORBES GRAY.

[*Note*.—Since this article was put in type the writer has come across another instance of an appointment to the Keepership of the Park of Holyroodhouse prior to the Charter of 1646 conferring the office on Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield. It is the earliest of those cited. On 12th February 1567-68 the Regent Moray granted a warrant appointing Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask to be Principal Keeper of the King's Park of Holyroodhouse. Dr. David Laing brought this warrant under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The communication is printed in *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 408.]

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APPENDIX

TWENTY-THIRD AND TWENTY-FOURTH  
 ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

# Old Edinburgh Club

1930

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OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 29th January 1931, at 4 o'clock.

Brigadier-General Sir Robert Gilmour of Liberton and Craigmillar, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., presided. There was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-third Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read, and is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit the Twenty-third Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1930 there were seventeen vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain sixteen names on the list of applicants for admission.

## THE LATE DR. THOMAS ROSS

At a meeting of the Council held on 9th January 1931, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, the President, referred to the great loss the Club had sustained through the death of Dr. Thomas Ross, and on his motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

'The Council desire to record their sense of the great loss the Club has sustained in the death of Thomas Ross, LL.D., one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents. Dr. Ross was an original member, and for twenty years took a leading and highly useful part in the affairs of the Club. He was elected a member of Council in 1908, a Vice-President in 1914, and an Honorary Vice-President in 1929, succeeding in the last-mentioned office the late W. B. Blaikie, LL.D. Dr. Ross was a very frequent leader of excursions organised by the Club, and the antiquarian knowledge and professional learning with which he invested the informal lectures he usually gave on

such occasions rendered them valuable contributions to the subject. Combined with his enthusiasm, which was always according to knowledge, was a kindness and good humour, likewise a readiness to answer all sorts of questions. These traits enhanced his authority as well as deepened the respect the members entertained for him. But perhaps Dr. Ross's best work for the Club is embodied in these elaborate and scholarly articles which from time to time he contributed to our volumes. In the Book of the Club for 1909 he told the history of the statues of Justice and Mercy which stood on each side of the doorway of the old Parliament House. Then in 1911 (Vol. IV.) Dr. Ross described the monument to Bartholomew Somervell which, after adorning the Old College buildings for 134 years, was removed a century ago and inserted in the walls of the mansion of Craighall, Perthshire. But his full powers were reserved for two long articles which he wrote in collaboration with Professor Baldwin Brown, and which appear in Vols. VIII. and XI. respectively. The earlier deals with the Magdalen Chapel, the later with Tailors' Hall, Cowgate. Historically and architecturally, both articles are full of minute and painstaking research, and every future writer on these buildings must, as a matter of course, refer to them. Dr. Ross's admirable work for the Club, together with his genial personality, will long be remembered.

The Council instruct the Secretary to send an extract of this Minute to the Misses Ross, with an expression of their deep sympathy with them in their bereavement.

The Council also regret to record the death of Mr. W. Melvill Sym, C.A., who for a number of years rendered helpful service as Honorary Auditor.

#### LECTURES AND EXCURSIONS

Three lectures were delivered in the course of the year. Two of these dealt with the large collection of material relating to Edinburgh bequeathed by the late President, Mr. William Cowan, to the Public Library. The first was delivered in the Goold Hall on 7th February by Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., and treated of the 'Views' of Edinburgh. The lecture, which was illustrated by examples taken from the Cowan Collection—chiefly prints representing early views of the New Town—was most instructive. The other portion of the Collection—the Books—was described by Mr. Ernest A. Savage, in a lecture delivered in the Gartshore Hall on Thursday, 20th March. The lecturer strikingly emphasised, with the aid of lantern illustrations, the richness of the late President's collection from the point of view of local topography, and made clear that the general collection of books dealing with Edinburgh and contained in the Public Library, is unrivalled. On 25th November, in the Goold Hall, Mr. W. Forbes

Gray sketched the history of the Barony of Broughton from its first appearance in record, in the reign of David I., down to comparatively recent times. Canonmills, as the messuage of the Barony, was also dealt with, and the lecture concluded with an account of two mansions—Gayfield and Heriot Hill—both of which have interesting Jacobite associations. A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. Henry F. Kerr, and Mr. John Russell took part. The President presided at all the lectures.

There were three excursions. The first was to The Inch, which was visited on Saturday, 3rd May, by invitation of the owner of the mansion, the Honorary President, Sir Robert Gilmour of Craigmillar, who, with Lady Susan Gilmour, received the company, which numbered fully one hundred, and included the Earl of Cassillis. It was an ideal May day, sunny and mild. Mr. W. Forbes Gray acted as guide. After describing the architecture, he narrated the history of The Inch, and had much to say of the Winram family, with whom the mansion originated. On Saturday, 14th June, Mr. F. C. Mears conducted a party of about seventy round the old Walls of Edinburgh. The company assembled on the Castle Esplanade, from which they were able to make a survey of the ground to the south, preliminary to closer study of the conditions, topographical and military, which determined the sites and lines of the King's and Flodden Walls. The excursions concluded with a visit to St. Giles' on Tuesday, 1st July, under the leadership of Mr. William Meikle.

#### PUBLICATIONS

The Council have pleasure in announcing that preparation of Vol. XVIII. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* is making progress, although not in sufficient measure to permit of a full list of papers being given. The Editorial Committee have accepted several contributions which promise to be of interest and value. The President has prepared notes dealing with golf in the eighteenth century and earlier part of the nineteenth, with special reference to the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers. Mr. Francis Grant, W.S., Lyon King of Arms, will describe certain historic State ceremonials that took place in Edinburgh. A paper on the Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate will be contributed by Dr. C. A. Malcolm. The Barony of Calton will be the subject of an article by Mr. Henry M. Paton. It will be based on an important collection of documents in the possession of the Town

Council as well as on other original sources. Mr. David Robertson, Depute Town Clerk, will furnish from original documents an account of the circumstances attending the origin of George IV. Bridge, and the making of Johnston Terrace and of the road round the south side of the Castle Rock. Mr. John Russell will supply a topographical paper dealing with the Bonnington district in the eighteenth century, and Mr. W. Forbes Gray will write on the quarrying operations which proved so disastrous to Salisbury Crags.

Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, submitted the Report.

He congratulated the members on their flourishing state, one of the signs of which was the numerous applications for admission. Remark- ing upon the demolition of many historic houses in the 'Royal Mile' during the previous twenty years, the President pointed out that while these removals were the result of the demand for better housing, more sanitation and better light, it was consoling to know that several notable buildings had been restored, the most important, perhaps, being Candlemakers' Hall. But the work of demolition was still going on, and one regretted that a house of great historic interest in Campbell's Close, Canongate, was amongst the doomed properties. Originally the residence of Arthur Ross, Bishop of St. Andrews, a Jacobite who refused to subscribe the oath of allegiance to William of Orange, it later became the town house of the thirteenth and fourteenth Earls of Morton. The latter was a famous scientist and a friend of Maclaurin, the mathematician. He suffered imprisonment in the Bastille, was one of the promoters of the Society for Improving Arts and Sciences, and was a Trustee of the British Museum. He obtained a grant of Orkney and Shetland from the Government, and later sold the Islands to Sir Laurence Dundas, whose family was now represented by the Marquess of Zetland. The outside walls of the house were satisfactory, and he considered it would be a good thing if they could preserve the building.

The President also gave some interesting details of the building at present occupied by his own firm—W. & R. Chambers Ltd. Before very long the property was to be handed over to the city authorities, and he did not look forward with any degree of pleasure to the removal of the accumulations of a hundred years. He hoped that the various carved stones and other memorials would eventually find a place

in Huntly House, the restoration of which, he was glad to note, was making satisfactory progress. He hoped that before long everything relating to Old Edinburgh would find a permanent home there.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted, on the motion of the Chairman.

The President then moved the election of Sir Robert Gilmour, Bart., as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, K.C.V.O., LL.D., and Mr. John Geddie, as Hon. Vice-Presidents. The motion was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Francis J. Grant, Lyon King of Arms, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

Mr. Robert T. Skinner, Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, and Mr. Francis J. Grant were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Hon. Secretary, Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A., as Hon. Treasurer, Mr. W. Forbes Gray as Editor of Publications, and Mr. Henry Lessels, C.A., as Hon. Auditor.

Mr. A. Graham Donald, Mr. Hugh Hannah, Mr. J. Logan Mack, S.S.C., Professor G. Baldwin Brown, LL.D., and Mr. A. P. Melville, W.S., were elected members of Council.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Frank C. Mears, Mr. J. Wilson M'Laren, Mr. William Angus, and Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., the retiring members of Council.

A vote of thanks was accorded the Chairman. The meet- ing then terminated.

## LECTURES

### I

#### COWAN COLLECTION—VIEWS OF EDINBURGH

MR. WILLIAM COWAN, who was President of the Club from 1920 till his death in 1929, was the owner of a magnificent collection of books, manuscripts, views and plans bearing upon the history of Edinburgh, which he bequeathed to the Edinburgh Public Library. The contents of the Collection were analysed pretty thoroughly in two lectures delivered in 1930. On 7th February, in the Goold Hall, Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., described the views and plans of Edinburgh.

The lecturer explained at the outset that the items in this portion of the Cowan Collection numbered about 280, and covered a period of 350 years. Forty-five were early plans and maps of the city, 70 represented general views of Edinburgh from one point or another, about 130 showed special features of individual streets or buildings, and there were perhaps 30 depicting some historical event or public function. The Collection contained prints of 15 of the 22 early views of the Old Town which were listed by Mr. Cowan in his article in Vol. IX. of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society's publications. The most important prints not included were the four buildings on one sheet drawn by the Rev. James Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, and engraved in De Witt's Views of European Cities of about 1690, and Hollar's View of the City in 1672. Both, however, were very rare, and there were reproductions.

A striking feature of the Collection was the early engraved maps of the city, Edgar, Craig, Kincaid, Ainslie, Kirkwood, and the other well-known engravers being fully represented. There were, however, certain plans in other public repositories, such as the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and the City Chambers, and it was intended that the list now being made by the Edinburgh Public Library should indicate where any known plan might be consulted. The early plans

were all engraved on copper, nearly all by native craftsmen, and one could not fail to recognise the fineness of the work.

With the exception of an eighteenth-century view of the city published in Paris, the last two of the early views of the Old Town in the Collection were two prints drawn and etched by Paul Sandby, entitled respectively 'West View of the City of Edinburgh' and 'East View of Edinburgh Castle'—the date being about 1750. It would be impossible to get a better connecting link between the early and the more modern views of Edinburgh than those of Sandby. In this connection, the lecturer pointed out that down to about the middle of the seventeenth century the view and the plan were almost interchangeable terms, but thereafter the distinction was quite definite, the view tending more and more to the artistic side, and reflecting the individuality and sometimes the idiosyncrasy of the artist. In conclusion Mr. Sanderson mentioned that the last item to be added by Mr. Cowan was a water colour by James Kinnear, dated 1905, showing the old Leven Lodge and adjoining buildings in Tarvit Street.

The lecture was illustrated by examples taken from the Collection—chiefly prints representing early views of the New Town. One of the earliest and most important topographically is a panoramic view dated 1793, taken from the Calton Hill, which was drawn by J. Barker, and engraved in aquatint by J. Wells. It is in six sections, and measures in all about 11 feet, each section containing a portion of the town as seen in different directions from the same point. One section represents the line of Princes Street terminated on the east by Shakespeare Square, while the adjoining section shows the progress of the building in Leith Street and at the head of Leith Walk. Of the several panoramic views in the Collection, the next is dated 1822. Arranged in four sheets which are bound in the original covers, this lithographic view is taken from Blackford Hill, and is interesting as showing much of the agricultural country, together with a few scattered buildings, to the south and west. The latest of the panoramic views is dated 1840, and is a long, narrow, coloured oleograph of about 12 feet rolled in a case. The view is taken from the Calton Hill, and depicts small groups of people, attracted to the spot by the fineness of the day and the beauty of the scene. There are family groups, casual strollers, boys playing games, and men in military uniform. The Collection also contains a set of six views by Philip Mercier, and dated 1781. Two represent the Castle, and two are descriptive of Holyrood. The

others are drawings of Heriot's Hospital and of the Old Town from Inverleith. Then there is a print, dated 1792, by F. Jukes after Joseph Farrington. It represents Edinburgh Castle from the north-west. Views of George IV.'s visit to the city are well represented in the Collection. There is a coloured lithograph of the arrival at Holyrood by W. Turner (of Oxford); four views by W. H. Lizars, depicting various incidents of the Royal visit; and another view showing the landing at Leith, by Robert Scott after Alexander Carse. Other items are a set of engravings of the ruins of the great fire of 1824 (most of them etched by W. H. Lizars), which were published for the benefit of the sufferers; a lithograph of Trinity College Church, which was probably executed before the demolition of the building; a drawing by David Bryce, the architect, showing Trinity College Church in a restored state on a site at the west end of Calton Hill; four rather attractive views in black and white by Greenwood; and a line engraving of the city from Arthur's Seat, by William Miller after 'Grecian Williams.'

## II

## COWAN COLLECTION—BOOKS ON OLD EDINBURGH

Mr. Ernest A. Savage, Librarian, Edinburgh Public Library, devoted a considerable portion of a lecture, delivered in the Gartshore Hall on 20th March 1930, to the books and pamphlets in the Cowan Collection.

Mr. Cowan's collection, he said, was predominantly a library of Edinburgh topography, and came as a welcome reinforcement to the Edinburgh books already in the Public Library. Mr. Cowan, with rare foresight, began to pick up unconsidered trifles in the middle of the nineteenth century, and many items which were almost impossible to acquire to-day became his property. The Collection was in four main divisions. (1) Books relating to the city generally, including (a) history, topography, antiquities, directories, general descriptions; (b) society, manners and customs, collections of portraits; (c) collections of views; (d) schemes of improvement; (e) poems; (f) volumes of pamphlets and miscellany; (g) Scottish history and topography, with special divisions relating to Edinburgh. (2) Particular institutions and localities. (3) Periodicals and literary miscellanies. (4) Separate views and maps.

Continuing Mr. Sanderson's lecture on the prints, the lecturer first of all gave a short account of the drawings and photographs. The chief drawings from a topographical point of view were those by William Channing. Of these Mr. Cowan possessed 147, bound up in three volumes. All the drawings were made in 1849 and 1850, and were carefully wrought in pencil and wash. None of Mr. Cowan's sketches had been reproduced. Topographically they were excellent because the artist was careful in drawing the details which enabled topographers to identify buildings. Mr. Cowan, who had more faith in photography than in original drawing, had bequeathed two volumes of photographs, all of them taken in the middle of the nineteenth century. The larger contained a series of 24 photographs of places lying between the University and the Cowgate, a district which was quite altered under the Improvement Act of 1866. There were also three photographs forming a continuous picture of the north side of the Old Town from the North Bridge to the Mound, as it existed about 1859.

Dealing with the books in the Collection, the lecturer explained that few things delighted Mr. Cowan more than to acquire famous works in the making. He possessed what seemed to be the proof-sheets of the original edition of Robert Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, with some of the corrections which were given effect to in the third issue (1825). Again, his fine copy of Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* had two leaves which had been cancelled because they contained inaccurate statements. A keen student of the history of printing in Edinburgh, Mr. Cowan collected many rare works on the subject. These included 'The True Crucifixe for True Catholicikes,' by Sir William Mure of Rowallan, a work printed by John Wreittoun, who had 'his buith at the Nether Bowe' (1624), and afterwards 'his shop a little beneath the Salt Trone' (1628). Mr. Cowan also possessed a large and thick paper copy of the very rare *History of the Art of Printing*, published in Edinburgh in 1713 by James Watson, who had a shop opposite to the Luckenbooths. In the Collection, too, were eight of the 39 known publications of the Holyrood Press, which James II. set up in 1686, within the royal precincts, for the purpose of publishing works which would convert the Scottish people to Roman Catholicism. The printer was James Watson, whose workshop, built at the royal expense, stood in the outer court of the Palace.

Among the Collection were many books and pamphlets which

helped them to visualise the social life of the city in bygone days. The musical section was particularly rich. Mr. Cowan's series of concert programmes extended from 1771 to date. He had also a number of playbills, including the bill for the first opening (1823) of the large, wooden peristrophic Rotunda, which stood at the top of the Mound. Then there was a copy of Thomas Sydeserf's extremely rare 'Tango's Wiles, or the Coffee-House,' a comedy that was played in the Tennis Court at Holyrood, without the Watergate. Among other theatrical pieces was a volume of documents and letters relating to Corri's Rooms, or the Edinburgh Amphitheatre, which afterwards was called the Pantheon, then the Caledonian, and finally the Adelphi, which name it bore when destroyed by fire in 1853. Most of the papers related to the time of the management of Signor Corri, a speculative Italian, and were interesting, not only as a part of local history, but for the light which they shed upon the history of the stage and the circus—the miserable salaries and conditions under which performers worked.

The Collection was also useful because of the material it contained respecting many strange characters who lived in Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One item was a rare and quaint tract of eight pages containing a sermon preached by Mr. James Row in St. Giles'. Row became famous as Pockmanty for the homely expressions in this sermon, which was commonly known by the name of 'Pockmanty Preaching.' Another scarce item was 'God's Judgements against Sin, or a Relation of Three Dreadful Fires Happening in the City of Edinburgh.' Versified by James Porterfield, Schoolmaster in Edinburgh, the work was printed by James Watson in 1702. The fires referred to occurred at the head of the Canongate (6th Nov. 1696); in the Parliament Close (3rd Feb. 1700); and in the Land Mercat (28th Oct. 1701). The work was dedicated to Sir Patrick Johnston, Lord Provost, the Bailies and Councillors, in the following terms:—

'Very Honourable, As Jonathan, the Son of Saul, shot Three Arrows for David's safetie; so the incensed God shot out of the Magazine of His wrath, Three lamentable Fiery Darts lately on this City, to stir up and awake the Inhabitants thereof from Impietie, which were the Causes of these Direful Judgments, to which Thousands, as well as I, were Eye-Witnesses. May it please your Honours, I have presum'd, in a low Stile, to relate and tender them to you, who are now the present careful Patrons of this Distress'd Citie, and as to Persons most eminent in Piety, Virtue and Learning; and whose Honours have given sufficient Testimonys of your Favour and Fidelity in

the last Accidental Fire in the Land Mercat, by that Anxious care, all and each of you had in the extinguishing thereof: and I zealously implore the God of Peace and Love to Sanctifie you wholly, that your pious way and Conversation may be still a Light and pure Pattern to all the Inhabitants of the City, that they by conforming their Lives thereto, may thereby prevent any more Judgments; which shall be alwise the Prayer of, Right Honourable, Your Honours Most Humble Servant, James Porterfield.'

In the Collection were also a number of the scarcest of Peter Williamson's works, together with a series of Williamson's directories, including the first (1773-4), the only original copy known to exist. As a result of these accessions, the series of Edinburgh directories in the Public Library was almost continuous from 1773 to date, and with the early guides to Edinburgh, formed a most valuable source of topographical information. Mr. Cowan also fell heir to James Maidment's collection of the curious tracts of William Mitchell, so-called professor of Tincklarism, in the University of the Bowhead. Among the other material on social history was an unusually full collection of books and pamphlets on the Burke and Hare murders. The most noteworthy of these were the proofs of Buchanan's edition of the trial, with the greater part of the MS. preface written by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. The proofs were corrected by Sharpe, and the volume contained his correspondence with the publishers and others respecting matters connected with the trial and execution. Among the most interesting of the letters is one from Anne Scott, Sir Walter's daughter, in which she stated that her father would like to share a window with Sharpe to see Burke hung. The volume also contained Sharpe's original sketch of Burke's room.

Other rarities were a quarto pamphlet entitled 'The Last Speech and Confession of Nicol Muschet of Boghal, who was execute in the Grasse Market of Edinburgh, 6 Jan. 1721,' and 'Letters and passages between Cromwell and the Governor of Edinburgh Castle' (1650), a quarto tract embodying an odd discussion between Cromwell and Colonel William Dundas. Mr. Cowan also possessed the very rare folio pamphlet, entitled 'The Lamentable Estate and Distressed Case of Sir William Dick in Scotland.' It contained three beautiful engravings by William Vaughan; one showing Dick in prison. Mention might also be made of Claudero's 'Last speech, confession and dying words of the Nether-Bow Porch of Edinburgh which was exposed to Roup and Sale, on Thursday the 9th of August, 1764.' Mr. Cowan also

bequeathed his rare collection of squibs and lampoons by Claudero, together with an original and unreproduced portrait of this eccentric author by John Kay.

Mr. Savage concluded his lecture with some remarks about the Edinburgh Collection of the Public Library and its relation to Mr. Cowan's books. He explained that the Library Committee had now set apart a suitable room, where all books relating to Edinburgh, including Mr. Cowan's, would be housed. This new Edinburgh Library would have its own catalogue, and accommodation for readers would be provided in the room.

## III

## BARONY OF BROUGHTON

The Barony of Broughton, once a feudal jurisdiction but now comprehended within the New Town, was the subject of a lecture delivered on 25th November 1930 in the Goid Hall, by Mr. W. Forbes Gray.

From the reign of David I. to the Reformation, the lecturer explained, the lands of Broughton, together with the Burgh of Canongate, formed part of the possessions of the Abbey of Holyrood. These Church lands were extensive. From the stent rolls of the Augustinian Canons of Holyrood it had been ascertained that Broughton included the Kirklands of Liberton, St. Leonard's, Pleasance, Bonnington, Pilrig, Saughton, together with certain lands so far distant as Linlithgow, Stirling, Fife, and Peeblesshire. Referring to later times, Pitcairn, in his *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, described Broughton as one of the largest baronial jurisdictions in the country. They had therefore to dissociate the idea that Broughton in the mediaeval period was limited to that district of Edinburgh which to-day went by the name.

In 1566 Queen Mary granted the superiorities of the Abbey of Holyrood, *i.e.* Broughton and Canongate, to her natural brother, Robert Stuart. Two years later, Stuart parted with the abbacy of Holyroodhouse to Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in exchange for the greater part of the temporalities of the northern diocese. Bothwell was superior of Broughton until 1587, when, by an Act of the Scots Parliament, all ecclesiastical property was alienated to the King. The lands were then presented to Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Lord

Justice-Clerk, who obtained a charter from James VI. uniting them into a free barony and regality. For more than a century and a half the Barony of Broughton was a feudal jurisdiction—an independent burgh in which the Baron had the privilege personally or by deputy of acting as a judge in his own court.

From the records of the Town Council they learned that in 1587, the year in which Sir Lewis Bellenden became superior, it was found necessary to take steps for 'halding furth of the pepill of Leyth,' and on 17th November it was agreed that 'for the space of aucht dayes ane watchemen be putt at Brochtoun lon heid, or sic vther places as the baillies and thesaurer sall fynd meitt.' Then, on 8th August 1600, Henrie Nesbet, Jhoun Moresoun, Patrik Sandelands, 'commners for the guid toun in the debatabill mater betwix the toun and barroun of Brochtoun . . . tuiching the dam at the eist end of the touns eister mylnis,' were instructed to show 'unto the commonouris of the said barroun that the counsail is content that the dam heid of the comone mylnis be repayret in the same estait as it wes twa yeir syne.'

In 1602 the action of the Baron-Baillie in interfering with certain workmen in Leith led to a dispute with the Town. In a contemporary document, it is stated that Broughton included 'that part of the toun of Leith that lyes and is situat on the north side of the Water and Bridge of Leith; together with that part of the toun of Leith lying upon the south side of the said water which pertained to the Comendator and Convent of Holyroodhouse.' Later in the same year (1602) the Baron was again in trouble, for on 8th May 'James Forman, water baillie and Jhoun Carmichael with the dayne of gild and And. Adesoun' were instructed to 'pas to the King's grace and schaw the . . . manner of the wrang done to the toun yesterday at 6 hours at evin be (Sir Lewis) Bellenden, barroun of Brochtoun, in challengeing and trubling of the said James Forman betwix this burgh and Leyth.'

The first Baron of Broughton was a shadowy figure. They did know, however, that Sir Lewis Bellenden took a leading part in the Raid of Ruthven; that he was sent as an ambassador to England in 1587; and that in 1589 he accompanied James VI. on his matrimonial expedition to Norway. According to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, his vassals numbered nearly 2000; so he was a man of power. From the same authority, they learned that the Baron was not free from the prevailing superstition. He had dealings with a warlock named Richard Graham, 'who, having raised the devil in his own yard in the

Canongate, he was thereby so terrified that he took sickness and thereof died.'

And if the Baron of Broughton was 'so terrified' by a warlock, they need not be surprised that his vassals were sorely under the influence of witchcraft. Broughton was notorious as a haunt of witches, some of whom were imprisoned in its Tolbooth. In 1608 several of these unhappy victims were executed in the Barony under barbaric circumstances. Here was what the minutes of the Privy Council revealed; 'The Earl of Mar declared to the Council that some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and, being put to an assize and convicted, albeit they persevered constant in their denial to the end, yet they were burned quick after such a cruel manner that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming; and others, half-burned, brak out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to death.' A curious commentary on this episode was the granting, on 17th July 1661, to William Johnston, Baron-Bailie of Broughton, of 'the goods and chattels of women condemned for witchcraft.'

The first Baron's son James married a sister of the Earl of Roxburgh, and on the death of Sir James, his son, William Bellenden, being then a minor, was put under the guardianship of his uncle, Lord Roxburgh. Ultimately the latter acquired the superiorities. In 1630 the Earl sold the lands of Broughton to Charles I. for 280,000 merks, which was equivalent to £11,527, 16s. 8d. sterling. The money, however, was not forthcoming, and the King, as a security, re-conveyed the property to Lord Roxburgh in the nature of a mortgage. Then, in 1636, as the result of further pecuniary transactions, an arrangement was concluded whereby Charles I. and Lord Roxburgh conveyed to the Town Council the superiority of the Burgh of Canongate, with Pleasance and a part of Leith, and, to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, certain portions of the Barony of Broughton. Charles I. had been borrowing largely from the Governors, as James VI. had borrowed from George Heriot himself. It was said that Charles spent the money in jewels which he took with him to Madrid when he vainly sought the hand of the Infanta of Spain.

Anyhow, the Governors of Heriot's Hospital now became superiors of that tract of land on which much of the New Town had been built. The Town Council also did well by the transaction. For a paltry sum they became superiors of the Canongate, Pleasance, North Leith, and as much of the south side of the Water of Leith as belonged to the Barony. The Council agreed, however, not to prejudice the Canon

Mills, which the Governors of Heriot's Hospital had also acquired from the Earl of Roxburgh, but to 'suffer those of the baroneis to repair to them, and grind thairat, according to use and wont, and to help thame to ane thirlage, so far as they can, gif the same remane in their hands.'

The connection between Heriot's Hospital and Broughton was an interesting one. So far back as 1622 George Heriot contemplated purchasing the superiority of Broughton, but ill-health and consequent inability to inspect the lands prevented him carrying out his resolution. In 1626 his trustees acquired a portion of Broughton extending to 86½ acres, together with the lands of Middledrum and Three Riggs, the purchase price being 33,600 merks. Other 18 acres were bought in 1634 for £4120, 16s. 8d. Scots. Finally, the Heriot trustees, discovering that there was no likelihood that either Charles I.'s debt or the Earl of Roxburgh's would be paid unless by 'buying in the bargane of Broughton,' they, on 1st July 1636, effected purchase of the remainder of the property.

In March 1640 the Governors, 'in their baronial capacity as lords paramount of the Barony of Broughton,' directed a court to be held, and appointed William Sinclair, 'present barone baillie of the baronie and regalitie of Broughtoun,' to be bailie to Heriot's Hospital till Michaelmas following. James Logan was chosen clerk. These courts, which were regularly held under the auspices of Heriot's Hospital for more than a hundred years, investigated all offences committed within the regality.

But the jurisdiction was costly as well as onerous, and in 1721 the Treasurer of the Hospital complained of the expense incurred in prosecuting persons charged with murder. His communication to the Governors was as follows:—

'That of late some murders had been committed within the regality and barony of Broughton, whereof they, as Governors, were lords superior, whereby the Hospital, for preserving their rights and privileges, was put to considerable charges in prosecuting such offenders, and in bringing them to due punishment for their crimes, by reason the friends of the persons murdered, sometimes, if not always, were not in a condition to prosecute the murderer; particularly of late, in prosecuting of John Webster, gardener, for murdering of Marjory Campbell, daughter of Campbell of Kerrinloch; and for preventing such expense in time coming, desired the Council might discharge the prosecuting any such offenders for the future, without a special warrant for that effect.'

This was agreed to, but the Hospital still retained all its ancient rights.

In 1730 the Governors disposed of five acres 'at the head of Broughton Loan' to the Town Council for a yearly feu-duty of £10, 8s. 5d. sterling. On this ground houses were erected for a small community of French weavers, who had been brought from Picardy by the Linen Company of Scotland in the hope that they might improve linen manufacture in this country. This little hamlet of foreigners occupied part of what is now known, appropriately enough, as Picardy Place. The houses were built in a row, and existed into the nineteenth century. The ground flats were used as workshops. The windows were semi-circular at the top, and projected somewhat, in order, it was said, to catch the descending light. Above the workshops were the weavers' dwellings. Writing in 1825, Dr. Robert Chambers pointed out that 'the families of these ingenious mechanics are not yet altogether amalgamated with the Scottish population.' The Directory of 1794-96 gave the names of a number of the weavers at Picardy village.

With the passing, in 1747, of the Heritable Jurisdiction Act, the superiority of Broughton, which had existed since the days of James VI., was abolished, and a form of government that had arisen out of the conditions of feudalism and was at enmity with the central authority of the State, came to an end. In 1750 Parliament awarded the Governors of Heriot's Hospital £486, 19s. 8d. sterling for the loss of the jurisdiction of the regality of Broughton, while Gilbert Clark, the Clerk of Regality, who had a life appointment, received £120.

What was the general appearance of the village of Broughton in the days of the Barony? Fortunately, the evidence had not entirely disappeared, for a portion of the village might still be seen in the cluster of quaint, low-roofed houses at the west end of Barony Street. Surrounded on all sides by modern buildings of massive appearance, they were a pathetic relic—a reminder of the days when Broughton was in the country, and jaded people from the city went there for rest and retirement. The larger portion of the village, consisting of dwellings with thatched roofs, crow-stepped gables, tiny windows and forestairs, was cleared away when Broughton Market was constructed. Some idea of the picturesqueness of the buildings in Old Broughton might be obtained from the drawing of 'The Witches' Houff' in Sir Daniel Wilson's *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*.

The village was of fair extent. It stretched eastwards, along what was now the north side of Barony Street, and, on the farther side of

Broughton Loan, there was another group of houses. Then there were a number of detached dwellings with pleasant gardens extending as far as Albany Street, which, if they excepted the isolated hamlet of Picardy, was the boundary on the south side. Northwards the village did not project beyond the line of London Street.

The surroundings in those far-distant days were entirely rural. Southwards one looked across green fields to the slopes of Multrie's Hill, now occupied by the Register House. A steep, narrow road lined with hedgerows, known as Broughton Loan, led to the city, which was entered either by Leith Wynd or Halkerston's. The view to the north was even more pastoral, the only obtrusive sign of habitation being the hamlet of Canonmills, with its loch embowered among trees, and the old mansion of Canonmills standing sentinel.

At the heart of Broughton village stood the Tolbooth, which served the dual purpose of a court of justice and a place of confinement. In Sir Daniel Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh* there was an excellent drawing of this structure. The more they studied that picture the more they regretted that the Town Council a century ago were so apathetic as to allow such a charming relic to be swept away. The Tolbooth of Broughton stood at the north-east corner of Barony Street. Small but formidable, it was a two-storied building with crow-stepped gables, and a high sloping roof pierced by three dormer windows. The main doorway was in the upper story, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. On the lintel above the door was the date 1582. At the foot of the stair was a pair of stocks where, without delay, delinquents underwent the milder form of punishment.

The Tolbooth was demolished in 1829. In Dr. Robert Chambers's *Walks in Edinburgh*, originally published in 1825, there was a vivid description of the village and its jail. Dr. Chambers went on to remark that after the abolition of the superiority in the middle of the eighteenth century, Broughton 'declined greatly in importance.'

Though an independent burgh living its life apart from the city, Broughton was yet the scene of several events which drew it into the vortex of their national history. In 1544 it was burned by Hertford's army, and in 1560, during the siege of Leith, several skirmishes took place in the vicinity. Then in 1572 they heard of 'horsemen and fute-men' sallying forth from Leith to make war against the Queen's faction, and of how, as they 'rakleslie cum to a place callit Brochtoun . . . a great cannon of the castell was delashit amangis thame, whare be

chance that martial nobleman, the Lord Methven with seven uthir horsemen, was killit.'

Furthermore, it was of historical interest to recall that General Leslie had his headquarters in Broughton when Cromwell was manoeuvring round Edinburgh before the Battle of Dunbar. Some of the entrenchments of the Scots army were thrown up on the site now occupied by Picardy Place. From 'Bruchton,' too, Leslie wrote a letter to Cromwell, dated 13th August 1650. And when the Scots Parliament undertook to raise supplies for Charles II., it was arranged that the sum contributed by the Barony should be paid over 'at the city of Edinburgh by the Baron and Bailey of the Barony of Broughton, dissolved from the Lordship of Holyroodhouse.'

#### MANOR OF CANONMILLS

When the temporalities of the benefices were annexed to the Crown and the lands of Broughton surrendered by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden, it was decreed that the Manor of Canonmills should be the messuage of the Barony. The mills there had been erected by the Canons of Holyrood Abbey for the use of their vassals. They were driven by a 'lade' diverted from what, in contemporary phrase, was designated 'the Great River of the Water of Leith.' When, long afterwards, the mills were disposed of to the city, it was stipulated that the inhabitants of Broughton should be allowed to grind thereat as well as helped to 'ane thirlage.'

With regard to this condition, the lecturer explained that the Incorporation of Bakers of the Canongate were 'thirled' to Canonmills, that is, compelled to have their corn ground there, or pay a certain sum. Similarly, the proprietors of houses in George Square were 'perpetually astricted to the milns commonly called Cannon Milns to this purpose and effect that their corns and all other grains which suffer fire and water growing upon Heriot's Croft shall be carried to the said Milnes and grinded there upon payment of the due wont to be paid at the said Milns.'

Canonmills, then, was contemporaneous with Broughton and the Burgh of Canongate, having been a possession of the Augustinian Canons of Holyrood. In Sir Daniel Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh* there was an engraving entitled 'Ancient House, Canonmills'—a

massive structure with enormous buttresses. This building, which stood immediately to the west of Heriot Hill House, was conjectured to have been the remains of a mill erected by David I.; but it was extremely doubtful if a building reared in the twelfth century would be extant in the nineteenth. There still existed, however, the remains of what was probably a late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century mill, the upper stories of which were now occupied as dwellings. It was difficult to imagine the district of Canonmills as it was a hundred years ago, so thorough had been the transformation. With the exception of the group of quaint buildings occupying the triangular piece of ground to the west of Heriot Hill House, all had been swept away. The hollow between Royal Crescent and Eyre Place was occupied so late as the nineteenth century by a sheet of water known as Canonmills Loch. It was shallow and marshy, and in the sedges the coot and the water-hen were said to have built their nests. From the Loch one could see several country mansions, each set in well-wooded surroundings. Prominent in the foreground was Canonmills House, the home of Dr. Patrick Neill, the printer, who figured in Crombie's *Modern Athenians*. Dr. Neill was a well-known, public-spirited citizen, and in the Chaldee MS., which caused such a stir in literary circles in Edinburgh a hundred years ago, he was referred to as that 'lean man who hath his dwelling by the great pool to the north of the New City.' After Canonmills Loch was drained, the ground was utilised as a gymnasium, an institution which was among the first in Scotland to promote the muscular development of youth.

For many centuries the Water of Leith formed a natural boundary to Canonmills on the north. The river at this part was wide, deep, and often turbulent (and is so still), and was only fordable in very dry seasons. Probably no bridge existed until after the construction of the turnpike road between Leith and Queensferry. What the lecturer took to be the original one consisted of a single high arch, and was in use until the erection, in 1840, of the present three-arch structure, which was rebuilt in 1896. The first bridge apparently was built about the middle of the eighteenth century, for in some law papers referring to an action raised in the Court of Session in 1767, there was mention of 'the new bridge, by the Canonmills,' which led to the toll-bar at Broughton Loan. They had thus a clue to the period when the necessity arose for a means of communication between Canonmills and the broad and fertile acres beyond. This district was then

sparsely populated, but development had begun: hence the need for a bridge.

Though a considerable distance from the city, Canonmills in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a centre of industry, and maintained a relatively large population. There were not only the mills for grinding the corn of vassals living in the Barony of Broughton, but a playing-card manufactory and a distillery, the latter owned by the Haig family.

Quite an interesting story attached to the paper mill. In 1674 a foreigner, who went by the thoroughly Scots patronymic of Peter Bruce, negotiated with the Town Council, and undertook to bring water 'from the well called Tods well at Comestoun' to various cisterns or wells in the city at a cost of £2900 sterling, a piece of work which he accomplished to the satisfaction of the Council.

Bruce's next undertaking was a factory for making playing cards, which he set up at Canonmills. On 20th December 1681, he petitioned the Privy Council for a monopoly in the making and selling of such cards. The Lords granted the request, and prohibited 'all merchants and other persones whatsoever to import, vend, sell, or make use of in this kingdome any playing cards after the first day of April next except those made by the said Peter Bruce.'

This enterprising foreigner was not allowed to exercise his privilege without considerable opposition. On several occasions he complained to the Council that his monopoly was being infringed, and craved further powers to enforce his rights and punish transgressors. In Fountainhall's *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, there was an entry, dated August 1682, which alluded to Bruce, who complained to the Privy Council, and pursued 'Alexander Hunter, tacksman to the Toune of Edinburgh as administrators for Heriot's Hospitall, of ther Cannonmilnes, on the water of Leith, for demolishing and spoiling a paper milne he had erected ther for his manufactory of playing cards . . . and also for throwing his wife in the dam, and using opprobrious words.' Hunter was found guilty, and was imprisoned as well as ordered to pay a fine of £50 sterling. In his complaint Bruce averred that certain enemies 'did under silence and cloud of night come to the said paper milne, and there most maliciously and invidiously break donne the same and render her altogether useles'; further, that they 'did divert the water from the said milne when she was sett agoeing by opening the sluices and withdrawing the water.'

Still worse, they 'invaded and abused the complainer's wife and servants, and threw dust in their faces and threw the complainer's wife in the milne dame and committed several other outrages.'

In November 1682 Bruce again appealed to the Privy Council. His complaint was that Sir James Dick and Thomas Young were infringing his rights, but this was denied by the defenders, who pleaded that they had imported playing cards before Bruce's gift came into operation. The Privy Council found that Bruce had no right to the cards thus imported, but lest it should injure the output of his factory, they ordained Sir James Dick (Provost in 1679) to sell them to Bruce, 'who sought two pennies to affix his mark on every stock of them,' or to export the cards, or to keep them but not to sell them, under the pain of escheat for a year or two, till it might appear whether Bruce himself was able to furnish the country with playing cards.

Notwithstanding the Privy Council's protection, Bruce seemed to have found it impossible to carry on his business at Canonmills. Probably the opposition was due to Bruce's being a foreigner and a Roman Catholic. Referring to his monopoly in playing cards, Lord Fountainhall made the significant comment: 'No manufactories should be given but to Protestants, by the Act of Parliament in 1669, anent encouradging strangers, and yet he is a Papist.' Bruce, in 1683, removed his industry to the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

## IV

## NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

Mr. William K. Dickson, LL.D., delivered a lecture on 'The National Library of Scotland,' at a meeting held on the evening of Tuesday, 24th February 1931, in the Goold Hall.

The National Library, said Dr. Dickson, was an exceptional institution. It was one of the new Government establishments which had grown up since the War. It was at the same time one of the great and famous libraries of the world, and one of the ancient and familiar institutions of Scotland and of Edinburgh, being none other than the historic Advocates' Library. He proceeded to describe the foundation of the Library in the time of Charles II. under the Deanship of Sir George Mackenzie, the 'Bloody Mackenzie' of Covenanting tradition; its

early history; its development under the keepership of Thomas Ruddiman and David Hume; the extension of the buildings from time to time; and the great increase of the Library which took place in the nineteenth century through the operation of the Copyright Acts.

An account was given of the early attempts to obtain Government assistance towards the maintenance of the Library, and of the events which ultimately led to its transference to the nation by the Faculty of Advocates in 1925; also of the progress of the Library since the increase of staff, the preparation of new catalogues, and the numerous important accessions by purchase and gift which had been received during the past five years.

The historical sketch was illustrated by lantern slides showing a number of portraits, the original lease of the Library, the first catalogue issued in 1692, and views of the interior of the Library. The lecturer then proceeded to exhibit and describe some of the more interesting contents. A fine series of Scottish books and documents was exhibited. These included the Kelso Charter of Malcolm IV.; the Bull of Pope John XXII., granted in 1329, authorising the Coronation of Robert Bruce as King of Scots; a manuscript Scots law book of the fifteenth century; the manuscript of Barbour's 'Bruce'; the unique copy of the 'Porteous of Nobleness,' etc., the first book printed in Scotland, printed by Chepman & Myllar in 1508; the Bannatyne Manuscript; original letters of Mary Queen of Scots and of John Knox; the Bassandynne Bible, printed in 1579, which was the first Scottish Bible; the National Covenant of 1638; a Commission by Prince Charles Edward; and letters and manuscripts of David Hume, Burns, Scott, Carlyle, and Stevenson.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Dr. Dickson on the motion of Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, the President of the Club.

## V

## POPULAR ERRORS REGARDING OLD EDINBURGH

On the evening of Tuesday, 8th December 1931, in the Goold Hall, Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., in the course of a lecture, corrected numerous popular errors concerning Edinburgh in its historical aspect. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided.

As regards the 'Royal Mile,' the lecturer remarked that the cheerful acquiescence in the belief that Huntly House was the well-known town residence of the Marquess of Huntly had been sorely shaken by all investigations, though it was not certain who first gave the name to the mansion. Similarly, the tradition of Knox's occupancy of another Canongate house had been convincingly disproved. The belief about 'Queen Mary's Bath' at Holyroodhouse was baseless. Moir Bryce believed it to have been a retiring room in connection with the well-known tennis court which formerly stood close to the royal precincts. But the question was by no means finally settled. Then with regard to the house in which Queen Mary spent her last night in Edinburgh, the lecturer pointed out that all efforts to identify the house had been made under the belief that it belonged to the Provost, Simon Preston of Craigmillar. An entry in the city minutes, however, revealed the fact that it was in a lodging (the property of George Henderson of Fordel) hired by the Provost during his term of office. The house, however, had not yet been decisively identified. Again, Roxburgh Close took its name, not from the Earl of Roxburgh (as was often supposed) but from John Roxburgh, who followed the occupation of a cook, and was the chief owner of property in the Close. Likewise Dunbar's Close had no connection with Cromwell's victory at Dunbar. It was called after a family bearing the name of Dunbar, who were early proprietors in this quarter. Again, the Landmercat was where the produce of the land was sold, but there were those who, despite Maitland's protest, and the evidence of the city records, believed that 'Lawn,' either as a cloth scarce known in Edinburgh, or as connected with a bishop, was the original meaning. Nor was there any truth in the story that Ramsay Lane in the Castlehill took its name from the Ramsays of Cockpen. That distinction, it had been clearly proved, belonged to Allan Ramsay, the poet. Again, the popular idea that Lothian Road was constructed in a single day was totally disproved by the minutes of the Town Council. Some authorities were of opinion that the 'Cunzie House,' which stood at the foot of the Candlemaker Row, had been the Mint. This notion doubtless was derived from the name, but a more probable explanation was that the word meant the 'cunzie' (or corner) formed by the Candlemaker Row and the south side of the Grassmarket.

Other myths to which the lecturer drew attention were that George Square was called after George III. instead of after a brother of the

superior, James Brown, architect; that the National Covenant was signed on a tombstone in Greyfriars' Churchyard; that a house built close to Bristo Port in 1698 for a bedlam was connected with the Darien Scheme; and that a subterranean passage existed from the Castle to Holyroodhouse. Instances were given of the prefix 'Saint' being placed in front of names not entitled to such distinction. For example, St. Bernard Street was named after Bernard Lindsay, valet to James VI., while St. Giles Street, Leith, owed its name, not to the patron saint of Edinburgh, but to John Giles, who carried on a brewing business there. On the other hand, St. Roque's Chapel, built in the plague camp on the southern outskirts, was really dedicated to St. Roche, and hence justified its name, though some people supposed the name to be derived from Simon la Roque, the French Ambassador, who is said to have built the chapel. This was a wholly fanciful attempt at a derivation.

## EXCURSIONS

### I

#### INCH HOUSE, LIBERTON

THE Inch, one of the most interesting of the historic mansions in the southern outskirts of the city, and the residence of Sir Robert Gilmour of Craigmillar, Bart., the Hon. President of the Club, was visited on the afternoon of Saturday, 3rd May 1930. The company, numbering fully one hundred, and including the Earl of Cassillis and Mr. Francis J. Grant, W.S., Lyon King of Arms, were received by Sir Robert and Lady Gilmour. The mansion was first inspected, where, in the wall of the hall and staircase, are three armorial panels, which were described by the Lyon King of Arms. One has thistles at the lower corners, and at the upper the initials 'I' and 'Q' (Quartus), probably for James IV. In the centre is a crown, with a shield bearing the Royal Arms of Scotland. Another panel bears the three towers of the Arms of Edinburgh, which are also shown on the third, but in this case are flanked by the initials 'G. H.' and the date 1642. The company were then shown various objects of historical and antiquarian interest within the policies. Among the shrubbery to the north of The Inch are carved stones brought from the old Edinburgh house of the Littles of Liberton, who intermarried with the Gilmours of Craigmillar. These consist of the lintel of the doorway with the inscription 'William Litel' and the date 1570; six skew-puts bearing on a shield the initials 'V' and 'L' for William Little; a gable finial initialled S. D. or D. S. in monogram; and several stones from a stair or turret wrought with a bold cable ornament. The attention of the company was also directed to three seventeenth-century sun-dials.

Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., who acted as guide, described the architectural features of the mansion. It was difficult, he remarked, to imagine a time when The Inch was surrounded by a moat, across which a drawbridge was thrown. Yet that seems to have been so in

the seventeenth century. The oldest portion of The Inch is a three-storied L-planned structure with crow-stepped gables and a massive square tower ending in a battlemented parapet. The tower contains the staircase and the original doorway, which has a finely moulded architrave and a pediment bearing the date 1617. A distinctive feature of the old house is the dormer windows. The pediment of one of these bears on a shield a serpent coiled in an S shape round an arrow, and bordered with the motto *Festina lente*. The other pediments are inscribed with the initials of James Winram, the founder of the mansion, and his wife, Jean Swinton. The initials appear singly on the outer dormers, but on the central one they form a monogram, above which is the date 1634. In that year James Winram added a wing of two stories. What might be termed the modern house dates from the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Dr. Thomas Ross has called attention to the interesting fact that The Inch bears considerable resemblance to Gogar House, which was built eight years later.

Recounting the historical associations of the mansion, Mr. Forbes Gray mentioned that the Winrams, the earliest occupants, were an ancient Scottish family, one of whose members, John Winram, was a noted figure of the Reformation era. He was one of the compilers of the First Book of Discipline, and was Superintendent of Fife from 1561 to 1572. His principal heirs were James and John Winram, of Craigton. The former acquired much land in Liberton parish, and built The Inch. His son George was a Covenanter, and played a great part in Scottish affairs. After the restoration of Presbytery in 1638, he presented the Glasgow Assembly's petition to Charles I. in London. While residing at The Inch Winram showed much public spirit. He was a commissioner for Midlothian in the Parliaments of 1643 and 1649, and in 1643 became Colonel of one of the regiments raised in the county for the war in England. He also was a member of the committee entrusted with the task of putting Scotland in a state of defence, and was a representative of the General Assembly at the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In 1649 he was appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Libbertoun.

But the central episode of George Winram's career was his being made one of the commissioners to treat with Charles II., who, on 5th February 1649, had been conditionally proclaimed at Edinburgh. Charles would have nothing to do with the conditions, and a deadlock ensued. At last, on 7th August, Winram was selected to undertake

the delicate task of reopening negotiations, but refused to act owing to the stringency of the terms to be proposed to Charles. Eventually, however, he accepted the commission.

Carlyle, in *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, emphasises the difficult task assigned to Winram. He writes: 'Young Charles has got to the Isle of Jersey. . . . The Scots have proclaimed him King, but clogged it with such conditions about the Covenant, about Malignants, and what not, as nothing but the throat of an ostrich could swallow. . . . Laird Winram, Senator of the College of Justice, is off to deal with him; to see if he cannot help him down with the Covenant: the Laird's best ally, I think, will be Oliver in Ireland.'

But Charles was not to be 'helped down' with the Covenant, and Winram returned to Edinburgh in February 1650 with, we learn from *Nicol's Diary*, 'missives from his Majestie to Kirk and Stait: quhairin he declarit, that he was content of a new treatie at Breda in Holland, and appoyntit the Scottis Commissioners to meet him thair the 15 of Marche next ensewing.' This meant another deputation, and Winram was appointed to it as a matter of course. His colleagues included the sixth Earl of Cassillis and Sir John Smith of Grothall, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1643. The party set out for Holland early in March, the voyage being made in the *Elisabeth of Kirkaldie*.

In the *Journal of Thomas Cuninghame of Campvere, 1640-1654*, published by the Scottish History Society, are several interesting sidelights on the conference at Breda. There is a letter to Cuninghame, signed by Lord Cassillis, Winram, and the other members of the deputation, dated 21st March. It is in the following terms: 'Right Honourable—We are thus farre on our way in the message intrusted to us from the Parliament of Scotland to the Kings Majestie, and having bussines of importance to communicat with you, wee desire before our addresse to his Majestie to see you with the most expedit opportunity, either at Rotterdam tomorrow, or upon Friday morning, or at Delph upon Fryday at twelve a clock, or so soon thereafter as possibly you can at the Hague. So with the first occasion you are expected by your very loving friends.' Cuninghame, who was Conservator of the Scots Privileges in the United Provinces, lets us into the secret of the anxiety of the deputation to see him. He tells us that the commissioners desired him to accompany them to Breda, 'which I, as Scotland's ordinary agent in the Netherland, could nowise excuse, seeing they understood not the language.'

On returning to Scotland, Winram joined the Covenanting army, and fought at Dunbar, where he was so severely wounded that he died eight days later. It may be of interest to add that a sword used by Cromwell is preserved at The Inch. The blade bears this inscription: 'Belonged to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector. Naseby June 14th 1645; Dunbar Battle. September 3, 1650. Praise to the Lord of Hosts.'

A son of George Winram was Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle when, in 1689, it was held for James II. by the Duke of Gordon. As second in command during the siege, this son of the Laird of Liberton played a conspicuous part, and several references to him will be found in the account of the Siege of 1689 printed in Volume XVI. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

The connection of the Winram family with The Inch appears to have been severed on the death of the Covenanting leader, for in 1651 Major-General Lambert gave orders for sequestrating the lands belonging to the Laird of Liberton. Soon after, the property was acquired by the Gilmours of Craigmillar, who took up their abode at The Inch about 1671. Sir Alexander Gilmour occupied it more or less from that year till his death in 1731. His son, who was a Cabinet Minister, lived at The Inch till 1750. A tenant in the eighteenth century was Patrick Grant, who sat on the Bench as Lord Elchies. This Scots Judge died at The Inch on 27th June 1754. The Gilmour family lived at The Inch during most of the earlier half of the nineteenth century, but the mansion was continuously let from 1849 till the present owner succeeded to the estate in 1887.

Among distinguished tenants during this period were Dr. Warburton Begbie, a famous physician; John Ritchie, one of the founders, and afterwards sole proprietor, of *The Scotsman*; Sir John Douglas of Glenfinart, Commander of the Forces in Scotland; and Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughton Hall, Bart., who resided at The Inch for nineteen years.

## II

### THE FLODDEN WALL

On the afternoon of Saturday, 14th June 1930, members of the Club to the number of about seventy visited the remains of the fortified walls on the south side of the Burgh under the guidance of Mr. F. C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A.

The party met on the Castle Esplanade, and first of all viewed the valley of the Grassmarket and the rising ground beyond in order to study the conditions, topographical and military, which determined the sites of the King's Wall and the Flodden Wall; also the extension of the latter made after the date of the Union of the Crowns to protect the site of Heriot's Hospital. They then proceeded down the Upper Bow, named after the city gate which was destroyed for the making of Victoria Street, and, passing westward along the terrace above the latter, noted the surviving gabled houses of the lower part of the West Bow. The terrace actually rests on the King's Wall for a short distance westward of this point until the Wall turns south on the west side of Currie's Close, as described in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*. The Wall here is masked by a workshop, but soon afterwards becomes visible as a terrace below St. Columba's Church. The party then visited an open space below the Public Health offices, where they saw a well-preserved portion of the King's Wall with characteristic buttresses of mediaeval type. The actual date of this early Wall is uncertain, but evidence from charters indicates that it may date from the middle of the fourteenth century.

Proceeding next to the Grassmarket, where was seen with satisfaction evidence of the skilful reconstruction work now being carried on by the Corporation, the company noted a fragment of the Flodden Wall supporting a church at the north-west corner. Then, climbing the steep ascent of the Vennel, the members inspected the inner face of the well-known Flodden Tower along with a stretch of the Wall, which, after this point, has been destroyed as far as Bristo Port. The perfectly preserved portion of Telfer's Wall of 1618-20, with its battlemented top, was next viewed. The company then passed through the grounds of Heriot's Hospital to Greyfriars' Churchyard, where the boundary walls on the west and south still follow the old line. The party then noted the gap between buildings at the head of Candlemaker Row which marks the line of the Wall on its way to Bristo Port, where, in a *cul de sac* on the east side there remains a battered fragment. From this point the Wall still survives for a short distance, running eastward, but is entirely obscured by buildings. It appears again in two fragments preserved *in situ* in one of the halls of the Royal Scottish Museum. After passing the Potterrow Port the Wall went by the south side of the Old University and the site of the Provost's House at Kirk o' Field to Drummond Street, where its base

still survives below the railings on the north side. Approaching the Pleasance, the Wall gradually reaches something like its original height, and, at the corner, shows an archway which formerly gave entrance to a strong round tower. Other portions still survive behind the houses on the west side of the Pleasance and St. Mary's Street. Beyond this point the only surviving relics are found in the carved stones from the Netherbow Port, now preserved in front of the Church adjoining John Knox's House. It was suggested that the position of this famous gateway might be marked on the street in the effective way in which the outline of the Tolbooth near St. Giles' is indicated.

In conclusion, the party noted the heavily corbelled building of fortified character in Trunk's Close, which suggests that the eastern boundary of the Burgh may once have crossed the street at or near this point.

## III

## ST. GILES' CATHEDRAL

The final excursion of the season took place on the evening of Tuesday, 1st July 1930, when St. Giles' Cathedral was inspected under the guidance of Mr. William Meikle.

## IV

## NIDDRIE HOUSE

Four excursions took place in 1931. The first was held on the afternoon of Saturday, 2nd May, when members to the number of about 130 were the guests of Mrs. Wauchope, C.B.E., of Niddrie, and of her niece, Miss Muir.

The Wauchopes have occupied Niddrie Marischal, it is believed, since the twelfth century. Among the relics viewed by the party was the banner presented to General Wauchope at Omdurman by General Sir Hector Macdonald. The collection of pictures includes a portrait by Raeburn of Andrew Wauchope, who died in 1822. Sir George Reid's portrait of General Wauchope, presented on the occasion of the General's marriage in 1893 by friends who admired his services to Church and

State, was also shown. The ceiling of the room in which the company had tea dates from 1661 and bears the monogram of Charles II.

The mausoleum, where a tombstone states that a Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal was buried in 1387, bears a modern tablet also, the inscription of the latter having been written by Rudyard Kipling and the late Professor Hume Brown.

Mrs. Wauchope was thanked for her kindness, on the motion of Emeritus-Professor Baldwin Brown.

## V

## MUIRHOUSE

Wet weather entirely spoilt the second excursion, which took place on the afternoon of Saturday, 6th June 1931, the place visited being Muirhouse, which, since the eighteenth century, has been associated with the family to which the late Archbishop of Canterbury belonged. In 1794 William Davidson left the estate to his nephew, the Rev. Thomas Randall, D.D., who assumed the name and arms of Davidson. Dr. Davidson married, as his second wife, Lord Cockburn's sister. Their fourth son was Henry, the father of Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and, on his retirement, a Peer of the Realm. Henry Davidson, merchant in Leith, and a well-known philanthropist, though resident at Muirhouse, was not the laird. The future Archbishop was born at 15 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh.

The company inspected the gardens as well as the ancient castle, which, tradition affirms, was together with the lands presented to Sir William Oliphant by King Robert the Bruce. Oliphant of Aberdalgie, as he was called, was present at the Parliament of 1320, when he attached his seal to a document dispatched to the Pope asserting Scotland's independence.

Mr. Matthew Mather, who acted as guide, was thanked on the call of Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club.

## VI

## GREYFRIARS' CHURCH

The history of Greyfriars' Church is well known, but the visit on Saturday, 27th June 1931, was invested with special interest owing to

the fact that an extensive scheme of restoration was about to be inaugurated. Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., under whose supervision the work was to be carried out, was present, and explained to the company the nature of the restoration.

The church, he said, originally consisted of six bays in length, with side aisles, and a western tower. The two churches which constituted the present building were eight bays in length, so that the restoration could not be exactly that of the seventeenth-century building. In 1856 the internal eastern arcades were removed, but it was fortunate that two bays of the church of 1612 were incorporated in 'New Greyfriars' church, to the west of the dividing wall. These two bays would form the model for the restoration of the eastern arcades. When completed there would be an unbroken series of arches from west to east of fully 150 feet, thus forming an interior of great though simple dignity. The tracery of the windows, which was destroyed in 1650, would be restored after the better manner of that date; while the beautiful western porch, which was the finest feature of the church of 1721 (now used as a vestry), would be reopened.

As the total length of the united building would be greater than the original of 1612, it was proposed to transform the most easterly bay into a Morning Chapel for daily service. The bay second from the east would contain the Communion Table; while a boldly designed stone arcade of low elevation would separate the great church from the Morning Chapel. The new ceiling of the central aisle would be of timber, of flat design, in panels with bosses at the intersections carved and coloured heraldically, in commemoration of the history of the old church and of the families connected with it.

The present west end of the church of 1721 had above the large traceried window the quaint device of a flat classic pediment. This, they learned from old prints, was copied from the original east end. The present overpowering eastern gable was erected in 1857 to suit the great span roof of that date, which was constructed after the arcades were removed from the eastern church. Now that these were to be restored, the eastern front would be remodelled after the original, as represented at the west end. The new roof therefore would conform with the original so far as the present west roof permitted. In conclusion, Mr. Kerr remarked that, in keeping with the traditions of Greyfriars' Church, the whole treatment of the restoration would be restrained, so that a gracious dignity would result.

The Rev. George S. Hendrie, M.A., Appeal Secretary for the Restoration Scheme, sketched the history of the Church.

## VII

## DONALDSON'S HOSPITAL

The last excursion of the season took place on the afternoon of Saturday, 26th September 1931, when Donaldson's Hospital was inspected under the guidance of Mr. R. T. Skinner, M.A., the house governor.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1930.

CHARGE	£	s	d	DISCHARGE	£	s	d
I. Balance at close of last Account			7 1	I. Printing and Stationery, . . . . .			2 6
II. Subscriptions :—				II. Miscellaneous and Postages, . . . . .			17 18 1
For year 1930—				III. Lecture Expenses, . . . . .			17 6 0
350 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£183	15	0	IV. Volume Expenses, . . . . .			266 3 0
Less—Paid in advance during 1929,	3	13	6	V. Funds at close of this Account :—			
	£180	1	6	In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .		£45	0 0
27 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	14	3	6	Less—Due to Treasurer, . . . . .		1	12 10
For year 1931—							43 7 2
1 Library at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	0	10	6				
7 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	3	13	6				
	198	9	0				
III. Volumes sold (10), . . . . .			5 0				
IV. Uplifted Deposit Receipt, . . . . .			146 0 0				
V. Interest on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .			1 15 8				
	£354	16	9				

THOMAS E. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

Edinburgh, 10th January 1931.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1930, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

## Old Edinburgh Club

1931

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OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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BART., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents

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SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, K.C.V.O., LL.D.  
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Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, LL.D., 18 Atholl Crescent.

### Honorary Auditor

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 27th January 1932, at 4 o'clock.

Brigadier-General Sir Robert Gilmour of Liberton and Craigmillar, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., presided. There was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-fourth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read, and is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit the Twenty-fourth Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1931 there were fifteen vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain fourteen names on the list of applicants for admission.

The Council record with regret the death of Sir James Balfour Paul, K.C.V.O., LL.D. When the Club was founded Sir James was elected an Honorary Vice-President, a position he continued to hold till his death. Sir James took a warm interest in the Club's affairs, and regularly attended its meetings. He contributed to Volume III. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* a valuable paper on 'The Armorial Bearings of the City of Edinburgh,' and in 1924 delivered two entertaining lectures on the life of the city in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The activities of the Club have suffered to some extent owing to the abnormal times, but two lectures were delivered in the course of the year. On 24th February, in the Goold Hall, Dr. William K. Dickson described the more interesting contents of the National Library of Scotland, and illustrated his historical sketch with lantern slides. Then on 8th December, also in the Goold Hall, Mr. Charles B.

## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING 39

Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., corrected a number of popular errors mainly concerning old Edinburgh buildings.

The first excursion of the season was held on Saturday, 2nd May, when a large company assembled at Niddrie House, where they were the guests of Mrs. Wauchope, C.B.E., and of her niece, Miss Muir. In showing the party over the mansion, Mrs. Wauchope pointed out many objects of interest. After tea, to which the company were entertained in an apartment the ceiling of which dates from 1661 and bears the monogram of Charles II., the members enjoyed a walk through the spacious and well-wooded grounds. The weather was ideal, and the excursion a great success. On 6th June a visit was paid to Muirhouse, associated since the eighteenth century with the family of Davidson (to which the late Archbishop of Canterbury belonged). Mr. Matthew Mather, the proprietor, conducted the party over the mansion and grounds. Unfortunately, the proceedings were marred by bad weather. Other excursions were held on 27th June and 26th September. The former was to Greyfriars' Church, where Rev. George S. Hendrie, M.A., and Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., acted as leaders. Mr. Kerr explained the restoration of the church, which is being carried out under his supervision. The latter excursion was to Donaldson's Hospital, which was inspected under the guidance of Mr. R. T. Skinner, M.A., F.R.S.E., the house governor, who entertained the company to tea.

### PUBLICATIONS

It is hoped to issue Volume XVIII. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* in the course of the spring. The preparation of the work has been unavoidably delayed, but every effort is being made to expedite publication. The contents will be as follows:—

- I. Early Golf at Bruntsfield and Leith. By C. E. S. Chambers.
- II. State Ceremonials in Edinburgh in the Olden Time. By Francis J. Grant, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.
- III. The Barony of Calton: Part I. By Henry M. Paton.
- IV. George IV. Bridge and the West Approach. By David Robertson.
- V. Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate, 1538-1773. By C. A. Malcolm.
- VI. Notes on Lands of High Riggs, Drumdryan, and Tolleross. By John Smith.
- VII. The Quarrying of Salisbury Crags. By W. Forbes Gray.

The volume, which will be substantial and contain numerous maps and illustrations, will be issued only to members whose subscriptions for 1932 have been paid.

#### DEMOLITION OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS

During the past year there has been further demolition of buildings in the historic part of the city. The Council cannot but deplore the removal of Brown's Court, a quaint but extremely small quadrangle adjoining Panmure Close, on the north side of the Canongate. It had a characteristic group of houses, to which access was had by an outside stair, likewise a lofty tenement with a handsome though dilapidated doorway. Brown's Court had several associations with the old life of the city. In the seventeenth century it was owned by John Straiton, merchant and burgher of Edinburgh, who in 1658 took a nineteen years' lease of the South Loch, the site of which is now occupied by the Meadows. A portion of the land was drained, and was known as 'Straiton's Park,' and later as 'Hope's Park.'

Opposite Brown's Court, where stood until two years ago the picturesque group of buildings known as Bull's Close, there has been erected a tenement of tasteful design, above the entrance to which has been placed the massive lintel which was discovered when Bull's Close was being removed, and which is fully described (and figured) in Mr. John Geddie's paper in Volume XVII. of the Club's publications. This sculptured stone forms an admirable link with the buildings which the new tenement has displaced. As regards the very considerable structural alterations that are contemplated at the junction of St. John Street with the Canongate, the Council earnestly hope that every effort will be made to preserve as far as possible the antique buildings which are a feature of this quarter. They regret that the fine old house fronting the Canongate at Weir's Close is not capable of restoration. Big and Little Jack's Closes, with their memories of Susannah, Countess of Eglintoun, and David Hume, have been replaced by a row of tenements of an agreeable character.

In the course of the next few months the City Museum will be removed from its present quarters to a permanent home in the so-called Huntly House. The Council would take this opportunity of offering their congratulations to Messrs. Mears & Carus-Wilson, F.F.R.I.B.A., also to Mr. E. J. MacRae, A.R.I.B.A., the City Architect,

on the taste displayed in the restoration of this historic building—a restoration that is in entire harmony with the surroundings.

So much of the historical portion of the city and neighbourhood has been swept away of recent years (in some cases quite needlessly) that what remains must be jealously guarded. The Council view with alarm a statement made in the public press to the effect that there is a possibility of the seventeenth-century manor house of Stenhouse being demolished. If this were done it would be an act of vandalism of a most reprehensible kind. The manor house is a really fine specimen of a Jacobean structure, and, historically as well as architecturally, is full of interest. The comfortable home of a wealthy Edinburgh burgher, Patrick Ellis (or Eleis), who was Treasurer of the town, Stenhouse with its crow-stepped gables, steep roofs, dormer windows and massive chimneys, is reminiscent of the quaintness and beauty of Scottish domestic architecture in the days of James VI. The ground floor is partially vaulted, and has a concealed well and other striking features. Over the finely-moulded doorway is a lintel on which are the words: 'Blissit be God for al His giftis,' and surmounting it is the Ellis coat-of-arms, with the date 1623. One of the apartments has an elaborate plaster ceiling bearing the arms and initials of Charles II., the date 1661, and a motto. It may be explained that some time ago the Dean of Guild Court granted a warrant to carry out demolition operations at Stenhouse mills, not, however, including the manor house, in which Patrick Ellis lived so long ago. The Council express the fervent hope that means may be found for preserving this precious relic of Edinburgh's past.

The Chairman submitted the Report and moved its adoption.

In the course of a vigorous speech, he strongly condemned the demolition of historic buildings in Edinburgh. He did not suppose the authorities could touch the Castle or Holyroodhouse, but nothing else in the town was safe if the destruction of ancient buildings in the city went on at the present rate.

Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, seconded the adoption of the Report.

He, too, deplored the demolition of Old Edinburgh that was going on, and repeated a statement that the late Lord Rosebery had made

## 42 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL

at the first annual meeting of the Club, to the effect that since 1860 two-thirds of Old Edinburgh had been demolished. Lord Rosebery's wish that the remainder should be spared had, said Mr. Chambers, not altogether been carried out. But the members of the Club might at least console themselves with the fact that the word 'demolition' had in certain instances given place to that of 'restoration.' Among the historic buildings still remaining one of the most important was the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate. It was insanitary, and had been derelict for many years, so that it was certain to be dealt with by the authorities sooner or later. He hoped, however, when the time came, that the external walls and sculptured stones would be respected. The remainder of Mr. Chambers's speech was devoted to recounting the efforts that had been recently made to have restored to Holyrood Chapel the handsome brass lectern which Sir Richard Lee of Sopwell removed to England when Edinburgh was burned by Hertford in 1544, and which has long been in the Parish Church of St. Stephen at St. Albans. Mr. Chambers explained that he had personally interviewed the vicar of St. Stephen's, and had told him that both the King and Queen (by whom he had been received in private audience on the occasion of Their Majesties' last visit to Edinburgh) would be grateful for the restoration of the historic relic to Holyroodhouse. But the vicar declined to return the lectern, and his attitude was supported by the trustees of St. Stephen's.

Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., in commenting on the Report, made an earnest appeal for the preservation of the few remaining relics of Old Edinburgh. He urged the necessity for bringing influence to bear upon those who were responsible for the demolition of the old houses. As an architect, he expressed the view that the condemned buildings were not so decayed as to necessitate their being swept away. They were not so rotten as some on the Continent which had been saved.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The President then moved the election of Sir Robert Gilmour, Bart., as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Earl of Cassillis, and Mr. John Geddie, as Hon. Vice-Presidents. The motion was adopted.

On the motion of the Earl of Cassillis, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

## MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB 43

Mr. Robert T. Skinner, M.A., Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, and Mr. Francis J. Grant, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Hon. Secretary, Sir Thomas B. Whitson, LL.D., as Hon. Treasurer, Mr. W. Forbes Gray as Editor of Publications, and Mr. Henry Lessels, C.A., as Hon. Auditor.

Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. William Angus, M.A., Mr. Frank C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., were elected members of Council.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. John Russell, Mr. Charles A. Malcolm, Ph.D., Mr. Henry M. Paton, and Mr. E. J. MacRae, A.R.I.B.A., the retiring members of Council.

Sir Robert Gilmour was thanked for his services in the Chair, on the motion of Mr. Alexander Darling, LL.D.

The meeting then terminated.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1931.

CHARGE		DISCHARGE
I. Funds at close of last Account:—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£45 0 0	
Less Due to Treasurer, . . . . .	1 12 10	
	£43 7 2	£13 17 5
II. Subscriptions:—		
For year 1931—		
350 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£183 15 0	
Less Paid in advance during 1930, . . . . .	4 4 0	
	£179 11 0	
25 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	13 2 6	
	£192 13 6	
For year 1932—		
1 Library at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	0 10 6	
6 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	3 3 0	
	196 7 0	
III. Volumes sold (8), . . . . .	4 4 0	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts, . . . . .	3 15 11	
	£247 14 1	
IV. Funds at close of this Account:—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£210 0 0	
Due by Treasurer, . . . . .	4 18 0	
	214 18 0	

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 4th January 1932.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1931, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

## Old Edinburgh Club

1932

### *Honorary Patrons*

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

### *Honorary President*

SIR ROBERT GILMOUR, OF LIBERTON AND CRAIGMILLAR,  
BART., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.

### *Honorary Vice-Presidents*

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST.  
The Right Hon. THE EARL OF CASSILLIS.  
JOHN GEDDIE.

### *President*

C. E. S. CHAMBERS, 339 High Street.

### *Vice-Presidents*

ROBERT T. SKINNER, M.A., Donaldson's Hospital.  
CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON, 24 Garscube Terrace.  
FRANCIS J. GRANT, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms,  
18 George Square.

### *Honorary Secretary*

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 35 East Claremont Street.

### *Honorary Treasurer*

SIR THOMAS B. WHITSON, LL.D., 21 Rutland Street.

### *Editor of Publications*

W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.

### *Council*

A. P. MELVILLE, W.S., 11 South Charlotte Street.  
HENRY W. MEIKLE, M.A., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road.  
KENNETH SANDERSON, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street.  
DAVID ROBERTSON, LL.B., S.S.C., City Chambers.  
A. GRAHAM DONALD, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.  
HUGH HANNAH, Solicitor, 6 St. Bernard's Crescent.  
J. LOGAN MACK, S.S.C., 10 Grange Terrace.  
Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, LL.D., 18 Atholl Crescent.  
Miss MARGUERITE WOOD, M.A., Ph.D., 16 Buckingham Terrace.  
WILLIAM ANGUS, M.A., Record Office, H.M. Register House.  
FRANK C. MEARS, F.R.I.B.A., 14 Ramsay Garden.  
THOMAS YULE, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street.

### *Honorary Auditor*

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

ALLAN, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.  
Allan, William, Limefield House, Gilmerton.  
Allan, Mrs., Limefield House, Gilmerton.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Donaldson's Hospital.  
Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 31 Bellevue Place.  
Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 20 Grosvenor Crescent.  
Anderson, Martin, Castle Cynicus, Leuchars, Fifeshire.  
Anderson, William, 2 Dalkeith Street, Joppa.  
Anderson, W. Kinloch, 14 George Street.  
Angus, William, M.A., Record Office, H.M. Register House.  
Armstrong, John Johnston, 6 Moray Place.  
Atkinson, John J., 26 St. Ronan's Terrace.  
Auchmuty, Mrs., Arnshean, Ravelston Dykes.  
  
BALFOUR-MELVILLE, EVAN W. M., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
Barclay, Oswald, D.L., J.P., 6 Merchiston Park.  
Barker, John S., 2 Cargil Terrace.  
Barnett, David, Lady Stair's House, Bank Street.  
Barnett, Rev. T. Ratcliffe, Ph.D., 7 Corrennie Gardens.  
Barrie, John A., 15 Abbey Road, Eskbank.  
Bartholomew, Ian, M.C., M.A., Nairne Lodge, Duddingston.  
Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.  
Bethune, John, Viewfield, Currie.  
Bonar, John J., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.  
Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.  
Bowers, John, 75 Morningside Road.  
Boyd, John S., Norland, Jedburgh.  
Boyes, John, 40 Glendevon Place.  
Brown, Charles, 43 Grange Road.  
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, LL.D., 18 Atholl Crescent.  
Brown, James C., LL.B., Glenquoich, Liberton.

## OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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Bruce, James, W.S., 16 Hill Street.  
Bruce, Miss, 19 Bright's Crescent.  
Bryce, Herbert D., 37 Barnscourt Terrace.  
Bryce, P. Ross, 33 Craigmillar Park.  
Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.  
Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 505 Strathmartine Road, Dundee.  
Butchart, R., Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge.  
Butters, John W., M.A., 116 Comiston Drive.  
  
CAMERON, DANIEL, 2 Cameron Park.  
Campbell, Archibald B., W.S., 36 Castle Street.  
Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., 'Moidart,' Currie.  
Campbell, J. D. B., 25 Ainslie Place.  
Carmichael, Mrs., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.  
Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Newhailes, Musselburgh.  
(*Hon. Vice-President.*)  
Chambers, C. E. S., 339 High Street. (*President.*)  
Christie, Miss Margaret, c/o Mrs. Good, Braefoot, Liberton.  
Chrystal, F. M., M.B., 187 Gilmore Place.  
Clapperton, D. A., C.A., 8 Magdala Crescent.  
Clark, Alexander, Roselea, Corstorphine.  
Clarke, Miss Hilda M., 18 Canaan Lane.  
Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.  
Considine, W. D., 2 Alvanley Terrace.  
Cook, E. R., C.B.E., Law Society, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.  
Cormack, Donald S., 21 Ulster Crescent.  
Couper, Rev. W. J., D.D., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow, E.  
Craig, Sterling, LL.B., 130 Princes Street.  
Crawshaw, Dr. Charles, Barwood Mount, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.  
Crichton, A. D., City Chambers, Edinburgh.  
Crichton, George, 6 Duncan Street.  
Croal, Miss Caroline H., 15 Melville Street.  
Crombie, David, I.S.O., 24 Kingsburgh Road.  
Cruikshank, John, 55 Castle Street.  
Cullen, William J., 7 Howard Street.  
Cumming, Charles M., 4 Laverockbank Terrace.  
Cunningham, Mrs. Jean C., 38 Buckingham Terrace.  
  
DALRYMPLE, The Hon. Sir HEW, K.C.V.O., D.L., 24 Regent Terrace.  
Darling, Alexander, LL.D., 23 South Oswald Road.

Dawson, A. B., C.A., Misbourne, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.  
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.  
 Dobbie, Sir Joseph, S.S.C., 10 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Dobbie, Lady, 10 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.  
 Donaldson, James, M.A., Morrison's Academy, Crieff.  
 Donaldson, James, 8 Gilmour Road.  
 Donaldson, Prof. Robert, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.E., Bridgford, Woodside Avenue, London, N. 10.  
 Dott, Miss Margaret F., c/o Grahamslaw, 8 East Mayfield.  
 Douglas, Miss C. P., 97 Inchview Terrace.  
 Douglas, John, 6 St. Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, London, S.W.  
 Douglas, L. MacQueen, Newpark, Mid Calder.  
 Douglas, Robert E., 89 George Street.  
 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.  
 Drummond, William, S.S.C., 66 George Street.  
 Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 7 Ravelston Terrace.  
 Duncan, Robert J., 12 York Road.  
 Dunn, Miss Jessie D., Braehead, Inveresk.

EDGAR, Mrs. J. DOUGLAS, 9 Sylvan Place.  
 Eggeling, H. F., 95 Comiston Drive.  
 Erskine, Andrew, Solicitor, 31 Scotland Street.  
 Ewing, James L., LL.D., Derreen, Murrayfield Drive.

FAIRLEY, JOHN A., Curator's House, Lauriston Castle, Davidson's Mains.

Fairley, J. Graham, 47 Abercorn Terrace, Portobello.  
 Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., LL.D., 7 Coates Crescent.  
 Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.  
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie, c/o Inglis, Orr & Bruce, 19A Hill Street.  
 Fisher, John, 18 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Forbes, Miss Marcella, 8 Hope Crescent.  
 Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Fraser, Mrs. Ellen, 23 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Fraser, Professor John, M.C., M.D., 32 Moray Place.  
 Fraser, W. A., 49 Braid Avenue.

GARDNER, A. NORMAN, M.B., Ch.B., 11 Hope Terrace.  
 Geddie, John, The Hillock, Liberton Drive, Liberton. (*Hon. Vice-President.*)

Gibson, James T., c/o Murray, Beith & Murray, 43 Castle Street.  
 Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.  
 Gilmour, Brigadier-General Sir Robert, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., The Inch, Liberton. (*Honorary President.*)  
 Glegg, A. H., W.S., Maines House, Chirnside, Berwickshire.  
 Good, Mrs., Braefoot, Liberton.  
 Grant, Francis J., C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, 18 George Square. (*Vice-President.*)  
 Grant, Miss I. F., 50 Manor Place.  
 Grant, J. Taylor, M.D., 9 Eglinton Crescent.  
 Grant, Robert, 31 George IV. Bridge.  
 Gray, W. Forbes, F.R.S.E., 8 Mansionhouse Road. (*Editor of Publications.*)  
 Green, A. M'Watt, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.  
 Greenhill, William, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.  
 Greig, Mrs. C. A., Woodridge, Dalkeith.

HAMILTON, JAMES, J.P., 20 Finlay Drive, Glasgow, E. 1.  
 Hannah, Hugh, Solicitor, 6 St. Bernard's Crescent.  
 Hannah, William, 27 Bellevue Place.  
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 Hannay, Professor R. K., LL.D., 5 Royal Terrace.  
 Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.  
 Hardie, R. S. L., 3 Clarendon Crescent.  
 Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.  
 Hayne, Adam H., 'Thirlestane,' Gardiner Road, Blackhall.  
 Hayne, William, 6 Hillview Road, Blackhall.  
 Henderson, Peter H., 57 St. Alban's Road.  
 Henderson, W. F., 16 Mansionhouse Road.  
 Hendry, Robert J. L., Clydesdale Bank, George Street.  
 Highgate, James, 31 Drumbreck Road, Glasgow, S. 1.  
 Hogben, John, 35 Royal Terrace.  
 Holland, Principal Sir Thomas H., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S., The University, Edinburgh.  
 Hunter, Andrew, 48 Garscube Terrace.  
 Hunter, Miss Jane, 10 Comiston Place.  
 Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

INGLIS, D. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.  
 Inglis, Francis Caird, Rock House, Calton Hill.

Inglis, Mrs. G. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.  
 Inglis, Joseph, W.S., 110 George Street.  
 Inglis, Miss Margaret J., 39 Bruntsfield Place.

JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 11 Greenhill Gardens.  
 Jackson, Miss Emily J., 44 Dick Place.  
 Jameson, James H., W.S., 16 Coates Crescent.  
 Jamieson, J. Boyd, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 43 George Square.  
 Jamieson, James H., 14 Sciennes Gardens.  
 Jamieson, John R., 18 Napier Road.  
 Joss, John, 47 M'Donald Road.

KELLY, JOHN G., Summerhall, Ratho.  
 Kennedy, John, 207 Kenmure Street, Pollokshields, Glasgow.  
 Kennedy, Mrs. Susan, 18 Drummond Place.  
 Kerr, Henry F., 12 East Claremont Street.  
 Kerr, W. Hume, M.A., B.Sc., Scottish Liberal Club, Princes Street.  
 King, John A., Tigh-na-Righ, Dreghorn Loan, Colinton.  
 Kippen, John, M.A., Royal High School, Regent Road.

LAMB, STEWART, 10 Mortonhall Road.  
 Langwill, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.  
 Laurie, A. P., LL.D., 22A Buccleuch Place.  
 Law, Alexander, M.A., Royal High School, Regent Road.  
 Lawrance, R. Murdoch, 23 Ashley Road, Aberdeen.  
 Leckie, Rev. R. W., M.A., The Manse, Davidson's Mains.  
 Lee, William J., 21 Merchiston Crescent.  
 Lemon, Miss E. B., 35 Lauriston Place.  
 Lessels, Henry, C.A., 16 Ravelston Park.  
 Lindsay, David, 28 East Preston Street.  
 Linton, Robert, City Chambers.  
 Logan, J. H., 8 Hermitage Drive.  
 Lorimer, Miss Agatha, 17 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.  
 Low, Miss, 9 Queen's Crescent.

MACARTNEY, WILLIAM A., A.M.Inst.C.E., City Chambers.  
 Macaulay, Mrs., *Oban Times* Office, Oban.  
 M'Blain, Peter S., 23 Royal Crescent.  
 M'Crae, Thomas, F.R.I.A.S., 6 North East Circus Place.

Macdonald, Donald, 6 Chesser Loan.  
 Macdonald, Mrs. Mary, 52 Grange Loan.  
 M'Donald, Roderick, Craigforth, Primrose Bank Road.  
 Macdougald, Robert, S.S.C., 34 Castle Street.  
 Macfarlane-Grieve, R. W., Penchrise Peel, Hawick.  
 MacIntosh, Mrs. Mary Hay, 23A Dick Place.  
 Macintosh, William, Sasine Office, Register House.  
 Mack, J. Logan, S.S.C., 10 Grange Terrace.  
 Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond Bridge.  
 Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place.  
 Mackay, L. M., 5 Regent Terrace.  
 M'Kelvie, Alex., C.A., 26 Mortonhall Road.  
 M'Kenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.  
 Mackinnon, Donald S., 1 Royston Terrace.  
 M'Laren, J. Wilson, 'Dunvegan,' Moredun, Gilmerton.  
 M'Lean, Miss, 8 Western Terrace.  
 M'Lean, Miss Frances A., 8 Western Terrace.  
 M'Leod, Alex. N., 1 Blackford Road.  
 MacLeod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 25 Albany Street.  
 M'Neil, Dr. Charles, 44 Heriot Row.  
 Macniven, Daniel, 138 Princes Street.  
 Macphail, J. R. N., K.C., 45 Northumberland Street.  
 Macpherson, James P., Cockburn Hotel, Cockburn Street.  
 MacRae, Major Colin, of Feoirinn, G.B.E., Colintrave, Argyll.  
 Macrae, Donald, 31 Palmerston Place.  
 MacRae, E. J., A.R.I.B.A., City Chambers.  
 MacRitchie, Lewis A., 35 East Claremont Street. (*Hon. Secretary.*)  
 Macvey, William, 44 Duddingston Park, Portobello.  
 Macvicar, Neil, W.S., Kilmalieu, Barnton Avenue, Davidson's Mains.  
 M'Vie, John, 13 Hillside Crescent.  
 Malcolm, Charles A., Ph.D., S.S.C. Library, Parliament Square.  
 Manclark, James M'Kinnon, 14 Hope Street.  
 Manson, William, 18 Esslemont Road.  
 Marshall, William, Belmont Castle, Meigle.  
 Martin, Robert, 7852 Dover Court Road, Toronto, Canada.  
 Marwick, Hugh, M.A., D.Litt., Education Office, Kirkwall.  
 Marwick, T. Craigie, 54 Northumberland Street.  
 Mathieson, Donald M., 10 India Street.  
 Mears, Frank C., 14 Ramsay Garden.

Meikle, Henry W., M.A., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road.  
 Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Mull, by Oban.  
 Melrose, W. B., 17 Mitchell Street, Leith.  
 Melville, A. P., W.S., 11 S. Charlotte Street.  
 Menzies, John R., West Links House, North Berwick.  
 Mercer, Walter, 3 Rothesay Place.  
 Middleton, Miss Harriet A., Manorhead, Stow.  
 Middleton, James Aitken, M.D., Manorhead, Stow.  
 Mill, William, 54 Polwarth Terrace.  
 Miller, Miss Milne, 31 Kingsburgh Road.  
 Milligan, James, W.S., 15 York Place.  
 Milne, Archibald, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., 38 Morningside Grove.  
 Milne, Charles, M.P., 9 Northumberland Street.  
 Minto, John, M.A., 12 Nile Grove.  
 Mitchell, Charles, C.E., 2 Randolph Crescent.  
 Mitchell, William, K.C., Abbotshill, Galashiels.  
 Moore, Lieut.-Col. W. F., 24 Buccleuch Place.  
 Morris, George, 16 Strathearn Place.  
 Murray, Miss Eunice G., Moore Park, Cardross.  
 Murray, Capt. The Hon. Lord James Steuart, Dunkeld House,  
 Dunkeld.  
 Murray, J. H., 98 Lothian Road.

NICOL, Miss JESSIE, Ferniehurst, St. John's Road, Corstorphine.  
 Nightingale, Charles T., S.S.C., 8 North St. David Street.  
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## CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.

IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

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