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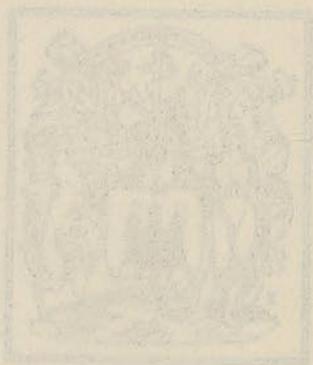
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THE HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE :

PART I¹

THE craft of the Hammermen, comprising as it did several different 'arts,' could never fail to be one of the most influential in any Scottish burgh. It was so in Edinburgh, even after the goldsmiths became separated from it, and the same was the case in the Canongate, where the goldsmiths, not very numerous, did not seek a separate existence. It may be safely assumed that most crafts were practically contemporaneous with the burgh of which they were a part, although, through various causes, principally the fortunes of war, the original seals of cause, if such existed, are not recorded. The Canongate was no exception to this rule, but while the *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis* mentions, under date 1554, seals of cause granted to the shoemakers and tailors, it records none granted to the Hammermen. Yet it must be that, if such crafts existed, the Hammermen, no less necessary to the life of any community, had equal recognition.

The earliest book of the craft records dates no earlier than 1613, but itself bears witness to the greater antiquity of the Hammermen. On 4th May of that year, being Beltane

¹ The basis of this paper has been the Book of the Proceedings of the Hammermen of the Canongate, kindly lent for the purpose by Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S. It is a well-preserved volume, dating from 1613 to 1687, worthy, indeed, of more detailed quotation than it has been possible to make in a limited space. The records of the Canongate in the City Chambers, chartularies, Bailie Court Books and Council records have been consulted, as also the Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, as well as other records printed and unprinted, noted in the text. Still the history of this one craft, and even more the history of the burgh of the Canongate, is far from being exhausted.

and the day of the annual election of office-bearers, the deacon, masters and 'hail remanent brethreine' decided for the better preservation of their 'locked book' that the acts of the craft should be copied out, in order that the said book need only be used for the recording of the booking of freemen and prentices. The meeting was held at the Kirk of Holyroodhouse and, in token of their approval, the act was signed by, or on behalf of those present, the deacon and twenty-three members of the craft. With this sanction, the clerk to the craft inserted in the beginning of the new book acts to the number of seventy-three dealing with the administration of their affairs, the earliest of which is dated in 1537.

It does not seem a very early date in regard to the history of the burgh of the Canongate, but obviously is in no sense the record of the beginning of the craft. Indeed, it is disappointing that the laws of the Canongate Hammermen give only by implication the constitution upon which they worked. Because of this reticence, born of the fact that the existence of the craft was a mere commonplace to them, it may be as well to set the stage for the narration of their history, as told by themselves, by explaining, so far as possible, the nature and government of the craft or trade of the Hammermen. These, under the one generic name, comprised several 'arts,' to use their own apt word, which vary more or less, while retaining the principal ones, the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the gunsmiths or 'dagmakers,' the cutlers, the 'lorimers' or harnessmakers, the locksmiths, the saddlers and the pewterers. These are found in the earliest and latest records, but, in addition, were others, of lesser importance, such as the coppersmiths, the hookmakers, the sheathmakers, the braziers or whiteironmen, some of whom were practically synonymous. Another art, the armourers, became practically obsolete.

The governing body of the craft consisted of a deacon,

appointed annually at Beltane, who might and frequently did hold office for two or more years, a boxmaster or treasurer (an office which dated only from 1560), and a number of masters, usually at first twelve, but which in later years might be as many as sixteen or seventeen. These sat with the deacon to decide craft affairs, and had the further important duty of being responsible for the inspection of the work turned out by their different 'arts,' the larger arts, such as blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cutlers, saddlers and pewterers, having two masters in charge. In addition to these men, actual working members of the craft, were two other officials, the clerk and the officer. The latter, at first one of the recently admitted members of craft, obliged in terms of his admission to serve in that capacity for one year, gradually became a paid official, with the duty of carrying out the acts of the deacon and masters. The former, charged with recording the acts, was usually a notary public, though, for a few years of the craft's history, the brethren, moved either by motives of economy or of charity towards a less fortunate member, employed one of their own masters as a clerk. The clerkship of Robert Bruce is notorious for the peculiar vileness of his handwriting and his fantastic ideas of spelling, conspicuous even in a day when no one held himself bound by any strait conventions in this matter.

I

Of the number of the craft there is never any satisfactory indication. One list in the hand of Robert Bruce, and undated, gives fifty-seven names; another in 1636 gives thirty-three names. An act of 1635 gives twenty-five prentices who were not eligible for their freedom, showing as much by omission as otherwise the size of the craft, while in 1641 forty-three masters contributed towards the purchase of new velvet mortcloths, probably the majority, though not all of

the masters in the Canongate, otherwise it should not have been necessary to enter each name individually.

Each master in an art was a freeman of the craft, either by inheritance, by apprenticeship, by marriage or by purchase, the latter two being in the Canongate apparently the rarest, while in the adjacent burgh of Edinburgh they were frequent. He had also to be a burghess of Canongate, although in this respect there seems to have been a certain laxity. But, with regard to this, it should be noted that the jurisdiction of the Hammermen extended over the regality of Broughton, and included the village of North Leith as well as the burgh of the Canongate, and that a man might enter freeman of the craft in the regality or North Leith alone. In that case, not being allowed to work in the burgh, it was superfluous to become a burghess.

It was a long business to qualify as a master. In the first place, an apprenticeship had to be served, which an act of 1579 sets as no less than six years, with a seventh for 'meat and fee,' the purpose of the last year being apparently both for the benefit of apprentice and master. The next stage was service with a master within the burgh for two years. The period of apprenticeship under exceptional circumstances might be shorter but very frequently was longer, extending to eight, nine or even ten years, usually in cases when the apprenticeship was to one of the more highly skilled arts. No dispute seems to have arisen over the question of the two years as servant: it was short enough in which to save money for the inevitable expenses of entry as freeman and burghess. The Book of the Hammermen gives no indication as to the age when a boy might enter on his apprenticeship, but another Canongate incorporation, the Bakers, set the age at thirteen, and we shall not be far wrong if we assume that to have been the approximate age for the Hammermen's prentices.

It is doubtful how far reliance can be placed on the records

of the craft with regard to the admissions of prentices and freemen. The fact that there were two books, of which the older was supposed to be used for recording such admissions, and that they are inserted in the new book, is responsible for a certain amount of inaccuracy, since there is no proof that the existing entries were complete. If the book started in 1613 contains all the entries, it may be noted that in some years there are surprisingly few. For ten years from 1613 to 1624 there are never more than three prentices booked in one year, and, while in 1616 six freemen were admitted, the other years of that decade show an average of two freemen a year. The numbers increase slightly during the next twenty years, to drop abruptly during the plague of 1646, when only one prentice was admitted. But, once the plague ceased, the result of the mortality among the inhabitants of Canongate was a record number of admissions of masters and prentices, eleven of the former and thirteen of the latter.

At the close of the apprenticeship, a period of two years at least had to be spent as servant to a freeman of craft, working for 'meat and fee.' It was laid down that this time had to be spent in the burgh, not abroad, or in suburbs or other towns, under penalty of cancelling the benefit of the apprenticeship. A statute, about 1637, stipulated that no unmarried servant should be engaged, and that his service was to be for a year or for six months, while weekly engagements or pay was forbidden. The condition about marriage appears unusual: in Edinburgh it was the custom for the new burghess to marry and take a house, showing himself in that way to be a responsible citizen, prepared to take up his share of the town's burdens. But the reason behind this statute of the Canongate Hammermen may have been to give more security to the master for his servant, in so far as a man with a wife was less likely to want to change. Still, even marriage could not sober a servant, for they were apt to 'struggle or feight within their maisters buiths,' and the

craft found it necessary to threaten punishment for such affrays, with a grim and unusual allusion to higher powers: 'and in caice it sall come under the compas of a ryot the deacone for the tyme sall recommend them to the citie magistrats,' a course likely to produce imprisonment in the Tolbooth and appearance before the bailies in the Burgh Court.

At the close of the two years as servant it was possible for a man to apply for the freedom of the craft, a privilege not too easy of attainment even to a freeman's son. For, while strangers to the burgh had to pay heavy dues, the others had also payments to make, and both had to satisfy the craft as to their qualifications in their chosen art. The assay is one of the parts of the life of the craft which retained its formality undiminished throughout. The candidate presented to the deacon and masters for the year a 'bill' craving admission to an assay. Having considered the application, they set the assay, appointed the 'booth' in which it was to be made, and chose two men to be assay masters, whose duty it was to watch the candidate at work. Frequently also they set a time limit within which the assay was to be completed, but this appears to have been a mere formality, since in practically every case it was disregarded. In due course the assay was presented before the deacon and masters of the art to which the candidate belonged, and was examined and pronounced 'sufficient' for the service of the King's lieges. It may be noted, in passing, that there is no record of an assay ever having been refused. The candidate then was admitted freeman, after taking the oath of obedience to the craft and of loyalty to the King and government. He paid his dues, among which was the significant item of 'banquet silver,' and was thereafter qualified to set up his shop and to take an apprentice. The item of 'banquet silver' appears to have been one liable to abuse, for about the year 1579 the craft ordered 'for the weill of our brethrene that is

incumeris and for avoyding superfluous eating and drinking of the multitud,' no prentice in Canongate was to pay more than twenty merks for his two banquets. The fee for a man who had been neither prentice nor servant was left to the discretion of the deacon and masters.

The fee for the booking of an apprentice was, by an act of 1598, set at thirty shillings, but subsequently increased to three pounds Scots. Another act of the same year set the entrance fee of strangers at 30¹¹. But the craft, like others, usually had difficulty with its finances, and the admission of freemen, insomuch as it was indispensable, was an easy way of raising money. Hence the fees tended to rise steadily. In 1593 it was statute that a prentice should pay 16¹¹ for his freedom, while one who had worked five years as servant, though not an apprentice, might have the right for 20¹¹. No change was recorded till 1630, when the rate for strangers was increased to 100 merks, more than double the previous fee. Again, in 1649 the apprentice's fee was increased to 66¹¹ 6s. 8d., a sum including all dues but the officer's fee. At the same time the dues for freemen's sons were altered to 26¹¹ 13s. 4d. But the craft were soon to find that their anxiety to put their affairs on a satisfactory footing had worked otherwise than they expected. Only eight years later they were compelled to put on record that 'the exhorbitancie and greatnes of the soumes to be payit' were hindering the entries into the trade. 'For the better incuradgement of those that will admit thameselves friemen . . . in respect of the tymes' they reconsidered the dues and set them at 60 merks for apprentices, a decrease of more than 20¹¹, and 22¹¹ 13s. 4d. for freemen's sons. This arrangement lasted till 1669, when the deacon and masters reconsidered the table of fees. They had some justification for doing so: the last act had been passed at the time of the military occupation of Oliver Cromwell, when the fortunes of the burgh were low and taxation heavy, while in 1669 the Restoration had

brought back a measure of prosperity with the return to the Canongate of such nobility and gentry as had government or private business in the burgh or the capital. At the same time they graded the fees for admission with regard to the privileges involved. A freeman's son entering freeman in both burgh and barony paid 42¹¹ 18s., an apprentice for similar freedom paid 89¹¹ 11s. 4d.; a freeman's son admitted for the barony alone paid 36¹¹ 4s. 8d., and an apprentice under the same conditions paid 46¹¹ 4s. 8d.

At the same time the fee for entrance to apprenticeship was raised to 6¹¹, save in the case of the booking of a freeman's son in the barony, when the fee was only 3¹¹, while the engagement of a servant necessitated a fee of 1¹¹ 6s. 8d. The dues for the entry of a stranger as freeman were left to the discretion of the deacon and masters, who, always jealous for their craft privileges, were unlikely to make admission too easy. In cases which concerned their prestige they could make concessions, as in the case of the goldsmiths, who had to be encouraged to take up residence in the Canongate.

Once admitted a master, the new Hammerman was confronted with a set of responsibilities and expenses. As noted before, the condition of freeman in the Canongate practically involved being a burgess also, though apparently not immediately, for there are instances of several months, if not of a year, elapsing before the burgess-ship was an accomplished fact. Yet, strangely, there are converse cases in which a burgess of the burgh applied to be admitted freeman of the craft. The burgess dues were not exorbitant, 6s. 8d. for any one who had the right by birth or marriage, 10¹¹ for an apprentice and 40 merks for an unfreeman. But that was not all. The new freeman set up a shop or booth, which he had to rent, married and acquired a house, engaged an apprentice and a servant, and, after he had had one apprentice for three years, might engage another. He had duties with regard to the burgh, watching and warding, he

had to pay his share of all taxation, to contribute towards the support of the ministers (one or more) of the burgh, and to pay his quarterly dues to the craft for the maintenance of its poor. Apart from payments, he would be called upon for other services. The appointment as master of his art for the year involved the supervision of the other members as to the quality of their work, their apprentices and their payments. It also required his attendance on the deacon to transact the craft business, ranging from care of their financial affairs to the admission of freemen and apprentices and the settlement of disputes between fellow-members. In addition, he might be called upon to sit as a member of the burgh council or upon an assize in criminal cases heard in the court of the regality and burgh. No wonder that the craft occasionally fined any one who convened the deacon and masters upon frivolous complaints.

II

The foregoing paragraphs are an attempt to indicate the manner in which individuals became members of the craft, a procedure common to most if not all crafts, yet not generally known. What precedence held good among the Canongate crafts is neither stated definitely nor given consistently, but it is apparent that the Hammermen enjoyed a certain importance in spite of the nearness of the capital. The lists of apprentices show that lads from all parts of Scotland were sent to the Canongate to acquire the secrets of the craft, not always to enable them to become free of the burgh, but with the intention of returning home to practise what they had learned. It is remarkable that relatively few such apprentices became freemen unless there was some reason, such as kinship with a freeman resident in the 'gait.'

The blacksmiths, who usually stand first in the list of arts, were by far the most numerous, established in the

burgh, in North Leith and in St. Ninian's Row. The practice of the art descended frequently from father to son, showing that it was one of the healthiest of the trades. It rarely exceeded the usual number of years for apprenticeship, and had an assay which varied but rarely: a horse-shoe with six nails, the 'crook' and 'band' for a door-hinge, a spade and a shovel-iron. One apprentice in 1615 had to make a lance-head, a pair of 'saddle bands & lockhartis' with a 'chaip.' The assay presented no great difficulty to a trained smith, and usually was completed and presented within a couple of days. Even to the blacksmiths came apprentices from far afield, though they rarely became freemen. The art is, for the most part, happy in having no history. Yet in 1640 an account is given of the charge brought against one of their number of having supplied to a smith in Pleasance thirty sets of horse-shoes so poor in material and workmanship that they were useless. The purchaser complained that he had been obliged to take off the shoes he had put on six horses 'to his hurt and disgrace and therby hes lost ane number of his clyentes in respect of the evill report thairof.' The deacon and masters found the complaint proved, fined the maker of the shoes and ordered him to take back all the unused ones. The only other mention of difficulties in the art was in 1654, when the assistance of the baron bailie was called in to make a search for unfree blacksmiths in the regality, with the intention of making them become freemen.

III

The goldsmiths and jewellers were always synonymous in the history of the art and, so far as the Book of the Hammermen can show, the watchmakers appear to have been attached to them. But the art of the goldsmiths seems to have had a precarious existence in the Canongate, according to the records. A possible explanation may be that the regular history of the

Hammermen starts only after the Union of the Crowns and the departure of the King to England. The Privy Council and occasional Parliaments still met in Edinburgh or the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and the Canongate continued to be the residence of many of the Scottish nobility, but their centre had changed to a large extent with the departure of the Court. Even before 1603 goldsmiths seem to have been few. The court book of the regality of Broughton and burgh of the Canongate gives only a few scattered names. These, however, cannot be taken as a complete list of the art, for only persons concerned in some litigation appear in the pages of the court book and, though the burgesses were much given to law, it cannot be assumed that all without exception were litigious.

The earliest mention of goldsmiths has been found in 1569 when three undoubted masters of that art are named: Jerome Hamilton, John Achesoun and James Gray. Incidentally, it shows the curiously close relationship between the adjacent and rival burghs that Hamilton rented his house in the Canongate from a burghess of Edinburgh. John Achesoun was hardly a regular goldsmith of the burgh, being for several years at least 'master cunyear' to the King, but his son, also John Achesoun, followed his father in the goldsmith art and is named as a burghess in 1574. In the same year another goldsmith is mentioned, Adam Haw or Hall, but merely as a member of an assize. A clockmaker, Abraham Wanweyneburgh, appears in the Bailie Court in 1592 on a summons to pay house rent of 16^u Scots. John Kinloch, James Achesoun and James Gray were goldsmiths there about the same time.

With the beginning of the Hammermen's own records, the entries about the art, though still few, are more informative, while the Council of the Canongate, whose records begin in 1622 and continue, more or less, till 1731, show several entrances of their members as burgesses. It is, however, a grievous lack that the greater part of the chronicle of the

Hammermen neglects to give details in the lists of the annual election of masters as to the art which they represented. Because of that, unless information is forthcoming from other sources, it is impossible to distinguish between the representatives of the arts. There were two James Harts about 1613, one a goldsmith, the other a gunsmith. The latter served as deacon on several occasions, the former was master at least for a year. After that no goldsmith appears to have been elected a master for many years, even though the other arts were represented by one or more persons. This seems to have been due to the scarcity of goldsmiths, since during those years neither freemen nor apprentices were admitted.

Of the trade of clock- and watchmaker, treated apparently as allied to the goldsmiths, there is some mention. Such workmen were rare both in Edinburgh and the Canongate. Indeed, the former at one time possessed no one of sufficient skill to regulate the town clocks, and the Council were forced to employ an inhabitant of the Canongate. This man, William Smith, figures in a dispute before the deacon and masters of the Hammermen in 1615. He was accused of having reset another man's apprentice and of having insulted the deacon. The deacon was quick-tempered and the clock-maker obdurate, and Smith was excluded from the craft and forbidden the company of his fellows, an action which involved the craft in litigation with his brother James. It was not till three years later that William Smith was found willing to acknowledge his fault and to make amends.

From that date till 1622 neither goldsmith nor clock-maker figures in the annals of the craft. At Beltane 1622 Archibald Law, goldsmith, was elected one of the twelve masters. He held office for one year, and his place was not filled till 1624 when Robert Car was elected for a similar period. In 1627 occurs the first mention of the admission of a freeman, and it is significant that he was a foreigner. Cornelius Yettis, watchmaker, who applied for permission to

submit an assay, was an Englishman and evidently an incomer to the burgh. There was only one of his trade to act as assay master, and William Smith had to be assisted by a gunsmith. But the craft must have realised the expediency of possessing a second clockmaker, and admitted Yettis for the moderate fee of 50 merks.

For the next few years Smith and the two goldsmiths already named alternated in holding office as master, while for one year the former served as boxmaster to the craft. During that time there is no record of any admission of apprentices and one only of a freeman. This was Thomas Ramsdene or Ramsay, who had been in the service of Cornelius Yettis, probably before his arrival in the Canongate, since he was allowed to become free only three years after his master, a period too short for any apprenticeship in the burgh.

That goldsmiths remained few in the Canongate is shown by the fact that it was not judged necessary to appoint masters in the art. It is possible that Edinburgh, with its many goldsmiths, wealthy enough to serve as bankers as well, monopolised the trade, and it is perhaps worth noting that Archibald Law seems to have been a burghess of both burghs.

Foreigners, however, appear to have found the Canongate a congenial place, for in 1638 one Nicolas Vrensoune or Jorgensone applied to be made freeman. It is at this time that the goldsmith's assay is first mentioned, a gold ring and a silver needle. Jorgensone—to use the most probable form of his name—was made free for a payment of 100 merks. He found difficulty in paying the money, and in May 1639 the annual accounts of the craft showed that half of the sum was unpaid. He also entered burghess of the Canongate for 40 merks.

It was as well the goldsmiths had obtained a new recruit, for, while Smith was deacon of craft in 1641, Jorgensone was

apparently the only representative of the art. His name is the only goldsmith's in a list of contributors towards the purchase of a new mortcloth, for which he gave 3⁴ Scots. But in 1643 Henry Cockie was admitted to his assay 'as a born burges bairne.' He was a member of the family of that name, well known as goldsmiths in sixteenth-century Edinburgh. One, James Cockie, had been with his brother-in-law, James Mosman, in the Castle during the siege which ended in 1573. Cockie and Mosman were executed, less for the crime of rebellion than because they had coined money for the Queen's Lords. Thereafter, though one or two of the family remained in the capital, others seem to have settled in the Canongate, and Henry or Harry Cockie must have been a son of one of them. He was set an assay, to be made in his own booth under the supervision of Jorgensone and Smith. At the time of his admission, another foreigner, Inglebert Otterbeg or Hecklebeck, joined the art and became a burges. He is described as a jeweller or goldsmith and was admitted for a fee of 200 merks, of which half had to be forthcoming within six months. For his burges-ship he paid a sum similar to Jorgensone's. In spite of their willingness to admit strangers, it appears that the craft had a prejudice in favour of their own people, for Cockie was elected a master in the very year of his admission, while Otterbeg did not attain that position till two years later. In 1650 Cockie was appointed specially to 'take notice of the goodness of work in the goldsmith trade.'

One of the rare allusions to contemporary history is found in the application for membership by John Roger, goldsmith, in February 1644, 'quha hes bene thir many yeiris in England now brocht to flie to his native country an agit man and knawin to be honest.' The craft showed their sympathy by receiving him as freeman for 30 merks, the privilege to apply only to himself, but, at his request and upon payment of 100 merks, it was extended to his 'successors.' Perhaps the

disturbed state of England was responsible for the arrival of another Englishman, Philip Bucknar, watchmaker, who was admitted to his assay in the same year and was made free some months later. In 1646, too, Robert Gaw or Gall, an Englishman, was admitted a freeman.

Across the comparative prosperity of the burgh broke the last great plague which the country was to know. Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith were smitten, adding the terrors of that almost fatal disease to another terror, the victorious campaign of the Marquis of Montrose in the North. True to their habits, the Hammermen allude directly to neither, but, while they carried through their annual elections at Beltane 1645, the entries in their book cease till January 1646. Then the only allusion to their trials was the significant phrase 'all the brethren remaining.' The renewal of the entries shows that the plague had abated and that there was a demand for admission as freemen and apprentices. The first of these was the goldsmith Gall, mentioned above, and it is significant that there was no member of the art present to act as assay master. Jorgensone, Otterbeg, Roger and Bucknar's names appear no more; and while Cockie figures subsequently in the craft's records, it may be conjectured that he, like all who could do so, had fled the stricken town.

It was easy, with a depleted population, for strangers to obtain admission to any craft, so that it is not surprising to find another goldsmith, Robert Shepherd, being made free for a payment of 40 merks. He settled down and took an apprentice, Robert Banks, son of an inhabitant of North Leith, the first apprentice to the art so far as the records tell. The indentures between them were cancelled six years later for some unexplained irregularity. Shepherd was elected master in 1647.

In the following year the goldsmiths were the centre of what might have proved a serious quarrel. The Englishman,

Gall, doubtless unaware of the acute rivalry between the Canongate and Edinburgh and possibly not well acquainted with the constitution of the craft, had declared that it had three deacons, one in Edinburgh and two in the Canongate, Thomas Whyte, elected at the last Beltane, and Harry Cockie. That alone was a grave offence, but he had done worse. He had appealed to the Duke of Hamilton to allow another foreigner, Conrad Ottingar, to work in the burgh, and even had brought a case against the craft for preventing this. It was a part of a freeman's oath to uphold the authority of the craft and the burgh. Hence to appeal beyond them to a nobleman who had no jurisdiction within their bounds, whatever he might have in the state, was a fault requiring punishment. This took the form of a heavy fine—20^l, but in the end Gall got his way and was allowed to take Ottingar into his own service. Shortly after this episode he was permitted to book his two sons, Edmund and George, as apprentices for five years. This short apprenticeship was, it was stated, to form no precedent, being done solely because of his desire 'to keip his said children in subiectioun and to stay and hinder theme to pas from him and to serve straingers without his consent.' The precaution was vain, for neither lad ever became freeman of the craft. Another English boy, Gilbert, son of William Stansfield, sometime master of Edinburgh's Correction House at Paul's Work, became apprentice to Robert Shepherd, being that goldsmith's second apprentice.

Both of Shepherd's apprentices were duly admitted to their assay, Banks in spite of the alleged irregularity noted above. He was given for assay a silver tankard and a good 'woop' ring; Stansfield had to make a gold ring and a silver salt-cellar. Both paid dues as unfreemen and had to find caution of 500 merks to do good work 'answerable to all challenges,' a phrase not common to the conditions imposed on other entrants. That Stansfield, as well as Banks, was in a peculiar position is proved by the Council act recording

his entrance as burghess, where it is stated that he had served only two years out of the five of his apprenticeship with his deceased master and could find no other to serve within the bounds. These circumstances must account for his being compelled to find caution for doing good work.

Harry Cockie, despite the way he figured in Gall's complaint, continued a peaceful career in the burgh, figuring frequently as a master throughout the Commonwealth rule, and taking an apprentice, George, son of Alexander Hamilton in Balderstone, who, however, never entered freeman.

Another servant of Cockie, whose engagement was never noted, one Alexander Cross, entered freeman and burghess in 1654, the latter by marriage, showing that he probably was a stranger to the burgh. About the same time Robert Banks incurred two simultaneous fines, one of 30s. and another of 40s. for calling the boxmaster a knave and for saying, in presence of the craft, that he was not fit to be trusted with a 'plack.' It was hard on the boxmaster, whose difficulties in managing the financial affairs of the incorporation were enough. The incident may have been responsible for the fact that Banks did not figure among the masters for four years.

In the same year the Canongate Council were concerned with the appointment of some one to keep their clock in order. Their records give first the name of John Thomson, clock-maker, appointed at a yearly salary of 16^l. He cannot have proved satisfactory, for in the same year John Lorimer was named for the same service. Neither of these is mentioned in the Hammermen's book, but it is fairly safe to assume that they were freemen of the craft.

The average length of life in those days was not long, so that it is hardly surprising to find that Harry Cockie, freeman only in 1643, was dead in 1659, in which year his daughter Janet, by the kindness of the trade, was apprenticed to the 'calling' of stocking-making for one year at a cost of 16^l.

Into this entry may be read the certainty that the goldsmith had died poor, for it was not the custom for daughters of freemen to learn a trade, particularly a trade which was usually reserved for the unemployed poor and the orphan children of the burgh. The usual destiny of a freeman's daughter was to marry; her dowry, or a part of it, being the right she could confer on her husband of freedom with the craft and the burgh. That they did help their husbands in their work is known, also that, left widows, they might carry on the shop and trade and even train apprentices. It may be legitimate to assume even more in the case of Janet Cockie. She was obviously without any means of support, therefore she must have been the last of her family, otherwise she would have been engaged in helping her mother or a brother. But that is a digression, excusable only for the reason that it shows how much may lie behind an apparently simple entry.

From 1660 to 1677 the art seems to have been poorly represented. The entry of one foreigner, John Joannes, goldsmith and jeweller, is noted in 1664. He became master in 1665. Otherwise no one is mentioned. In March 1677 the trade, taking into their consideration the decay of the art and that they ought to encourage strangers to come and exercise the same, admitted Mr. Henry Aldcorne, assay master to the Mint. It is doubtful whether he was ever a working goldsmith, but, from his position, he was doubtless of use to the craft. This admission was followed by two others. Paul Symonds, described as a 'hollacaste,' was given as assay a brass platter for sweetmeats, well chased, and a silver sugar-box. Three months later, both designation and assay were changed. Symonds, called a goldsmith, was invited to make a plain gold ring and a small chased silver dish. In the interval between his two assays, Dalston Ainslie, goldsmith, was admitted, after producing a little silver box and a gold ring jewelled and enamelled. Aldcorne

and Ainslie were elected masters jointly at the following Beltane, and continued to hold office for several years.

A watchmaker, Christopher Ellis, was admitted freeman in 1678, after presenting the assay of a chain and spring for a watch, and another, Thomas Strachan, also described as a watchcase-maker, submitted for his assay a watchcase with shagreen flowers and silver studs and a watch-wheel and key. He entered freeman in 1683. In the same year Michael Ziegler, jeweller, entered the craft, having made for his assay a gold ring with a jewel, enamelled, and a silver dish 'with two lugs.' Though the records of the Hammermen have no further mention of him, his mark, both as goldsmith and as master, is to be found on an old silver communion cup at Flisk. Of another goldsmith, John Petersfield, there is no mention except that he was master with Symonds in 1782.

From that date, or nearly so, the records of the Hammermen cease, but the Council Book takes up the tale with the list of burgesses of the Canongate. No particulars are given beyond the bare entry, and the names are as follows: Louis Justie, jeweller and French Protestant, burgess in 1696; George Hepburn, goldsmith, burgess in 1696; David Dunlop, goldsmith, burgess in 1701; Robert Brown, watch- and clock-maker, burgess in 1703; James Aytoun, jeweller, burgess as prentice to Walter Grahame, burgess, in 1706; Henry Guilmont, watchmaker, burgess in 1712; Patrick Inglis, goldsmith, burgess in 1716; William Berrie, watchmaker, by right of his father in the year 1726-27, James Nicoll and Thomas Hall, watchmakers, burgesses, 1729-30. Even this list shows that all freemen goldsmiths' names were not recorded, since two, Walter Grahame and William Berrie's father, must have belonged to the craft.

With regard to the administration of the art very little is known, particularly as to the important point of the assaying of the precious metals used, and the part which the master for the year took in that work. The only allusion to

it, noted above, was the act commanding Henry Cockie to inspect the quality of work produced, and it does not indicate whether the powers conferred upon him were exceptional or not.¹ The statutes of the craft contain two acts respecting the goldsmiths. One, No. 57, was apparently directed against their acquiring and melting down stolen goods. It enacted that no silver-plate was to be received, sold or melted down without certain knowledge of the owners. Any one who bought silver, melted, defaced or otherwise suspicious, would be held as a receiver of stolen goods. This act was to apply particularly to workers in gold and silver wire or makers of gold and silver lace. The latter clause is an interesting reminder of the fact that, in the old days, gold and silver lace really were made with the precious metals, and that worn lace was worth unpicking for the gold and silver wire to be found in it. Another act, No. 59, was even more severe: it forbade the melting or selling of any silver till it had been examined. The fine for contravention of the act was the unusually high one of 50¹¹.

IV

Lorimers, though their art was not strong numerically, frequently follow the goldsmiths in the list of masters. They were concerned exclusively with the ironwork for horse harness, bits, stirrups and spurs. Simple in appearance, the account of the assays show that the art was in reality a skilled one. In 1630 John Lorymer petitioned to be made freeman of the craft and was set to make a French bit 'haifing ane cheik of the conytabill with ane peir secreit in the mouth,' a pair of stirrups 'barrit in the bottome,' and a pair of French spurs. In 1660 the prescribed assay was a chain-bit, a pair of long-necked spurs and a pair of stirrup-irons. The history of the art, as recounted in the records, is uneventful, destitute

¹ The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were granted power to inspect, try and regulate all gold and silver wares not only in the city, but in all parts of Scotland.

of any of the little quarrels which were so frequent among others, while one lorimer, Andrew Wilkie, appears to have been much respected, as he was deacon of the Hammermen repeatedly.

That saddlers should be included among the Hammermen seems inappropriate. In the days when complete armour was a necessity for knights and gentlemen, saddles also were made partially of steel, but in the days of our chronicle such times had passed. Still, the saddlers' art was included with those of the other smiths. The descriptions given in the assays do little to show the material of which the saddles were made. In 1621 George Swentoun had to make a man's saddle and a French saddle 'both perfytlie utred and covered.' In 1631 the affair of William Sergeand, Englishman, casts a little light on the problem. Sergeand was admitted freeman for life, 'for dressing and trimming chairs, stools and such without prejudice to the saddler craft.' Such was the division of labour in those days that it is probable that the Englishman's work was confined to the finishing and trimming with brass-headed nails, characteristic of the period. But the line of demarcation was a narrow one, and Sergeand ungratefully deserted the Hammermen for the Wrights after a lawsuit which put the craft to considerable expense. An entry of 1632 gives the assay as a man's and a woman's saddle. In 1647, after the plague, during which the art lost many members, one saddler was admitted after producing only a man's saddle, with the careful stipulation that this should form no precedent. A complaint was made in 1651, probably still a consequence of the scarcity of masters in the art, that one saddler had been buying saddles from unfreemen and not paying a proper price. He was fined and ordered to give back all as yet unsold or to make 'a compleit bargane for buyeing of them.' One exception from the usual assay is found in 1680 when David Denoon, younger, was ordered to make a 'breasted pad saddle.'

By the seventeenth century, whatever the earlier connotation of the name, an armourer was either a maker of swords or one who cleaned and repaired them. It is interesting to note how this art flourished at a time when swords were largely imported from abroad, and the possession of an 'Andrea Ferrara' or other such blade seems to have become almost a commonplace. Still, a sword remained part of the ordinary equipment of a burgher, and it is probable that not all could afford or had opportunity to procure a foreign one. So the armourers of the Canongate had work to do, though it may be significant that their art had no masters after the year 1680.

The first assay noted, in 1616, is described as a mounted sword. An entry of eight years later required a 'perfytlie finished' sword. In 1642 a broadsword is specified. A few years later the assay sword had to have a 'Highland' guard or an open guard. But apprentices to the craft became few and gradually disappeared entirely, and it is to be presumed that the practice of that art died out in the Canongate.

The trade of sword-slipper, mentioned in the Burgh Court Book in 1574, may well have been allied to the armourer craft, for members dealt in the buying and selling of swords, and the steel bonnet-makers, noted in the same book in 1573, must also have been an old branch of the art.

At what time the use of firearms became usual in Scotland cannot be stated definitely, but the mention of them becomes more frequent in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Towards its close 'dags' or pistols had become an amusement to the young men of Edinburgh, who practised shooting on the streets, once at least with fatal consequences. In 1569 the Burgh Court Book of the Canongate records a case brought against one Thomas Murdoch by David Strang, presumably a gunsmith, for repairs to a 'culverin.' A 'dagmaker' is mentioned in 1575, and again in 1576 one John Kello is so named. His descendants represented the art in the burgh.

Another, Henry Warno, or Vernour, brought a case before the bailies for the restoration of a pair of pistols or their price, which was 6^u 10s. John Castellaw, again the name of a family which recurs, sat on an assize in 1577.

It was a modern art, and therefore it is not surprising that the gunsmiths were strong in numbers, particularly since the musket began to replace the Jeddart stave and spear in the equipment of a burgher for his duty of watching as well as that of a soldier. And the seventeenth century, though hostilities never affected Edinburgh and the Canongate so directly as in the preceding hundred years, yet made military equipment a necessity, for the fact that recruits were sought for the Thirty Years' War, the Bishops' Wars, Montrose's campaign and the Civil War in England caused all inhabitants to have a measure of preparedness for defence, if not for attack. Hence the gunsmiths flourished, and their masters were frequently elected deacons.

The assay is called usually a 'dag' or pistol, but occasionally is described more minutely. In 1627 the 'scarmish' work of a hagbut was ordered. In 1629 the pistol is described as an 'iron' one, and a year later as a plain iron pistol with a plain timber stock, showing that the weapon had to be complete, in spite of the fact that the making of the stock did not belong to the art. In 1638 the pistol had to be provided with an iron 'ratche.'

As a new part of the craft, the gunsmiths met with difficulties which frequently degenerated into quarrels. In 1626 the gunsmiths lodged a complaint before the deacon against a man who persisted in buying and taking work which was their right, and (a most serious matter) refusing to enter freeman. The matter was judged so important that it was remitted to the bailies, and the man imprisoned in the Tolbooth till he should find caution to cease from the trade, while the brethren of the art were bound over neither to work for him, nor to give him work, nor to allow him to

work till he was made free. Indeed, he was described as an 'infamous person.' Another complaint of the same year probably was due to a shortage of workmen, for James Naismith was accused by the other gunsmiths of taking two unfreemen to work in his booth. Naismith first acknowledged his fault, but proved refractory and refused to pay his fine or 'come in will' of the craft. Wherefore they promised 'of ane consent not to keip society with the said James Naismyth in drinking borowing or lenning with him till his incumming to the craft.' But it was a serious matter to defy all the brethren, and ten days of isolation brought the man to his senses. A third complaint is noteworthy. David Fender, dagmaker, invited to enter freeman, refused and was forbidden to work. He was summoned again a month later and retorted with another refusal, accompanied with 'shamefull and unreverend speiches.' Whereupon the craft took steps to shut his booth. Four months later Fender is found submitting an assay and being admitted freeman. It sounds an ordinary quarrel, but the Council Book supplies the reason, an exceptional one, for the man's apparent obstinacy. In August 1626, two months before the complaint was brought against him, Fender had been admitted a burgess of the Canongate at the request of the Earl of Wintoun, and evidently had assumed that his patron and his burgess-ship were enough to absolve him from the expense and responsibilities of belonging to the Hammermen. But the craft always won in the end.

The art was spreading, however, and not only in the Canongate, for in 1634 the deacon, masters and brethren of the gunsmiths forbade any dagmaker in the Calton working in their liberties. And in 1651 it was enacted that no gunsmith might work with any wright or gunstock-maker till the matter had been considered further. It was evidently the usual difficulty of the monopoly of certain types of work. A gunsmith might not work in wood, even though it was of great consequence to him how the stock of his pistol or

musket was made. Unfortunately, the settlement of the affair is not recorded, strangely enough so far as the Hammermen's records are concerned, for they were unusually good in following to a conclusion all matters brought before them. From the Council Book it appears that the gunstocker became a specialist craftsman, sometimes uniting his work with the almost obsolete trade of bowyer. Further notices of the art are too numerous to give in detail, though one instance may be given of the way foreigners were adopted in the burgh, for James Gacoin, Frenchman gunsmith, was received burgess in 1695, as recommended by the ministers. He was probably a Huguenot refugee like a goldsmith of the same period.

V

At a time when every one carried about with him a 'whinger,' it is little wonder that the cutler's art flourished. Indeed, from the terms of many of the assays, it seems probable that most people carried both a whinger and a 'pair of knives.' The former figures only too frequently in the records of the Canongate, whose inhabitants were apt to finish a quarrel, begun with insults 'not worthie to be rehearsed,' by betaking themselves to their whingers, with results sometimes fatal and invariably unpleasant to one, if not both, of the parties involved. As an art so necessary and so undeniably old, references are found to it often from the earliest available date.

The assay varied considerably. In 1613 William Whyte, later repeatedly a deacon and boxmaster, made a two-edged whinger which was duly approved. Three years later, the assay given was a 'furnesit cornellit quhinger,' and in 1617 a furnished four-edged whinger was set to be made by another cutler, described two years later as 'four-swairit.' A description given in 1623 is suggestive: John Kello was ordered to make an edged blade 'squared at the point.'

D

The insistence on the squared point may have been to make the long knife less dangerous as a weapon in the quarrels noted above. In 1633 the assay was extended to include a four-edged whinger with 'knyves with irne heftis,' and a few years later the description is yet more precise, a four-cornered whinger 'hard rigging edged,' a pair of iron-hafted knives and a bodkin. Possibly because cutlers were plentiful the assays became more exacting, and in 1646 the candidate for admission was invited to make, besides the whinger, a pair of iron-hafted knives with pear heads and pillar hafts. The applicant was not an inhabitant of the Canongate, and the severity of the test may have been merely because he was a stranger. In 1647, the year after the plague, the assay was made less rigorous, the candidate being ordered to make only a 'foure-cornellit whinger with hard "rig" and edge.' An assay of 1682 was more exacting, being a complete mounted whinger with steel 'wirrells,' two knives and a fork.

The history of the cutlers is, on the whole, uneventful. The Burgh Court Book notes in 1575 an action brought against Andrew Lamb, cutler, for payment to Helene Ra and Constant Brakanrig, her husband, of 40s. and a pair of knives, in complete payment of the sum of 4¹¹ and the said knives, promised by Lamb for instruction by Helene Ra in the gilding of whingers and knives—an interesting episode in so far as it shows that women took a share in the work of the art. In 1577 two cutlers appear in a case of assault, 'blood & mutilation,' but the matter was postponed upon the plea of the defender that the dittay was incorrect and that he had not been warned legally to make his defence. The fellow-craftsmen were allowed a fortnight to try to reach an agreement: it is probable that they did so, as the case does not recur. In 1620 the masters of the cutlers brought a complaint before the deacon that one of the armourers was 'dressing' whingers and doing other things belonging to their calling. The complaint was found to be proved and the armourer

fined. Three years later a complaint, the substance of which was to be repeated, was brought against a member of the art. He had sold 'insufficient' knives and had not put his mark on them. The matter of marking appears to have been one in which the craftsmen were remiss, and, being a protection against bad workmanship, was of importance. There is, unfortunately, no indication as to the nature of the mark.

An art which is named separately must, however, have been closely allied to that of the cutlers, the sheath- or case-makers. These made the sheaths for knives which, in that day, were not folding. References to them are few, though one occurs in 1570. Allusion is made to the assay in 1616 when Charles Strudgeon, casemaker, was ordered to make a whinger sheath and a 'penner' sheath or pen-case.

The art of the locksmith is another proof of the minute divisions in the Hammermen's craft. The locksmiths were a fairly numerous body, for applications for freedom and apprenticeships are on the whole frequent. The assay is described as a plain lock, a lock and key, a chest lock and key. The art suffered considerably during the plague, and at least one stranger was admitted for payment because 'that trade is weak in the liberty.' In 1651 the index to some statutes not recorded at length alludes to an act for terminating the 'long contraversie betwixt the airt of Blaksmiths and the other airt and trade of loksmiths.' It is a matter for regret that the subject is pursued no further, since it would have furnished another illustration of the embarrassingly close connection between the different arts.¹

VI

The pewterers enjoyed a certain importance in a day when china, pottery and glass were to a great extent the

¹ For an earlier controversy in Edinburgh, see the protocol book of Gilbert Grote (Scottish Record Society, No. 287).

monopoly of the wealthy, and when most household utensils and measures were made of pewter. Most inventories of possessions or heirship goods give pewter plates and trenchers, quart, pint and mutchkin stoups of the same, as well as salt-cellars, dishes and basins. The assay, therefore, ran along these lines: a pint stoup, a plate, a basin, varied by a basin, a laver, a stoup and a plate, with, occasionally, other articles too domestic to be named.

It was an art which required constant supervision. The magistrates of Edinburgh had trouble with their pewterers for adulterating their metal and making inferior articles, and the same offence appears in the Canongate, with the difference that the Hammermen of that burgh were competent to deal with the abuse unaided. One case, brought before the craft in 1666, is notable in respect of the severity of the penalty. At a time when 40s. Scots was a usual fine for most offences, George Borthwick, pewterer, was fined 10 merks for selling insufficient work, and threatened, should he offend again, with a fine of 20^u Scots. But the case proved no deterrent to others, as is evidenced by statute 72, dated 1676. It rehearsed the harm done to purchasers, not only by the 'insufficiency' of workmanship, but also by the adulterated metal, and attempted to meet the difficulty by the appointment of two special assay masters, with power to confiscate imperfect work and to fine up to 10 merks for each conviction.

The coppersmiths or braziers are noted surprisingly seldom in a day when copper or brass was used for pots and pans and larger household utensils, such as the brewing cauldrons, found in almost every inventory of plenishings. In some way, never precisely defined, they seem to have been associated with the whiteironmen, judging by the assay given to a coppersmith in 1616 of a lantern of white-iron and a cast buckle of brass. But another assay in the same year is even more perplexing, a brass buckle and an arrow-head. Further difficulty in defining the scope of the art is met

with in a complaint by Thomas Forster, coppersmith, against a tinker of Pleasance. Sentence was given against the latter that he must enter as a freeman of the craft or remove from the liberties of the burgh. In 1676 the assay for a coppersmith and brazier was a copper kettle, holding six pints, and a hanging brass chandelier 'of the best form.' Another man was invited to make a 'stoving pan' of copper and a brass standing candlestick, while, still in the same year, Robert Rankein, whiteironman, had to make a lantern and a sugar-box, the metal of which was not specified.

There were other subdivisions of the craft, but they were few in number and probably attached to the art to which they had the closest resemblance. The harnessmaker for coaches and litters, admitted in 1628 to an assay of 'tua poale peaces,' promised to do nothing to hurt the saddlers, and so probably counted as one of their number. But shortly after his admission the saddlers complained that he was working at their trade, contrary to his act of admission. The same man in 1643 was the first to complain that another coach-harnessmaker, an Englishman, was plying his trade in the burgh and, anxious to retain his monopoly of work (for which there cannot yet have been a great demand), promised 20^u Scots towards the expenses of prosecuting the intruder. A beltmaker is noted in 1672, whose assay was 'a sufficient and complete belt for a man and a harness for a horse'—another instance of the baffling interconnection of crafts and arts.

In 1635 David Law petitioned to be received freeman as the only ship and boat worker in the regality. His assay was a door hook and band, a bolt and a ring for a ship. But it is apparent that his work was included with the blacksmiths, for two years later one member of a family of North Leith blacksmiths had a similar assay. Another family in North Leith were hookmakers. James Mure was admitted in 1626, paying unfreemen's dues. In 1655 Matthew

Mure was admitted to his assay, a pair of each sort of clasps and eyes for men and women, and a set of six fish-hooks, large and small. Eleven years later, his apprentice submitted an assay of six fish-hooks and a pair of clasps and eyes for women. There is no mention of others engaged in that work, and Matthew Mure, for many years one of the craft masters, must have had light duties as regarded the inspection of work.

Another isolated trade was that of engraver. Francis Vanheggin, evidently a foreigner, was admitted freeman in 1669, after submitting a sundial, a sealing 'stap' and a pair of book-clasps. But his son entered another branch of the craft after his father's death by becoming apprentice to a gunsmith, showing that the demand for such work was small. Vanheggin is described in the Council Book as a printer-graver on the occasion of his being made burgess by right of his wife, a woman of the burgh. Another trade, doubtless allied to this, is noted in the same book in 1701, when Louis Quensay (probably Quesney), stamper, was received burgess.

Lastly comes the plumber, the exact nature of whose work is not noted, though it may be assumed as far from possessing the modern connotation. The trade is not mentioned in the Book of the Hammermen, and it is only in the acts of the Council that Alexander Isset and William Lindsey, plumbers, are noted as entering burgesses in 1676 and 1725 respectively.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

SOCIAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of public assemblies in Scotland for the purposes of dancing and other forms of entertainment has been partially dealt with in various books on social life in general, but there does not appear to exist any work of a comprehensive nature. The present article makes no claim to fill the blank, its purpose being simply to give some account of public social gatherings of polite society in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, with special reference to what was known as 'the Assembly.'

I

In the period referred to, entertainments common to the *beau monde* throughout Britain took various forms and were known by such names as 'the ball,' 'the assembly,' 'the masquerade,' 'the ridotto,' and 'the rout.' While most of these had elements in common, they differed from each other in certain details. The ball, so well known even in our time as a party met together for dancing, needs no comment. On the other hand, the assembly, the masquerade, and the ridotto included more or less what was known as a ball, although they had other features as well.

The word 'assembly,' as is well known, is used in various connections. In Scotland it is chiefly familiar in its reference to the supreme court of the Church of Scotland, but in France it is used in a variety of senses, the best known to us probably being the National Assembly. The sense, however, in which

it is here understood is as a meeting for entertainment. This use of the word appears to have had a very early origin. Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure*, writes :—

'My holy sir, none better knows than you
How I have ever lived the life removed,
And held in idle price to haunt assemblies
Where youth, and cost, and witless bravery keeps.'

The assembly of Shakespeare's time must, however, have differed greatly from that of the eighteenth century with its imported continental dances. The principal objects of assemblies in the eighteenth century were dancing and card-playing, to which sometimes were added conversation and gallantry. Some assemblies existed solely for dancing, others for card-playing, and some for both dancing and card-playing. Conversation and gallantry were applicable to all. The development of the assembly in England and its subsequent extension to Scotland is too large a subject to be discussed here, but it may be stated that after Queen Anne went to Bath in 1703 to take the waters and the place became a resort for fashionable people, a most famous assembly was established there. This was chiefly the work of the celebrated man of fashion, Beau Nash, who in 1705 entered on his brilliant career at Bath. The proceedings began in the evening at six o'clock and ended at eleven; the minuet usually lasting two hours and being followed by country dances. About nine o'clock there was an interval for tea and conversation, and precisely at eleven Nash, by holding up his finger, gave the sign to the musicians to stop playing.

The masquerade is also of remote origin. It took many forms, and in the late eighteenth century was known sometimes as the masked ball. It lent itself to pageantry and was often accompanied by revelry. So great indeed were the abuses connected with it in France, that in 1535 it was forbidden to be practised in that country. In the latter half

of the eighteenth century the masquerade had a great vogue in London, and probably reached its height there with the erection, in 1771, of the Pantheon.

The *ridotto* again is of Italian origin, the word being derived from a Latin word meaning a retreat. John Florio (1553-1625) in his *Dictionary* defines the *ridotto* as 'a home or retiring place,' also as 'an ordinary or tabling house . . . where good company doeth meete.' But in later days the word described an entertainment which differed greatly from Florio's definition. The eighteenth-century *ridotto* was 'a musical entertainment consisting of singing and dancing, in the latter of which the whole company joined.' One authority states that it was introduced into England in 1720, but Charles Burney, in his *History of Music*, assigns a later date. He writes: 'In 1732 a new species of entertainment was advertised at the Opera House called a *ridotto*. It was opened with twenty-four select songs which lasted about two hours, after which the company passed over a bridge from the pit to the stage, where a Duke and Duchess led up the ball.' On 28th May 1786, at an entertainment at Vauxhall Gardens to celebrate the jubilee of that institution, a great *ridotto* was organised at which two-thirds of the company appeared in masks and dominos. This form of entertainment was known to Byron, and in *Beppo* the poet furnishes a description which certainly does not lack clearness :—

'They went to the *Ridotto* ;—'tis a hall
Where people dance, and sup, and dance again :
Its proper name, perhaps, were a masqued ball ;
But that's of no importance to my strain.
'Tis (on a smaller scale) like our Vauxhall,
Excepting that it can't be spoilt by rain.'

The *rout*, equivalent to the French *raout*, was held in private houses, and was really a large evening party or reception. Fielding writes of one of his female characters going to 'a *rout* where she spent two hours,' and Smollett,

in *Humphry Clinker*, says of Lady Greskin in London, 'She keeps a small route [*sic*] at her own house, never exceeding ten or a dozen tables, but these are frequented by the best company in town.'

The most popular dances at the assemblies in Britain during the eighteenth century were minuets and country dances. The minuet is believed to have originated in France and to have been introduced into England about the end of the seventeenth century. In this country it became the dance *par excellence* at all assemblies. One of the characters in Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode* asks: 'And what new Minouets have you brought over with you! their Minouets are a miracle?' The country dance of this country had its equivalent in the *contredanse* of France, but its origin is ascribed to England. After the stately and beautiful measure of the minuet, the sprightly nature of country dances made a strong contrast, and gave room for youthful exuberance. About the middle of the century Scottish dances were becoming popular, and in 1765 one Walsh published nine books of *Caledonian Dances*. Nevertheless the minuet still had a firm hold on public favour, and hundreds were composed.

II

When James, Duke of York, as Commissioner for his brother Charles II., took up residence at Holyroodhouse in 1679, together with his Duchess and the Princess Anne, many festivities were held at the gay court. Among the various forms of amusement none was so much frowned upon by the Calvinists as the masquerade. In 1705 the first attempt, so far as is known, was made to constitute a fashionable club in Edinburgh. This coterie of ladies and gentlemen is said to have owed its inception mainly to the exertions of John, third Earl of Selkirk, who was a notable beau. The company who united to form this club came to be known as the

Horn Order.¹ The story goes that after they began to meet together, a horn spoon was used for some purpose at one of their gatherings. It then occurred to them that they should adopt a horn spoon as their badge and call their club the 'Order of the Horn.' It is said that their festivities included a species of masquerade, and that certain sections of the community, rightly or wrongly, put an evil construction on the proceedings of the club. Whether this is an accurate account of the origin of the 'Order of the Horn' or not, the fact remains that the term was used to indicate promiscuous dancing.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the bad roads and insufficient means of travel offered little attraction for journeys into England. At the same time, there were always a certain number of travellers who made the grand tour, and accounts of the gaieties at the French Court could not fail to reach Edinburgh. There were also occasional visitors from Scotland to such places as Bath, and it is instructive to note that the year (1705) in which Nash went to Bath and instituted his assembly, is also that in which the Order of the Horn is said to have been founded. By this time Edinburgh society showed a tendency to fall into line with that of other places in favouring greater freedom in the organisation of public entertainments.

Maitland in his *History of Edinburgh* says that 'the first assembly in Edinburgh was set up about the year 1710,' while Arnot, the other local historian, states that 'a regular assembly was first held in Edinburgh about the year 1710.' Neither Maitland nor Arnot gives any authority for their statements. As, however, the former historian was born in 1693 and was therefore seventeen when the assembly began, he had certainly opportunities for obtaining correct information. Arnot was born in 1749, i.e. thirty-nine years after the opening of the assembly. While further removed from the event than Mait-

¹ Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1825, vol. ii. p. 263.

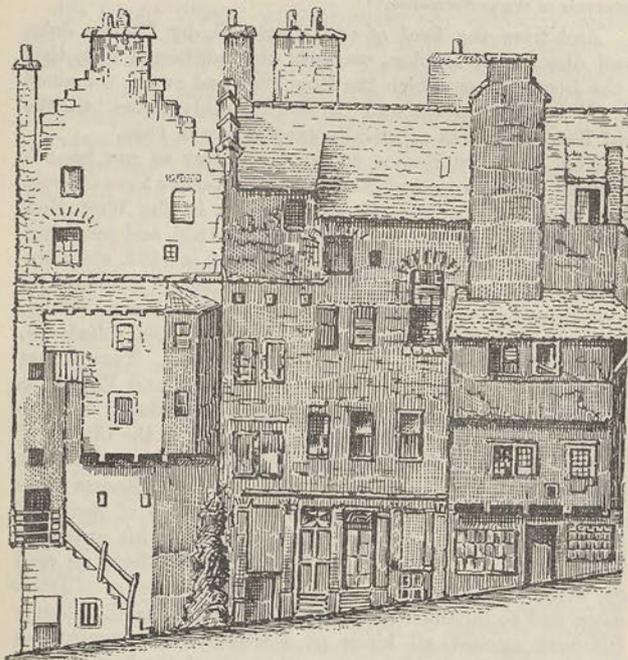
land, he was yet able to mix with the older generation. The Edinburgh newspapers of the early part of that century, with their scanty references to contemporary local history, make, it is true, no mention of such an assembly, but this does not weaken the testimony of Maitland and Arnot. A later authority, Robert Chambers, says, in his *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* (1833), that 'there was nothing like a conventional system of dancing in Edinburgh till the year 1710, when at length a private association was commenced under the name of "The Assembly."'

The building in which tradition says this assembly met still existed when Chambers wrote. In his *Traditions* he thus describes its location: 'At the first angle of the Bow, on the west side of the street, is a tall, picturesque-looking house, which tradition points to as having been the first place where the fashionables of Edinburgh held their dancing assemblies.' Sir Daniel Wilson, the author of *Memorials of Edinburgh*, who saw the building removed, describes it as 'directly facing the low archway leading into Major Weir's Close.' He further states that it was described in title-deeds as 'that tenement of land on the west side of the transe of the Over Bow, betwixt the land of umq¹⁶ Lord Ruthven on the north, and the King's auld wall on the south parts.'¹

Chambers again supplements his description by furnishing interesting particulars about the old Assembly Room in the West Bow:—

'Over the door is a well-cut sculpture of the arms of the Somerville family, together with the initials P. J. and J. W. . . . The architrave also bears a legend (the title of the eleventh psalm): IN DOMINO CONFIDO. Ascending by the narrow spiral stair, we come to the second floor, now occupied by a dealer in wool, but presenting such appearances as leave no doubt that it once consisted of a single, lofty wainscoted room, with a carved oak ceiling. . . . There, in that little side-room, formed by an outshot from the building,

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 1891, vol. ii. p. 162.



OLD ASSEMBLY ROOM, WEST BOW
From a Pencil Sketch by Robert Chambers
(The south gable is brought forward on the left)

did the merry sons of Euterpe retire to rosin their bows during the intervals of the performance.'¹

And from the *Book of Old Edinburgh*, by Charles John and Alison Hay Dunlop, we learn this additional fact, that 'the iron hook on which the Bow Port had swung remained firmly battened into the wall' of the Assembly Room 'till the old Bow Street was practically swept away in 1836.'

The Assembly Rooms occupied, as near as can be calculated, the site on which now stands St. John's Free Church. The excellent drawings of the buildings in the West Bow made by Thomas Hamilton, architect, in 1830, and published by the Architectural Institute of Scotland in 1862, show the Assembly Rooms with the adjacent buildings. There is also a picturesque view from the pencil of Sir Daniel Wilson, which is reproduced in his *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*. Robert Chambers also made a pencil sketch. Though not differing essentially from those of Hamilton and Wilson, it has the charm of novelty, and is here reproduced by permission of Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club.

The author of the *Traditions of Edinburgh* writes that on one occasion the company at the Assembly Rooms were assaulted by an infuriated rabble and the door of their hall perforated with red-hot spits. He quotes as his authority John Jackson's *History of the Scottish Stage*, where we read (p. 418) that 'so violent were the enthusiasts even of latter days, and so inflamed the minds of their zealous and gloomy followers against all kinds of meetings for recreation or amusement of a public nature, that about the beginning of this century [the eighteenth], even at an assembly for dancing only, the company were assaulted and the doors of the building perforated with red-hot spits.' Jackson (who omits to mention the source of his information) does not say that the incident referred to the 1710 Assembly, although Chambers assumes that it does.

¹ *Traditions of Edinburgh*, new ed., p. 43.

III

Sir Daniel Wilson, without citing any authority, states that the Assembly continued to be held in the building in the West Bow till about 1720,¹ but the evidence submitted in this article rather suggests that the Assembly begun in 1710 had ceased, and that a new one was founded in 1723 in premises behind the Old Assembly Close.

From the *Caledonian Mercury* of 4th November 1723 we learn that 'The Edinburgh Assembly is to begin on Thursday next, the 7th inst., in the great hall in Patrick Steil's Close, and tickets are given at Mr. Robertson's, Bookseller, opposite to the Cross.' There is no evidence that this Assembly had any connection with the one in the West Bow. On the contrary, it will be seen, from the documents about to be quoted, that the Assembly then opened was regarded as a fresh venture. The proposal to establish this new Assembly had evidently been made public early in 1723, and had met with some adverse criticism. It was as a counterblast to puritanic opposition that Allan Ramsay, about the end of June, published his poem entitled *The Fair Assembly*. Prefixed to the piece was a short address to the 'Right Honourable Ladies' (who were to control the Assembly), from which the following passage is abstracted:—

'How much is our whole nation indebted to your Ladyships for your reasonable and laudable undertaking to introduce politeness among us, by a cheerful entertainment, which is highly for the advantage of both body and mind, in all that is becoming in the brave and beautiful. . . . It is amazing to imagine that any are so destitute of good sense and manners as to drop the least unfavourable sentiment against the Fair Assembly. . . . Noble and worthy Ladies, whatever is under your auspicious conduct must be improving and beneficial in every respect. May all the fair daughters copy after such virtuous and delightful patterns as you have been, and continue

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 1891, vol. ii. p. 163.

to be! That you may be long a blessing to the rising generation, is the sincere prayer of,

'May it please your Ladyships,
'Your most faithful and humble servant,
'ALLAN RAMSAY.'

The poem is a long one in praise of dancing, and closes with two stanzas in support of the coming Assembly.

Shortly after the Assembly began there was published an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in the City: with an Answer thereto, Concerning the New Edinburgh Assembly*. On the title-page are several texts from Scripture. It begins:—

'SIR,—I'm inform'd That there is lately a Society erected in your Town, which I think is call'd an Assembly. The speculations concerning this Meeting have of late exhausted the most Part of publick Conversation in this Country-side. Some are pleased to say That 'tis only designed to cultivate polite Conversation, and genteel Behaviour among the better Sort of Folks and to give young People an Opportunity of accomplishing themselves in both; while others are of Opinion, That it will have a quite different Effect and tend only to vitiate and deprave the Minds and Inclinations of the younger Sort. I happen'd the other day to meet with a Gentleman who had been lately in Town, and, among other Things, I presum'd to enquire his thoughts of this New Assembly; he was pleas'd to tell me That the People in Town were as widely different in their Opinions about it as we are in the Country; some approving, others disapproving of it, But that for his Part, he believed it would prove a Machine of Luxury to soften and effeminate the Minds of our young Nobility and Gentry, and that in some measure it had already this effect That they, instead of employing themselves in the useful Arts and Sciences that might some Time render them capable to serve themselves, their Friends and their Country, now made it their greatest Care who should be best equip'd and dress'd for an Assembly Night, and to strain their Fancies to invent some agreeable Love Tattle to tell the Belle Creatures whom they shall happen most to admire in the Meeting.'

All this and much more our pamphleteer professes to have heard regarding the Assembly, whose primary object 'was

to afford some ladies an Opportunity to alter the Station that they had been long faithfully continued in, and to set off others as they should prove ripe for the Market.'

The reply to this letter extends to forty-six pages of print, and deals mainly with the objections which might be urged against the Assembly. 'Tis observed,' says this rambling epistle, 'that our streets, which used for ordinary to be tolerably quiet after 10 of the clock at Night, are crowded with multitudes of vagrant persons; yea, some people have difficulty in getting their children and servants restrained from going abroad at unseasonable hours to see the dismissing of the Assembly.'

Amongst those who greatly deprecated the revival of promiscuous dancing was Patrick Walker, the Covenanting hagiographer, who, in the early years of the new Assembly's history, had his residence at Bristo Port. As he was born in 1681, he must have had recollections of the 'Order of the Horn,' and judging the new enterprise to be of the same character, strenuously opposed it. 'Some years ago,' he says in his Postscript to his *Life of Peden*, published in 1724, 'we had a profane obscene meeting called "The Horn Order"; and now we have got a new Assembly and publick meeting called "Love for Love."'¹

That the Assembly with its manifold attractions was the theme of many a gossip epistle in those long vanished days can well be believed. In *Social Life in Former Days, chiefly in the Province of Moray*, by Captain E. Dunbar Dunbar (1865), appears a letter from Miss Anne Stuart, niece of James, eighth Earl of Moray, which affords an informative account of the Assembly. Writing from Donibristle on 28th January 1723 to Mrs. Dunbar at Muirton, Miss Stuart says:—

'They have got an assembly at Edinburgh where every Thursday they meet and dance from four o'clock to eleven at night; it is half-a-

¹ Patrick Walker's *Six Saints of the Covenant*, with Introduction by D. Hay Fleming, vol. i. p. 160.

crown the ticket, and whatever tea, coffee, chocolate, biscuit, etc., they call for, they must pay as the managers direct; and they are the Countess of Panmure, Lady Newhall, the President's Lady,¹ and the Lady Drummelzier. The ministers are preaching against it, and say it will be another horn order: it is an assembly for dancing only. Lord Crighton gave a ball lately, where there was a vast many ladies—Peggie Bell was queen.²

The evidence cited shows that the Assembly of 1723² was not a continuation of one that already existed, but an entirely new venture. This is corroborated by Chambers, who, in *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (vol. iii. p. 480), writes: 'A symptom of the gradual softening away of the sombre habits of the people was exhibited in the earlier part of this year (1723) in the commencement of what was called *The Assembly* in Edinburgh, by which was meant an arrangement for a weekly meeting of the younger people of both sexes, for the purpose of dancing.' Although the Assembly was strongly developed on the social side, it is a fact that it was organised by a company of philanthropic ladies, and that one of its objects was the provision of help for the poor and the sick in Edinburgh. The moving spirit in the promotion of this Assembly was doubtless the Countess of Panmure, who was a notable society leader. Miss Stuart does not mention Lady Orbiston as one of the Directresses, but it will be seen from what follows that she also assisted in originating the Assembly. It was the practice for the Directresses to wear a badge, in token of their office, on the evenings on which they presided. One of these is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. It bears the date 1724, and is inscribed with the names of Lady Drumelzier and Lady Orbiston. Why, when there were five Lady Directresses, the names of only two are placed on

¹ Lady North Berwick.

² In the *Caldwell Papers*, Miss Mure mentions that 'about '24 a weekly assembly for Dancing was set up in Edinburgh,' thus confirming what has already been stated.

the badge, is not apparent, but possibly there were other badges.

The Assembly of 1723 began, as we have seen, 'in Patrick Steil's Close' (afterwards and still known as Old Assembly Close). The hall stood on ground behind the tenement which fronts the High Street between Borthwick's Close and Steil's Close. In the seventeenth century the site was occupied by the town mansion of Lord Durie, President of the Court of Session, the close being then called Durie's Close. It is not known when Lord Durie's mansion was demolished, but on its site was erected a tenement which is referred to in an Instrument of Sasine dated 1723 as 'that big hall or great room known by the name of the assembly house being part of the new great stone tenement of land lately built.' Elsewhere it is described as 'a great hall or room in the great stone tenement built by William Smellie, Henry Watson, and James Mack on the east side of Borthwick's Close.'

When Edward Burt was in Edinburgh in 1724 he attended the Assembly, and, in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London*, jotted down his impressions. One thing that struck him was the many pretty women of distinction. Nowhere had he seen such an array of beauty. Burt is also illuminating as regards the hostility meted out to the Assembly at its inception. He tells his friend that 'some of the ministers published their warnings and admonitions against promiscuous dancing; and in one of the printed papers which was cried about the streets, it was said that the devils are particularly busy on such occasions.' Then he adds: 'The ministers lost ground to their great mortification; for the most part of the ladies turned rebels to their remonstrances notwithstanding the frightful danger.' Of those who frequented the Assembly he writes: 'I do not indeed remember there was much disturbance at the institution of the ball or assembly, because that meeting is chiefly composed of people of distinction;

and none are admitted but such as have at least a just title to gentility, except strangers of good appearance. And if by chance any others intrude they are expelled upon the spot by order of the directrice or governess.'

In Burt's *Letters* we have the testimony of an eye-witness, and in so far as it was that of a keen observer, it may be assigned a certain value. The unfortunate thing is that there are no minutes or other records for the thirteen years during which the Assembly met in Steil's Close. As we saunter down the Old Assembly Close and view the place where the building stood (the site is now occupied by a disused Heriot's School), we may try to visualise the scene on an Assembly night. As the hour of meeting approaches a steady stream of 'sedans' enters the close bearing the youth and beauty of Edinburgh, followed by gallant partners for the dance. When all have arrived, the doors are closed, and the Directress in charge for the evening gives the signal for the opening of the minuet. From four o'clock till eleven, with an interval for refreshments, the entertainment goes on—first the minuets and then the country dances.

The early history of this Assembly is extremely fragmentary, but interesting sidelights are to be gleaned from occasional references in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury*. In the early thirties, usually at the beginning of November, there appeared an intimation of the date of opening for the season. From the time the Assembly was instituted in 1723, it had evidently been customary to record the meetings and to number them consecutively. For example, the Assembly announced in November 1731 is stated in the newspaper to be No. 205; that in November 1732, No. 229; and that in November 1733, No. 255. From these statements it appears that there were 24 meetings in the session which began on November 1731, and 26 in that which opened in November 1732. The meetings as a rule only took place in the winter

months, and judging from the time at which the session started (usually the second week of November), they would appear to have continued till about the middle of April. In the ten years from 1723 till 1733 there is a record of 255 meetings, giving an average of between 25 and 26 per year, and this calculation exactly agrees with the figures brought out for the two years above referred to.

At this period great efforts were being made to promote the industries of Scotland, and there appears to have been a widespread desire amongst patriotic society ladies to make use of the fabrics manufactured in this country. Indeed, it was the habit to issue directions as to the dresses to be worn. It is therefore interesting to find that the Directresses of the Edinburgh Assembly were keenly alive to the necessity of supporting home industries. For instance, in an advertisement in the newspapers of 15th February 1728,¹ it was intimated that all ladies and gentlemen were expected to come to the Assemblies twice a year dressed entirely in the manufactures of the country, and that 'at all times thereafter no linen or lace be worn in this Assembly but what shall be made in great Britain.'

IV

The tenancy of the premises in Old Assembly Close came to an end in or about 1736. In the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18th May 1736, it was announced that the Assembly to be held on the 25th of that month would be 'in their New Hall behind the City Guard.'² The new premises occupied a site a little farther to the east of those vacated. Situated between Bell's Wynd and Stevenlaw's Close, they were reached by an

¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. vii. p. 26.

² Sir Daniel Wilson, James Grant, Henry Grey Graham, and other modern authorities convey the impression that the new hall was opened in the fifties, but this is obviously erroneous. These writers may have been misled by the fact that the premises were added to during the period mentioned by them.

entry between those closes, thereafter and still known as the New Assembly Close (now 142 High Street).

From 1736 to 1746 the history of the Assembly is somewhat obscure. Whether, after Lady Panmure's death in 1731, the surviving Directresses continued to act, it is impossible to say, but it is clear from the announcements in the newspapers of the period that Lady Orbiston had control of the Assembly Room and that she took an active part in organising assemblies for charitable and other purposes. The Sederunt Books of the Musical Society of Edinburgh (dealt with in another article in this volume) show that on 24th January 1739 the Directors resolved to hold their next concert 'in the Assembly hall' if 'they can obtain the permission of Lady Orbiston.' In February of the same year, under the heading 'By Order of Lady Orbiston,' it was announced that 'the assembly designed to assist the reparation of Peterhead harbour' was 'for good reason' postponed. The following appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 26th February 1740:—

'Sundry Professors and Teachers of the Literary Arts and Sciences in and about Edinburgh having some Years ago signed a Deed of Copartnery in order to establish a Fund for the Subsistence of such of them, their Widows and Orphans, as may fall into decayed Circumstances; Their laudable Design has been communicated to Persons of Distinction, and met with Approbation; The Right Hon. The Lady ORBISTON, at the Desire of the truly Noble the Countess of LAUDERDALE, for encouraging so good an undertaking, has appointed an ASSEMBLY on the 15th of May next. As those Ladies, from a Principle of Humanity truly becoming the Great, have been generously pleased to patronize the same, it is hoped Persons of Distinction and others who have a just Value for Education will be pleased to honour this Assembly with their Presence on that Occasion.'

At the beginning of 1740 the weather was so severe that great hardships were experienced by the poor of the city, and many efforts were made to relieve their distress. Amongst other methods adopted was that of holding an Assembly.

It was arranged for 7th February, the price of tickets being ten shillings and sixpence. Intending subscribers were notified that the proceeds would 'be distributed instantly after the Assembly.' On 25th and 28th February the hall was again used for raising funds for desirable objects—on the former date for a concert organised by the Musical Society of Edinburgh for the Royal Infirmary, and on the latter for an Assembly to raise funds for improving Peterhead harbour.

In 1740, and probably earlier, tickets for the Assemblies were supplied by Gavin Hamilton,¹ at his shop 'opposite to the entry of Parliament Close.' Sometimes the name of the firm of booksellers and publishers (Balfour & Hamilton), of which he was a partner, is given, but more commonly his own. Gavin Hamilton, as will be shown later, took a most prominent part in the Assembly.

The lease which either the original promoters of the Assembly or Lady Orbiston personally had of the new Assembly Room terminated at Whitsunday 1746. This ended the connection of that building with the Assembly which began in 1723. But, as will be shown presently, another Assembly under new management took its place.

The thirties and forties of the eighteenth century saw a great advance in institutions for the poor and the sick. An infirmary was started in Edinburgh in 1729, which in 1736 received a Charter from the Crown, and thereafter became known as 'The Royal Infirmary.' Seven years thereafter another great institution was founded under the

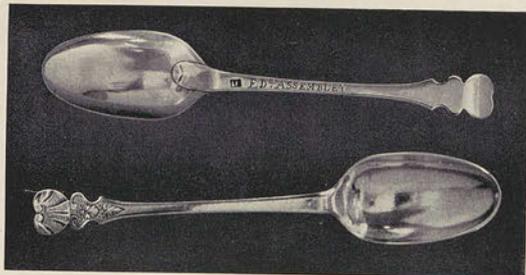
¹ Gavin Hamilton was a son of the Rev. William Hamilton, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, and was born in or about 1704. He became not only an eminent bookseller and publisher, but a distinguished citizen and magistrate. He took an active part in endeavouring to preserve order at the time of the Porteous Riot, and in 1740 'risked his life in quelling a meal mob.' He was not only 'a man of fine taste and high literary and scientific attainments,' but a noted philanthropist. He died on 1st January 1767. See *Short Memoir of Gavin Hamilton, Publisher and Bookseller in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*. It was printed for private circulation in Aberdeen in 1840.

name of 'The Charity Workhouse,' which had for its object not only the provision for people unable to maintain themselves, but also the care of foundling children. In 1746 we find Gavin Hamilton acting as Treasurer of the Infirmary, and James Stirling, merchant, holding the same office in connection with the Workhouse. These two gentlemen often conferred in regard to raising charitable funds, and ultimately they decided to endeavour to resuscitate the Assembly with a view to that end. The means they adopted will be disclosed presently.

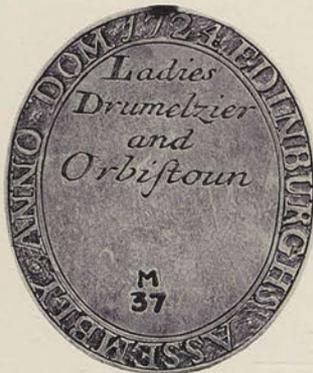
The Edinburgh Public Library has recently acquired the 'Assembly Minute Book, No. 1,' from which much may be learned for the period from 5th February 1746 to 6th February 1776. The first Minute, dated 5th February 1746, records the reason for reviving the Assembly and the circumstance which led to the acquisition of the hall which had previously been used:—

'James Stirling, Merchant in Edinburgh, Treasurer of the Charity Workhouse there, and Gavin Hamilton, bookseller, Treasurer of the Royal Infirmary, seeing that there had been no Assembly for dancing kept in Edinburgh for some considerable time, the original design of which was a fund for charity, and being informed that Lady Orbiston's Tack of the house called the New Assembly Hall, where the company used to assemble, was to expire at Whitsunday then next, that so good a design for the improvement and entertainment of the nobility and gentry of both sexes and such a considerable fund of charity for the poor should not be lost, did upon their own risque, agree with Roderick Chalmers, proprietor of the said hall, for a year's tack of the same, viz.—from Whitsunday 1746 to Whitsunday thereafter at £55 Stg. of rent, and the said Chalmers became bound in presence of Mr. Thomas Bogue, Writer in Edinburgh, to make the following repairs:—To whitewash the walls of the whole house, to paint in size colour the whole walls, to mend all windows and make every other repair necessary to put the house in a tenantable condition.'

Having carried out these arrangements on their own authority, Stirling and Hamilton took steps to secure the



SILVER TEA-SPOON USED AT THE ASSEMBLY
IN BELL'S WYND



OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF BADGE WORN BY
'LADY DIRECTRESSES'

co-operation of other gentlemen. They first approached Hugh Clark, Junior, merchant, and after conferring with him, all three 'were of opinion that it was necessary to have the concurrence and assistance of some more.' They therefore decided to approach Lord Minto, Lord Drummore, John Hamilton, advocate, and John Belsches of Invermay, advocate, with a view to getting their sympathy and support. These gentlemen agreed to join them, and on 20th May the seven promoters of the Assembly formed themselves into a board of directors and drew up a constitution, which included the following regulations :—

That all dancing in the Assembly Hall and everything relating thereto shall be under the inspection and management of Ladies Directresses not exceeding seven, who shall take their turn weekly, monthly, or according as they shall agree amongst themselves, the Lady Directress upon the night of their management to wear the badge to be made for that purpose.

That the Ladys Directresses and Directors shall enter the Assembly at all times without tickets. The Lady Directress of the night to have four tickets sent to her for her disposal.

That the profits arising from the Assembly shall be divided into three equal shares, one whereof to be given to the Ladys Directresses to be by them placed in public or private charity as they shall think fit.

The hall might be let out at the rate of two guineas a night except that during the session time it shall not be let for charity balls.

The Treasurer to contract with the musicians, and that if they appear there in drink or fail in giving punctual attendance they shall be dismissed.

Having thus constituted the Assembly, the Directors appear to have done nothing further till August, when they took steps to secure musicians. The music was to be supplied by an orchestra of four fiddles, one bassoon, and two hautboys. The fiddlers appointed were John Reoch, James Cameron, John Wilson, and Robert Hutton; the player of the bassoon was John Thomson, and the players of the haut-

boys, Thomas Robertson and Charles Calder. These musicians in all likelihood were constantly playing at concerts, dances and other gatherings in Edinburgh. John Thomson resided in 1770 in Bailie Fyfe's Close and in 1796 in Old Assembly Close. Robert Hutton, in 1768, was residing in Old Assembly Close and in 1774 in Kennedy's Close. The musicians were remunerated as follows:—

To each man for performing at each assembly not exceeding 100 persons	6s. 0d.
„ for performing at each assembly over 100 and not exceeding 150 persons	7s. 6d.
„ for performing at each assembly above 150 persons	10s. 0d.

According to the usual practice, refreshments were supplied to the musicians, but the Directors took care that the quantity of 'drink' would not be sufficient to incapacitate them for their duties. Drink money was strictly limited to 1s. 9d. for the whole orchestra per evening, being an average of 3d. per head.

There is no record in the Minute Book of the various meetings of the Assembly, but it is evident that in the first year of its existence it was very late in the winter before the session began. Not until 29th November did the Directors meet to consider the appointment of Directresses. It was decided to approach five ladies, namely, the Countesses of Leven, Glencairn, and Hopetoun, and Ladies Minto and Milntoun. The delegates appointed to wait on these ladies were instructed 'to set forth to them the charitable intention of the Assembly.' On 16th December it was reported that 'the ladies, convinced of the good effects of this undertaking upon the present intention both for polishing the youth and providing the poor, cheerfully accepted to be Lady Directresses, and agreed upon certain rules to be observed for regulating the dancing and proper management of the Assembly which they desired to be wrote out fair

and hung up in the Assembly Hall.' The rules were as follows:—

No lady to be admitted in a night gown and no gentleman in boots.

Dancing to begin precisely at 5 o'clock afternoon in the winter and at 6 in summer.

Each set not to exceed ten couples to dance but one country dance at a time.

The couples to dance their minuets in the order they stand in their several sets.

No dancing out of the regular order but by leave from the Lady Directress of the night.

No dancing whatever to be allowed but in the ordinary dancing place.

No dance to begin after 11 at night.

No misses in skirts and jackets, robecoats nor stay-bodied gowns to be allowed to dance country dances but in a set by themselves.

No tea, coffee, negus nor other liquor to be carried into the dancing room.

It is expected no gentleman will step over the rail round the dancing place, but will enter or go out by the doors at the upper or lower end of the room, and that all ladys and gentlemen will order their servants not to enter the passage before the outer door with lighted flambeaux.

The Directors approved of the rules and directed a copy to be hung up in the lobby. They also gave instructions for the procuring of a gold badge to be worn each evening by the Lady Directress in charge. Like the silver one of 1724, it was oval. On the obverse was shown a pelican upon her nest feeding her young, and underneath the word 'Charity,' while on the reverse was depicted a woman with a child leaning against her knee, the whole symbolising Charity. This side of the badge also had a shield bearing the Arms of the city; likewise an escrole on which was inscribed the word 'Edinburgh.'

Tea was usually provided at the Assembly. In this



connection there is reproduced (p. 48) an interesting relic of the days when the dancers met in their quarters in the High Street. The illustration shows both sides of a small silver tea-spoon, on which are neatly inscribed the words 'Edr Assembly,' together with the maker's mark 'I.K.,' which stands for James Ker, who was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh in 1723. The handle of the spoon is adorned with an appropriate symbol—a fan.

In March 1747 the Lady Directresses intimated their desire that the Hon. Lady Jean Ferguson should be added to their number, and this was agreed to. There were now six ladies, each of whom took her turn of presiding over the Assembly. Unfortunately the Lady Directresses were not always resident in the city, and, towards the end of 1750, the problem of regular attendance became acute. On 6th December the Directors, in view of the fact 'that most of the present Lady Directresses are the greatest part of the year in the country, which makes the duty too troublesome to those that remain,' appointed a Committee 'to wait upon the Lady Directresses and propose with their consent to increase their number, and, if agreeable to them, to apply to the Right Hon^o Lady Henreta Campbell and Mrs. Grant of Prestongrange.' While no actual record exists to show that these ladies accepted, it is evident that Mrs. Grant did so, as her name appears as a Directress. On 9th February 1753 Lady Jean Ferguson resigned 'in respect of her bad health,' and the Directors thereafter approached several ladies in the hope of prevailing 'on some of them to come forward.' The ladies who were approached were the Countess of Dundonald, Lady Sinclair of Longformacus, Mrs. Ferguson of Pitfour, Lady Kello, and Mrs. Scott of Gala. But whether any or all of them accepted cannot be ascertained.

On 22nd March 1764 'Lady Elliot who, from a desire to promote the charities to which the proceeds arising from the

assemblies are applied, had given her attendance for a great number of years as one of the Lady Directresses,' now declined to act any longer. Mrs. Grant of Prestongrange also resigned. A year later, 25th March 1765, Lady Coalstoun resigned, owing to the state of her health, and as it was absolutely necessary to secure more assistance, Mrs. Bruce of Kennet and the Hon. Miss Murray of Stormont were invited to act as Directresses, and agreed to do so. A further appointment, that of Lady Napier, was made on 12th March 1768. Notwithstanding these accessions to the list of Lady Directresses, the Minute Book makes it abundantly clear that the number for many years fell short of the seven originally aimed at. On 23rd January 1773 there were only two, and as it was essential that there should be four at least, fresh endeavours were made to secure others. The two still acting were the Hon. Miss Murray and Mrs. Bruce of Kennet, who had held office for a number of years. The Countess Dowager of Moray, the Countess of Dundonald, Lady Elphinstone, and Mrs. Campbell of Finab were now invited to become Lady Directresses. On 5th February 1776 Mrs. Johnston of Hilton was added to the number.

The ladies who from 1746 to 1776 directed the Assemblies all belonged to well-known Scottish families. Much care was exercised in the appointments, since firmness as well as tact were necessary in order to control large numbers of high-spirited young people throughout a long evening. And how well the Lady Directresses discharged their difficult duties is testified by Captain Topham, who visited Edinburgh in 1774-75:—

'How far it is better for a public amusement to be under the influence of a Lady, or how far the Scotch Gentlemen are to be justified in giving so much trouble and fatigue to the fair sex, I will not pretend to say; but thus far I can speak from experience, that nothing was ever conducted with more propriety and regularity than they [the Edinburgh Assemblies] are at present; nor was I ever at any Assembly

where the authority of the Manager was so observed or respected. . . . The impetuous applications of chaperons, maiden-aunts, and the earnest intreaties of lovers to obtain a ticket in one of the first Sets for the dear object, render the fatigue of the office of Lady Directress almost intolerable.¹

In an appendix to this article some particulars are set down in regard to most of the Lady Directresses, but reference may here be made to the Hon. Miss Murray, sister of the famous Earl of Mansfield, who was the most outstanding. Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, thus sums up the character of 'Nicky Murray,' as she was familiarly called:— 'Much good sense, firmness, knowledge of the world and of the histories of individuals, as well as a due share of patience and benevolence, were required for this office of unrecognised though real power; and it was generally admitted that Miss Murray possessed the needful qualifications in a remarkable degree, though rather more marked by good manners than good nature.' Topham's opinion may also be quoted: 'With the utmost politeness, affability, and good humour, Miss Murray attends to every one. All petitions are heard and demands granted which appear reasonable.' The English traveller adds that she 'executes her part with so much success that the other ladies fear to attempt it after her.'² Topham attended an Assembly on the Queen's birthday, at which Miss Murray, as representing Her Majesty, received the proper compliments. Another witness to the powers of this noted Lady Directress is Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, Bart. In his poem, *Edinburgh; or the Ancient Royalty*, the son of Dr. Johnson's biographer pays tribute to the sway of 'fam'd Miss Nicky Murray,' and in a note writes: 'Of this renowned Mistress of the Ceremonies, what avails it to tell the present generation, although their grandmothers cannot have forgot her, and those among them that

¹ *Letters from Edinburgh, 1774-75*, vol. ii. pp. 156-57.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 155-56.

were handsome, doubtless remember with complacency the preference she gave to a *Beauty*, without forgetting the rules of titled precedence.'

Having dealt with the reconstituted Assembly and its Directors, Lady Directresses and Musicians, it seems desirable to give some particulars in regard to the premises in which the Assembly met. It has already been stated that the promoters took a year's tack of the hall, although the building did not entirely meet their requirements. But there were few halls from which to choose. Moreover, sites for new ones were scarce. The Directors, therefore, were almost compelled to remain where they were; and they began to set aside money for the purchase of the hall. On 10th February 1750 the Treasurer informed them that certain repairs were required, but that he could not prevail upon the creditors of Roderick Chalmers to carry them out. Moreover, there was no indication of the property being exposed for sale. In view of these facts, the Directors resolved that it was desirable to 'look out for an area in some better part of the town whereon to build a hall and other conveniences for the better accommodation of the Assembly.' But the building was exposed for sale after all, for on 25th June 1751 it was announced that among the subjects belonging to 'the deceased Roderick Chalmers,' the Assembly Hall, and tavern above it, were to be sold by public roup before the Lords of Session. In the end, the Directors offered £900 for the hall and tavern, but this sum apparently was not acceptable. At all events the property was not purchased on behalf of the Assembly.

The problem of securing suitable sites for public buildings in Edinburgh caused much perplexity in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. The North Bridge had not yet been erected, consequently the search for sites was confined to the overcrowded Old Town. At this time the Musical Society of Edinburgh were also faced with the problem of securing a

suitable concert hall. In 1754 a 'large area at the foot and to the west of Hart's Close behind Miln's Square' was examined with a view to building a hall for the joint use of the Assembly and the Musical Society of Edinburgh,¹ and a memorial by both these bodies was presented to the Town Council. It set forth that 'there was no proper accommodation either for the Musical Society or convenient Assembly Hall,' and 'that it was for the interest of the town to give countenance for such polite amusements as might encourage strangers of rank to reside in the city.' The memorialists then explained their scheme and produced a plan showing the area. As it was proposed to incorporate Hart's Close in North Bridge Street, it was probably intended that the entrance to the proposed hall should be from that thoroughfare. The Council having considered the memorial, remitted it and the plans to the Directors of the Public Works for the Improvement of the City, and at the same time requested 'an estimate of the back areas behind the Cap and Feather tavern.' The matter was referred to Robert Adam, the famous architect, who pointed out 'that according to the present declivities and the cast earth that must be raised there to bring the new pretended street to a proper level there would inevitably be so much useless building sunk under ground as would eat up the greatest part of the fund.' It was therefore decided to depart from the scheme, and to look out for another site.

Previous to the inquiry into the possibility of the site above referred to, the Directors had taken steps to get one elsewhere. In February 1754 they bought property from William Elliot in Kennedy's Close, which stood east of Stevenlaw's Close, and was entered by the Black Turnpike. Why the Directors bought this property and yet never utilised the site, it is impossible to say. On 25th February the property was let for a year to George Anderson at a rent of

¹ This matter is also referred to on p. 224.



THE MINUET AT THE ASSEMBLY
From an Etching by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe

£16, 13s. 4d., and on 2nd August the Disposition by Elliot was produced. As will be shown later, this house was retained right up to the date when the Assembly in the High Street ceased to exist. One further attempt was made to secure a site. On 18th February 1755 a remit was made to James Stirling and William Douglas to confer with James Watson, slater, or any other person competent to advise, in regard to purchasing an area at the foot of Peebles Wynd. Nothing came of this scheme, however, and the Directors, evidently feeling that they must be content with the existing premises, decided to put up six new lustres. Then on 2nd March 1759 the Treasurer reported that it would be necessary to make certain small repairs, to repaint the hall, and to repave and adjust the level of the close. Although these necessities had been pointed out to Dr. Neilson (who seems to have been either proprietor or a trustee of the late Roderick Chalmers), he declined to undertake them, but was willing to sell the property.

Various attempts having been made to procure a new hall, but without success, it now seemed to the Directors that the best thing they could do was to purchase the present premises from Dr. Neilson, and bring them more into line with their ideal of convenient Assembly Rooms. On 20th March 1760 it was reported that the property had been purchased for £1003, 7s. 9d.

Immediately thereafter the Directors tried to procure accommodation for card- and tea-rooms. On 24th March 1761 the Treasurer was instructed to communicate with the proprietor of an area in Bell's Wynd where a card-room might be built. Nothing more, however, was heard of the matter till 20th March 1765, when the Treasurer reported that he had been 'informed by James Ramsay, slater, that he intended to build upon that west area in Bell's Wynd to the west of the Assembly Hall.' Anxious to secure this site for the erection of a large tea-room, the Directors made a

bargain with Ramsay, whose letter of agreement is in the following terms:—

‘ 25th March 1765.

‘ S^r,—In consequence of our communing, as you desire to have a room for the Edinburgh Assembly built upon the waste area in Bell’s Wynd, the foundation wall thereof to the east to run in a line with Campbell’s Land and the other buildings as they are at present, consisting of about thirty-two and a half feet within walls by twenty-two and a half feet, sixteen feet high from floor to ceiling . . . the windows to be either of oak or fir glazed with crown glass, the joisting for the floor to be of scantling 10½ by 3½ supported by a beam that runs across the joists below, with proper standards from the ground which shall at no time be altered, with a blue slate roof done with sufficient scantling and sarking to be cut out of logs to be approved of for goodness and sufficiency by George Paterson, Architect. . . .

‘ You are to allow me £70 Stg. for the area, and in that case all the prices of the different work shall be current and ordinary, which prices with the sufficiency of the work shall be determined by the above George Paterson.’

The one disadvantage of the area selected was that Bell’s Wynd came between it and the hall, and if the tea-room was to be serviceable to the Assembly, it was clear that a covered passage across Bell’s Wynd would be necessary. The Directors therefore presented a petition¹ to the Town Council, in which, after referring to the difficulty of securing a proper site for a tea-room, they stated their desire to erect ‘ a small arch or passage from the Assembly Hall across the Wynd.’ The adjacent proprietors above the Assembly had given their consent, but they felt it was proper to acquaint the Council of their proposal and to have their authority. A committee of the Town Council reported that the structure would darken Bell’s Wynd, but as the building ‘ was to be appropriated for the service of public charity ’ they gave their sanction. Further difficulty, however, arose. On 9th August the Treasurer reported that James McGlashan, chair-master,

¹ Town Council Minutes, 26th June 1765.

had two small houses in the Wynd, and that as these derived light from the area to be built upon, he was opposing the new building. Eventually the Directors bought McGlashan’s property for £120, and converted it into kitchens in connection with the tea-room. The new buildings added greatly to the convenience of the Assembly, and there was no further talk of removal. Unfortunately, the entrance hall afforded little accommodation for man-servants, chairmen and link-bearers, and on 3rd February 1774 the Directors, by the desire of Lord Alva, gave instructions for the erection of a portico ‘ for the convenience of those who set chairs.’

Another matter which engaged the attention of the Directors was the appointment of some one to take charge of their premises, and in the Minute of 6th August 1746 we read:—

‘ The Directors, being of opinion that the salary hitherto given for managing the tea kitchen, etc., was too high, resolved that a salary not exceeding £15 Stg. yearly shall be given to one or more proper persons for overseeing and managing the work of the kitchen and serving the company in the assembly with tea, coffee, etc., and keeping clean the hall, she or they being obliged to keep servants not under two for that purpose, and to be entitled to no perquisites but the profits of the card tables and of furnishing the company with negus, fruit and cool tankard, and not to exact above 2/6 for each pack of cards.’

The first offer of this post was made to ‘ the Misses Robertson, who have formerly been and are at present employed in that way.’ Though they demurred to the reduced salary, they agreed to act. For about eighteen years the two sisters carried out their duties. In addition to the services rendered by the Misses Robertson, there was work for a waiter, but no appointment was made till 14th June 1748, when at the anniversary meeting held in the premises of John Walker, vintner, Thomas Balderston received the post, the salary of which was three guineas per annum. Besides performing the

functions of a waiter, he was expected to keep all the sconces and lustres clean and in good order. In 1764 one of the Misses Robertson died, and the other being old and infirm, and obliged to hire assistance from 'low people' who kept the house very dirty, the Directors, in the following year, appointed Mrs. Theodora Murray to succeed the surviving Miss Robertson. On 9th August 1765 Miss Robertson, who was then reported to be almost blind and very poor, applied for a retiring allowance. She first received a temporary payment of £10, and afterwards an allowance which was fixed at £8 per quarter. On 20th March 1765 it was decided to sell some of the chairs, likewise the tea table, these being 'old and quite rotten,' and to purchase new ones.

It was customary occasionally to lend the Assembly Hall for balls organised by other societies for behoof of special charities, but at a meeting on 3rd March 1747 the Directors, considering that all balls organised for charities outside of the scheme for which the Assembly existed were calculated to draw away company from the Assembly, and that the proceeds derived from such balls were often applied only for the good of a few particular people, decided that in future their hall should not be granted for rival entertainments. But while they felt that the balls which took place in their hall should be limited to the charities represented by the Infirmary and the Workhouse, they occasionally granted the use of the building for balls for other purposes. For example, on 30th June 1748 the Directors granted an application for a ball to be held in the Assembly Rooms in aid of Musselburgh harbour, the building of which had been begun in 1743. The request was granted on the ground that the operations would not only provide work for tradesmen, but that the harbour, when completed, would form 'a proper place for safety of passage-boats when forced by storm down the frith.' Some years later, a similar request was complied with in connection with the building of the harbour of Kinghorn.

V

In the seventies a great development took place in social life both in England and Scotland. It was not confined to the cities, but spread to the smaller towns. Thackeray, in his *Four Georges*, says: 'Every town had its assembly-room.' We read, for instance, of Subscription Assemblies being held at Haddington in 1770 and the following years, and of an assembly room being built there in 1788. With this expansion of social life, especially the aspect of it with which this article is concerned, there arose in Edinburgh, as elsewhere, a considerable body of teachers of dancing. Topham, writing in 1775, says that he did not know of any place in the world where dancing was made so necessary a part of polite education. He was also of opinion that, having regard to the number of inhabitants, there were more dancing masters in Edinburgh than in any other city. The pupils trained in the Scottish capital, he tells us, danced minuets and 'high dances,' and were instructed in cotillons and allemandes.¹

Amongst the many teachers of dancing may be mentioned Mr.² Macqueen, who in 1740 had a school in Skinner's Close; and Mr. Strange, who in the winter of 1764-65 opened a school in Todrick's Wynd. The latter had studied under the famous Gallini in London, thereafter in Paris under Maltere, teacher to the Royal Family of France, and under Vestris, one of the well-known family of dancers. Another pupil of Gallini was Mr. Barnard, who in 1780 had a school in Skinner's Close, and later opened another in Thistle Street. Then there was Mr. Martin, who in 1783 had a school in Weir's Land, Todrick's Wynd. He probably succeeded Strange, to whom he had been assistant for twenty years. Martin taught the minuet and 'Louvre,' together with a variety of French, English and Scots high dances, also the different steps for country

¹ *Letters from Edinburgh, 1774-75*, vol. ii. p. 150.

² Christian names are seldom given.

dances and cotillons. Barnard's rooms in Thistle Street were acquired in 1794 by one Laurie, who had previously taught in James's Court. Five years later S. Wilson is found advertising his annual ball to take place in Barnard's rooms, under the patronage of 'the Duchess of Buccleuch and other ladies.'

Dancing was also taught in Edinburgh by a number of foreigners. For example, one of the earliest and most successful was Signora Violanti, who set up her establishment at the foot of Carrubber's Close. Signora Violanti, who taught gymnastics as well as dancing, is alluded to by Allan Ramsay in one of his poems. Monsieur Charles Le Picq, again, had his school in Skinner's Close. His wife announced on 11th January 1772 that she carried on a French boarding school for young ladies and taught dancing. Another foreign teacher, Monsieur D'Egville, made a speciality of Scotch reels, the Highland Fling and all the Caledonian steps. Towards the close of the century his school was in a room at the foot of Carrubber's Close, belonging to the Thistle Lodge of Edinburgh. Monsieur D'Egville had been a dancer at the King's Opera House, London. Mention might also be made of Madame Bonnet (late Marcucci). She professed to give instruction in 'fashionable and improved modes of dancing as taught by Gallini, Wilis, and others.' She does not say where her school was, but simply describes it as 'very central and accessible' and 'built purposely for a dancing school.'

Reference has already been made to the ridotto and the masquerade. The latter was known in Scotland long before the ridotto, which, as previously stated, was introduced to London only in the thirties of the eighteenth century. When the ridotto reached Edinburgh a more enlightened attitude was being adopted in regard to dancing and other public entertainments. The result was that the ridotto, which was largely musical, and in the carrying out of which masks were not essential, received a greater degree of toleration than the masquerade. As it was a form of entertainment

which required a considerable amount of room, it was usually held in a theatre, but occasionally we read of a ridotto being held in the Assembly Rooms. The Charity Workhouse benefited by one of these entertainments held there on 12th February 1767. Again, on 16th April 1771, 'by the desire of several persons of distinction,' another ridotto took place, the proceeds being handed over to a family in straitened circumstances. In the advertisement,¹ the hope is expressed that the event will be welcomed, 'as no ridotto has been performed in this city for a number of years past.'

On the other hand, so great was the feeling against the masquerade, that till the year 1775 no attempt had been made, either by the manager of the Theatre or the Directors of the Assembly, to introduce it into Edinburgh. Topham states that the masquerade 'was hitherto unknown in a public style' in Edinburgh, though he mentions that in 1774 a gentleman had attempted a private performance at his own house, but without success, owing to 'want of proper variety of company' and also from 'not understanding the nature and spirit of the diversion.' The first attempt to introduce the masquerade or masked ball (as it was alternatively called) was made in 1775 by Mr. Digges, the Manager of the Theatre Royal. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 22nd February of that year there appeared the following advertisement:—

'As masked balls and ridottos in London, when conducted with proper decorum, receive the countenance and sanction of the most respectable personages; and as they are considered very beneficial to trade, giving employment to many persons in business, whose families by their industry furnish materials for fancy dresses, etc., I have, by the desire of many persons of distinction, undertaken an entertainment of this nature at the Theatre Royal. I shall only add that no care, expence or attention shall be wanting on my part to render the attempt worthy the encouragement of persons of the first consideration and of the public in general. W. DIGGES.'

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 13th April 1771.

Then follows a somewhat lengthy announcement of a 'Grand Mask'd Ball' to be held on 10th March, for which elaborate arrangements were to be made.

'The stage will be cleared and large columns wreathed with flowers and decorated with lustres, ranged on each side, so as to form an elegant saloon. A floor will be laid over the Pit to join it to the stage. And side-boards with refreshments will be opened for the company. Different suitable paintings will embellish the whole room. None but persons in mask'd dresses will be admitted.'

The price of the ticket of admission to this masquerade, which admitted two ladies and one gentleman, was a guinea. The doors were to be open at nine o'clock, the side-boards from ten to one, and the masquerade was to last till three o'clock in the morning. Appended to the announcement is a note to the effect that 'Masques, Venetian and droll, will be commissioned from London, and sold by Mr. Burt at the office of the Theatre.'

In the same newspaper, below this announcement, are two advertisements both headed 'Mask'd Ball.' In one of these Mrs. Barclay, 'Woman's Wardrobe Keeper and Mantua-maker to the Theatre Royal,' gives notice that she can make all sorts of fancy dresses of the cheapest materials and with the greatest shew as they are made up in the mask'd balls in London; such as Nuns, Shepherdesses, Nosegay-girls, Milkmaids, Witches, Old Women, Sultanas, Grecian Dresses, Pilgrims and Turkish Dresses, Dominos of all sorts, etc., etc.' The other advertisement is that of Daniel Lundy, Wardrobe Keeper of the Theatre Royal, 'who is ready on proper notice to make up all sorts of fancy dresses for the ensuing mask'd ball, as made up at the Opera-house in London, such as Dominos, Friars, Cardinals, Spanish Dresses, Italian, Turkish, Sailors, Dutchmen, Conjurors, Mungos, Pierots, Harlequins, Millers, Running Footmen, Roman Dresses, etc., etc. He will make up all Dresses with the cheapest materials and the most shewy taste. All orders sent to him at his house

at the back of the West Bow Wall will be immediately attended to.'

It soon became apparent to Mr. Digges that he had been too sanguine in his estimate of the public attitude towards the masquerade. His design met with considerable hostility, so much so, that in the *Courant* of 25th February he intimated its abandonment. But he accepted the situation with a good grace, remarking that it always gave him the greatest pleasure 'to pay the utmost respect and attention to Public Opinion.' Instead of the Mask'd Ball there was now to be 'an entertainment equally distinguished for its novelty and elegance.' Then follows the announcement of 'A Grand Ridotto,' conducted on 'the same plan and with the same regulations and decorum as at his Majesty's Opera House in London.' The whole arrangement and decorations of the theatre were to be identical with those made for the masked ball. Whatever the difference between the masked ball and the ridotto, the one important point (and that to which exception had been taken) was that no one was to wear masks. Later came the announcement that 'as the galleries are always opened in the Ball-room at St. James's on their Majesty's birthdays, where ladies and gentlemen are admitted as spectators; and as the galleries of the Assembly Hall in Edinburgh are also crowded on public nights for the same purpose, the Manager begs to inform the public that in the ensuing ridotto such part of the middle gallery and the slips as is not used in the transparent pictures will be opened at 4s. a ticket and the upper gallery at 2s.'

The ridotto gave entire satisfaction. So we learn from a description of the entertainment which appeared in the *Courant* of 11th March 1775. 'There never was in this kingdom an entertainment conducted with more elegance and decorum.' Over 500 people of fashion were present, including Captain Topham, who tells us that so much did the entertainment find favour, that even the wives and daughters of ministers

attended. The ridotto of Mr. Digges was the first of a series of such entertainments, and on 15th March 1775 he announced that as this ridotto had been supported by 'so great a number of families of the first rank and fortune, and as it was universally acknowledged no public entertainment ever gave such satisfaction, he would arrange for two every year.'

Nine years elapsed before any further attempt was made to introduce the masquerade into Edinburgh. During the interval men of enterprise had opened hotels in the New Town, now made accessible by the erection of the North Bridge. In these spacious new buildings ample accommodation was available for public entertainments, so much so that in 1784 such progressive hotel-keepers as John Dunn and Matthew Fortune advertised assemblies to be held in their elegant rooms. These appear to have been very popular. At any rate in the spring of 1786 Dunn conceived the idea of organising a masquerade. As he well knew, it was an innovation, the success of which was doubtful. Still he courageously advertised that the entertainment would take place in his hotel on Thursday, 2nd March. But Dunn miscalculated (as Digges had done before him), and was obliged to announce in the newspapers that the proposed masquerade would not take place, and that the money spent on purchasing tickets would be returned.

The failure of the scheme was a disappointment not only to Dunn but to others, who saw in it an opening for commercial enterprise. For example, as soon as Dunn's proposal became public a certain M. Slackjaw announced that she would open 'A Grand Masquerade Warehouse next door to the new chapel in Register Street and a few doors only from Dunn's rooms.' She states that she is expecting every hour 'a very fine assortment of Mask Dresses from Tavistock Street and the Haymarket, London,' also 'a great variety of fan dresses for ladies, such as Queens of various countries'

and dresses suitable for 'Sultanas, Gypsies, Vestal Virgins, Columbines, Dutch Milk-maids, Hay-makers, Fortune-tellers, Ballad-singers, Black and White Nuns, Nobodies, etc., etc.' M. Slackjaw was also to provide dresses suitable for 'Mad Maid of Bedlam; an elegant mourning habit for Jephtha's Daughter; a Calista with a fan which may easily be seen through; a fine flesh-coloured suit for Eve as close as life; also emblematic dresses for Fashion, Folly, Night and Aurora. For such ladies as choose more simple disguises, Dominos and Jalousies. General: Devil's masks, gilded horns, Don Quixote, Bacchus, Running Footmen, Jockies, Harlequins, Chimney Sweeps, Sir Johns, Jackie Brutes, Calibans, Cupids, Adonises.'

VI

Apart from the recognised Assembly there were other functions at which dancing was a prominent feature. The most outstanding, and perhaps the earliest of these, were the balls occasionally held in Holyroodhouse. Arnot states that 'a company of gentlemen instituted for enjoying together the sports of the field'¹ existed in Edinburgh from the Restoration. He did not appear to know when the earliest society was formed, but there is early evidence of the balls of the Honourable Company of Hunters being held at Holyrood. These gatherings were usually recorded in the newspapers of the period. In the account of the ball for 1732, it is stated that there were present numerous persons of quality and distinction, who were elegantly entertained, the whole function being conducted with the greatest order and decency. The Duke of Hamilton was 'King' and Miss Anne Gordon (daughter of Sir William Gordon of Invergordon) 'Queen.' As hereditary Keepers of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, it was only natural

¹ Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1779, p. 362.

that the Dukes of Hamilton should take an active part in the Company of Hunters, and it was probably owing to this fact that the Hunters' balls came to be held in Holyroodhouse. In January 1730 the ball took place 'at the Duke of Hamilton's lodgings in the Abbey,' Lord Hope being 'King' and Lady Jean Leslie 'Queen.' About 300 persons of distinction were present, and the entertainment, which closed at five o'clock in the morning, was characterised as magnificent. Of unusual brilliance, too, was the ball of 1736, on which occasion the Hon. Charles Hope was 'King' and the Hon. Lady Helen Hope 'Queen.' At this function a table was laid in the Gallery of the Kings 'with three hundred dishes *en ambigu*, at which sat one hundred and fifty ladies at a time . . . illuminated with four hundred wax candles.' Arnot speaks of a Company of Hunters being founded at Edinburgh and holding their first meeting on 10th January 1758, the occasion being the King of Prussia's birthday. The ball in March 1759 is recorded as being a 'splendid one, everything being conducted with the greatest excellence.'

The fashionable Capilaire Club, like that of the Hunters, sometimes held their annual ball in Holyroodhouse. In February 1772 it was announced¹ to take place there on 2nd March, but a subsequent intimation stated that 'in place of being held at the Abbey it would be at the Assembly Hall,' the reason given for the change being that information had been received to the effect 'that the ancient palace is now in a dangerous state.' Probably this Club continued to hold their ball in the Assembly Hall. It was certainly held there in 1774 when 'the company consisted of nearly two hundred ladies and gentlemen of the first distinction.' In March 1793 Lord Lorne's ball was announced to take place at Holyroodhouse instead of at Bayle's.

About the middle of the century attempts were made to provide attractions for the summer months. These combined

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 26th February 1772.

dancing with other amusements, and took place in pleasure grounds outside the city. Probably the first was that known as 'Comely Garden.' This pleasure ground was 'situated on the east side of the road leading to Jock's Lodge,' and is indicated by the modern Comely Green Place. Arnot briefly refers to it as 'a wretched attempt to imitate Vauxhall, for which neither the climate nor the gardens were adapted.' Nevertheless Comely Garden seems to have existed for a considerable number of years. In January 1758 it was intimated¹ that 'a grand ball' would take place there, beginning at four o'clock. A display of fireworks was promised as an additional attraction. In 1761 the garden was owned by Andrew Gibb, but ten years later it had a new proprietor in Charles Small, vintner, who announced that it would be opened for the season as soon as the weather permitted. The annual ticket cost a guinea. Finally, in May 1784, Alexander Williamson intimated that he intended to open the house of Comely Garden as a ballroom where entertainments would be given every Tuesday and Saturday. This place of resort existed for about thirty years, but how far its patrons were drawn from the class which frequented the fashionable assemblies in the city cannot be stated.

A rival entertainment, but of a higher type, was established in 1776 under the name of 'Ranelagh Garden,' which suggests the well-known London place of entertainment at Chelsea. On 13th May 1776 Signor Corri begged leave² to inform the subscribers and the rest of the nobility and gentry that he had completed his ballroom and other parts of the plan of his garden at the Kirkbraehead, 'a little west of this city.'³ It was to be opened at five o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, 19th May, and the programme was to include a musical entertainment, lasting two hours. The garden was also to be

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 5th January 1758.

² *Ibid.*

³ The principal building at Ranelagh in London was a rotunda, and it is likely that Corri formed his place on the same plan.

illuminated 'with transparent machinery and upwards of four hundred lamps of various kinds.' The ball was to commence at nine, and was to be held in a room illuminated with spermaceti candles. Details as to refreshments are also given. The annual subscription was a guinea, which was payable to Mr. Elliot, bookseller, Parliament Square. Despite these attractions on the outskirts of the city, some vintners in the Old Town, conscious of the loss of customers, set up 'assembly halls' in their own premises. One of these was opened in Advocates' Close in 1783.

In May 1783 steps were taken to erect an Assembly Room at Leith. Those responsible were a company of subscribers who formed themselves into an Assembly. A site was acquired in Constitution Street, and the building consisted of a ballroom 60 ft. by 30 ft., a coffee-room 34 ft. by 20 ft., two other rooms 30 ft. by 20 ft., together with kitchen and other accommodation. In keeping with the plan of some other assembly rooms of the period, the premises were to be conducted as a high-class tavern, which was to be open to the public as well as to subscribers. On 15th October 1785 the projectors advertised¹ for a vintner to carry on the tavern. The house, it was pointed out, was well situated for business, 'particularly during the race season.' Another inducement was that it had the patronage of eighty gentlemen proprietors. Application was to be made to William Cundell, merchant, Leith, treasurer of the Assembly. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the premises were in the hands of Mrs. Blackhall.

VII

During the sixty years when the *elite* of Edinburgh danced in secluded halls behind tall and massive tenements in the High Street, many picturesque scenes must have been

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant.*

witnessed. For one thing, there were few of the nobility and gentry of Scotland who were not represented at these gatherings, and it would have added greatly to our knowledge of the Assemblies had there been a list of those who were frequent in their attendance. We are, however, not entirely without information regarding the personnel of the Assemblies. The references may be scanty and widely scattered, but at any rate they give some idea of the kind of people who patronised these functions.

The ladies and gentlemen who danced at the Assembly in the West Bow must have been born either in the reign of James VII., or in that of William and Mary. Amongst those who attended the gatherings was Susanna Kennedy, the beautiful Countess of Eglinton, wife of the ninth Earl. Born in or about 1690, and married in 1709, she must have been about twenty when the West Bow Assembly was instituted. The Countess may also have attended the functions in the Old Assembly Close. Certain it is, that both she and her daughters were frequent visitors at the hall in New Assembly Close, since both Colonel Fergusson in his *Life of Henry Erskine* and Chambers in his *Traditions* draw a pretty picture of the beautiful Countess and her seven daughters, tall and handsome as herself, being carried in 'sedans' from the family residence in the Canongate to the Assembly.

Among regular attenders at the Assembly in the High Street were Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames, and William Hamilton of Bangour, the poet. The latter was peculiarly susceptible to feminine charms, and indited many verses both to and about ladies whom he admired. In his well-known poetical epistle to his friend Home, he makes reference to some of the beauties who were conspicuous in the hall in the Old Assembly Close. One evening after the Lady Directress had stopped the dance, Hamilton noticed two ladies, Miss Dalrymple and Miss Suttie, conversing between the pillars of the hall, an incident which led him to compose a poem

setting forth an imaginary conversation between the two ladies. It begins:—

'Now pass'd the dance (retir'd fair Wemys's beauty),
Godlike Dalrymple and divine Miss Suttie
Between the pillars met. The nymphs from far
Observ'd each other, and had mark'd for war.
Near as they drew Miss Suttie thus began.

Thou deal'st in scandal, and hast sipt Bohea;
If Atlantis thou hast learnt by rote,
Or minuet steps, new fashioned by Lamott.

But swift decays the perishable grace,
And Lady Orbieston scarce knows the face.'

One of the most distinguished musicians of that time was Thomas, sixth Earl of Kelly. A prominent member of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, he was also a well-known figure at the Assemblies. His Lordship specialised in the composition of minuets, a considerable number of which are preserved in a book entitled *Minuets, etc., by the Right Hon. the Earl of Kelly*, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe and published in 1836. The minuets were very popular at the Assemblies in Edinburgh. Most of them were dedicated to distinguished Scottish ladies, including the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Countess of Errol, Lady Anne Barnard (authoress of *Auld Robin Gray*), Lady Murray of Clermont, Lady Maxwell of Monreith and her three daughters, Catharine (Mrs. Fordyce of Aytoun), Jane (Duchess of Gordon), and Eglinton (Lady Wallace of Craigie).

When Oliver Goldsmith was a medical student in Edinburgh in 1753, he frequently attended the Assembly, and wrote a charming description which he sent to a friend in Ireland. The passage is too well known to be quoted *in extenso*, but it may be recalled that Goldsmith speaks of one end of the room being taken up 'by the ladies who sit dismally in a group by themselves,' and the other 'by their

pensive partners that are to be.' There was 'no more intercourse between the sexes than there is between two countries at war,' a fact which surprised him. Writing more than twenty years later, Captain Topham (whose impressions have already been drawn upon) has much that is interesting to say as to how things were managed in the Assembly in Bell's Wynd:—

'As the room is too small for the company who generally frequent them [the Assemblies], it is impossible for all to dance at the same time: to prevent, therefore, the inconvenience and confusion which must necessarily be occasioned, the Lady Directress is obliged to divide the company into Sets, and suit them according to their rank and quality, putting about twelve couple in a Set. After this etiquette is over, the first Set dance minuets, beginning in the order of the tickets which are distributed by the Lady Directress, and then one country dance, in the middle of the room, which is surrounded by chairs, to prevent the rest of the company from interfering with the dancers. At the conclusion of this, the second Set begin, and then the third and fourth in their respective turns, till all the Sets have danced their minuet and country dance, and then the first begin a country dance, and the others follow as at first.'¹

Goldsmith and Topham, both familiar with the freer atmosphere of the Assembly in England, were rather astonished by the frigidity of this class of entertainment as exhibited in Edinburgh. Writes Goldsmith: 'The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid upon any closer commerce.' Topham, again, notes that 'instead of ogling, sighs, protestations and endearments, the lady sits envying the more fortunate stars of her companion who is dancing, whilst her partner yawns for the approaching period of his own exhibition.'²

VIII

The need for a more spacious Assembly Hall was long recognised by the Directors, and when the North Bridge was

¹ *Letters from Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pp. 153-54.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 155.

built and the town extending southwards as well as northwards, it became evident that it would soon be necessary to leave the High Street and acquire a more desirable site in the extended royalty. Arnot, writing in 1779, refers to the unsatisfactory conditions, and the clamant need for a new hall:—

'A new house for holding assemblies is much needed in Edinburgh. In the present one, the dancing-room is neither elegant nor commodious. The door is so disposed, that a stream of air rushes through it into the room; and, as the footmen are allowed to stand with their flambeaux in the entry, before the entertainment is half over, the room is filled with smoke almost to suffocation. There are two tea- or card-rooms, but no supper-room. When balls are given in the Assembly Room, and after them supper, nothing can be more awkward or incommodious to the company than the want of distinct apartments for supper and dancing. At present, upon these occasions, the table is covered in the dancing-room before the company meets. Additional tables are set out, when room is made for them by the dancing being over. Chairs are to be brought in and waiters are pouring in with dishes, while the company are standing all the while on the floor.'¹

The first step towards the erection of new rooms was taken by Gallini, to whom reference has already been made. In the latter part of 1780 this famous dancing-master announced his intention of purchasing an area in the New Town on which to erect public rooms for assemblies, concerts, and other amusements. The Town Council sanctioned the scheme, conditionally that Gallini gave two assemblies annually for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary and the Charity Workhouse. Gallini was encouraged in his enterprise by the fact that the Council promised not to patronise any assemblies in opposition to his. But the scheme, for some reason, fell through. In the following year a meeting, held on 14th March, at which the Earl of Moray presided, resolved to found a new Assembly, and appointed a committee to carry out the scheme, the central feature of which was the creation of a handsome and com-

¹ *History of Edinburgh*. New edition, 1816, p. 293.

modious hall amid improved surroundings. An area close to the recently erected Register House was proposed, but difficulties again arose. Ultimately the problem was solved by the Town Council offering the promoters as much ground in George Street as they required. This offer was accepted at a meeting on 10th August 1782, and on 21st August the Council formally passed an Act agreeing to give the site. Early in 1783 the ground was staked out, and on 14th May the foundation stone of the palatial Assembly Rooms that we know was laid. The building in George Street was completed and opened in 1787. It has now been in use for one hundred and forty-six years and has its own history, which, however, does not fall within the scope of this article.

IX

Long before the Assembly Room in George Street was completed, the old institution in the High Street had been showing signs of decay. Its prestige was not what it once was, and a slackness in the management was discernible. But perhaps the most potent factor as regards the decline of public dancing in the Old Town was the changing social conditions, notably the desertion of the closes and wynds by the aristocracy and well-to-do. The suburbs which had been reared both to the north and to the south, with their roomy and elegant houses, were creating new ideals of domestic comfort, and the exodus which had begun was destined to be permanent. Another contributory cause was the fact that handsome hotels were springing up in the New Town, which provided facilities for dancing undreamt of under the cramped conditions obtaining in Bell's Wynd. That the old Assembly Room, which had been the rendezvous of the fashionable life of Edinburgh during the greater part of the eighteenth century, should be deserted, was inevitable.

Creech, writing of 1783, says that the Assembly did not

meet till eight or nine o'clock, and that the Lady Directress sometimes did not appear till ten. He adds: 'The young masters and misses, who would have been mortified not to have seen out the ball, returned home at three or four in the morning, and yawned and gaped and complained of headaches all day.'¹ It may have been that the winter of 1784, if not earlier, saw the last Assembly in the High Street. At all events by the summer of 1785 the building was being used for other purposes. A certain Mr. Scott, who had been giving readings in Dunn's Assembly Room in St. Andrew Square, advertised on 8th July that he would continue them in the tea-room of the discarded Assembly in Bell's Wynd. On 28th October 1785 the Town Council were informed that the Directors were willing to sell their property, including the house in Kennedy's Close, at such price as should be determined by two neutral arbiters. At that time the work of lowering the level of the High Street (which involved the removal of the Guard House) was about to begin, and the Council, who wished temporary premises for the City Guard, purchased the Assembly Room. The building also appears to have been utilised for its original purpose, for in December 1785 John Walker, 'who had lately been in the Archers' Hall,' announced that he was now 'in possession of that house in New Assembly Close lately possessed by Thomas Purves,' and 'having taken one of the tea-rooms belonging to the Assembly Hall, the entry to which is through his house, the place was convenient for balls or supping parties.'

It has been shown that the chief purpose which the promoters of the Assembly established in 1746 had in view was the raising of funds for charities. Unfortunately, the Treasurer's books are not forthcoming, but sufficient information is furnished by the Minutes from 1746 to 1776 to form some idea of how the benevolent intentions of the Directors and Directresses fared. While there is no record of the total

¹ *Fugitive Pieces*, 1815, p. 115.

yearly income, there are complete statements of the balances after deducting expenses, and of the sums handed to the Infirmary and the Charity Workhouse, likewise of the amounts given to the Lady Directresses for their private charities.

On 3rd March 1747 the Directors resolved to set aside all the profits made up to Whitsunday 1748 in order to form the nucleus of a fund either for purchasing the Assembly Hall or acquiring a site for a new one. During the first year there was a free balance of £382, which was lent to the Town Council on bond bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent. In 1748, when the first division took place, the Directors invested a further sum of £118 with the town, and divided the remainder into three equal parts of £63, 6s. 3¼d. each. Without going into details regarding each year's allocation of the balance, it may be said that substantial sums were invested in the city's funds. Eventually the City Treasurer indicated that the town could not take more, and £100 was invested with a lace manufacturing company.

The balances naturally varied according to the number of people attending the Assemblies and the expenses incurred. The balances between 1755 and 1765 were the lowest, because during that period the Directors had to meet considerable expense. In 1754 they purchased the house in Kennedy's Close for 3000 merks (£166, 13s. 4d.). Then in 1759 the Assembly Hall was acquired for £1003, 7s. 9d. Later on, the Directors made various improvements and additions, the total cost of which was £390, 4s. 9d.

Notwithstanding the heavy expenses, the balances throughout the thirty years referred to, during which there were twenty-five divisions, were well maintained. The total balances amounted to £6428, 15s. 2d., which was allocated as follows: Royal Infirmary, £2494, 19s. 9d.; Charity Workhouse, £2494, 19s. 9d.; Lady Directresses, £1438, 15s. 8d. The average yearly balance over twenty-five years was

£257, 3s., the highest balance in one year being £406, 11s., and the lowest £131, 4s. 10½d.

Some explanation is necessary to account for the relatively small sums given to the Lady Directresses. The original intention was to divide each year's balance into three equal parts, but that arrangement was based on the assumption that there would be seven Lady Directresses. As we have already seen, however, it was found difficult to maintain that number, and a time came when there were only two or three Lady Directresses. In such circumstances it was obvious that the proportion of one-third of the annual balance was rather large to hand over for the private charities of two or three ladies. Accordingly, considerable reductions were made. In the first four divisions, beginning with the year 1748, one-third was paid over to 'the Lady Directresses,' but in the following twelve years 'Mr. John Hamilton, advocate,' became a recipient along with the Lady Directresses. There is no explanation given as to why Hamilton, who was a Director, shared in the money handed to the ladies, but probably he had unusual opportunities of dispensing charity. Up to 1764 the full one-third was assigned to the ladies, but from 1765 to 1776 the amounts were much smaller. The Hon. Miss ('Nicky') Murray, in May 1766, 'declined taking the trouble of distributing the money.' The only other lady serving as a Directress at that time was Mrs. Bruce of Kennet, and the money was handed over to her and John Hamilton. After Lady Napier became a Directress in 1768, she joined Mrs. Bruce and Hamilton in distributing the sums allocated to them. Hamilton died in February 1772, and then for a year or two Mrs. Bruce alone dealt with the money. Later, Miss Murray seems to have agreed to share in the distribution, for in 1774 and 1775 her name is coupled with that of Mrs. Bruce. Finally, in 1776, Mrs. Bruce's name drops out, and Miss Murray then co-operates with Mrs. Johnston of Hilton.

As the Minutes end with the year 1776, it is impossible to record the balances and the manner of their division for the remaining eight years of the Assembly.

X

It remains to give some account of that fashionable association known as the 'George's Square Assembly,' which arose as a result of the extension of the city towards the south.

The Royal Company of Archers having long felt the need for premises of their own near the Meadows, where they practised shooting at the butts, feued from the town, in 1776, about an acre of ground on the west side of Buccleuch Street. In August of the year mentioned, the erection of the building which now stands there was begun. As originally built, the Archers' Hall consisted of a large apartment measuring 40 ft. by 24 ft., together with other rooms and offices. A bowling green was laid out on the ground behind. By the year 1776 James Brown, architect, was well advanced with the erection of George Square and adjacent streets; and the Archers, hampered for want of money to carry out their project, invited subscriptions from the occupants of the houses in the new southern district. Whether the original intention was to make the Hall, which was completed in 1777, a paying concern by throwing it open to the public, is not clear. But it is a fact that, some years after the erection of Archers' Hall, a tavern existed there, while the Hall was the meeting-place of a new Assembly.

On one occasion when a manager for the tavern was advertised for in the *Courant*, the announcement, which was headed 'Tavern and Long Room called Archers' Hall,' set forth the following particulars: 'The Archers, who are proprietors, will not accept any person who shall not appear qualified to do their own entertainment for the ladies and

gentlemen who hold their assemblies there, which are frequent. One assembly is held every Tuesday, consisting of 100 subscribers and each having the liberty of inviting a guest.' In a further advertisement for a manager, which appeared on 2nd February 1784, it is stated that an assembly had been carried on in the premises for some years. Applications were to be made either to James Hardie, writer, Semple's Close, or William Trotter, at his shop on the Bridge, Edinburgh. The successful applicant was Francis Bonnard, whose salary was fixed at £30 per annum. Bonnard himself intimated his appointment to the public in the *Courant* of 2nd June 1784. 'At the request of the nobility and gentry of this city and of the Royal Company of Archers,' he had taken the house called the Archers' Hall. Being frequently requested to 'dress dinners,' he would continue to do so at the Archers' Hall. He would also supply tea, coffee, and chocolate in the tavern there. We thus see Bonnard in 1784 established in the Archers' Hall, where he looks after the tavern, cooks dishes for outside patrons, and superintends the arrangements for the comfort of those attending the Assembly.

The ladies and gentlemen who constituted this southern Assembly, and for some years found the Archers' Hall a convenient place of meeting, had however a more ambitious design. In the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 1783, reference is made to the fact that an Assembly Room on a smaller scale than the one in George Street was to be erected immediately in George Square. In March of the year mentioned, under the heading of 'George's Square Assembly Rooms,' James Brown, the architect of George Square, advertised for plans and estimates. Both before and after its erection, the building is referred to as 'George's Square Assembly Rooms,' a designation which leads one naturally to suppose that the building was actually in the Square. But this was not so. The 'George's Square Assembly Rooms' were erected in Buccleuch Place. During the building operations in 1783

and 1784 various meetings of the subscribers were held in the Archers' Hall. But the most interesting fact which emerges is that the Assembly which was commenced in the Archers' Hall was the nucleus of the one established in Buccleuch Place. Indeed, it appears that even before Bonnard had been appointed manager at the Archers' Hall, the resolution had been arrived at to erect a new Assembly Room in the southern district. In an advertisement Bonnard alludes to the fact that he had been appointed to take charge whenever the new Assembly Room in Buccleuch Place was completed. In short, Bonnard's appointment, so far as the Archers' Hall was concerned, was only temporary. He was to supervise the tavern and look after the Assembly there, but to transfer his services to the George Square Assembly Rooms whenever they were ready.

In the feu-charter of the ground on which the Buccleuch Place Assembly Rooms were erected, dated 13th and 28th June, and recorded in the Books of Council and Session, 3rd July 1783, the ground is described as follows:—

'All and Whole an area or space of ground of ninety feet square on every side, part of the Lands of Ross park or Heriot's Croft lying in the parish of St. Cuthbert's and Shire of Edinburgh, and which area is situated on the south side of the place or street now delineated and called Buccleugh Place, and is bounded by the south line of the said street on the north and by the march dykes and fences to be built on the lines of the said area now staked out for dividing the same from the neighbouring grounds belonging to the said James Brown on the East, South and West parts, with free ish and entry to the said area from Buccleugh Place and Street.'

At that time the south side of George Square was unbuilt,¹ and there was open ground as far as the south side of Buccleuch Place. It is probable that, owing to this circumstance and to the fact that the hall was erected chiefly for the residents of George Square, the building acquired the name of 'George's

¹ It was completed in 1786.

Square Assembly Rooms.' In Kincaid's Plan of Edinburgh (1784), also in Brown and Watson's (1793), the building is shown as a detached tenement situated in Buccleuch Place, and opposite the south-east entrance to George Square. Even to-day it is easily identified, there being an open space on each side of it. Unlike other tenements in Buccleuch Place, it has a large extension towards the south, from which it may be assumed that the requirements of the new Assembly necessitated commodious premises. In two title-deeds, executed on the sale of the building in 1799 and 1800, the descriptions are respectively, as follows: 'A piece of ground and house built thereon called 'George's Square Assembly Rooms'; 'an area or piece of ground . . . upon which the house called George's Square Assembly Rooms was built.' In 1801 a house in the extension at the back was advertised for sale, and in the announcement reference is made to 'the back tenement being part of the building formerly called George's Square Assembly Rooms.' How was this large building fitted up for the purposes of the Assembly, and where exactly were the dance hall, the card- and tea-rooms, and the tavern? These are questions that cannot now be answered, the building, after it ceased to be the Assembly Rooms, having undergone extensive alterations. There can be little doubt, however, that the main entrance to the Assembly was by the large door at what is now No. 15 Buccleuch Place. The door is of unusual width, and above the entrance is an iron frame which at one time must have been used for suspending a lamp.¹ By this door one enters a broad, long and lofty passage, at the extreme end of which is a door giving entrance to a house in the extension. A consideration of these structural details suggests that the dance hall was on the ground floor of the extension, and that it was approached by the passage. Be that as it may, the

¹ It is significant that no other doorway in Buccleuch Place possesses a lamp-holder.

fact remains that in this large tenement the Assembly Rooms were situated.

The opening of the premises in Buccleuch Place took place on 5th January 1785, when a 'Dancing Assembly' was held, the proprietors being notified by advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 15th December 1784. All who proposed attending the Assembly that winter were required to call at the Archers' Hall and sign the subscription paper. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the proprietors included the Hon. Henry Erskine, who in his youth had been a prominent figure at the assemblies in Bell's Wynd. When, in March 1784, Erskine advertised his house on the west side of George Square for sale, it was stated that he had a share in the New Assembly Room 'now completing in George's Square,' which could be transferred if the purchaser so wished.

Situated so conveniently for those dwelling to the south of the old Flodden Wall, the 'George's Square Assembly Rooms' must have been a great acquisition. For a number of years they certainly formed a centre of attraction. The managers not only carried on the ordinary dancing and card assemblies, but also catered for the children of the subscribers. For instance, on 15th April 1789, a ball was arranged, beginning at six o'clock, to which not only these young people but others 'living in family with them' were admitted. Further, it speaks eloquently for the progress of this new institution that in 1791 an additional tea-room was built. The Assembly Room would appear to have been used for other purposes besides dancing. In March 1794 the proprietors of George Square met there to consider the question of having 'soft water brought into the district.'

In *Memorials of His Time* Lord Cockburn says that in his youth 'the whole fashionable dancing, as indeed the fashionable everything, clung to George Square.' He also tells us that the 'most beautiful rooms' erected in Buccleuch Place 'for several years threw the New Town piece of

presumption entirely into the shade.' Here, he adds, in a passage too well known for quotation, were the 'last remains of the ball-room discipline of the preceding age,' a place in which 'martinet dowagers and venerable beaux acted as masters and mistresses of ceremonies,' and no couple could dance unless each party was provided with a ticket prescribing the precise place in the precise dance. Cockburn also tells us that at the 'stately assemblies' of this period Lady Don and Mrs. Rothead of Inverleith 'both shone, first as hooped beauties in the minuet, and then as ladies of ceremonies.' It was at the Buccleuch Place Assembly, too, that young Walter Scott danced with his first love, Williamina Belsches. He writes: 'It was a proud night with me when I first found that a pretty young lady could think it worth her while to sit and talk with me hour after hour in a corner of the ball-room.'

At some time in the nineties the management of the Assembly Rooms passed from Francis Bonnard to John Bayle, vintner.¹ By 1795 the Buccleuch Place Assembly had declined, and dancing parties were held only occasionally. The winter season of 1794-95 had far advanced before the subscribers met to consider a proposal for a 'Dancing meeting.' The assembly was arranged for 15th January, and as the proceeds were to be set aside for the wives and children of men serving in the Navy and Army, it was hoped 'that

¹ He had his tavern in North Bridge Street in 1780-81. In 1786-87, or earlier, he was in Shakespeare Square, and there he remained till at least 1796. We find various references to his noted tavern, such as a 'sparring match,' in his great room in March 1791. In March 1793 it was intimated that Lord Lorne's Dance and Supper would be at the Abbey in place of Bayle's. The East India Club was founded at his tavern, and both it and the New Club held their meetings there. When Bayle's connection with George Square ceased in 1799 he continued to arrange balls in his premises at Shakespeare Square. One held there in 1800 was under the patronage of the Duchess of Buccleuch and Mrs. Dundas of Arniston. Lord Cockburn remembered Bayle, and has told us that his tavern in Shakespeare Square was on the site occupied by the westmost house on the south side of Waterloo Place.

the company on such an occasion' would 'be splendid.' Tickets were to be obtained from Bailie Martin, Alexander's Land, Bristo Street.

By the end of 1796 the financial situation had become so acute that the proprietors were summoned. The meeting took place on 2nd January 1797. In the advertisement calling the meeting the proprietors were 'most particularly requested' to attend, or send proxies, as it would then be finally determined whether the Assembly would be continued 'or instructions given to the Trustees to dispose of the rooms.' Whatever was decided at this meeting, the Assembly appears to have been continued for some time longer, for on 11th February of the same year it was announced that the day for holding the Assembly was changed from Tuesday to Wednesday. The Buccleuch Place rooms, as originally planned, were finally closed before the eighteenth century had run its course, but the writer has not been able to ascertain the precise date. Bayle and his wife, however, attempted to carry on dancing parties, likewise the tavern, on their own account. In the *Courant* of 31st January 1799, under the heading 'George's Square Assembly Rooms,' it was intimated that 'Mrs. Bayle has the honour to inform the public that her next ball is to be on Friday, 15th February 1799.' On 21st February Bayle advertised that due intimation would be given of his next ball at 'George's Square Assembly Rooms.' On 4th April he announced a ball 'for the benefit of a family in distress,' under the patronage of the Countess of Dalhousie and Lady Elizabeth Heron. The announcement also intimated that 'there would be no tea,' though Mrs. Bayle would 'furnish what may be required'; that the 'George Street Assembly Band' had 'generously offered their services gratis on this occasion'; and that it would be 'conducted by Mr. Gow.'

Early in the summer of 1799 the ground and tenement in Buccleuch Place passed out of the possession of the proprietors

of the Assembly. In the printed Abridgments of the Register of Sasines for Edinburgh there is this entry: 'James Brown, Architect, Edinburgh, gets Resignation ad Remanentiam, June 19, 1799, of a piece of ground and house built thereon, called George's Square Assembly Rooms, on the south side of Buccleuch Place, par. St. Cuthbert's, on Procuratory of Resignation in Disposition by a quorum of the Proprietors and Trustees of George's Square Assembly Rooms.' Lord Cockburn tells us in his *Memorials* that after the sale of the building 'the very rooms were obliterated,' a fact borne out by other evidence. In a Sasine, in favour of Charles Black, builder, Edinburgh, dated 24th May 1800,¹ of 'an area or piece of ground on the south side of Buccleuch Place, on which the house called George's Square Assembly Rooms was built,' it is stated to have been 'enlarged and converted into three tenements of land and twelve cellars under the street.'

XI

It is to be regretted that not one of the three buildings in which the Assembly had their meetings in the Old Town has survived to the present time. The West Bow, in which the first hall was situated, was demolished about the middle of the nineteenth century. The hall in the Old Assembly Close was destroyed in the great fire of 1824, and on its site was built, about the middle of the nineteenth century, one of the free schools which the Heriot Trust erected throughout the city. The third hall in Bell's Wynd, after it was vacated by the Assembly, became part of the premises of the King's Arms Tavern, and was let for various purposes. In February 1800 the tavern was advertised for sale, together with 'the ball-room adjoining, which was formerly

¹ Water was granted nine families in tenement formerly known as George's Square Assembly Rooms. Town Council Records, 7th May 1800.

the Edinburgh Assembly Hall, and is much frequented as a place of exhibition and dancing room.' The entire premises then belonged to the Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel. The Commercial Bank of Scotland acquired the site in 1813, on which they erected a building which was their head office till 1847. Thereafter the bank premises were used by various societies as a place of meeting. Finally, it was transformed into the Children's Shelter.

Looking back across the long period which separates us from eighteenth-century Edinburgh, an aspect of the social life of which the writer has tried to portray, one thing is tolerably clear, i.e. that amid conditions of everyday life that were nothing if not quaint, there was growing up a society with aims and aspirations which were essentially modern. The passing of the social assemblies of the Old Town was a notable phase of the great transition which marked the closing years of the eighteenth century—the exodus from the Old Town and the settlement under far more comfortable, one might almost say, luxurious conditions in the New.

I. LIST OF DIRECTORS OF THE ASSEMBLY

(*Note*.—The figures after each name indicate the date of appointment as Director, or, in the case of the second list, as Lady Directress, a term which is used advisedly. Previous to 1746 the Assembly was directed solely by ladies.)

JOHN BELSCHES (1746), son of Alexander Belsches of Invermay, Sheriff-Clerk, Edinburgh. Admitted advocate, 1720. Died 29th December 1777.

HUGH CLARK (1746), merchant, Edinburgh. Died November 1750. (*Edinburgh Register of Testaments*.)

HEW DALRYMPLE of Drummore (1746), son of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Bart., who was President of the Court of Session. He was admitted an advocate, 1710, and appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Drummore, 1726. He died 18th June 1755.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS (1746), merchant, Edinburgh. He was treasurer of the Assembly, as well as of the Musical Society of Edinburgh.

SIR GILBERT ELLIOT (1746). Second baronet of Minto. Admitted advocate, 1715; appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Minto, 1726; promoted Lord Justice-Clerk, 1763; died 16th April 1766. His father, who bore the same name, also sat on the Bench as Lord Minto.

GAVIN HAMILTON (1746), bookseller, Edinburgh. See footnote on p. 47.

JOHN HAMILTON (1746), advocate. He was the second son of Thomas Hamilton, sixth Earl of Haddington. He died on 11th February 1772.

JAMES STIRLING (1746), merchant, Edinburgh. He carried on a grocery business at the Black Bull, below the Tron Church. According to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 1758, he sold tickets for the Assembly at his shop. He was Treasurer of the Charity Workhouse. Died 17th February 1764.

GILBERT LAURIE (1755), son of Gilbert Laurie of Crossrig, an Edinburgh surgeon. He was an apothecary and Commissioner of Excise, and was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1766-68 and 1772-74.

ROBERT PRINGLE of Edgehill (1755), son of Thomas Pringle, W.S.; admitted advocate 1724; appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Edgehill, 1754; died 8th April 1764.

ROBERT BRUCE (1766), son of Alexander Bruce of Kennet; admitted advocate, 1743; appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Kennet, 1764; died 8th April 1785.

JOHN DALRYMPLE (1772), a younger brother of Lord Hailes. Born 1734, died 1779. He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1770-72 and 1777-78.

HON. JAMES ERSKINE of Alva (1772), son of Charles Erskine of Tinwald, Lord Justice-Clerk. Born 1722; admitted advocate, 1743; appointed a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Barjarg, 1761; died 13th May 1796. He was a brother of Mrs. Campbell of Finab (see p. 90).

JAMES EDGAR (1774), Collector of Customs at Leith. Died 6th February 1799. Interesting particulars about him will be found in Kay's *Portraits*, vol. i. p. 385.

SIR WILLIAM FORBES of Pitsligo, Bart. (1774), the well-known banker. Born 5th April 1739, died 12th November 1806.

II. LIST OF LADY DIRECTRESSES

(Note.—Includes Lady Directresses from 1723 to 1746; also those who held office along with the Directors from 1746 onwards. Those marked with an asterisk were invited to serve, but whether they did so is not apparent from the Minutes.)

COUNTESS OF PANMURE (1723). Margaret, youngest daughter of William, Duke of Hamilton, and wife of James Maule, fourth Earl of Panmure, one of the Privy Councillors of James VII. The Countess, who was a Directress till at least 1728, was a prominent leader in Edinburgh society. She died on 6th December 1731. The *Caledonian Mercury* for 13th December contains an account of her funeral from 'her lodgings in the Canongate' to 'the Royal Palace of Holyrood-house.' Her remains were interred privately in the Abbey Church.

LADY DRUMELZIER (1723). Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Seton, first Viscount Kingston, and wife of the Hon. William Hay of Drumelzier.

LADY ORBISTON (1723). Probably Margaret, daughter of Sir Archibald Hamilton of Rosehall, Bart., and wife of James Hamilton of Dalziel and Orbiston.

LADY NEWHALL (1723). Katherine, daughter of Johnston of Hilton, and wife of Sir Walter Pringle, Lord Newhall, one of the Lords of Session.

LADY DALRYMPLE of North Berwick (1723). Marion, daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton of Pressmennan, a Lord of Session, and wife of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Lord President of the Court of Session (1698-1737).

COUNTESS OF GLENCAIRN (1746). Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Macguire of Drumdow, Ayrshire, and wife of William, twelfth Earl of Glencairn. She died on 24th June 1801, aged 76.

COUNTESS OF HOPETOUN (1746). Lady Anne Ogilvy, second daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and first wife of John, second Earl of Hopetoun. Died 8th February 1759.

COUNTESS OF LEVEN (1746). Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Monypenny of Pitmilny, and second wife of Alexander, fifth Earl of Leven. Died 15th May 1783, in her eighty-fourth year.

LADY MILNTOUN (MILTON) (1746). Probably Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, and wife of Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk (1735-48). Died in November 1782.

LADY MINTO (1746). Helen, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Allanbank, Bart., and wife of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, second baronet. See p. 88. Died 22nd June 1774. Miss Jean Elliot, authoress of one of the versions of 'The Flowers of the Forest,' was her daughter.

HON. LADY JEAN FERGUSSON (1747). Only child of James, Lord Maitland (eldest son of James, Earl of Lauderdale), and wife of Sir James Fergusson, Bart., a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Kilkerran. Born 7th December 1703, died 29th March 1766.

LADY HENRIETTA CAMPBELL * (1750), daughter of John, second Earl of Breadalbane. She was one of the ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, daughters of George II. Died unmarried, 27th January 1766.

MRS. GRANT of Prestongrange (1750). Grizel, only child of Rev. John Millar, minister of Neilston, and wife of William Grant, a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Prestongrange. Born 1708, died 30th September 1792.

MRS. FERGUSON of Pitfour (1753). The Hon. Anne Murray, daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, and wife of James Ferguson of Pitfour, who sat on the Bench as Lord Pitfour. Died 2nd January 1793.

LADY KELLO * (1753). Christian, daughter of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, and wife of George Buchan of Kello. Died 4th August 1784.

MRS. SCOTT of Gala * (1753). Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel John Stewart of Stewartfield, and wife of Hugh Scott of Gala. Died 1784 (?).

LADY SINCLAIR of Longformacus (1753). Sydney, daughter of Robert Johnston of Hilton, and wife of Sir John Sinclair of Longformacus, fourth baronet. Died 25th May 1777.

MRS. BRUCE of Kennet (1765). Helen, eldest daughter of George Abercromby of Tullibody, and wife of Robert Bruce, a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Kennet. See p. 88.

HON. MRS. NICOLAS HELEN MURRAY of Stormont, better known as 'Nicky' Murray (1765). Died 7th November 1777, aged 69. See p. 54.

LADY NAPIER (1768). Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Major George Johnston, cadet of the Hilton family, and second wife of Francis, fifth Lord Napier. Died 20th September 1795.

MRS. CAMPBELL of Finab (1773). Susan, daughter of Charles Erskine of Tinwald, Lord Justice-Clerk, and wife of Robert Campbell of Finab

and Monzie. She was sister of the Lord of Session who went by the title of Lord Barjarg. See p. 88.

COUNTESS OF DUNDONALD * (1773). She was also proposed in 1753. Jean, daughter of Archibald Stuart of Torrance, Lanarkshire, and wife of Thomas, eighth Earl of Dundonald. Died 21st March 1808, aged 86. An obituary in the *Scots Magazine* states that her 'many virtues endeared her to all ranks,' and that her 'highly cultivated mind and elegant manners excited general admiration.'

LADY ELPHINSTONE (1773). Lady Clementina Fleming, daughter of John, sixth Earl of Wigton, and wife of Charles, tenth Lord Elphinstone. Died 1st January 1799.

COUNTESS DOWAGER OF MORAY (1773). Margaret, second daughter of David, third Earl of Wemyss, and wife of James, eighth Earl of Moray. Died 31st August 1779.

MRS. JOHNSTON of Hilton (1776). Probably daughter of Major George Johnston, and sister of Lady Napier.

JAMES H. JAMIESON.

THE BARONY OF CALTON: PART II

A BRIEF general sketch of the situation and growth of the Barony of Calton has been furnished in the preceding part of this article;¹ and subsequent remarks are chiefly confined to its history from the latter half of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. As the Trades' books themselves do not furnish a sufficiently detailed picture, considerable search has been made in property registers and other sources in order to a fuller elucidation.

Before, however, concentrating on the hamlet itself, it may be well to mention a few prominent landmarks which by their proximity to or association with the burgh are worthy of notice. The first and most important of these is St. Ninian's Chapel.

When, some time before 1460, Mary of Gueldres, the Queen of James II., gave expression to her piety and charity in the foundation of a college and hospital, there must have been standing in the immediate neighbourhood a little chapel dedicated to St. Ninian; and when, in 1462, Trinity College was fully endowed, the prior claims of this saint seem to have been recognised by the inclusion of his name in the dedication of the new and more extensive foundation. The chapel stood almost at the point where the 'Lang Gait' branched off from the road through the Calton and led westward to the Abbey lands at the side of the North Loch, and to the church of St. Cuthbert. It is thus described in 1600, when presentation was made to John Dickson of 'all and hail

¹ See Vol. XVIII. pp. 33-78.

the chaipnanrie of St. Ninian lyand at the fute of the Wynd callit Leith Wynd in the raw callit Sanctninianes raw upoun the entrie of the passage callit the Lang gait.' The previous chaplain and possessor of the benefice was John Brand, minister in Canongate, in whose gift (1568) it is shortly described as 'the chaipnanrie callit Sanct Niniane besyde the Trinitie College.'¹ A later holder of the benefice was Mr. Patrick Bannatyne (related to the Bellendens of Broughton), whose son James in 1627 took infeftment in 'Seikmans-acre,' part of the southmost of two acres assigned to the chapel. One of these lay to the north of the Lang Gait, the other to the south; and reference is made in 1648 to a 'gardener of Ninianscraft.'²

The little chapel was in pre-Reformation days served from the Abbey of Holyrood, and provision was made for the needs of sundry lepers, as is shown by entries in the Chartulary of St. Giles extending from 1478 to 1541:—Three loaves and six pence 'to the lipper folkis of Sanct Ninianis chapell' (*Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. 215)—'quatuor leprosis apud ecclesiam sive capellam Sancti Niniani prope dictum burgum' (p. 222), etc. The increasing number of beggars and needy persons near this point of access to the city probably stimulated further charitable provision such as Trinity College and its hospital afforded, and within a few years St. Paul's Hospital or Work was erected for a like purpose. Doubtless the origin of the name 'Beggan Row' is thus accounted for. After the Reformation other accommodation was found for the beggars, while an institution was erected in 1590 in Greenside, on the site of the Carmelite monastery.³

The chapel probably shared the fate of similar structures on the change of religion; but Arnot's note about its con-

¹ *Register of Presentations to Benefices*, vols. i. 1, iii. 29.

² *Edinburgh Tests.*, 23rd March 1648.

³ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xvii. App. 16.

dition in 1778 is interesting as confirming its location. 'The under part of the building still remains. It is the nearest house to the Register Office on the south-east, except the row of houses on the east side of the Theatre. The lower storey was vaulted, and the vaults still remain. On these a mean house of a later date has been superstructed, and the whole converted into a dwelling house.'¹ Arnot adds that in the year mentioned the baptismal font was removed to the tower built at Deanhaugh by Walter Ross, W.S. Wilson narrates² that this 'font' was later removed to Abbotsford; and that the last remains of the ancient chapel were swept away in 1814 in clearing the site for the west pier of the Regent Bridge.

Another prominent landmark was Dingwall Castle. Situated between St. Ninian's Chapel and Trinity College, this structure was built in so substantial a fashion as to be dubbed, in later days, a 'castle.' The evidence points to its having been built for John Dingwall, who became provost of Trinity College in 1525, and died in 1532, while many of his schemes were only in the making. In its ruinous condition it gave shelter to members of the begging fraternity, and was sometimes used as a place of confinement for them.³ It was finally demolished in 1647; and in 1735 the Orphan Hospital rose on its site.

Finally, there were Trinity College Church and Hospital, whose history is fully detailed in two volumes issued by the Burgh Records Society. Mention is only made of them here to correct a curious mistake that was made by Sir James Marwick about the location of the post-Reformation hospital, which he confuses with St. Paul's Hospital, and locates on the east side of Leith Wynd. Trinity Hospital never was on the east side.⁴ Although the church stood on the other side

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816 ed., p. 191.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 1891, vol. ii. p. 182.

³ *History of Trinity Church and Hospital*, p. 89 n.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

of the street from the Calton, it is never once referred to in the Trades' books.

I

Little is known about the extent or disposition of the dwellings in the Calton prior to 1673. They were for the most part humble and unpretentious, like their neighbours across the way (for, as will be shown later, St. Ninian's Row was not a part of Calton). Perhaps, however, there were one or two larger buildings, consisting of more than one storey; for a collection was made in several parish churches in 1667 'for the burnt land in Craigend.'¹ After the erection of Craigend or Wester Restalrig into a burgh of barony in 1673,² the Calton suburb had a new lease of life, and extended north and east. Fresh ground was feued, and ground that had become waste was again built upon.

Some particulars have been ascertained from the property registers which enable a rough idea to be given of the hamlet towards the close of the seventeenth century. It might be divided into three almost equal portions. At the eastern end there was the part known as the Craigwell, because of the well of that name, which stood somewhat to the east of Leith Wynd Port; farther east still there was the Nether Craigwell, and a few houses existed beyond that point, perhaps to the foot of what is now called 'Jacob's Ladder.' In any case the most easterly building of this time is described as nearly opposite 'Tolbooth Close' (apparently the passage from Canongate Tolbooth to the 'North Back'). A little beyond the Leith Wynd Port, and just where the road turned from east to north, was a dwelling called the 'Sclaitland' (of which more presently). The eastern section extended thus to the bend. The middle section, again, stretched from the 'Sclaitland' to the Convening House, which was only a few yards

¹ *South Leith Records*, vol. i. p. 122.

² See Part I, Vol. XVIII. p. 43.

short of where the Lang Gait branched off on the opposite side. The remaining section, of about equal length, extended from the Convening House to the northern extremity of the hamlet, which was at the junction of what is now Nottingham Place with the main street. At this point a feu of 30 feet frontage was granted in 1680 by the Master of Balmerino, an adjacent feu of 28 feet frontage having been given off two years earlier. Both feus are described as situated at the farthest part of the Craighend towards Leith, having the lower road leading from Edinburgh to Leith on the west, and the upper road leading from Leith to Edinburgh on the north. This can only allude to the two levels of Leith Walk, the eastern side of which was 18 feet higher than the other. Returning southwards from this point, and passing three or four houses, one came to a feu possessed by Thomas Goudie, mason, which in 1682 became the property of his son, Rev. John Goudie, minister at Tingwall in Shetland. Next to this were older buildings, which in 1684 were undergoing reconstruction, having been purchased by the Incorporation for the use of the crafts. From this point southwards the houses were occupied chiefly by craftsmen. The frontages are given in only a few cases, and vary from 13 to 30 feet. In one case the tenement was 'about 18 feet between gavells of English measure or five lenth of that staff which is kept by the Master of Balmerino for measuring the lenth and breadth of the houses in Caltoune.' Then came the 'Sclaitland,' evidently a building of more ample proportions and roofed with slate in contradistinction to the prevailing thatch. It was partitioned into three divisions, each being subdivided into houses and shops. For example, the north part of the 'middle division' (that is, one-sixth of the whole tenement) consisted of 'laigh house, laigh new shop, house above the laigh house, and a topp house and two back houses lately built.' A number of widows are mentioned as tenants. To the east end, adjacent to the 'Sclaitland,' stood a property

which in after years became the possession of William Laing, bookseller, who was the father of the noted antiquary, Dr. David Laing. The brewing fraternity seem to have congregated around the Craigwell area. At any rate, one of the feuars got a piece of waste ground 40 feet square, with liberty to use the adjacent well for his brewhouse and mill. At the Nether Craigwell a single block of houses, of 30 feet frontage, had as occupants two brewers, a cooper, two workmen, a clothier, a schoolmaster, a soldier, and a maiden lady. These persons had apparently the exclusive use of a well. To conclude, just a little to the west of the Craigwell was a house occupied by James Cunningham, W.S. Thus the inhabitants of the Calton at the end of the seventeenth century belonged to every grade.

The following figures, gleaned from a study of the property registers, indicate the relative occupations of the indwellers during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and are supplementary to the table furnished in the first part of this article.¹ In the period 1659-95 there were four bakers, one barber, five brewers, three clock- or watch-makers, one club-maker, one cooper, one glover, one gunsmith, one litster, four masons, one merchant, three schoolmasters, twenty shoemakers, thirteen smiths, two sailors, one trunkmaker, one upholsterer, and a Writer to the Signet. From another source it is ascertained that in the last decade of the century there were forty-nine families in Calton, the breadwinners in twenty-one cases being cordiners. In St. Ninian's Row there were twenty-nine families, mostly 'cottars.'

The building most intimately associated with the Society's activities during the eighteenth century was known as the Trades' Land, and later as the Convening House. On 29th October 1683 the Incorporation obtained a feu-charter from John, Master of Balmerino, of two properties situated immediately to the south of Goudie's feu, having purchased

¹ See Vol. XVIII. pp. 57-58.

them for the craftsmen in Craigend. Some reconstruction was going on in 1684, but, twenty years later, things were far from satisfactory. On 4th April 1704 the Baron Bailie and the Incorporation considered the condition 'of the land belonging to the Gate,' and found that it could not be repaired without great expense, the walls being 'much failed and waisted.' Accordingly, they unanimously agreed to have the said 'land or tenement' rebuilt. As the money in the common box was only about 3000 merks, they borrowed on security. At the same time 'the bailzie recommended to the inhabitants of the gate to make a voluntar collection among themselves for carrying on the building of their land, and for that effect appoynted a paper to be drawn up and presented to each inhabitant to be subscribed by them for what each of them will freely give.' But apparently the response was poor, for it was minuted on 31st July 1705 that the 'gate were much in debt.' It was therefore decided that the quarterly contributions should be doubled, the houses 'set to sufficient tenants,' and the rents applied, along with the 'upset money' of the freemen, towards the extinction of the debt. Finally, in March 1708, the bailie and other officers and members of the Incorporation visited the ground at the back of the rebuilt tenement, and resolved to erect 'ane prisone house in the first and laigh storie, ane conveening or court house in the second storey, with garrets above, conforme to ane sceme or draught to be made therof.' Further, a voluntary contribution was made 'for setting down a well in the most convenient place.'

A stair leading to property at the back, higher up the cliff, seems to have been situated at the southern end of the Conveening House. Unfortunately, 'dirt and rubbish' fell from the rock and 'damnified both the stair and conveining hous,' so that a dyke had to be built. Other houses also suffered from the same cause, and in 1737 the Baron Bailie enacted that the 'brae' should be fenced with a stone wall four feet

high above the one already there. We also learn of a wright (or his servants) having broken four steps of the turnpike in the new 'land' belonging to the Incorporation, he being a person 'who ordinarily cleavs his logs of wood upon the place at his door.'

Trouble was experienced by the Society in collecting rents from houses in their possession; and tenants were warned that unless arrears were paid they would be removed, 'and tickets shall be putt' on their houses. The rent of Humphrey Mill's house and shop in 1679 (which was payable to the Master of Balmerino) was £27 Scots (about £2, 5s. sterling). In 1777 houses were letting from £6 to £3, 10s. In 1803 the total rents derived from the 'Trades' land' amounted to £42, 10s. sterling, collected from eleven houses, as follows:—House No. 1, £5; Nos. 2 and 3, £4, 10s.; No. 4, £5; No. 5, £3, 10s.; No. 6, £4; Nos. 7 and 8, £1, 10s.; No. 9, £5; No. 10, £5, 10s.; No. 11, £2, 10s. The Society had frequent appeals for upkeep. One tenant represented that his 'lum' had taken fire, which occasioned 'sutimen to be sent for from Edinburgh to quench the same,' with the result that the boxmaster had to pay the 'sutimen' four shillings sterling. And from the same tenant came the request that his shop-door might be 'cut through to open in two halves,' which was granted. Nor was this all. Still another request was that a piece of rock in his shop might be hewn, so 'that the water when coming through might have a place to settle.' For this he was allowed a workman for two days, but if the job took longer the further cost was to be borne by himself.

The inhabitants of Calton were on the whole 'good neighbours.' Sometimes, however, they had others less desirable. On 29th June 1738 the boxmaster reported that 'Alexander Meggets house and furnitur was all gone over with bogs and verey uneasy to the nighbours.' Whereupon the boxmaster was ordered to 'caus take down the furnitur and put in the bureall place.' A year later that official, on reporting that

end, but it is doubtless to the Craigwell that the following items refer :—

1728, Dec. 4 : Two large buckets to be made for draining the well, and four men for the day and four for the night, 'and if they could not draine it in twinty fower howers to give it intirly over till sumer.'

1729, April 24 : Allows the mason Andrew Donaldson 10/- sterling for mending the well, and in time coming one shilling sterling per year 'for which he is to uphold it during his life.'

By the middle of the century the inhabitants found it necessary to establish a new well. A committee was chosen in December 1751 to select a site, and to petition the Town Council 'for a pipe of water for serving the inhabitants of Caldoun and St. Ninian's Row.' The sum of £10 was to be taken from the 'Trades box' towards the expense, the Town voting other £10. It is interesting to add that the Committee co-operated with the 'four assistants in St. Ninians Row.' The well, on the west side of which was inscribed 'St. Ninian's Row, 1752,' was finished in December of that year. Though the inhabitants were acutely conscious of the advantages of their new well, they were tardy in defraying the cost, for two years later there were still some 'deficient in paying the moietys they became bound to pay.' On 21st September 1752 the boxmaster was instructed to 'cause clean the old draw well,' which seems to show that the old well continued to be used. In 1758 repairs were ordered to be carried out on both wells, 'so as the place may be sufficiently served with water.' And, judging by the following entry, this was no easy matter :—

1761, Oct. 29 : The meeting considering the great inconvenience that daily arises to the inhabitants of the place by the new well being opened very early for the morning when tubs and other large vessels are brought there by washerwomen, which occasions a scarcity of water, resolve that the well shall not be opened for the future until 7 A.M. and that from late Saturday night until Monday morning at the said hour the well shall be shutt up altogether; and John Laurie is to have the keys of the well for that purpose.

This respect for the Sabbath is reflected in the records of South Leith's kirk-session. On 12th May 1692 Robert Wishart, in Caltoun, was summoned before that body for having drawn 'watter out of his well himself on the Lords day.' Then on 27th July 1693 William Stocks reported that when 'he was searching in Caltoun' on the Sabbath, 'he found ane Jean Hislop att the well, and when he offered to take the stoup from her she said "ye dare not for your hanging." Then he said he would report it to the session. She ansred she cared not for the session, and came again to the well and said "hinder me and you dare for your hanging."'¹

In 1762 the water-pipe from the town needed further repair; in 1770 four estimates were laid before the meeting for building a new cistern or well in Calton; and in May 1782 the Society obtained an Act of Council for laying a new pipe to convey water to the Calton from the Fountain Well.

IV

The first mention of lighting is on 2nd January 1741, when Simon Frazer, whiteiron-smith, gave in his account 'for the lamps he has furnished for the Place.' On the 28th of the same month a lamplighter was appointed, and on 23rd October the Baron, it was reported, had ordered that all the lamps be fixed on poles. The ironwork being rendered useless, the boxmaster called the freemen smiths together and rouped it. But the iron 'falling into his own hand,' the masters ordered him 'to try if he gett any more for the iron, and if not, to be countable for them himself.'

Matters connected with lighting were constantly cropping up. In 1748 an account for oil for the street lamps came to £1, 18s. 8d. sterling. In 1749 the lamps were painted, while the lamplighter was provided with a cloak. In November

¹ Robertson, *South Leith Records*, vol. i. pp. 167, 175.

1750 a new 'lamp post' was ordered to replace one lately broken. Two years later 1s. 6d. was paid to the lamplighter 'in full satisfaction for his carrying the posts out and in last year, and carrying them out this year.' Furthermore, a letter addressed to John Learmonth, Baron Bailie of Calton, and to be laid before the Town Council, sets forth a working arrangement between the City and the Trades of Calton as regards illuminants. The letter is in the following terms:—

'Sir, As I understand that the honourable the Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh propose to give the Trades of Calton the rent of the dung of St. Ninians Row, upon condition that they erect two additional lamps in Calton and light the whole lamps there a month sooner and continue them lighted for a month longer than they were formerly in use to do; therefore I as boxmaster of the Trades of Calton and as authorised by the said Trades oblige me and my successors in office and the said Trades to erect two additional lamps in the Calton, and to light the whole lamps there upon the first day of October, and continue them lighted to the first day of March yearly, and that ay and so long as the Good Town shall be pleased to continue to give the Trades the rents of the dung of St. Ninians Row: 8 Jan. 1760.'

The additional lamps notwithstanding, the Trades saw to it that there was no artificial illumination when the moon might be expected to render service. An entry of 1st November 1764 enjoins the boxmaster to light the lamps only when the moon fails. Hitherto it had not been customary to light the lamps on Sunday nights, but on 27th November 1766 it was resolved that this rule should be departed from 'except when in time of moonlight.' At the same time 'globe lamps' were introduced in certain parts of the Barony.

In 1769, when four lamps were added in the Back of the Canongate, James Mylne, a smith there, 'desired positively to put up one lamp at his door.' Being refused because it would interfere with the plan fixed upon, Mylne insulted the boxmaster and constable, and 'even threw the man from the top of the lether to the ground, and entirely interrupted

their business for that day.' For this offence Mylne forfeited two years' privileges in the Society. In October 1774, 11d. sterling was paid weekly for the lighting of each lamp, or £11, 18s. 6d. for the season, which ended on 24th April 1775. In the following year there was a penny increase per lamp, but ten years later the rate of payment had fallen to 7d. per lamp. In 1801 Messrs. Smith and Stevenson offered to light the lamps for the ensuing season on the same terms as they lit the lamps in the city, conditionally that if the average price of oil at Leith market was 26s. sterling per ton, the lamps were to be charged 6d. weekly, and rise or fall a farthing each per week for every 20s. change in the price of oil. In 1791 there were 36 lamps within the barony, but in 1799 the number had increased only by four. Such are a few gleanings indicating the old order of things in Calton, which was swept away by the Act of 1805 when the duties of lighting and street cleansing were transferred to the Police Commissioners.

V

Something must now be said about a special feature of the Calton thoroughfare. It should be borne in mind that St. Ninian's Row and Calton were not synonymous terms, although at the close of the eighteenth century some confusion prevailed. The boundary between St. Cuthbert's parish and that of South Leith (which was not an imaginary one) passed along the middle of the street—St. Ninian's Row being situated in the former parish and Calton in the latter. In Gordon of Rothiemay's Map (1647) there is shown a raised terrace, on which a few houses seem to be built. In later maps the terrace is buttressed by a wall, which is probably the 'Parapet Wall' referred to in the following entry in the Trades' records, dated 25th August 1749:—

'Considering that the high road and also the parapet wall opposite

to the houses in Calton are both at present in great disrepair, and that it has been the custom in times past for the heritors to repair the same opposite to their several properties, as appears from several acts of the Baron Court in that behalf, and the delaying to make so necessary a reparation may be attended with very fatal consequences to persons going and coming twixt Edinburgh and Leith and even to those living in the neighbourhood under cloud of night: therefore enacted that the same be repaired at the expense of the proprietors of houses in Calton in proportion to their rents, before 1st October next, under pain of £5 Scots.'

This act was renewed on 1st March 1754, with the remark that the high road was still in great disrepair. It was also repeated on 3rd October 1757, and on subsequent occasions.

Some entries refer to 'steps,' but they are too vague to enable the position to be determined with accuracy. It would seem, however, that about 1741 there were stairs at each end of the terrace, for exception was taken to them as inconvenient. In 1763 the boxmaster reported that he had sold 'the large steps or stones leading from the Beggar Row street to the Calton burial place' for £1, 11s. 6d. sterling. In the Baron Court in the same year it was submitted that as the Road Trustees for the Middle District had assessed the inhabitants in 18d. yearly for each house, and as 'the Calton road was as public as any about the Town,' this sum should be applied 'towards repairing the wall and road.' In September the boxmaster was summoned to appear before the Dean of Gild Court to answer in name of the Incorporated Trades of Calton 'with regard to upholding and repairing the parapet wall directly opposite to the Gates land belonging to the place.' But by a majority it was agreed that the Society should defray no part of the expenses, as that part of the parapet wall 'was sufficient enough already.' The matter went further:—

1764, May 31: Process now depending before the Court of Session with regard to the upholding and repairing the dyke opposite

to the Calton, authorise the boxmaster to concur with the other heritors of the place according to their different properties, with regard to the Gates land, in the expense of the process.

About this time street nomenclature seems to have begun to vary, and references to particular roads are confusing. The following entries show that by the 'High Calton' is meant, not the street that became known for a time by that name, but the 'terrace' under discussion:—

1772, Sept. 24: 7/- sterling paid for advertisement in the newspapers for a proper person to lay the causway of the High Calton; and the boxmaster produced an extract of the minutes of the Middle District for repairing the High Calton road, narrating petition on 10 March 1770 by the Incorporated Trades of Calton, praying for their review of the road leading along the Calton from the head of Leith Walk, and offering, if the Trustees' funds do not then admit, to defray the expense out of their poors' money upon receiving security for repayment when the funds were able to meet it. To which no answer being made, or steps taken, and 'as the road was now in such a situation that no person could walk thereon with safety,' the application was renewed. The Trustees thereupon agreed that the petitioners shall at the sight and with the concurrence of Mr James Balfour of Pilrig and any two or more of the magistrates of Edinburgh repair the road and advance the expense thereof out of their own funds, and for their indemnification the boxmaster of the Trades of Calton is to collect the 18d. composition payable yearly by the inhabitants of Calton, 'that is to say those that reside on the east side of the road from Leith Walk, and on the north side of the road at the North Back of the Canongate as far east as Bailie Walker's stables,' and apply the same for repayment of the expense of the road, subject to a yearly accounting with the Trustees of the Middle District.

1772, Sept. 30: Estimate of William Purdie, residenter in Edinburgh, for causewaying the street of the Calton, accepted; being £1, 18s. 6d. per rood for cutting, levelling, carrying away the rubbish, and furnishing materials.

1772, Nov. 5: Terms of the agreement with William Purdie, to causeway etc. as above, 'beginning at the end thereof opposite the shop possessed by Robert Rutherford, senior, and carry the same forward to the head of Leith Walk'; the causeway stones to be taken

from 'Sallisberry Quarry' and to be between 8 and 9 inches in depth and not exceeding 6 inches in breadth. 'I shall execute a water channel upon each side of the south end of the street, to begin opposite to the said shop possessed by Robert Rutherford till it comes to the highest part of the street, and from thence I shall carry on the said water channel upon each side of the street from opposite to the entry leading to the burial yard till it comes opposite to the house possessed by George Macky, and I shall bring the said street to a declivity of two feet from the highest part thereof till it comes to the south end where the said road begins.'

More confusion arises in the case of the following:—

1767, Nov. 29: Represented that a subscription was presently carrying on for completing a road at the back of the houses in Calton, and at the same time an office house was most necessary to be erected there for the use of the public. £6 sterling subscribed by the Society.

1801, May 11: Resolution of the managers with respect to levelling the bank and otherwise improving the road at the back of the houses in the High Calton, so as to be a proper entry to the burying ground for funerals entering by the south-west gate.

These items seem to imply that some kind of path led up the steep bank behind the Calton houses, in a south-easterly direction. It may have started from the 'Convening house stair leading to the Hill' (repaired in 1782), and have been used as an access to the 'bleaching green' provided by the Town Council in 1784 for the inhabitants of Calton. Though described as 'lying at the back of the houses in Calton,' the green was really on the top of the cliff, just outside the wall of the burial-yard.

The remaining road to be dealt with is that which led from the northern end of the 'terrace' up towards the burying-ground, and was popularly known as the High Calton. At present it is named 'Calton Hill,' which was the original name, as is evidenced by the following entries, which definitely fix the divisions and extent of the whole 'Burgh' of Calton:—

1774, Oct. 27: Committee appointed to wait on the gentlemen of the Caltounhill in order to treat with them as to making a proper

communication from the New Town up to the Caltoun hill by the present road that leads to the burial yard.

1776, April 25: Committee to meet with the proprietors of the Calton hill and concert with them with respect to the present scheme of carrying over the Bridge towards the Caltounhill.

1790, Feb. 4: Roup of dung of Calton 'comprehending that of the Calton, Caltonhill, St. Ninians Row, and all the north side of the back of Canongate down to Walker's stables.'

1790, March 25: Terms of above roup, that the dung be exposed in two lots:—Lot I, consisting 'of the dung of the High Calton, Caltonhill and St. Ninians Row, the length of the Cross Strand at the Waiters Lodge near the College Kirk'; and Lot II, consisting 'of the dung from the said Strand beginning at the College Kirk entry and downwards by the back of the Canongate to Gilberts property, including Cuthbertsons property.'

1792, August 30: Reported that an act of Council had been obtained on 8 Sept. 1790 by which the City of Edinburgh agreed to repair 'the Laigh Street of Calton or St. Ninians Row.'

The last of these entries shows that the name Calton was being loosely applied to St. Ninian's Row as well as to the terrace; while the first entry makes prominent the fact that great changes were taking place in the vicinity of the hamlet of Calton. The erection of houses on 'Caltonhill' only preceded by a few years the extensive feuing schemes that converted the Barony of Broughton into a wilderness of houses and broad thoroughfares. Likewise the parks and meadows of Multreeshill gave place to sundry edifices, while the valley once graced by the waters of the Nor' Loch was now spanned by the North Bridge. Then the Botanic Garden, which for long had been an attractive feature at the east end of the loch, was also a thing of the past, having been removed to more congenial surroundings on the west side of Leith Walk. But of the old landmarks Trinity College Church, St. Paul's Work, and the Orphan Hospital were still left. Further, it should be noted that the Lang Gait was cut in two by a new road to Leith, known to-day as Leith

Street, but at first called 'St. Ninians Street,' and later, 'Catherine Street.'¹

VI

Behind Shakespeare Square, the eastern side of which presented a most inelegant ending to the stately line of Princes Street, there existed in the late eighteenth century a temple dedicated to a vigorous evangelism, as if in protest against the seductive influences of the adjoining temple of drama. On 7th January 1765 Alexander Nisbet, wright in Edinburgh, sold to the Revs. Christopher Hopper, James Kershaw, and Thomas Lee, for behoof of the Society of Methodists, part of his garden lying in St. Ninian's Row or Beggar Row, 'Caltoun, parish of St. Cuthberts,' consisting of 90 feet from east to west, and 66 feet from south to north, 'with power to them to erect a preaching-house and other dwelling houses or buildings thereupon.' This piece of ground had formerly belonged to Deacon Charles Mack, mason in Edinburgh, who bought it in September 1750 from the magistrates of Edinburgh at a public roup. The grant included an entry from the street, at least seven feet wide. The feu-duty payable to the Town was £8, 14s. sterling. By a Deed of Constitution, dated July 1765, the purchasers made over to themselves and others the piece of ground, 'together with the preaching-house then erecting.' The building was to be used by the Methodists for divine service, 'to the end that John Wesley, late of Lincoln College, Oxford, clerk, and such other ministers and preachers as he shall during his natural life from time to time nominate and appoint,' with consent of certain assistants, etc., 'might officiate therein for preaching and expounding the Word of God.' After the death of John Wesley, his brother Charles, 'late of Christ's

¹ Named after Catherine Swinton, wife of Walter Ferguson, proprietor of the ground. The name afterwards applied only to the northern extension.

Church College, Oxford, clerk, and such other ministers as he may appoint,' were to 'officiate in the evening of every day of the week and at five o'clock every morning in the said preaching-house.' On 24th May 1785 Richard Watkinson (who was then officiating at the chapel), with certain others, took infetment in the piece of ground 'for behoof of the Conference of the People called Methodists' in terms of a deed executed by John Wesley on 28th February 1784. The Methodist chapel in the Calton continued in use until 1815, when Duncan McCallum, then preacher, and other trustees, made over the whole subjects to the Calton Road and Bridge Commissioners.¹

VII

Apparently the earliest feuars in Calton Hill were John Horn, wright in Calton; Thomas Stevenson, mason there; Andrew Syme, cooper in Edinburgh; and William Pirnie, bricklayer in Calton. In 1764 Horn got a charter from the Town of a piece of ground 'on the west end of the Caltounhill' and on the east side of Andrew Syme's feu. Here he built a tenement of three storeys. Syme seems to have had the lowest feu on the north side of the street; Horn and Pirnie built eastward, up the ascent. Building began at the foot of the slope on both sides, and gradually approached the burial-ground. The first lodging of that tenement of houses built by John Horn, situated on the west side of the gate entering the burying-place at Calton, consisted of (in 1799) 'room, kitchen, pantry and cellar, and three fire rooms, with a bedcloset upstairs.' A Disposition of 1807 embraces 'six small houses in Syme's Court, Calton of Edinburgh, including house over the pend or entry from the Calton to the said court, and bounded by the road leading up to the Caltonhill on

¹ The closing of the chapel led to the removal of the Methodists to their present building in Nicolson Square.

the south, and another house having an entry leading to Nottingham Place and Leith Street, and bounded on the east by the house called the Pavilion house which consists of two storeys, and the first storey thereof enters from Syme's Court.' In 1769 Horn and Pirnie had disposition jointly of a piece of ground lying immediately to the north of their feus, 252 feet east to west and 36 feet broad, and another piece 92 feet long from south to north 'running along the gavill of the eastmost house built by the said John Horn and William Pirnie, and 12 feet broad from the said gavel eastward'; upon condition that no buildings were to be erected there under pain of forfeiture. When lighting arrangements were considered (1765), Horn 'proposed to put up a lamp for lighting the entry to his new houses in Calton, and to uphold the said lamp, provided the Place would furnish oil and cotton as they do to the other lamps.' Four years later (1769) there was a request from the 'inhabitants of Caltonhill' for two lamps to be set up; which the Society agreed to furnish with oil and light 'upon their procuring the lamps and upholding the same, and paying 10s. sterling to the Society for this season.' In the event of a third lamp being erected, the Society agreed 'to furnish said three lamps as above for one guinea.'

Among the early tenants or possessors of these Caltonhill houses were: Walter Hogg, accountant, British Linen Co. Office; Christopher Irvine, late of the Island of Tobago, now residing in London; Sir Alexander Dick, Bart., of Prestonfield; Thomas Ogilvie, writer; William Menzies, procurator; James Gordon, accountant; Peter Urbani, musician; and John Loch of Rachan. Among later occupants the most noteworthy was 'Clarinda,' who lived for many years at No. 14. This fact is confirmed by the Directories, which give also the name of the other occupant of the dwelling, viz. John Arthur, tailor. Arthur was entered in 1832 to possession of 'the undermost or ground story of a tenement of

land, with two cellars, and grass plot or piece of ground at the back thereof.' It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Mrs. McLehose occupied the upper storey. Though she seems to have been only a tenant, she had some heritable property in Picardy Place, to which her grandson, William Craig McLehose, succeeded at her death.

In 1812 application was made to the Town Council by the Society and its Caltonhill tenants for repair of their street, 'which was taken up in order to admit of carts going along that street some years ago with materials for the building of the Monument on Calton Hill to the memory of Lord Viscount Neilson [*sic*].'

VIII

In the late seventeenth century at least three schoolmasters resided in Calton, viz.: Mr. William Greinlaw, schoolmaster in Craigend (1682); Mr. Robert Cunningham, schoolmaster, tenant at Nether Craigwell (1685); and William Anderson, schoolmaster (1695). The references to these pedagogues, however, contain nothing to show whether any of them taught in the Calton.¹ The Trades' books make reference to a petition (1741) by one Stoddart, who 'designed to keep a school to teach children,' and desired accommodation. Aided by a recommendation from the ministers of South Leith, Stoddart obtained 'part of an empty garret that is in the Traids land.' In 1744 order was made for payment to Andrew Boa, 'schoolmaster in Caldton,' of 20s. sterling yearly at Whitsunday, during pleasure of the Trades, 'as an encouragement for the said Andrew Boa to teach a school in this place.' Eighteen months later the same sum was voted to Andrew Boa, 'writeing master,' but if he could be conveniently provided with a school-house in the Trades'

¹ In the last decade of the seventeenth century there were only 49 families in Calton. About 1750 there were, according to Maitland, about 188 families, containing 565 examinable persons, but excluding children under ten years.

land this allowance was to be discontinued. At the same time George Christie, shoemaker, was allowed the use of the Convening House 'for teaching Church music,' on condition that he returned the key to the boxmaster each night, and was liable for any damage. But this arrangement did not continue for long, for on 25th May 1749 the boxmaster was discharged 'to allow the conveyance house to be applied to any other purpose but what the same was originally appointed for.' In 1766 William McMiking, 'schoolmaster in Caltoun,' asked to be allowed 'to keep the accounts of the Place.' Having been employed to make up a quarter's accounts 'by way of trial,' he was later continued at a salary of 20s. sterling yearly. But such spasmodic attempts at schoolmastering within the bounds of Calton appear to have been unsatisfactory, for in 1799 'the boxmaster represented that the want of a stationary schoolmaster . . . was found from experience to be attended with great inconvenience to the inhabitants. . . . Were a permanent school to be obtained where English, writing and arithmetic were to be taught,' he thought some encouragement might be given from the Society's funds. The matter was remitted to a committee, but we hear no more of it. In 1802 the use of the Convening House was granted to a Mr. Buchan for a Sunday school 'for propagating Christian knowledge.'

IX

In the stirring times after the Restoration, when Government troops were drafted hither and thither to meet various contingencies, the problem of 'billeting' became pressing, and gave rise to much irritation. Enactments were made by the Privy Council in 1681 and 1686; and particularly as regards Calton, upon a petition by John, Master of Balmerino, pointing out that although his lands of 'Caldtoun' were within the shire and bore burden with it in quartering and

other public dues, yet the magistrates of Edinburgh, at command of the 'General,' had quartered 46 soldiers and a sergeant upon him. The Privy Council remitted to the Commissioners of the Shire of Edinburgh 'to consider what extraordinarie trouble and expences the petitioner is put to through frequent quartering of sojourns in the Caldton, a part of the shyre, by its vicinity to Edinburgh.' At the same time the General was recommended 'to be as sparing of quartering of sojourns in the Caldton as can be.' On 18th March 1691 the Town Council enacted that the Caldton was to bear a tenth part of the expense incurred by quartering soldiers in the suburb.

That it was not merely a question of paying a proportionate amount for troops billeted elsewhere is made clear by the following excerpts from a Memorial presented by the Burgh of Canongate to George II. in 1729.¹ The Canongate had been 'for severall ages' the local quarters for a regiment of foot and sometimes of horse; but owing to want of room 'a small number of their forces' were 'canton'd from time to time in the suburbs of the toun, such as Portsburgh, Patteraw, Plisants, Caltoun and Leith: but these places being generally mean and inhabited by artificers of the lowest rank . . . [the] releiff has been ineffectuall to them.' The inhabitants were at present charged with considerable sums 'towards hyring quarters for the troops,' which was levied under the name of 'drye quarters.' Yet notwithstanding the heavy expense the troops were 'inconveniently loddged.' It was therefore urged that suitable barracks should be provided in a central place.

The above details enable us to understand more clearly the following entries in the Trades' books:—

1724, Dec. 17: The constable presented his cast for November, but the masters, having other business in hand that would not admit

¹ The original is in the General Register House.

of delay, desired him to write out the billots for that month and they would consider how to lay on the 6d. of extra burden next month, the burden for this month being 37s. sterling.

1725, Nov. 1: The constable presented his cast for October last, the burden being 51 foot soldiers and 2 of the train of artillery, amounting to 53s. a month.

1725, Oct. 8: 'Reported by the constable that the Canongate bailie had told the boxmaster and him that they would be obliged either to pay their proportion of the locality for the dragoons lying in the Canongate or take as many foot soldiers more than our ordinary complement as should make up our part thereof,' and the clerk was ordered to prepare a report of grievances and have the proportion adjusted by the Town Council.

1726, May 3: Patrick Swinton in Abbeyhill craved to be freed of locality, but in respect he keeps 'a public sign of ale selling' he is appointed to pay the last month's locality and remove the said sign, or otherwise to be still liable for locality.

1727, Aug. 11: Ordered the constable to take locality of widows that sold ale or traded in other business, and all other traders in the place; and ordered half a crown to be given to the watermen's officer for his attendance 'at the five and eight for eall to the soldiers.'

In 1738 the burden of locality was found particularly heavy, 'owing to those men formerly quartered in the Abbeyhill now lying entirely on this place.' Some litigation apparently followed.

1766, Nov. 27: Represented that when the constable gives in his cast for quartering soldiers, it would be most proper a bed roll should be given in to the meeting at the same time, so as to prevent all disputes in laying on the locality for the future: agreed.

In 1778 the inhabitants of Caltonhill tried to free themselves from payment of locality, but process was raised against them at the instance of the Society.

1783, May 8: 'It being represented by the boxmaster and other members of the Society convened this day, that Daniel Paton, who was elected into the office of constable upon the first of May current, did presume to present a number of souldiers to the boxmaster to be

quartered on him, which was an insult and presumption without any precedent, the number being no less than 49; and therefore moved that the Baron should ease the Society of such procedure in time coming'; whereupon Paton was dismissed as incapable, and James Butler appointed in his place.

If the neighbours of the Calton had no great liking for military society, they at least displayed interest in their own drummer. Robert Moffat, having in 1725 'returned to the Place' and being 'desirous to serve . . . in the capacity of a drummer as formerly,' the masters allowed him the drum. The remuneration was to be 10s. sterling yearly, to be paid in two instalments. Moffat was given 5s. to effect repairs, and thereafter was to maintain the drum at his own expense. In 1754 further repairs were made on the 'Calton drum'; and in the following year George Guthrie, 'who was some time ago appointed drummer,' being unfit to officiate any longer, John Waterston, a freeman's son, was appointed, at a salary of £8 Scots yearly. Four years later Waterston was dismissed because he 'did not do his duty.' In 1768 the drummer was John Milne, who was voted 4s. sterling 'by way of charity.' In 1772, 2s. was paid 'to the officer and drummer going through the Calton with a proclamation for preventing the apprentices and other people from mobbing and throwing stones'; and in 1774 the same sum was paid to the officer and drummer for a proclamation 'to prevent persons from bickering on the Caltonhill.' In 1790 the 'Calton drummer' received 2s. 6d. 'for handsole.'

X

From an early date provision was made for a Constable, whose duties differed from those of the Officer or Sergeant of the Baron Court.¹ The latter attended to orders given by the Baron Bailie and looked after ceremonial affairs. The

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xviii. p. 66.

Constable, on the other hand, seems to have occupied a more important position in relation to the Society. On his appointment by the Bailie, there was delivered to him the 'constables staffe' (6th May 1695), and thereafter he held office for a year; though sometimes his term of office was continued over a longer period. On several occasions, when neither the Baron nor his depute was present at the Beltane elections, commission was given to the Constable to preside at the meetings; the proceedings being thereafter duly approved by the Baron.¹

In addition to assigning quarters or levying assessments for military purposes, other duties fell to the lot of the Constable which were more in keeping with the popular conception of the term. In 1666 the 'constable in the Craigend' was asked to assist the Church authorities in dealing with 'those who vaige upon the Craigs' in time of divine service; and in 1683 a female delinquent was 'referred to the Constable of Craigend to be imprisoned.'²

1738, April 27: John Walker is prepared to take his house again for this year, but complains of the dear rent and also 'of the great unconvenincy he had by the constable having an entry throu his house to the thefts hole, which bread great disturbance to him'; and the boxmaster is 'to cause make a key to the lock for the back hole to be kept by the constable.'

That the Constable's lot was not always a happy one is evidenced by the following item:—

1764, November 1: The constable represented that on Friday last about 3 p.m. he was sent for by Mr. Laurie, and found one George Burntoun making disturbance in Mr. Laurie's shop, and he carried off Burntoun in order to appease the disturbance; but Gilbert Smith, Robert Rutherford junior and John Moffat attacked him on the street of the Caltoun and rescued Burntoun. He complained to the Sheriff and got a warrant for incarcerating all three in the tolbooth,³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

² *South Leith Records*, vol. i. pp. 121, 142.

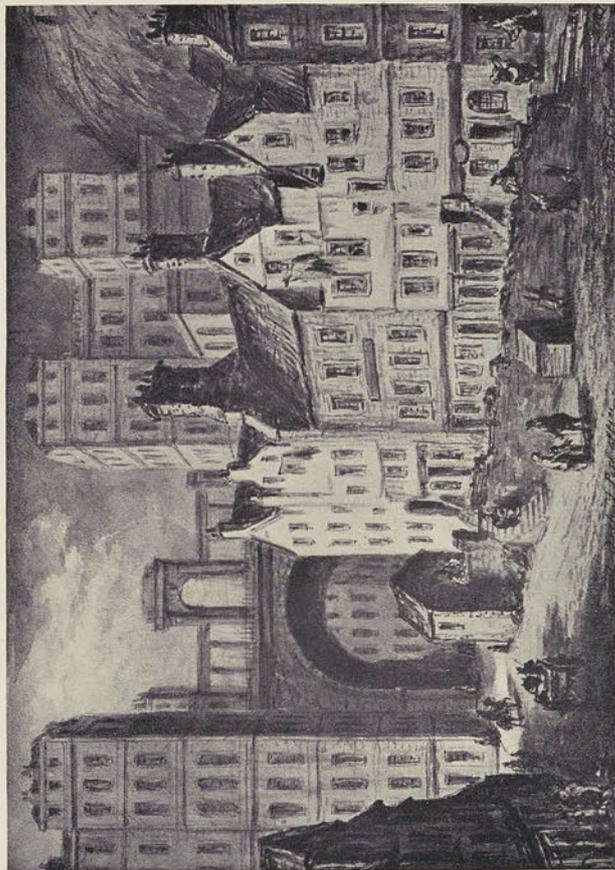
³ The Convening House, known as the Tolbooth as early as 1692.

but Smith and Rutherford have since been liberated upon caution; and moved that as he was thus attacked in the exercise of his office, that he may be supported by the Place. A committee was appointed to enquire into the matter, and assist the constable in discharge of his office.

Irvine, in his *Historical Notes on the Calton*, gives a short account of the history of the Society of High Constables of Calton; but his opening paragraph requires some amplification. He states that 'in 1771 two constables were appointed, and from that date the number was gradually increased.' The Calton records, however, disclose that on 27th November 1766 (five years before the date given by Irvine) the meeting, taking into consideration the fact that the inhabitants in Calton had 'greatly increased' during the previous few years, so much so that 'one constable in the place appears not to be sufficient for the business of that office,' agreed unanimously to appoint two, who were to be nominated by the Baron Bailie. Five months later, it was further resolved that the Constable should have 'a title to sit at the table as a member and have power to vote in all cases as the masters have.' There was some dubiety as to what this meant, but on 29th August 1771 the right was confirmed. It was at the Beltane meeting in that year that the Baron Bailie elected for the first time two constables. From that year until 1801 there were never more than two elected, and in some cases only one. In fact, the second nominee was often described as 'assistant' to the first. In 1801, however, the number was increased to four, the appointment being 'for the ensuing year.' In succeeding years some of the existing constables were retained and others added. From 1801 to 1806 the number remained at four, and from 1807 to 1816 there were five constables. Thereafter the numbers varied considerably. In 1817 ten were chosen; in 1818, eleven; in 1819, fourteen. This, the highest number ever elected, was repeated in the two following years, also in

1823 and 1824. In 1822 it was thirteen. In 1825 it dropped to ten, in 1826 to eight, and in 1827 the number was as low as six. In 1828 it bounded up to fourteen, and fluctuated between twelve and fourteen in succeeding years. In the Baron Court Book, for the period 1835 to 1847, no election of constables is recorded except for the years 1836, 1838, and 1843.

As Irvine points out, the Society of Constables started on an independent career, apparently about 1818, or perhaps earlier. Previously the Incorporation had still some say in matters. In 1811 a letter was addressed to them by William Stirling, of Caltonhill Foundry, 'praying to be admitted a constable of the Calton.' This petition was granted, and the boxmaster was instructed to accompany him (Stirling) to the Baron Bailie for the purpose of being sworn in. Again, on 19th September 1815, at the laying of the foundation stones of Regent Bridge and the Jail, the 'Constables of Calton' took precedence of the High Constables of Edinburgh. Their right so to do at ceremonial functions taking place within the Barony was then secured to them. At a meeting on 20th April 1820 the convener 'submitted to the managers that it would be proper to require the Constables of Calton to attend in the Hall on the evening of Monday first, the day appointed for celebrating the King's birth; and the managers authorised the convener to send a requisition to the Moderator.' Six days later, a committee was appointed 'to examine the records with the view of ascertaining the powers of the Constables of Calton'; and on 11th May the convener was directed to present to the Baron Bailie a list of fourteen names 'for constables.' These entries show that the new Society as late as 1820 was only gaining its independence gradually. In 1818 an account was paid for 'gilding and varnishing' batons; and in 1819 the treasurer was instructed to pay to the 'Moderator of the Barony Constables' £4, 4s. for four short and four long batons, and £1, 1s. for repainting



THE LOW CALTON ABOUT 1835
From a Water-Colour Drawing by John Le Conte

old ones. But before the money was paid the Constables were to show their batons to the managers, without whose sanction repairs could not be carried out. The Society of Constables of Calton was dissolved in 1857, and their insignia were deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

XI

By its Deed of Gift (1631) the Incorporation was allowed to exact fees which were 'to be put in an box and keiped thereintill for the help and supplie of the poor and decayed persones' within its bounds. This obligation was never lost sight of. Frugality was the watchword of the Society. At times the Trades were induced no doubt to stretch a point, but they gave no countenance to unnecessary appeals. By loans of money to freemen in straitened circumstances; defrayal of funeral charges in whole or in part; remission of the monthly quota for military purposes to those whose wives were about to be confined (this operated only for a short time, as it became a source of confusion); furnishing of clothing and other necessaries; provision of a 'widows' garret' rent-free, as well as schooling and apprenticeship for orphans—by these and other methods the Incorporation sought to distribute its funds for the good of the greatest number.

In order to increase these resources, money was often lent out at interest. Though it was the common practice of such societies, the result was not always fortunate. Three hundred merks lent in 1654 by Richard Hamilton, boxmaster in Caldtoun, in name of the 'nychtbouris and tradsmen of the gait,' and repayable in 1655, was not forthcoming when, thirty years later, the bond was registered against the borrower! Regarding another case, in which the Society had lent £5 sterling to a certain lady, and had received as security

a clock and a looking-glass, it was reported that the clock 'was much out of order and needing to be cleaned.' Whereupon the boxmaster was appointed 'to cause clean the said clock, and thereafter cause carry the same with the said looking glass out of Mrs. T's house, and place both properly in the Convening house,' there to remain until satisfaction was made for the sum advanced. Three years later the articles were sold, the clock fetching £4, 1s. and the glass £1, 14s. Deducting 9s. 6d. as the cost of 'cleaning the clock at different times and putting same in proper order,' and a payment of 2s. 2d. 'to the cryer and baron officer,' the balance in hand amounted to £5, 3s. 4d. So the debt was barely met; but the brethren of the crafts had taken full use of the clock while in their possession.

In or about 1689, when the Trades' books begin, there were five widows in receipt of quarterly pensions. Three received 30s. and two 40s. Until about 1710 the average payment was 30s. per quarter. Thereafter it varied, some getting only £1, but others received as much as £4. Sometimes a widower, sometimes a destitute husband and wife, were in receipt of relief. The roll was examined every quarter, and the following extract affords an insight into the procedure:—

1738, Nov. 2: The which day, being the quarter day, a list of the quarterly pensioners was given in and read, and the masters ordered them to continue as marked last quarter, except 6d. Scots added to James Young's quarterly pension, and £1 Scots deduced off Widow Laing's quarterly pension, and Widow Forsyth scored out from being a pensioner: As also there was a petition presented by Thomas Robertson, freeman, craving to be booked a quarterly pensioner, and the masters ordered him £6 Scots a quarter.

The attics of the Convening House were evidently the living quarters of most of the widows who were pensioners. Hence this accommodation was familiarly referred to as the 'Widows' Garret.' There was some competition for the

rooms, and preference was of course given to those who had most claim on the Society. Sometimes, however, the privilege was extended to others on condition that they removed 'in case any freeman's widow shall apply.' Even a 'grass' widow was allowed the privilege: '1753, May 31, Margaret Kid, spouse to John Edmond, freeman, *now out of the kingdom*, to get supply and have her bed in the garret with other freemen's wives.' In the winter months a supply of coal was voted the inmates; and a request from a widow who 'stood greatly in need of several necessaries, particularly a couple of shirts, an apron and a napkin,' was sympathetically received, the boxmaster being instructed to provide these 'in the frugalest manner, the expense not exceeding 10s. sterling.' On another occasion Ann Syme petitioned for 'as much as would buy a hank of worsted to keep her from being idle.' The Society gave her a shilling for that purpose.

Casual relief was also granted, the 'other poor of the Gate' (excluding pensioners) receiving petty sums at the quarterly distributions. This charity sometimes supplemented what was given by the Kirk-session of South Leith.¹ While the boxmasters' accounts from 1733 to 1752 show that the poor of the parish were considered as deserving of a share of the Society's support, little sympathy was shown to impostors. One widow petitioned for a quarterly pension, but 'the masters, finding that she was capable of working for her living, refused the petition.' Even a former boxmaster's petition was refused on the ground that 'he is able to work for himself.' A freeman, who had 'long agoe forfeited his freedom in not payeing up his quarter accompts for 20 years past,' was given 6s. sterling of charity, but was told to make no further application for charity from the Trades of Calton. Sundry persons sought membership 'at a very advanced time of life, so that instead of aiding the funds they often became a real burden on them within a few years of their

¹ *South Leith Records*, vol. i. pp. 144, 170.

admission.' In 1782 this difficulty was met by the Incorporation refusing to admit applicants above 45 years of age.

With orphans the Society took no little pains. A shoemaker's widow having died, leaving a seven-year-old daughter with no friends to care for her, her mother's effects were sold, and a balance of £26 was entrusted to a banker at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest for behoof of the child. It being decided that she was to be 'brought up and educated in the Caltoun,' 20s. sterling was paid quarterly to the woman who kept her, and, later, the additional sum of 2s. 6d. was allowed for teaching her. Subsequently, it was resolved to find a 'more proper place for her at less expense'; but something went wrong, for when the girl was about fifteen the Society petitioned the magistrates of Edinburgh to get her placed 'in one of the cells, as she is now deprived of the use of her reason.' Shortly afterwards the treasurer of the Charity Workhouse was paid £1 sterling quarterly for maintaining her in that institution. Finally, a small balance was paid over by the Society on her account. Another case may be quoted. A girl had evidently been educated in the Orphan Hospital to the satisfaction of the Society, who wrote a letter of thanks to the treasurer acknowledging that and 'other favours shewn by the managers of that hospital towards the Trades of Calton.' The sequel was an offer by the managers of the Orphan Hospital to receive her back 'in the character of a mistress,' if the Society would contribute towards her instruction in 'lace weaving.' Order was accordingly given to supply her with clothing and to 'bind her as an apprentice to the lace weaving business.'

Benefactions in aid of the poor were welcomed by the Society. Sometimes, however, the conditions were amusing.

1749, Nov. 10: Thomas Ainslie, smith, late boxmaster, proposed to give to the poor of this place 200 merks, on condition that the Society should put up what donations Bailie Gavin Hamilton gave to the poor while baron bailie in gilded letters upon the board in the

meeting house prepared for having legacies kept in remembrance; and has paid two guineas as part of his donation, and the meeting ordered his name to be affixed also on the board in gilded letters as an encouragement for others to remember the poor.

One wonders if the donor remembered the balance of his donation!

At two periods in its history the Society essayed the rôle of provision merchant. The first time was in November 1740 when, in view of the scarcity of food, the Baron Bailie 'desired the masters to buy a quantity of corn and manufacture the same and sell the meal at the prime cost.' The masters, considering that not only the poor but the whole inhabitants of the place were in want of meal, ordered the boxmaster to apply for 42 bolls of corn and 10 bolls of pease, to buy eight sacks to hold the meal, and thereafter to 'consider making a girnell.' Two months later, the boxmaster reported that the 'customer' of the meal market of Edinburgh was demanding custom for meal sold by the Society; to which reply was made that the Calton was not obliged to pay custom, 'in regard that they belonged to the shire and not to the royalty.' Economically, however, the project was a failure, as the market fell and 'the public were losers.' Accordingly, in July 1741, the boxmaster was enjoined to try to buy and sell cheaper than the market, but if not, 'to give it over.'

In 1800 we learn that the Trades co-operated with the 'United Friendly Societies in and about Edinburgh' in the purchase of grain, and the distribution to their members of Indian corn, meal and flour. On 4th December there came a circular letter from 'the Committee of the Friendly Benefit Societies and Incorporations in and about Edinburgh for importing grain from foreign markets,' recommending the Society 'to persevere in the generous and disinterested work in which they have been engaged,' and it was resolved to subscribe £200 for the purpose. In August 1801 it was agreed

'that the rice lately imported and unsold shall be disposed of at the rate of 3½d. a lb. to freemen, or others.' Meal on hand was to be sold at a shilling per peck.

Such were some of the schemes by which the Incorporated Trades of Calton laid the foundation of their success as a mutual benefit society. But their most lucrative undertaking still remains to be sketched briefly.

XII

Provision for interments in the vicinity of Trinity College existed for some time before the Reformation. Whether the use of this churchyard was general or restricted cannot now be determined; but in 1567 the ground was transferred, along with the other properties of the College, to the magistrates of Edinburgh.¹ It is probable, however, that the inhabitants of Calton utilised what was then the nearest 'parish' burial-ground, namely, that surrounding the Abbey of Holyrood; Restalrig and South Leith being remote in days when roads were barely passable. In 1643 John Coventrie, tailor in Caldtoun, 'within the parochin of the abbay of Halyrud-hous,' directed his 'bodie to be bureit with the faithfull in the Abbay kirkyaird.'² Later, however, burials in South Leith churchyard became more frequent. In 1695 the 'people of Caldtoun' were enjoined not to bury their dead on Sundays before the afternoon sermon in summer, but in winter they could bury between the forenoon sermon and two o'clock in the afternoon.³

The circumstances attending the origin of the burying-ground possessed by the Restalrig Friendly Society, whose members long shared similar inconveniences to those of

¹ *Trinity Church and Hospital*, p. 69. In 1787 subjects were described as bounded by ground pertaining to the Orphan Hospital, formerly the *Trinity churchyard*.

² *Edinburgh Tests.*, 4th April 1643.

³ *South Leith Records*, vol. i. p. 180.

Calton, are dealt with in Vol. IV. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. On 25th March 1718 the Incorporation of Wester Restalrig or Calton obtained from James, Master of Balmerino, a disposition conveying to the officers of the Incorporation 'and hail inhabitants of the said brugh present and to come,' a piece of ground on the Caltoun hill *alias* McNeill's Craigs, 'consisting of half ane aiker as it is now inclosed with ane stone dyke, to be made use of for a buriall place for the inhabitants of the said brugh and others whom they shall allow, together also with ane liberty and freedom of ane highway from the north end of the said brugh up the hill to the said buriall place consisting of fifteen foots of measure in breadth.'¹ The feu-duty was 13s. 4d. The total cost of the ground was £1012, 18s. 4d. Scots borrowed at 5 per cent. interest, and the revenue for the first thirteen years amounted to £110, 14s.² In the register of interments, now in the custody of the Registrar-General, the first entry is dated 1719. On the other hand, the earliest mention of the burial-ground in the Trades' books is on 30th January 1724, and is to the following effect:—

'There was a bill granted be John Wint, John Hay and David Darling for thertie shillings sterling for a buriall place in the Neu yeard in the Caltoun hill on the west dyk being six yeards in breadth and fyve in lenth, it laying nixt to John Wisharts place; which was agreed too *nemina contradisentie* [!] at the pryce offred.'

In the same year a lair, 'three ells by four,' was sold for 18s. sterling, also one four ells square for £1. Prices between 1735 and 1752 were: three ells square 15s., four ells £1, five ells £1, 5s. To a stranger, however, the cost of three ells was £1, 10s. In 1745 David Brown, overseer of the Orphan Hospital, purchased for 30s. a burial-place nine feet by seven, the price being not 'under the double of what freemen pay.'

¹ If, as seems likely from its position and dimensions, it was the ancient sheepfold, the choice of site was surely appropriate.

² *South Leith Records*, vol. ii. p. 53.

In 1751 a freeman and a 'stranger' applied for a lair of three yards by four, for which the former paid 7s. 6d. and the latter 12s. 6d. The sum charged the stranger was half a crown less than usual, but as 'severall of his concerns'¹ were already buried there, it was decided to allow him discount. Burial did not always infer purchase of a lair; but failing purchase the ground became common to the Society. In 1764 there is mention of a committee being appointed to wait upon a person 'who had his wife lately buried in the Calton burial-place,' and who had without authority placed 'a paleing' round the grave. The committee was also to inquire if he intended 'to purchase the spot of ground.' Six graves at 14d. each were provided between 1735 and 1752 for the 'session poor of South Leith,' and 5s. was paid 'for a coffin to a poor man who dyed near to the Craigwell, quich the Session would not pay for.' In 1803 an unusual petition was granted by the Society. The relatives of a Shetland man, lately buried in Calton, desired to erect a tombstone to his memory to 'remain for one year at least from this date, for which indulgence' they offered 15s. to the Society's funds, 'it being understood that after the elapse of said year the Managers for said Incorporated Trades shall be at liberty to remove said stone.'

With a view to keeping the ground in good condition, an arrangement was made in 1724 with James Mark to take a six years' lease of the grass at £12 Scots yearly, provided he pastured no more than twenty sheep during summer and six in winter. Soon, however, the tacksman petitioned 'verbally' for an abatement of his rent, as 'the Toms and children did greatlie abuse the grass!' The Society was sympathetic, and Mark was allowed a rebate of £3 for the previous year. In 1729 the grass was leased 'for shearing only,' and in 1732 John 'Edigenton' agreed to pay £6 Scots yearly for it. He

¹ 'Concerns' occurs several times in the records as a synonym for the departed.

was not, however, to 'put in any beast.' Then, in 1736, the boxmaster was instructed 'to cause sneed the trees, and to plant new trees wher there is any wanting.' In 1757 one Sheills, a farmer at Broughton, was allowed to use the burial-ground for grazing, though not 'as a common sheepfold.' In 1760 it was enacted that no bestial were to be allowed on the ground.

By 1725 the child's mortcloth had become 'beare' and there was 'needsesety for a neu wan,' which it was 'un-anumuslay' agreed to purchase. Frugality asserted itself here as elsewhere, for on 3rd September 1736 a committee 'visited' the whole of the mortcloths to see if any of the fringes would serve the new one. None being suitable, the boxmaster was instructed to buy as much silk as would not only make a new fringe, but mend the other mortcloths. It was further resolved to buy a piece of old velvet to mend the third big mortcloth. It is interesting to add that between 1733 and 1752 a mortcloth was provided gratis in the case of 98 poor people 'who had no connection with the Trades.'

On the death of the first grave-digger his successor agreed to pay threepence to the widow for every large grave that he dug, and twopence for every small one. In 1755 we hear of a person volunteering to assist at every burial as well as free the burial-ground of stones and nettles, provided 'he got once in two years a coat' and other perquisites. By this time there were two grave-diggers. One of these caused trouble by making graves without the knowledge and authority of the boxmaster, and by keeping the keys of the burial-ground for 'nights together.' He was relieved of his duties, but was reinstated on promising to bring the keys to the boxmaster's house after a burial. The grave-digger was allowed fourteenpence for a large grave and half that sum for a small one. In 1763 a grave-digger was allowed 'the sole privilege of carrying the corpses of young children,' particularly when James Chalmers, the Baron officer, was

'not in a condition through infirmity or sickness to do that piece of business.'

At the burial-gate stood for fully a century and a half a lodge, the origin of which is indicated in the following entry:—

1731, September 10, petition made 'to build a lwdge for kipeen of owr twells concerning owr burell eard and lickwies to have the rowm for holdeng twelf or ten persons for walkeng of owr dead when caled for and ilk person to pay twelf or six shiling Scots for the same till the charges be pid wpe that we shall be at for the sam bwdng.' To this the masters 'onamsllay agred.'

Built in 1732, at a cost of £17, 10s., the lodge by 1741 was in great need of repair, 'the rain comeing in that people cannot sitt there in the night time to watch there dead.' In 1741 the road to the burial-ground required levelling, and stones from Halkerstone's Wynd were procured 'in order to make a stair at the head of the way for burials, the passage being stopt at the style.' The account rendered specifies 'stair at the foot of the burial road, £12; levelling said road, £2, 10/; stone steps laid at the burial gate, 6/.'

Simultaneously with the feuing of both sides of the road leading to the burial-ground, application was made to the Town Council for an additional half-acre, with the result that on the 11th September 1767 the Incorporation got a charter of 'all and whole that piece of ground on the south side of the present burial yard on the Caltonhill adjoining to the south dyke thereof, consisting of 86 perches 33 yards England woodland measure or 3129 square yards being two roods one perch and half of Scots land measure, conform to a plan thereof.' Another piece of ground on the east side, consisting of 100 feet from north to south, and 30 feet on the south running east and west, and 54 feet from the west corner of the said burial-ground to the new road at the back of the houses in Calton, was to be kept for bleaching of clothes, and was to be at the service of the whole inhabitants of Calton. This ground was not to be enclosed, and

no building was to be erected thereon, under penalty of forfeiture.

After levelling, the new ground was enclosed by a wall. On 29th February 1776 a lair in the south-west corner, four yards by five, was purchased for £4 sterling by David Hume, the philosopher and historian. Two years later, on a petition by Mr. Hume of Ninewells, heir to David Hume, a further portion of ground was disposed for the purpose of erecting the now well-known monument to the philosopher. In 1778 the price of lairs was regarded as 'far too low.' It was accordingly raised to 8s. per square yard for 'unfreemen,' while persons desirous of enclosing their ground paid a guinea. At the same time a parchment plan of the ground was prepared and bound into a new book recording the purchase of lairs. Further, a paper copy of the ground-plan was framed and hung in the Convening House.

Another extension of the burial-ground took place in 1784. On 25th March of that year a committee appointed to inspect the burial-ground reported it to be 'far too confined considering the great number of buryings.' It was therefore resolved to apply to the Town Council 'for a feu of that stripe of ground lying to the south of the east dyke as marked on a plan.' But John Gregory protested, and took instruments that 'the Society shall not have power to enclose that piece of ground given by the Council of Edinburgh for the benefit of the inhabitants for bleaching their clothes, lying at the back of the houses in Calton.' On 31st August 1786 the meeting 'resolved to entertain the Baron and other members of the committee of the Town Council . . . who gave their sanction to enclosing the burial ground . . . to the south of the present enclosure.'

That the question of prices came up again in 1790 is not to be wondered at, considering that 'the funds arising therefrom were the only permanent funds the Society could trust to for the maintenance of their numerous and necessitous

poor.' Regulations were accordingly drafted; and among the provisions were the following:—Strangers were to pay £2, 2s. per sq. yard for ground round the walls, and £1, 11s. 6d. for ground in the centre; the former including the right to enclose, but not the latter. Freemen, on the other hand, were to obtain the same privileges for £1 and 15s. 9d. respectively. Fifteen square yards was to be the maximum for both freemen and strangers. No purchaser was to sell his ground except to the Society, in which case only the original sum was to be repaid. Each purchaser was bound to pay a penny a year to the boxmaster, but, if unpaid for 40 years, the ground was to revert to the Society. Fees varied according as the body was carried shoulder-high, in a hearse, or on spokes. The 'ushers' or bearers were 'to be clean, and decently dressed, at all funerals, and to keep silent during the time of interments.' Firing of guns was prohibited, except a single gun at ten o'clock, or sooner. In order to 'prevent outrages in the burial ground,' one of the grave-diggers was to 'sit up each night, along with those who may be employed to watch.' He was to receive a shilling each night for his attendance. The keys were to be carried nightly to the boxmaster's house, 'except during the time of watching of corpses.'

In 1792 a new plan of the ground was prepared, and in 1799 four velvet caps were provided for the 'batonmen' (bearers). In 1803 James Watson, 'causey-layer,' received £10 for making a road across the burial-ground. In exchange for turf regularly supplied from the lands of Caltonhill, the tacksman was allowed the grass of the burial-ground free, during his tack, and was granted a burial-place for himself, family and relatives, in all time coming. On 27th July 1809 there was a purchase of ground by Archibald Constable, bookseller in Edinburgh, and freeman of Calton.

At the close of 1798 the Society petitioned for a further extension of the burial-ground, by means of a feu of the

'rocky ground lying betwixt the East dyke of the Calton Burial Yard and Bridewell'; but on 9th January 1799 the Town Council refused the desire of the petition. In 1800, on it being advertised that the 'silk factory and ground adjoining, belonging to the heirs of William Forrester, on the Caltonhill,' were for sale, the Incorporation proposed to offer up to £160, as they intended to 'convert it to burying ground'; but no further reference is made to the matter.

XIII

In November 1803 the Society purchased a piece of ground in Caltonhill, with houses thereon, extending 99 feet along the west dyke of the burial-yard, and having, as its western boundary, the 'road at the back of the houses in Calton.' As the ground to the north was on the point of being enclosed by a high wall, it was suggested that a two-storey dwelling should be erected, the second storey of which was to have a 'spacious room' with a small room adjoining, to be used as a Convening House for the meetings of the Society and managers. But this project seems to have fallen through. At any rate, by the time the Trades got their new Convening Hall, drastic changes, never anticipated by the promoters of this scheme, had taken place.

On 3rd February 1814 the Society were informed 'that it was in contemplation to make a bridge over the laigh Calton from Shakespeare Square'; and being 'much interested in the issue of that business,' a committee was appointed to consider the matter. Its chairman, by invitation, waited upon the Lord Provost, and was informed of the intention of the Town Council 'to reimburse the Society liberally for what of their property might be required to carry the proposed plan into effect.' Whereupon assurance was given that the Society would 'cordially go in with the wishes of the magistrates and give every facility to the undertaking'

consistent with its interest. The first problem to be tackled was in relation to the burial-ground, and a communication from the Town Clerk indicated that the magistrates wished, 'before applying to the individual proprietors of the different lots,' to be 'able to point out the situation which they may have in exchange for what is to be taken from them.' The Society was therefore asked to agree to so much of the burial-ground being taken off as should be requisite for the formation of the new road. This the Society was to do on receiving an equal area immediately adjoining the present burial-ground or contiguous thereto. This new ground the Town would enclose, as well as the remainder of the existing burial-ground on the south side of the new road (now Waterloo Place). The magistrates would also arrange with the individual proprietors of lairs, either by giving ground in exchange or paying a sum of money. This would be done without any claim upon the Society, which would be 'at liberty to dispose of such part of the new ground as shall remain after completing the exchange.' The removal of bodies would be carried out at the Town's expense in a solemn manner, and in such a way as the individuals interested should direct. The rest of the story is well known. The Old Burying Ground was intersected by Waterloo Place; but it is gratifying to reflect that its oldest portion remains much as it was in the middle of the eighteenth century. The New Calton Burying Ground was turfed from the lands of Bellevue (February 1818); and in 1819 the Incorporation sold to the 'Society of Jews' a portion close to the south boundary wall, at North Back of Canongate.

Negotiations were also entered into with the Calton Road and Bridge Commissioners respecting the valuation of property that would have to be demolished. The total valuation amounted to £3790, the Convening House being set down at £340 and the Trades' Land at £1440. The Commissioners offered £3000, which was subsequently increased to £3300.

Of this sum £1000 was to be advanced for the erection of the 'new Convenery house.' The agreement was signed on 7th April 1815. The Incorporation bought the stones of the old Convening Room and used them in connection with their property in North Back of Canongate.¹

The site chosen for the 'new Convening Room' was a piece of the burial-ground described as 'the point of ground at the head of the road which leads to the High Calton and lying opposite to the west end of the New Gaol.' The Commissioners agreed to defray the expense of excavation, 'and the exterior ornamental parts of the house.' An estimate amounting to £1800 was accepted on 15th October 1818. At the same time, the Convener was authorised 'to provide a set of the current coins of the realm for the purpose of being deposited in the foundation stone.' Further, it was agreed 'to assemble at the Observatory, Calton Hill, on Monday the 26th instant, and afterwards to walk in procession' to the function, and thereafter 'to dine in Ferguson's Tavern, East Register Street.'

During the building of the 'new Convening Room' the Society held its meetings in 'Mr. Innes's Chapel' ('Marys Chapel'),² or in 'Ferguson's Tavern,' sometimes referred to as the 'Ship Tavern.' The new Convening Hall served a variety of uses not immediately connected with the Society. Here is an amusing entry from the Trades' books:—

10 June 1819: 'There was read to the meeting a letter addressed to the convener by Charles Cameron, who had taken the hall for the purpose of exhibiting a balloon, and to pay five guineas per week, and who stated that as he had been so very unsuccessful in the exhibition

¹ Another instance of the frugality of the Society is afforded by the fact that when the new Post Office (Waterloo Place) was erected, it insisted on the builder paying £10 because four pilasters on the eastern wall of the structure were found to 'encroach on an average three inches on the wall of the burying ground.'

² Three chairs in 'Mr. Innes's Chapel' seem to have taken the fancy of members as a suitable pattern for three to be made for the new hall. A later entry refers to covers for the 'two carved arm chairs that stand in the Hall.'

he trusted that the managers of the Calton would allow him to take away his balloon and trust to his honesty to pay the six pounds ten shillings he owes the Society: which having been considered, the managers agreed that the balloon should be given up, and to trust to Cameron's honour.'

At the same meeting the managers, by way of reciprocating the favour shown to themselves, cordially granted an application of Mr. Innes's congregation for the use of the hall 'while their chapel is under repair.' We also learn that, in 1820, one of the rooms was let to a dancing-instructor at 30s. per month; and that a Sunday School was allowed a room for three months on probation, the teacher being recommended 'to keep good order in the school in order to prevent any damage.' An account for £7, 13s. was paid at the end of 1820 for wax candles furnished to the Hall. The Calton Convening Room was for a time the meeting-place of the congregation of Trinity College Church, also of the Edinburgh Choral Union.

XIV

Reference has already been made to the South Leith kirk-session exercising a certain oversight of the Calton. Parishioners from the Calton attended service in St. Mary's Church, and elders visited the Calton as early as 1591.¹ Soon after the Incorporated Trades of Calton originated, a part of South Leith Church was assigned for the use of its officials. During the Cromwellian occupation service was suspended; but when St. Mary's was reopened, the brethren of the crafts signified their appropriation of sittings in the north aisle by affixing an oak cornice under the gallery, bearing in carved and gilded letters the inscription: '16 . FOR . THE . CRAIG . END . 56.' The original is now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and a replica has

¹ *South Leith Records*, vol. i. p. 1.

been placed *in situ* within the church. Sundry adjustments of the accommodation were made from time to time; and in 1829 the seats were covered with green cloth.¹ On 4th December 1760, 6s. 2d. was expended for 'black cloath putt on the tables of the Trades seats in the kirk on account of the Kings death.'

Some of the Calton brethren took a prominent part in choosing ministers in the seventeenth century, when feeling ran high between Presbyterian and Episcopalian.² In 1687 friction was so acute that the people of Restalrig and Calton were, 'making their recourse to have a minister for themselves.'³ In 1709 the kirk-session invoked the aid of the Baron Bailie to oust a 'late Episcopall incumbent who maries and baptizes contrary to law,' and who lived in Caltoun.⁴ In 1710 the Incorporation objected to pay a proportion of the repair of the roof of the aisle, and the matter had to be referred to the presbytery.⁵ In 1730 the session 'was displeased that the neighbourhead in Calton did not attend their parish church on the Sabbath days,' and 'threatned to reduce the poors mony.' The matter having been considered by the masters, they 'consented freely for order's sake to attend their parish church every first Sabbath of the month.' Absentees were to pay a penny to the sero (late) box, and the boxmaster was to pay twopence.

The kirk-session of St. Mary's, South Leith, doubtless were aggrieved at the growing prosperity of the self-contained community in the far corner of their parish. At all events, on 8th January 1731 a letter from the session was read at a meeting of the Trades, and a committee was appointed 'to goe with the boxmaster and comene with the members of the session what they would be at.' On the 29th they reported their conversation as to 'quhat fond arises of the burial place,' and the boxmaster was instructed to reply

¹ *South Leith Records*, vol. ii. p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 152.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 20.

'that they do not incline to answer the sessions demand.' This letter¹ failed to satisfy the recipients, whose intention was to withhold their support of the Calton poor until they obtained returns showing what revenues were derived from the burial-ground. Eventually both parties conferred with a committee of the Town Council, which decided that it would be in the best interests of the poor if a statement of the funds was submitted to the kirk-session. The Society ultimately agreed, not, however, without protest from two members, one of whom 'did throw doune a sixpens upone the tabeall' in token of objection. The resultant account is stated in South Leith Records.² Though the allowances payable by the kirk-session to the poor were resumed, this did not prevent the subject from cropping up at a later date. Another demand from the kirk-session in 1752 seems to have been acquiesced in (at least, there is no hint to the contrary); but upon its renewal in 1766, the Society voted 'that no account was to be given to the session, as it was thought most improper.' This action led the session to threaten withdrawal of its pensions to the Calton poor, but afterwards they took the affair to law, where the Sheriff decided in favour of the Trades of Caltoun. The pursuers carried the case to the Court of Session, but the result is unknown.

Certain entries show that the Society, which paid rent for its seats, sometimes let, or 'set' these for the benefit of the poor. The kirk-session evidently objected to such lets, especially to persons not connected with Calton; and after some litigation, the Society were compelled to agree not to 'set' except to inhabitants of Calton or Craigend. But whatever its opinion of the Society's policy, the kirk-session recognised the skill of its craftsmen, as was shown in 1765 when orders were given to George Watt, founder in Caltoun, to cast a new bell for the church.³

¹ It is given in full in *South Leith Records*, vol. ii. p. 50.

² Vol. ii. p. 53.

³ *South Leith Records*, vol. ii. p. 78.

XV

Irvine narrates in some detail the causes of the decline of the Incorporation. The chief were the Act of 1846 abolishing the exclusive trading privileges; the Municipal Extension Act of 1856, which absorbed the Barony; and the rise of the Cemetery Companies. Despite efforts at revival, the Incorporation had by 1887 practically ceased to function; not without the proud boast, however, that 'in the close of the day, the Incorporation' was 'able to face all obligations with equanimity.' It had been in existence for 256 years. Composed, according to Arnot, of 'the lowest class of artificers,' who inhabited 'mean houses' that made the hamlet a fit abode for the 'genius of poverty,' its members nevertheless proved themselves worthy of a place and a name among the best of Scotland's sons.

The Trades' records reflect little of the political crises that occurred during the two and a half centuries of the Society's existence. For example, when Prince Charles Edward held court at Holyrood the Society went on its way undisturbed, dispensing a shilling in charity, receiving a petition from a baker's son to be admitted freeman, and prescribing a 'pye' as his assay. The only sign of disturbance was the result of the increased assessment in the following January and February for 'billeting.' On the other hand, when public causes had to be sponsored, the Incorporation was usually ready to lend its support. An instance of this occurred in 1779, when the Bill for repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics in Scotland was under consideration. The Society, 'apprehending they would be wanting in loyalty to their King, love for their country, void of attachment to the Protestant religion and their duty to God, were they to keep silent on such an occasion,' expressed their concurrence with all incorporations and societies who by lawful means opposed the Bill; and subscribed a proportion of the expense. Again,

on 3rd January 1794, the Society, after 'considering an advertisement which appeared in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* 31st ult. from a class of men calling themselves the "Calton Society of the Friends of the People,"' declared 'that those so styling themselves had no connection with the Incorporated Trades of Calton.' At the same time, they asserted their loyalty to the King and Constitution; approved of the measures taken to disperse the meetings of the 'British Convention of the Friends of the People'; and resolved to do all in their power to prevent such meetings within their bounds. And when 'most daring outrages' were perpetrated in the streets of Edinburgh on 31st December 1811 and the following day, the Society offered every assistance to the magistrates in seeking out the offenders, and undertook 'night watching in common with their fellow citizens for the safety of the lives of the inhabitants and their properties, until a more efficient system of police' was procured. Finally, from 2nd July 1813 until 16th June 1814, the Trades' books record lengthy minutes of meetings held in relation to the Bill for altering the Corn Laws. The Society petitioned Parliament, and appointed a committee to concur with other bodies in resisting the Bill.

To these petitions, etc., was affixed 'the Seal of the said Incorporation.' It makes its first appearance on the book of Rules issued by the magistrates to the Society in 1813; and is reproduced on the cover of Irvine's book. It is an oval, charged with a variation of the three-towered castle familiar in the City arms. The legend runs: 'Prosperity to the Incorporate Trades of Calton,' which, in Irvine's day, seems to have been changed to 'The Incorporate Trades of Calton, Edinburgh.' No special coat of arms for the Society was ever recorded in the Lyon Register.

So early as June 1745 the Society 'resolved to insure the Trades heretage in Calton with a London or Edinburgh Insurance with all convenient speed.' In 1806, the Society

was of opinion that its property was insured for too small a sum. Accordingly it was resolved to insure 'the Gates land' with the 'Friendly Insurance Office' for £700; 'the present Convening House and property below' and 'the house on Caltonhill lately purchased from Mrs. Loch' were insured with the 'Caledonian Insurance Office Company,' the former for £200 and the latter for £500.

HENRY M. PATON.

BONNINGTON: ITS LANDS AND MANSIONS¹

THE Bonnington district is popularly understood to be that portion of Edinburgh and Leith extending from Bonnington Toll on the south to Ferry Road on the north, and to stretch east and west from the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Street to the ditch immediately within the enclosing wall of Easter Warriston, now the Edinburgh Crematorium. The district within these limits originally formed part of two estates, and consists of the northern portion of Pilrig, which extended from Bonnington Toll to the Water of Leith, and the southern part of the lands of Bonnington from the same stream to Ferry Road. But the present line of Ferry Road is comparatively modern, having been constructed in 1758. In earlier days the lands of Bonnington stretched uninterruptedly from the Water of Leith to the Anchorfield Burn, which now flows beneath the garden of Victoria Park Cottage, and then between Ramsay House and Northfield to the sea, which it enters just east of George Street. That is why, down to 1857, Bonnington was the name given to the road between Bonnington Toll and Newhaven, and why the old mansion in Victoria Park was designated Bonnington Park House, as it had been from its erection in 1787 until renamed by the Corporation from the park itself, in 1919. It is this larger district, extending from Bonnington Toll to the Anchorfield Burn, and including the whole of the lands of Bonnington as well as the northern portion of Pilrig, that forms the subject of this paper.

¹ This article is based on charters, sasines and other documents in H.M. General Register House and the City Chambers.

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The lands and mills of Bonnington or Bonnytown¹ (to give them their older designation), together with the lands of Pilrig, Hillhousefield and Warriston, formed a portion of the extensive Regality and Barony of Broughton, and now belong to the Heriot Trust. Before the Reformation they were included among the possessions of the Abbey of Holyrood, but the few records of that great religious house shed little light on the early history of Bonnington and its mills. And what history has omitted to record, neither tradition, legend nor ballad recalls. The villa and the tenement have displaced farm-steadings and the adjoining cottages, and with these have gone many place-names identified with broad acres, round which clustered rich memories—places such as Blackfaulds, Well Park, Pennywell, Broomhills and Partridge Bank, all of them now forgotten.

Bonnington is a frequent place-name in Scots topography. Midlothian alone has several Bonningtons. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to the Register of the Great Seal, the lands of Pilton and Bonnington were possessed by the Eglinton family. Despite the conjunction of names, the Bonnington here mentioned is the estate of that name in the parish of Ratho which to-day forms part of the patrimony of the Wilkie family, not the lands of Bonnington between Edinburgh and Leith.

I

The first mention of the lands of Bonnington, as distinguished from those of the mill, seems to occur in James Young's protocol book, the earliest of the Abbey or Canongate protocol books in the Register House. There we read that Abbot Bellenden granted on 14th March 1489 to Thomas Crawford in Bonnington three and a half acres of the lands of Hillhousefield, which marched on the east with those of

¹ The latter name is still widely known in Leith.

Bonnington. The Crawfords, who may have been tenants in Bonnington for several generations, were evidently people of some wealth, for Thomas Crawford of Bonnington had a tack of the herring dues in all parts of the realm, which was continued to his widow, Margaret Spittal. Thomas Crawford was also keeper of the King's 'girnal' at Leith, which then, as now, did a very large trade in grain, and was the port at which victuals and other commodities for the royal use were stored. The 'girnal' formed a part of the King's Wark, the supplies for which were contracted by Thomas Crawford.

Judging from the families with whom they intermarried,¹ the Crawfords must have been also well connected. They occupied a social position similar to that of the Monypennys of Pilrig, the Touris of Inverleith, the Kincaids of Warriston and the Logans of Coatfield. From their time can be traced the history of the lands and mill of Bonnington, at first in outline and then with ever-increasing detail. The lands of Bonnington, together with those of Pilrig, Warriston and Hillhousefield, were included in those of Broughton in the confirmation charter granted to Holyrood by David I. in 1143. And in Broughton, on the Chapel Hill, the Abbot sometimes held his barony court to regulate their common affairs. Thus, in 1489, William Galloway, 'on his bended knees,' before the Abbot, resigned his lands of Hillhousefield. Again, in 1492, John Stairhead, sailor in Leith, passed to the presence of the Abbot on the Chapel Hill and there made resignation of his acres of Hillhousefield close to North Leith.

The documented history of Bonnington begins in 1521, when the lands were set in feufarm to James Crawford, son and heir of Thomas Crawford, already mentioned. The latter's name is frequently followed by the territorial designation 'of Bonnington,' for he was sole owner of the estate,

¹ They were related to the famous Leith sailormen, Sir Robert Barton and Gilbert Edmonstone.





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which was inherited by his children. Of the manor-place of Bonnington there are several quaint and interesting descriptions, some in the vernacular and one in medieval Latin. These are to be found in sasines of the estate and in the protocol books of James Logan, clerk of the burgh of Canon-gate from 1635 until 1665. In strange and faded script we read of 'the old house of the mansion and manor place of Bonnington bewest the entrie of the yett thereof, containing three voltis beneath and ane hall and ane chalmer above, with ane stable built in maner of ane to-fall¹ upon the west syde of the clois, togidder with the walls of ane barn standing east and west upon the north syde.' At the south-east corner of the barn stood the dovecot, without which no old Scots manor-place was complete, while the south and east sides of the close were enclosed by stone walls after the manner of the original courtyard of Pilrig House.² Within the close the cattle were kept in time of invasion. South of the close and extending to the river was the garden or orchard. To the south-west, in days when the fields were unfenced, lay the 'waird' or enclosed park of Bonnington, where such animals as circumstances necessitated being kept near the house were pastured.³ Such was the manor-place of Bonnington, which was probably built by the Crawfords—a structure similar to that of the Littles which stands out boldly against the skyline above Liberton Brae.

II

Down to the early years of the eighteenth century, when the only means of crossing the river at Bonnington was by

¹ A building erected against a larger building and having a lean-to roof.

² Compare this description of Bonnington manor-place with that of Tully-veolan in *Waverley*, chap. viii.

³ The lairds of Bonnington, Pilrig and Hillhousefield had the right of pasturage on the meadow land on both sides of the river, which formed the commonty of Bonnington.

stepping-stones,¹ there were really two hamlets. They were divided by the stream—that beside the mills on the south side, and the 'toun' of tenant farmers close by the manor-place on the north. Later on, a wooden foot-bridge² took the place of the stepping-stones, and the two hamlets became the village of Bonnington, named 'Bonny Mills, near Edinburgh' in some eighteenth-century letters among the Lochbuie Papers in the Register House. Bonny Mills was then one of several villages in the district, but it alone survives, or at least portions of it. Formerly there were little farming communities in the Bonnington area, including Crouden's Houses,³ Bankend (near Cherrybank), Easter Warriston and Bangholm, but all have disappeared with the run-rig system of agriculture to which they owed their rise. The smithy of Bangholm, however, still remains. It existed in 1730, but probably belongs to a much earlier period. The forges continued to be used till 1923. Bangholm farm-steading, which stood on the north side of Ferry Road some yards farther east, vanished only three years ago.

When Thomas Crawford died in February 1498 his widow, Margaret Spittal, became liferented in her husband's estate, and with the help of her son James carried on Thomas Crawford's business contracts, which were usually in their joint names, 'or the langar levand of thame twa.' Another son, John, held a portion of Bonnington, and fell heir to his father's three and a half acres of Hillhousefield, to which he added by purchase the acres and the homestead of the Stairhead family in St. Nicholas' Wynd, where he himself resided.

¹ James Logan, protocol book, 25th Feb. 1654.

² This foot-bridge was largely for the convenience of the fisherwomen of Newhaven, who trudged this way citywards with their fish.

³ Crouden's Houses appear in the view of Leith Pier in *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh* (vol. iii. p. 208). They stood on the Holy Blood Acre or Anchorfield, and took their name from William Crouden, Master of the Trinity House in 1751, who built them. His grandson Peter married Margaret Gladstone, a Leith aunt of the famous statesman.

These were sold to him in 1513 by Mariota Stairhead, the last of a family which had been feuars in Hillhousefield and North Leith for several generations. Mariota subsequently became a nun in the Convent of the Order of St. Francis, Aberdour.

Margaret Spittal must have died in or before 1521, for in that year James Crawford was infefted in his father's lands of Bonnington. The original feu-charter granted to Thomas Crawford having been lost or destroyed, a charter of novodamus was granted by George Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood, in 1524. This charter has also disappeared, but a copy is preserved in the City Chambers. By its terms Abbot George, with the consent of the monastery, set in feu to James Crawford

'the lands of Bonnington and the mill thereof lying within the regality and barony of Broughton . . . to be holden in feu of the said monastery, paying therefor yearly 19 merks, one swine and twelve capons which the said lands and mill formerly paid in rent and another nineteen merks of money, another swine and twelve capons in augmentation of the rental . . . at the terms following, the said thirty-eight merks at Whitsunday and Martinmas by equal portions, the said two swine at Pasche and the twenty-four capons at Christmas, and with other services formerly used and wont, and with service of courts in three head courts of the said barony, and in our courts of justiciary and chamberlainry holden in the tolbooth of the Canongate.'

On James Crawford's entering into possession, the feu-farm of the lands, mill and mill acres of Bonnington was increased to twice its former amount, because the influx of the precious metals into Europe from America had made money more plentiful, and so lowered its purchasing power. The continued debasement of the Scottish coinage had reduced the pound Scots when James Crawford was infefted to the equivalent of only five shillings English money. To meet the consequent increase in prices rents were raised.

III

James Crawford left no children, and Bonnington and his lands in Hillhousefield were equally divided among his four sisters. These shares, however, were apportioned in a very different manner from that obtaining at Inverleith in 1773, when that estate was divided between two heirs in such a way that one received three-fourths and the other one-fourth. Each portion formed one complete whole, so that the estate might not be broken up by the shares of each being made up from various separate parts. The result was that the smaller share was composed of the lands of Wardie and a portion of Windlestrawlee lying to the north of Ferry Road, while the main portion on the south side of the same thoroughfare remained intact. In the sixteenth century, and for long after, much of the land in Scotland was waste and marsh, the fertile patches being widely separated. To have divided Bonnington into four single portions would have meant that one sister would have had more waste pieces than another. Their shares were, therefore, so arranged as to ensure each having a just division of their brother's lands. Each of these shares continued to be so divided until Bonnington again became a single estate in the days of Charles I.

As was customary, Janet, being the oldest sister, received in her fourth share the messuage lands, containing the manor-place, the dovecot and other buildings, together with the orchard. Janet was the wife of Sir James Logan, the younger son of Sir John Logan of Restalrig, who became sheriff of part of the county of Edinburgh. He was knighted by James IV., with whom he was intimate. In January 1507 the King acted as godfather at the christening of one of his children, and gave 'a godbarne gift' of twenty French

crowns and put fourteen shillings 'in the candill.'¹ Sir James Logan had received from his father the lands between the Bridgend of Leith and Leith Mills, which were named from his office the Sheriffbrae, a designation which now applies to the street in which his mansion stood. On the death of Sir James and his wife, Sheriffbrae passed to their eldest son James. The second son, Robert, received the lands of Craighouse, now a part of Barnton, while the youngest, John, was given his mother's (Janet Crawford) portion of Bonnington. John was the first of the Logan family to bear the territorial name.

Another fourth part went to the second sister, Elizabeth, whose interesting and even romantic story may be pieced together from incidental notices in the English and Scottish State Papers, her second husband, Sir Robert Barton, being one of the leading Scotsmen of his time. She seems to have been a woman of marked individuality, and businesslike. Both her husbands were noted Leith sailormen. She first married Gilbert Edmonstone, a younger son of the laird of Edmonstone, the estate which marches with Craigmillar on the west and Niddry on the north, and is now the seat of the Don Wauchopes. Edmonstone owned and sailed the good ship *Julyan*, and from Andrew Halyburton's *Ledger* we learn that he plied between Leith and the Netherlands. Along with his wife, he founded the chantry chapel of St. Barbara in 'the new Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Leith,' now the parish church of South Leith. Edmonstone was dead before 1510.

The Edmonstones were intimate with the family of Sir Robert Barton, the great Scots sea captain, who was Comptroller to James IV. and Lord High Treasurer to James V. When his wife, Elizabeth Jameson, died Barton wished to

¹ At the baptism of a child in accordance with the ritual of the Church of Rome, a burning light, symbolical of the light of faith, was held in its hand, and along with the light was the royal gift.

bring home, as a second mother to his children, Elizabeth Crawford, the young widow of his former friend, Gilbert Edmonstone. But Elizabeth Jameson had been godmother to the Edmonstone children, while their father had been godfather to the family of Sir Robert Barton, and, according to the Church of Rome, this created a spiritual relationship which debarred marriage. But the obstacle to Barton's union with Elizabeth Crawford was removed, mainly through the King's influence,¹ and the marriage was duly celebrated. From this union there were three children—James, Henry and Margaret, the last being called after her Bonnington grandmother.

In recognition of the elder Barton's services to his country, James v. bestowed a pension on 'James Bertoun and Hary Bertoun of foir scoir pundis equalie betuich thame to be payit to thame zeirlic all the dayis of thair liffis,'² and their mother, Elizabeth Crawford, in presence of the Council, expressed thanks for 'certane gratitudis' to her,³ and especially for the pension to her sons. But the allowance was not long enjoyed, the sons being short-lived. Both held their mother's lands, which at their death passed to their sister Margaret, who became the wife of John, only son of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, the intimate friend of John Knox. Their only son, also Sir James Sandilands of Calder, was infetted some time after 1552 in his mother's share of Bonnington and Hillhousefield. These he afterwards sold to George Logan, his cousin with one remove, who, by the death of his elder brother Robert, already owned the share of his grandmother, Janet Crawford.

The portions of the Bonnington charters detailing the division of James Crawford's lands among his four sisters are in some of their parts considerably confused, partly

¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*: Henry VIII., vol. i. Nos. 1410, 1570.

² *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. vii. p. 483.

³ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554*, p. 509.

owing to errors and omissions by copyists, and partly to the fact that the name George Logan stands not only for two different portioners, but also for portioners belonging to two different generations and to different families. There is no indication of this in the charters, and, unless one has knowledge of the Crawford family from other sources, it is not always possible to tell how ownership was established. In the Inventory of Charters compiled from Bonnington writs there is a manuscript dealing with the division of the lands among James Crawford's heirs, but only the names of his three elder sisters, Janet, Elizabeth and Isobel, are given.

The Crawfords were all benefactors of St. Anthony's Preceptory in the Kirkgate of Leith. In the *Rentale Buke* of Sanct Anthonis and Newhavin¹ (c. 1546) are the names of the three younger sisters, the place of that of the oldest (now dead) being taken by that of her youngest son, John,² who had inherited her share of Bonnington. The three sisters mentioned are Elizabeth, Katrine and Agnes. Katrine takes the place of Isobel referred to in the manuscript in the Inventory of Charters. The names in the *Rentale Buke* are probably correct, as the entries are contemporary with most of the persons whose benefactions they record. Moreover, they are confirmed in John MacNeill's protocol book 1549-1551, also in two charters of the Napiers of Wrightshouses, dated respectively 1523 and 1530.

The third share (as has been shown) was inherited by James Crawford's sister Katrine (Isobel), of whom nothing seems to be known. A careful scrutiny of somewhat conflicting portions of the Bonnington sasines leads to the conclusion that Katrine's share descended to her grand-nephew,

¹ A manuscript volume in the National Library.

² In the list of benefactors of the Preceptory to be 'prayit for ylk Sunday till the day of dome' we find the names of 'Schir James Logane, knycht, and Dame Jane (Crawford) his spous.'

Sir James Sandilands of Calder, the grandson of her sister Elizabeth, whose share he had already inherited, and which he later disposed of to George Logan. Sir James afterwards sold his grand-aunt's share to Thomas Vaus, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, whose name is found in several connections in the burgh records during the reign of James VI. According to the Inventory of Charters, this last portion of Bonnington afterwards came to be possessed by Alexander Couston, advocate, and bailie of Leith in 1576; but this seems a copyist's error for John Logan of Couston and Sheriff-brae, whose family held a wadset over Sir James's share until Logan's death in 1646. Katrine's portion was purchased by James Heriot, whose descendants continued to possess it till 1630, when it was sold to James Duncan, who already owned the manors of Gorgie and Ratho, and who, from 1621, began to acquire the lands of Bonnington. Under him these again became one estate.

The fourth and last share was inherited by the youngest sister, Agnes, the wife of Walter Logan of Leith. In 1523 she was infefted along with her husband by Robert Napier of Wrightshouses in two acres of Gallowflatt, a part of the lands of Coatfield to the west of Restalrig Road. In 1530 her son George was infefted in the same lands, as heir to his father. He held the two acres until 1564, when they were sold to his kinsman, John Logan of Coatfield, of which estate they really formed part. In the charter recording this transfer, George Logan is described as 'one of the four heirs of the lands of Bonnington,' as if his mother, Agnes Crawford, had predeceased his uncle James, and as if, on the latter's death, he, and not she, had inherited the fourth quarter of Bonnington. How long George Logan retained his mother's portion does not appear, but he must have disposed of it before he parted with Gallowflatt, for its purchaser, James Wood, portioner in Broughton, was dead in 1564. The latter left the liferent of his Bonnington acres to his widow, Janet

Cockburn. She died in 1582, when her eldest son, William, succeeded to his father's portion of Bonnington.¹ He sold it to Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, the great feudal lawyer of James VI.'s time. Sir Thomas died in 1608, and was succeeded in Bonnington and Riccarton by his oldest son, Sir Lewis, who was raised to the Bench in his father's lifetime as Lord Wrightslands, a judicial title derived from his estate at Bruntisfield.

IV

When, after James Crawford's death, the lands passed to his four sisters, the fords at Bonnington gained a place in the national records. In 1544 the Earl of Hertford arrived in the Forth and disembarked his army at Wardie Tower and Granton Craigs. From a contemporary English account, 'sent from the King's armye,' we learn that it marched in three divisions to the Water of Leith, where, as is well known, some Scottish troops under Cardinal Beaton and the Regent Arran disputed their passage. The Scottish force must have been posted near Bonnington Mills, as the river bank lower down was too steep to afford a safe crossing. There were then two fords—one between the mill and the manor-house, and the other, leading to Canonmills and Broughton village, at that part of Warriston known as 'Puddocky.' These fords were among the safest on the Water of Leith, that at Warriston being the favourite route

¹ These Woods introduce further difficulties into the elucidation of the history of Bonnington, for they are apt to be confused with William and James Wood so often mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls* and *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* as 'of Bonnington.' The latter were of Bonnington in Angus. Their descendant, 'the fiar (heir) of Bonnington,' executed in Edinburgh in 1601 as 'an obstinated papist and hearer of messe,' has sometimes been identified with Robert Logan, the fiar of Bonnington, who died about 1635. *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. vi. p. 233; Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. pp. 102-3.

to the city from Cramond, Queensferry and the west. Canon-mills Bridge did not exist until 1768.

Beaton and Arran wisely gave way before the superior forces of the enemy. If the English crossed at both fords simultaneously, as seems certain, the small Scots army must have had its line of retreat cut off. Once across the river, the English marched by the old mill road through the then unenclosed fields towards Leith, 'which' (to quote again the English writer) 'before we could come to it [we] must of force pass another passage which also was defended a whyle with certain pecies of artyllary.' This second 'passage' was the ford across the Broughton Burn, which until little more than a century ago flowed across the Bonnington Road from Bowershall to Silverfield, on its way to the Water of Leith. In the campaign of 'frightfulness' that followed, the village and mill of Bonnington were reduced to ruins, as they were again after the battle of Pinkie.

Despite its remoteness from Edinburgh, Bonnington was no haunt of rural peace. The landed gentry had little regard for law and order, and on the slightest provocation would turn their weapons against each other. In September 1620 Sir Patrick Monypenny of Pilrig, with some of his tenants and servants, attacked Bonnington Mills (there were now two), and threatened 'to lay the same waist,' for which riotous conduct the Privy Council imprisoned Monypenny in Edinburgh Castle. The Logans of Bonnington were even more turbulent. George Logan, with his son Robert, and numerous kinsmen in Leith, carried on a bitter feud with the Kincaids of Warriston, whose lands marched with Bonnington on the west. The laird of Warriston at this time was the young son of that Jean Livingstone who was beheaded in 1600 at the Girth Cross in the Canongate for the murder of her husband, John Kincaid (who behaved as if insane), a domestic tragedy the details of which are related with dramatic force in the old ballad of 'The Laird of Waristoun.'

In addition to their patrimonial estates, the Logans and the Kincaids owned portions of the lands of Hillhousefield. These were then wholly arable, and were portioned out among feuars, who sublet or farmed the land themselves. The feud between the Logans and the Kincaids may have arisen over the question of boundaries, for the Kincaids had no convenient access to Hillhousefield save through Bonnington. Anyhow the two families 'daylie made provocatione ane to another.' In December 1605 the Privy Council had before them a petition from George Logan of Bonnington and his son Robert. It set forth how, when coming 'fra the Place and Manor of Bonnington to the town of Leith,' they were fiercely set upon by Patrick Kincaid, tutor (guardian of the young laird) of Warriston, and others, all 'being bodin and furnest with swords, daigeris and secrites' (armour under their dress), and how they were wounded 'to the effusion of our blude in grite quantitie and perrall of oure lyveis.'

The Logans avenged this attack. Whereupon the Kincaids craved a summons against their enemies who, armed with swords and other weapons, attacked them while visiting Hillhousefield, and would have slain them had not some of the inhabitants of the North Brig of Leith interposed. The Kincaids, according to their story, then returned to Warriston, but were pursued by the Logans, who again attacked them, Thomas Kincaid being wounded. Both families were ordered by the Privy Council to give assurances to the extent of three thousand merks until 1st January 1608 that they would keep the King's peace. At the same time, Sir George Touris of Inverleith, an ally of the Kincaids, had to pledge himself in the sum of three hundred merks not to invade the territory of the Logans. But both Kincaids and Logans pursued their feud as fiercely as ever.

On 3rd January 1607 the two families had to give fresh assurances to the extent of five thousand merks. But no sooner had they left the Council Chamber than swords

clashed between them. For this 'insolence' the Council, 'knauing perfytlie how oft they maid commotion,' ordained them to be warded in the Castle, and to remain there until it was determined how their contumacy should be punished. How long they were kept in durance does not appear, but more than eighteen months after, in August 1608, Andrew Logan of Coatfield for the Logans, and Josias Touris for the Kincaids, pledged themselves for a thousand pounds sterling each that the families of Bonnington and Warriston would henceforth refrain from harming each other.

V

After James VI. took the government into his own hands there were heavy burdens of taxation on land, the King's income being insufficient. In seventeen years over four hundred thousand pounds of taxes were imposed, and this burden the barons passed on to their vassals, who had never before paid land-tax. The Logans of Bonnington and the Monypennys of Pilrig became financially embarrassed, and a large transference of land was the result. The Logans of Bonnington especially were hard hit. At this time they owned half the estate—the inherited portion, which included the manor-place, and the fourth-part share purchased from Sir James Sandilands of Calder. They were also owners of the mills and the mill acres, having bought up the shares of the three other co-heirs. The remaining half of Bonnington, as already stated, was possessed in equal portions by Sir Lewis Craig of Riccarton and the descendants of James Heriot.

George Logan and Robert, his elder son, the fiar of Bonnington, wadset Sandilands' portion to John Logan of Sheriffbrae, and of Couston near Aberdour. He was evidently a man of substance, for twelve years later, in 1630, he rebuilt the family mansion of Sheriffbrae, which in 1840, after stand-

ing for over two hundred years, went the way of its predecessor. The wadset held by their kinsman over their lands neither George nor Robert Logan was ever able to redeem. On the contrary, they became still further indebted to their creditors, for whose benefit they sold, in 1618, the mills and mill acres to the city for twelve thousand three hundred merks. The mills and the acres between the river and the lade were thus permanently disjoined from the Bonnington estate, and never since have they been both held by the same owner. A few months later, they also disposed of their half of the estate, together with the manor-place, dovecot and orchard, to Sir Lewis Craig of Riccarton, who became owner of three-fourths of the lands. The portion once owned by Sandilands was, however, held under bond to the laird of Sheriffbrae, which the latter continued to hold until his death in 1645.

Towards the close of 1621 Sir Lewis Craig disposed of his Bonnington estate together with the acres of Hillhousefield to James Duncan, who was tailor and clothier to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James VI. Duncan was a man of wealth and social standing, for his father owned Colpnay in Aberdeenshire; his brother Peter, the lands of Gourdhill and the Moat of Errol in Perthshire; while he himself was proprietor of the manor of Gorgie and the considerable estate of Ratho or Marjoribanks, whose park and mansion to-day form the golf-course and club-house of Ratho Park.

Duncan died in 1639, and was succeeded in his several estates by his only son, James, to whom, in 1620, his father had already conveyed Gorgie. His daughter had been otherwise provided for. These were his only children, but neither was legitimate. The Duncans were generous and considerate landlords, and the Browns of Gorgie were their 'kyndlie tenants' for 'mony yeares bygane.' James Duncan, the younger, married Jean Foulis of Colinton, whose relative, Margaret Foulis of Ravelston ('the Ladye Pilrig,' as she was

designated), was her near neighbour when she and her husband resided at Bonnington. On his death in 1647 Duncan succeeded in the ownership of Bonnington by his cousin, Robert of Gourdhill and of the Moat of Errol, while his wife, Jean Foulis, had the liferent of Ratho. Evidently Robert Duncan now possessed more landed estate than he cared to retain, for in 1654 he sold twenty-five acres of Bonnington to Robert Lockhart, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and other twelve acres of the same estate together with two of Hillhousefield to William Osburn, who was elected a merchant burgess in 1649.

Robert Lockhart was a cadet of the Lockharts of Lee. His brother James, in whose seafaring ventures he took shares, was a skipper-shipowner of Leith, one of the few lucrative callings open to Leithers when all merchandising abroad was the monopoly of Edinburgh merchant burgesses. In 1669-1670 James Lockhart was Master of the Trinity House, the guild hall of the ancient Leith seamen's guild, of which he had long been treasurer. Robert Lockhart named as trustees for his children, Walter, Lord Torphichen, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and his distinguished son, Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, who was shot dead at his own close-head by John Chieslie of Dalry. Like so many other Edinburgh merchants who were not natives of the city, Robert Lockhart became a burgess and guild brother by right of his wife, Anna Fleming, whose father had been city treasurer in 1639. He himself became bailie ten years later. He was one of the creditors of the 'worthy, faithfu' Provost Dick' whose barony of North Berwick became Lockhart's own property.

His Bonnington acres now form the greater portion of the Victoria Park. Newhaven Road is its eastern boundary, as it once was (under the name of the Whiting Road) of Lockhart's lands. This name was descriptive of its use by the fisherwomen of Newhaven, who went this way to town to dispose of the contents of their creels. These, however,

were not always filled with fish, for when contraband goods were landed under cover of night at Newhaven, they were frequently disposed of by the fishwives. The Whiting Road was then only a footpath through the unenclosed fields between Newhaven and the stepping-stones at Bonnington ford. Beyond the ford and the bleach-fields of Bonnyhaugh a field-path through the lands, to be later known as Stewartfield, led to Broughton Loan, along which the fisherwomen trudged when going to the city.

The sasines infetting Robert Lockhart and William Osburn, whose acres lay on the east side of Whiting Road, are of special interest, for to them and to that of David Wilkie, whom we next hear of in Bonnington, we owe the only description we possess of the pre-Reformation manor-place of Bonnington. Lockhart purchased the older manor-house as a dwelling for the tenant who farmed his lands, while the modern mansion (which has also disappeared) was the home of the Duncans when residing in Bonnington. In 1659 Lockhart disposed of his lands to 'Mr.'¹ Robert Douglas and his spouse, Margaret Boyd. He was the Rev. Robert Douglas, grandson of Queen Mary's friend, George Douglas of Lochleven. Successively minister of the Tolbooth, St. Giles', and Greyfriars' Churches, he was a leading opponent of Archbishop Sharp.

VI

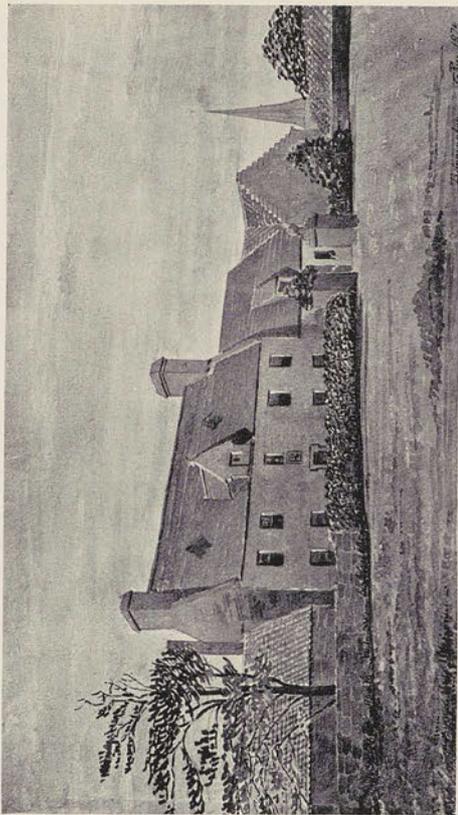
The main portion of the Bonnington estate, save 'the old house of Bonnington,' which was specially reserved for Douglas's farming tenant, was sold (1665) by the Duncan family to David Wilkie, whose ancestors had been indwellers in Canongate and were evidently favoured by the King. Wilkie's lands included eight acres three roods 'lying benorth Bonny-

¹ The 'Mr.' shows Douglas to have been a graduate of a University and a member of a learned profession.

toun mylne stepps' (the stepping-stones at the ford). To-day they form portions of Bonnington Grove and Chancelot. Wilkie and his son, 'Mr.' Archibald (who succeeded him in Bonnington), were merchant burgesses of the city. The former was served 'prentice' to Sir William Dick of Braid, while his son Archibald became an officer of the King's Household in Scotland, and was 'sergeant to his Majesty's spicery.'

Archibald Wilkie died a few months after entering upon the ownership of Bonnington, and the estate passed to his son Henry, who, five years later, received from Charles II. the lucrative post of Conservator of the Scottish Privileges in the Netherlands, an officer whose duty it was to look after Scottish trade with the Low Countries, and especially with the staple port at Campveere in Holland. Henry Wilkie, however, was not a success, although the Convention of Royal Burghs, to whose jurisdiction he was in some measure subject, expected great things 'from his known experience in merchand affairs and his civil and oblidging deportment.' At Campveere still stands the Conservator's house, once occupied by Henry Wilkie of Bonnington, and now preserved by the Dutch government as a fine specimen of domestic architecture of older days.

On leaving Edinburgh for Campveere Wilkie laid his Bonnington and Hillhousefield lands under heavy bond to Sir James Lockhart of Lee and to Sir James Stansfield, who afterwards became the moving spirit in founding the cloth factory at New Mills, Haddington. Lockhart died in 1674, and in the following year his bond over Bonnington and Hillhousefield was taken up by Robert Baird, afterwards Sir Robert Baird of Saughton Hall. Becoming more financially embarrassed, Conservator Wilkie was unable to redeem his estate. In 1684 it became the property of the bondholders, and was eventually taken over by the Baird family, who bought out all the other mortgagees. Sir Robert Baird now wished to acquire Hillhousefield, over which, with



BONNINGTON MANOR-HOUSE, 1680 ?-1891
From a Water-Colour Sketch by the late Thomas Ross, LL.D.

Sir James Cockburn, he also held a bond, but as Cockburn also desired to become owner of Hillhousefield, the matter came before the Court of Session, when judgment was given in Cockburn's favour. He thereupon released the estate from Baird's bond, and in 1685 sold it to his friend James Law, a member of a wealthy seafaring family of North Leith. Bonnington, however, continued a possession of the Bairds until 1717, when they disposed of it to Thomas Brown, an Edinburgh bookseller and publisher, whose father and grandfather had carried on the business before him.

Thomas Brown reconstructed the front of the mansion, which was of two storeys. The only part of architectural interest was the south front which contained the doorway, over which was a dormer window. A moulded panel bearing the family coat of arms also surmounted the doorway. The second mansion of Bonnington was probably erected by the Duncans. It was demolished in 1891 to make way for tenements. The sculptured stone with the Brown arms now forms the pediment of a dormer oriel in the tenement occupying its site, which is at the junction of Graham Street with West Bowling-Green Street. The crest of the Browns of Bonnington, as of those of Newhall, is a ship in full sail with the motto *Caute et sedulo* ('cautiously and carefully'). The shield is much weathered and the date of reconstruction has disappeared, but it was probably 1721, the year in which the Brown arms were registered. In the Register House is preserved an inventory and valuation of the furnishings of Bonnington manor-house at Thomas Brown's death, while in the Blair Collection,¹ also in the Register House, are a few of Brown's letters, including an affectionate epistle written in 1671 from Holland, where he had gone to gain further experience in bookselling. It is written to his uncle, who had evidently become his guardian after his father's

¹ William Blair was Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow University before and after 1689.

death, and is addressed, 'For my loving and respective uncle, John Brown, burgess in Edinburgh, living at the bowhead, a little beneath the weigh-house. These——'

Before Bonnington came to the Browns, its large garden and orchard lay open to the river, and there was much trespassing. Thomas Brown, therefore, enclosed the mansion and its precincts with a stone wall, which stretched from the present Bonnington Bridge to where his property marched with Hillhousefield. The ford at this part was thus effectually closed, though there was one higher up, between the mills and the mill house.

VII

Thomas Brown died in 1731, and was succeeded in Bonnington by his elder son, John, an officer in the Horse Guards Blue; the younger son, Robert, carried on his father's bookselling business. To meet his financial needs, the new laird of Bonnington bonded his estate, first to his brother Robert and, later, much more heavily to Alexander Le Grand of H.M. Customs, to whom it was eventually sold in 1741. The Le Grands, who had formerly resided in Leith, between Logan's Lodging and the vennel called 'the road to the Altar-stane,'¹ now took up their abode in Bonnington. Alexander Le Grand was appointed Collector of Customs at Leith about 1735. In the *London Gazette* for 27th July 1751, it was announced that Alexander Le Grand and Mansfeldt Cardonnel had been promoted Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland. Cardonnel had been previously Collector at Musselburgh. His house (in which he once entertained Smollett, the novelist) stood at the south-east end of the bridge carrying the roadway over the Esk. Cardonnel is mentioned in 'Jupiter' Carlyle's *Autobiography*, and Smollett

¹ This vennel still exists. It now forms part of Coatfield Lane.

introduces him into *Humphry Clinker*. The office of Commissioner of Customs in the eighteenth century was usually held by gentlemen of good birth. Le Grand's family was of Franco-Irish descent and was designated as 'of Grandville, County Antrim, Ireland.' Le Grand took an active part in every movement for the welfare of the district. In July 1761 he gave a hundred pounds sterling towards repairing South Leith Parish Church. When the Turnpike Road Act came into force in 1751, transforming what had formerly been mere tracks into fine smooth roads, Le Grand and the laird of Pilrig became enthusiastic road improvers. The 'antient road from North Leith to Queensferry' went by Bonnington and Warriston, and passed within a few feet of a 'steep and dangerous precipice' above the Water of Leith to the hamlet of Bangholm, near Goldenacre, and crossed Wardie Moor to Cramond Brig. In 1758, when the Ferry Road was altered to its present line, Le Grand gifted to the Road Trustees those portions of his fields through which it ran, although, as Goldenacre reminds us, they were reckoned among the finest farming land in Scotland.

There is preserved in the Custom House at Leith an interesting document, issued under Le Grand's direction on 26th May 1752, giving an unflattering description of Alan Breck (who figures in Stevenson's *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*), in the hope that it might lead to his identification should he attempt to escape to France through Leith. Had Stevenson been familiar with the story of Bonnington and known of the Jacobites who dwelt there, he might have made Alan betake himself there for assistance, even although the laird as 'one of the Honourable Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs' had issued a proclamation for his arrest.

Le Grand purchased Bonnington, but having no family, he settled the estate on the children of his sister, who were to 'assume the name, arms and designation of Le Grand of Bonnington, and take up residence and keep house there

and nowhere else.' With this end in view, he brought from Ireland in 1767 his nephew Edward M'Allister with his wife and children and settled them in a large villa in Quality Street, Leith, then the fashionable quarter of the town. Le Grand died in 1769, and his nephew assumed his uncle's name and arms. His career as laird of Bonnington, however, was short-lived, for he died two years later. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Richard, whose marriage is thus announced in the *Scots Magazine* of December 1771: 'At Edinburgh, Richard Le Grand of Grandfield, Esq., to Miss Mary Stewart, daughter of James Stewart of Stewartfield, Esq.' Stewartfield was a neighbouring property extending from Bonnington Toll to the Mills. But Richard Le Grand's manner of life was very different from that of his grand-uncle, the Commissioner of Excise, and Mary Stewart, after a few years of wedded life, returned to Stewartfield, where she resided until her death in 1790. Le Grand died suddenly in 1782. As he left no children, and as his younger brothers had predeceased him, Bonnington, as in the days of the Crawfords, was again divided, being inherited by Richard Le Grand's five sisters. It was subject, however, to an annuity of one hundred pounds to Mary Stewart, their brother's widow. With the consent of their husbands and the tutors-at-law of Anne, their baby sister, Sarah, Dorothy, Jean and Margaret Le Grand, in 1786, sold the lands of Bonnington with the mansion and its attendant buildings to James Clerk, advocate, who became one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

VIII

James Clerk was the grandson of John Clerk of Listonshields in the Pentlands, a cadet of the Penicuik family. For more than thirty years John Clerk was the most noted

medical practitioner in Scotland. He was President of the Royal College of Physicians (1740-1744), and in their hall in Queen Street now hangs his portrait commissioned by the College. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas Rattray, D.D., of Craighall near Blairgowrie, who was Bishop of Dunkeld. James Clerk, the new laird of Bonnington, in right of his grandmother, Margaret Rattray, became proprietor of Craighall, and assumed the name of Rattray in addition to his own. Craighall Road is named from the ancient family seat of the Clerk-Rattrays in Perthshire.

Before the Clerk-Rattrays purchased Bonnington, the old mansion had been let. In 1782 Major Henry Balfour, the youngest son of the first laird of Pilrig, became the earliest and most noted of many tenants. According to a family tradition, the Major chose Bonnington as a residence because from its windows he could see the old home at Pilrig where he was born. He had been an officer in the First Royals and had distinguished himself in the struggle with France for North America. In 1770 he purchased a house 'at the bend of the Sheriffbrae,' but did not settle down to a life of leisure, for the sasine of his property describes him as 'late of the Royal Regiment of Foot and now merchant in Leith.' He seems to have become a partner in the firm of his uncle Henry, his father's youngest brother. After a residence of twelve years in the Sheriffbrae, the Major, with his wife, Jean Elliot of Wolflee, and his seven children, removed to the old manor-house of Bonnington. Here he died in February 1787.¹ From his eldest daughter Louisa, named after her Pilrig grandmother, was descended Walter Biggar Blaikie, LL.D., one of the founders and the first

¹ *The Balfours of Pilrig* gives the year as 1791. This is an error easily explained. The Index to the *Edinburgh Testaments* in the Register House has the following entries, of which the first is misleading: 'Balfour, Henry, merchant in Leith 6 June 1788.' 'Balfour, Major Henry, in the 1st Regiment of Foot 29 Oct. 1791.' The first refers to Major Henry Balfour of Pilrig, the second to Major Henry Balfour of Dunbog.

President of the Old Edinburgh Club. After the Major's death, the Bonnington estate began to be feued, and the park around the mansion became smaller and smaller. Moreover, the mansion declined in status, and the grounds were occupied as nurseries. Later on, Bonnington House, like Stewartfield, became a dairy. The only remaining lodge at the south-west corner of Graham Street is now incorporated with other buildings.¹

IX

To complete the story, it may be pointed out that in 1771 Richard Le Grand sold to John Aitchison, farmer at Niddry Mains, ten and a half acres of that part of Bonnington which to-day forms the eastern portion of Victoria Park. After several changes of ownership these acres were purchased in 1786 by John Cundell, who had married Dorothea Le Grand. Her younger sister, Margaret, was the wife of Cundell's brother, William, who was partner with his father, Bailie James Cundell, in an extensive brewery in the Sheriffbrae, removed only in recent years. Dorothea Le Grand would have sentimental reasons for wishing to make her home in Bonnington with which her family had been associated for so many years. It was for this reason that her husband and she purchased Aitchison's acres. A portion of them was laid out as a park, and thereon was built in 1787 their residence—Bonnington Park House. Its main entrance was from Ferry Road, the mansion being approached by a tree-bordered drive which is now included in the footway along the west side of Newhaven Road. During the period 1770-1792 the Whiting Road was converted into a carriage-way, and it was then that the present lodge and entrance

¹ Part of the avenue and entrance gates from Pitt Street remained until 1914. A portion of one of the gate pillars is still *in situ* and forms part of a shop front.

gates in Newhaven Road were erected. In 1812 the road between Leith Walk and Newhaven *via* Pilrig was reconstructed to meet the demands of vehicular traffic. Its former width may be seen in the portion still remaining between Newhaven Road and Bonnington Mill House where the newer road forks with the old. The scheme included the erection of a road bridge across the Water of Leith. Its keystone bore that it was built in 1812 by the Trustees for the Turnpike Roads 'aided by a few of the Nighbouring [*sic*] Proprietors,' one of whom was 'Laird' Cunningham of Bonnington Mills. The aid referred to consisted in a gift of land for the approaches to the bridge. The structure stood until 1902, when it was replaced by the present bridge.

John Cundell died in Bonnington Park in 1810 and his wife, Dorothea Le Grand, two years later. Both are buried in South Leith Churchyard. In 1811 Dorothea Le Grand's only surviving son, Edward, sold Bonnington Park and four acres of its grounds to William Oliphant, who had married his sister Jane and whose father was a partner in the brewery at Sheriffbrae. The Cundells who continued to reside in Leith down to 1913 were descended from William Cundell, who, as already stated, married Margaret Le Grand. She died in 1792. Her husband then married Anne Ross, niece of Sir John Ross, the famous Arctic explorer. Cundell's eldest son, David, served as a surgeon all through the Waterloo campaign. His brother Joseph and the latter's son, John Ross Cundell, acted for some ninety years as agents in succession for the British Linen Bank in Bernard Street. The latter died in 1931. His cousin, Anne Ross Cundell, the only child of David Ross Cundell, the surgeon, was brought to Leith (from Hull, her birthplace) by her father, who, on leaving the army, settled in the port, and carried on a practice. She married the Rev. William Cousin, and was authoress of 'The Sands of Time are Sinking,' and other hymns.

BONNYHAUGH

As one proceeds from Bonnington Toll towards the mills a narrow road will be noticed diverging to the left. It now leads to Bonnington skin works, and to that portion of the old village west of the mills. Formerly this road led to the mills and then passed between them and the old mill house to the ford. The chief object of interest here is Bonnyhaugh House, the oldest in the district, older even than the manor-place of Pilrig, which was erected in 1638.

The first record of Bonnyhaugh is in 1621. In that year the Town Council of Edinburgh made one of several attempts to establish cloth-making by bringing over from Holland a Dutchman named Jeromias Vanderheill, 'colour master' or dyer, to teach his craft to the Edinburgh clothiers. The council engaged to give him a house on the mill lands of Bonnington. They also erected a fulling and a dyeing house. Curiously enough, a little roofless building within the gates of Bonnington skin works is still known as 'the dyeing house,' but it must have belonged to a later period of cloth-making than that of Vanderheill's time. In 1621 the Council set in tack to this Dutchman the 'midhous of that grit hous buildit be the saids Proveist, baillies and counsell apone the miln land of Bonieton.' Between the house and the 'damheid' lay the bleaching greens, covering nearly five acres. These were used in connection with the linen factory at Paul's Work, and Bonnyhaugh (not yet so designated) was let with them. Originally Bonnyhaugh had a thatched roof which, in the next hundred years (during which nothing is heard of the mansion), was replaced by a tiled one, which in turn gave place to one of slates. In 1723 the house and bleach-fields were purchased by Gilbert Stewart, to whom they owe the name Bonnyhaugh.

Perhaps the most noted name associated with the linen industry at Bonnington is that of William Stuart Carmichael.



BONNYHAUGH

Where Bishop Keith wrote his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*

He purchased Bonnyhaugh from the heirs of Gilbert Stewart, linen manufacturer, Bonnington, just before his marriage in 1752 with Katherine, only daughter of Bishop Keith. After the marriage the Bishop and his wife removed from the Canongate and resided at Bonnyhaugh. Here Keith wrote the major portion of his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and here he died in 1757. All authorities, including the *Dictionary of National Biography*, erroneously assert that Bonnyhaugh was the Bishop's property. From Stuart Carmichael's marriage contract, preserved in the Register House, we learn that he was to invest five hundred pounds in the purchase of land to assure his wife an annual income should she survive him. Bishop Keith, on the other hand, gave his daughter a dowry of four hundred pounds. With these two sums Stuart Carmichael purchased the house and lands of Bonnyhaugh.

Stuart Carmichael was a Jacobite and a member of the non-juring congregation in Leith which was then in charge of the Rev. Robert Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Ross and Caithness), well known by his Jacobite work, *The Lyon in Mourning*. When Prince Charles Edward landed in the Highlands in 1745, Stuart Carmichael and Forbes set off together to join him, but were arrested and imprisoned until after Culloden. It is interesting to add that a pattern taken from a small piece of the print dress worn by the Prince as Betty Burke was reproduced at Bonnyhaugh. So great was the demand for the design among the Jacobite ladies of Scotland and England that the looms at Bonnington could not keep pace with it. Stuart Carmichael's widow, Katherine Keith, enjoyed the liferent of Bonnyhaugh for many years. The marriage registers of Old St. Paul's show her to have been alive in 1775, when her only daughter Stuartina was married to William Douglas of Bonnington Toll. Mrs. Douglas, acting on her husband's advice, sold Bonnyhaugh in 1786 to the Selbys, an Edinburgh burgess

family, who at the same time purchased Bonnington Mills and some adjacent lands. In 1802 these properties passed to their relative, 'Laird' Cunningham, who occupied the old mill house until his death in 1835. Bonnyhaugh and Bonnington Mills are now owned by Messrs. White, Burns and Co. of Bonnington Skin Works.

REDBRAES

The Bonnington portion of the lands of Pilrig stretches from Bonnington Toll to the Water of Leith. Though now mostly built over, it was comprised in the earlier half of the eighteenth century largely of small residential estates. The first portion to be laid out was Redbraes, so named from the reddish nature of the banks overlooking the marshy ground that lay to the east of them. In 1717 Lord Rosebery, the predecessor of the Balfours in the ownership of Pilrig, sold to Andrew Melville, M.D., 'four acres and three roods of land commonly called the Reidbraes with the bog on the east side of the same.' The bog afterwards became an ornamental pond, which was one of the chief attractions of Redbraes. From Dr. Melville's heirs the lands were purchased, in October 1753, by Robert Mylne, architect, London, a member of the well-known family of the King's Master Masons. Ultimately they formed the major portion of his estate of Powderhall, a name derived from the factory set up here in 1695 by James Balfour, the father of the first laird of that name, who with his partners had the monopoly of the manufacture of gunpowder in Scotland.

Redbraes, as a separate property, adjoined the lands acquired by Robert Mylne from Melville's heirs. It originated in 1729 with the purchase of six and a half acres of Pilrig from James Balfour, the first laird, by Hew Craufurd, Clerk to the Signet, whose town house was in Cant's Close. Craufurd built the original mansion of Redbraes, which was added

to by his grandson, Sir Hew Craufurd of Jordanhill, who had succeeded his father in Redbraes in 1789. The situation of the mansion, immediately adjacent to the entrance gates of the estate, was a reminder of the days when policies were unenclosed, and when the highway frequently traversed a private estate. Through Redbraes passed the road from Leith to Canonmills. Indeed it was the peculiar situation of the mansion that, for road improvement, caused its removal in 1927. When Hew Craufurd purchased Redbraes in 1729, the Canonmills Road was diverted so as to run outside instead of inside his property. He then enclosed the lands on the south and west. Grant¹ mistakenly makes Redbraes, then part of the outfield or grazing lands of Pilrig, the home of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. He confuses it with Redbraes Castle, the old home of the family in Berwickshire.

Sir Hew Craufurd of Pollok, the second laird of Redbraes and seventh baronet of Jordanhill, died in 1789. He was succeeded by his son, Captain Hew Craufurd, who figures in Kay's *Portraits*. As he also inherited his father's more extensive estates in the west of Scotland, he disposed of Redbraes, which, after having been possessed by various owners, was purchased in 1818 by Walter Dickson, the son of James Dickson, the founder in 1782 of the firm of Dicksons & Co., nurserymen and seedsmen. This firm continued to hold Redbraes until the erection of the Powderhall Refuse Destructor in 1896, when they disposed of it to Trinity Hospital. In 1927 the ground here was taken over by the city for the Redbraes housing scheme.

STEWARTFIELD

Marching with Redbraes on the east, and extending from it to what is now Newhaven Road, lay Stewartfield and its finely wooded park. Like the Stewarts of Stewartfield in

¹ *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 89.

West Lothian, the owner gave it the name of his clan, and fondly hoped that it would continue to be the territorial designation of his family. Stewartfield, as a separate estate, first comes into record on the last day of January 1735, when James Balfour of Pilrig granted a feu-charter in favour of Humphry Colquhoun of six acres, two roods, twenty poles of the arable lands of Pilrig

'lying contiguous to the lands commonly called Redbraes feued to Mr. Hew Craufurd, . . . and bounded and described by a dyke to be built by the said Humphry Colquhoun in a straight line with the dyke already built by the said Mr. Hew Craufurd upon the new high road leading from Canonmilns to Leith, the march stones set between Redbraes, the lead of Bonnington Milns, and the march stones now set between the ground disposed by the said charter and the other lands of Pilrig.'

These march stones were set along the line of the present wall bounding the west side of Newhaven Road. This road had not yet been opened up through the fields of Pilrig as a new approach to Bonnington Mills in place of the ancient track from Leith by Yardheads and Pilrig Well, which the laird enclosed in 1738, as part of his arable land.

Humphry Colquhoun was the younger brother of the laird of Camstradden¹ near Loch Lomond. He was apprenticed to a glover, and became a member of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Skinners, which had just taken over the buildings of the disused powder factory at Powderhall. Colquhoun also acted as a macer² in the Court of Justiciary, a combination of callings which to us seems incongruous. In addition to his mailing at Stewartfield, he owned several acres and a dwelling-house near Warriston ford. Colquhoun died at Warriston in 1736. Having no children, he bequeathed his properties to his nephew, the young laird of Camstradden,

¹ Camstradden now forms part of the domain of the Colquhouns of Luss.

² The office was not then an all-time job. The macers gave their services only when required. During the vacation they followed their own trade or profession.

who, in 1742, sold his uncle's acres at Pilrig to Alexander M'Millan, W.S., who immediately made a disposition of them to Thomas Mylne of Powderhall and his son Robert, afterwards the distinguished London architect. On Humphry Colquhoun's Pilrig lands the Mylnes erected a large mansion and laid out the grounds, which they enclosed. The wall still runs from Broughton Road along the west side of Newhaven Road to Bonnington Mills. In 1746 the Mylnes disposed of the mansion and grounds to James Stewart, who, as already stated, named the property Stewartfield.

The laird of Stewartfield was a cadet of the Stewarts of Ballechin near Aberfeldy. Migrating from his Perthshire home to Edinburgh, James Stewart acquired wealth as a merchant and banker. During the second Jacobite rebellion he was one of the magistrates, and, along with Alexander M'Millan and Gavin Hamilton, the senior bailie (who had married Helen Balfour of Pilrig), vigorously opposed the policy of Lord Provost Stewart regarding the defence of the city against the Prince. All three were leading witnesses against the Provost at his trials. Both Stewart and M'Millan were members of the non-juring chapel in Carrubber's Close.

Stewart had several sons and daughters, but only two of his family survived him. The youngest daughter, Janet, became the wife of Adolphus Sceales, who, along with his brother Andrew, was one of the pioneers in the manufacture of ropes and sail-cloth in Leith. In 1781 the brothers Sceales purchased over an acre of the lands of Bonnington for the washing of yarn. For a similar purpose the Leith Roperie Company had acquired ground on the Pilrig side of the water. The laird's oldest daughter, Katherine, married Robert Mudie, one of the bailies of Leith. Mudie was also a master mariner of Trinity House, and made trading voyages to the West Indies and the Guinea coast. He had one son, Stewart, who was entered heir to his grandfather in Stewartfield; but he died soon after. James Stewart himself survived until 1777.

Only two of his family outlived him, Mary, the widow of Richard Le Grand, and Anna, her elder sister, who eventually inherited the estate.

One of the trustees named in James Stewart's will was James Balfour, the laird of Pilrig, who is mentioned by Stevenson in the opening chapters of *Catriona*. Balfour was *persona grata* with all his neighbours, and was Anna Stewart's adviser as long as he lived. Through the death of her sister, Mary Le Grand, in 1790, Anna Stewart became sole survivor of her family. Her sister had an annuity from the lands of Bonnington, but this ceased with her, and Anna Stewart, overtaken by financial misfortune, bonded the family estate. In 1813 Stewartfield was sold to Hugh Veitch, a cadet of the Veitches of Dawyck, and Town Clerk of Leith.¹ Veitch married, in 1810, Mary Robertson, a daughter of the house of Prendergust. He died in 1835, and, two years later, his family went to reside in Edinburgh. During their occupancy of Stewartfield, there was much friendly intercourse between the Veitches and the Haigs of Bonnington House. Many of the Haigs visited their kinsfolk at Bonnington, among them John Haig of Cameron Bridge, who, in 1839, married Rachel Veitch. The fifth and youngest son of this union was Douglas, Viscount Dawyck and Earl Haig of Bemersyde, who led the British army on the Western Front in the Great War.

In 1855 Stewartfield was converted into a hotel, but this venture being unsuccessful, the grounds became a kind of Vauxhall Gardens. The Veitches, however, continued to own Stewartfield until 1866, when it was sold to William Walker Gibson of Bonnington Steam Flour Mills, whose name is commemorated in Gibson Street on the western verge of the estate. After his death in 1877, Stewartfield became a dairy farm, and in 1895 it was purchased by the Caledonian Railway Company, who demolished the mansion.

¹ His portrait hangs in the old Leith Town Hall.

BONNINGTON TOLL

On the north side of Bonnington Road, and between Newhaven Road and Bonnington Road Lane, stood the hamlet of Bonnington Toll. The first house was erected in 1741, the year in which James Balfour disposed of five acres of the arable lands of Pilrig to Hugh Davidson, merchant in Leith, and his wife, Margaret Buchanan. The Davidsons were allowed a pathway through the other lands of Pilrig to the tail-dam of Bonnington Mills where they obtained water. Later, however, a pump-well was sunk, but the Water of Leith was drawn upon in a dry season by the brewers and residents of the whole district.¹

The Davidsons had hardly settled in their newly built house when the head of the family died. His widow and her two sons then sold the five acres 'with the house lately built thereon' to Robert Barclay, merchant burges of Edinburgh and tailor to George II. Ambitious and enterprising, Barclay erected, on his newly acquired acres, large villas with spacious gardens. In one of these² lived, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Sir George Colquhoun of Tilliechewan. In the early decades of the nineteenth century it was owned by Christian Jameson, the widow of John Haig of Bonnington. The Colquhouns of Tilliechewan and the Smolletts of Cameron were neighbours near Loch Lomond. In *Humphry Clinker* Smollett introduces Sir George as 'a Colonel in the Dutch service who offered himself as our conductor on our projected excursion to the Highlands.' Sir George's eldest son, James, was born at Bonnington Lodge, while his daughter, Nancy, was married to Maurice Trent, brewer and landowner, one of whose estates, Larkbank, now Laverockbank, marches with Bonnington on the north.

¹ The fear of the land adjoining the south-east end of Bonnington Bridge had to 'leave the present passage or road (Tanners' Brae) leading to the said tail-dam open for the watering of horses.'

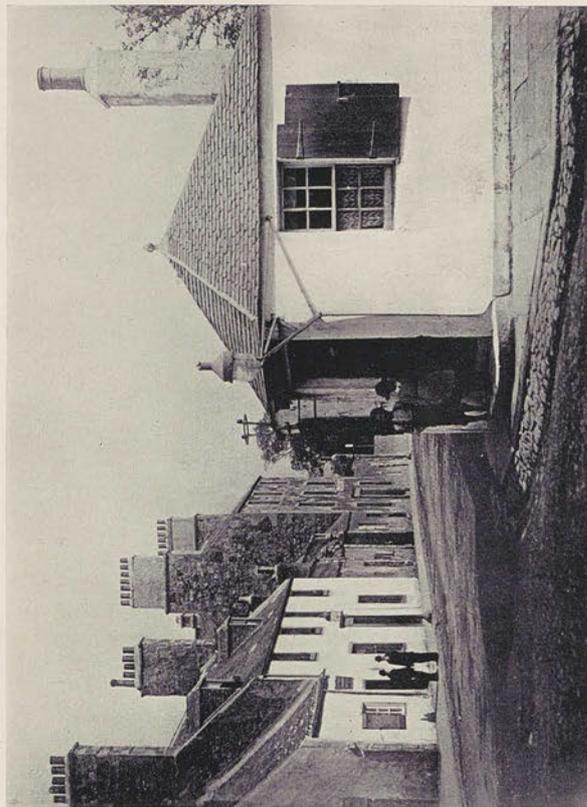
² Still standing on the northern portion of the ground.

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The little hamlet built through Barclay's enterprise became known as 'Barclay's Houses.' Some time after 1768, in which year Canonmills Bridge was erected, Bonnington Road became one of the main roads to Cramond and the west. This led to a toll bar being set up at 'Barclay's Houses,' which designation gradually gave place to that of Bonnington Toll. The hamlet, like the Citadel in Leith, was notably Jacobite. In the registers of Old St. Paul's, Carrubber's Close, are recorded the christenings and the marriages of Barclay's children. Here is one of the entries: 'Sept. 7, 1748. Near Pilrig, baptized a daughter of Deacon Robert Barclay, Taylor, named *Charles*. Stuart Carmichael, Margt. Stewart &c. prst.' Margaret Stewart was the daughter of Gilbert Stewart, linen manufacturer, Bonnyhaugh. At the baptism of *Charles* Barclay's older sister, Mary, the same guests were present, together with 'Mr. Hew Craufurd and his Lady,' from Redbraes. Their daughter was one of the Jacobite ladies who attended the assemblies of the Prince at Holyroodhouse.

Barclay's building schemes burdened him with a load of debt from which he was never able to free himself. After his death in 1771, his two sons, William and Robert, who carried on the fashionable tailoring establishment of 'Robert Barclay and Son' in the Luckenbooths, dutifully endeavoured to pay off their father's debts, but were unsuccessful. In 1782 the lands and houses were sold by public auction.

In 1805 John Haig of Lochrin purchased four acres at Bonnington Toll, and there established his Leith distillery. Haig also built a large mansion, and enclosed a park and gardens extending to nearly two acres. The mansion was named Bonnington House. Though John Haig is usually designated as 'of Bonnington,' his lands formed no part of the estate of that name. Like Redbraes and Stewartfield, Haig's estate formed a part of the Pilrig portion of Bonnington.



BONNINGTON TOLL (OR 'BARCLAY'S HOUSES')
Centre house on left is Avenuehead or Bonnington Lodge, the country house of Robert Barclay

The Haigs continued to reside at Bonnington and to carry on their distillery there until 1853, when they removed to Cameron Bridge. In 1848 they had sold the western portion of their ground and buildings to John Tennant of the famous works at St. Rollox. Messrs. Tennant also took over the disused buildings of the 'soaperie' set up at Bonnington in 1737. In 1854 the firm became the Bonnington Chemical Company, which, in 1879, along with Bonnington House, was taken over by Dr. Edmund and Hugh Ronalds, the former owning and occupying Bonnington House, while the latter rented Hillhousefield. The Bonnington Chemical Company was afterwards wound up, and in 1898 Bonnington House was demolished to make way for tenements and public works. A relic of the chemical work remains in a large chimney stack, now part of Messrs. Callender's tannery. This chimney has a companion in that built by Messrs. Gibson and Walker who, in 1857, purchased the east half of Haig's distillery for their Bonnington Steam Flour Mills, which they carried on until 1894, when buildings and ground were acquired by the North British Railway Company.

Just where the Bonnington mill lade rejoins the Water of Leith once flowed St. Cuthbert's Well, an ancient spring named after the patron saint of the once extensive parish of St. Cuthbert, and, like the now forgotten mineral well of St. Leonard near Powderhall, a relic of a superstitious age. As to when this well was so designated, history is silent, but it was probably before 1606, when the Leith portions of Bonnington, Pilrig and Warriston were, by the Scots Parliament, included in the parish of North Leith.¹ In May 1750 St. Cuthbert's Well was found to be possessed of medicinal properties. The *Scots Magazine* of that year refers to many

¹ The Edinburgh portion of Bonnington remained part of St. Cuthbert's parish. The 'kirk road' led from Bonnington Bridge along the river-bank, through the lands of Chancelot, and thence by a footpath to St. Mark's and Warriston ford.

persons frequenting it. The well formed part of a building which included a pump-room and reading-room. From advertisements in the periodicals of 1819, we learn that it was open from six o'clock in the morning, and that the newspapers were to be found on the table all day. The tenant also issued hand-bills headed 'St. Cuthbert's Mineral Well, Bonnington,' giving a chemical analysis of the water, and a

ST. CUTHBERT'S MINERAL WELL, BONNINGTON.

The Water of this MINERAL WELL has been analysed by Professor JAMESON and Dr TURNER, and found to contain Salts of Iron, Soda, Magnesia, and Lime; also Iodine, under the form of Hydriodate of Potash.

From the Medicinal Nature of these Ingredients, this Water will be found highly beneficial in Complaints of the Stomach, Eruptions of the Skin, Weakness of the Eyes, and almost every kind of Debility arising out of a Weak or Corrupted System.

Murdoch, Printer, Edinburgh.

list of the ailments for which it had been found beneficial. The well disappeared with the reconstruction of Haig's distillery in 1857. It now lies beneath the building immediately west of the chimney-stack of Messrs. John Inglis and Sons.

The ground between Haig's land, on which the well was situated, and Newhaven Road was part of the property of James Spalding, who owned Bonnington Mills from 1735 until his death in 1766. Spalding's land on the east side of

Newhaven Road latterly was bonded to John Maclaine, the chief of the Maclaines of Lochbuie, in Mull. Lochbuie made over his estates, and the bond held over Bonnington, to his son, Captain Archibald Maclaine, who, in 1776, went to seek adventure in America. There he married Miss Barbara Lowther of Boston. On the voyage home Maclaine quarrelled with a fellow-passenger and, in a fracas that followed, was run through the body and killed. His estates passed to a distant relative, whose trustees, in 1848, sold the Bonnington property to James Hardy, an Edinburgh merchant, who renamed it Elizafield, after his wife. When this land was feued its name was given to the houses erected there, as may be seen to this day.

In 1859 William Walker Gibson became possessed of the whole of his firm's Leith estate, which, in addition to the mills and the lands on which they stood, included seven acres of Pilrig purchased by Robert Cairns and his wife, Jean Trotter of Mortonhall, in 1739 and 1742. The Cairns' acres extended from Bonnington Road Lane on the west to Redhall and its nurseries on the east. On part of this area Breadalbane Street was constructed in 1864, and there, from 1880 until 1898, stood the last and largest of the sugar refineries of Leith.

CHANCELOT

In 1795 Andrew Bonar, uncle of Horatius Bonar, the hymn-writer, and a partner in Messrs. Ramsays, Bonars & Co., a wealthy Edinburgh banking house, purchased from his partner, William Ramsay, the lands of Warriston, lying to the east of Warriston Road. Here he built a mansion, known afterwards as Easter Warriston, and now the Edinburgh Crematorium. Marching with Bonar's estate on the east is a portion of Bonnington, cut off from the main part by Ferry Road on the north, the Water of Leith on the south, New-

haven Road on the east, and by a ditch that has for centuries divided Bonnington and Warriston on the west. This ground was either arable or feued to brewers like the Haddoways for the growing of grain, or to nurserymen like the Williamsons, who had carried on business there from 1761. In that year they acquired that portion of Laverockbank to which they gave the name Cherrybank, and at Northfield Cottage in Newhaven Road their descendants continued to reside until 1931. Originally a small dwelling on Whiting Road, Northfield grew to its present dimensions, a wing being added to either gable. Along with the four and a half acres feued by Thomas Williamson from the Le Grands in 1783, the house was named Northfield because it was on the northern boundary of Bonnington. In 1802 the Williamsons sold Summerside nursery to John Allan, whose house and lands there were then renamed Allanfield, and are still commemorated in the name Allan Street.

The various portions of Bonnington lying between Warriston and Newhaven Road were purchased at different times from 1786 by John Robertson, accountant, Edinburgh. Two large adjacent parts of this property extending to some eighteen acres chanced to be for sale at the same time. To this circumstance they owe their name of 'Chance lot,' which has become the name of the district. Robertson died in 1801, when his lands in Bonnington passed to his wife and then to his sister, who sold them to Andrew Bonar in 1818. The memory of the Bonars and their descendants is preserved in the street names of Bonar Place and Agnew Terrace.

Two portions of this part of Bonnington were excepted from Bonar's purchase. One of these was feued in 1802 to Thomas Taap, shipmaster in Leith, whose villa of Taaphall has given its name to a tenement now built on its site. The other excepted portion lay to the east of Taap's feu. To this ground, and to the mansion he built thereon, Dr. John Cheyne gave the name of Bonnington Brae, a name sug-

gested by the ground which here slopes steeply to the Water of Leith. The mansion, which is at the end of Bonnington Avenue, still maintains an air of gentility.

Dr. Cheyne's family had been indwellers in Leith continuously from the period of Robert the Bruce. His great-great-great-grandfather was Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Gallogway, who died in 1634 in the old family mansion still standing at the head of Water's Close at the Shore of Leith. Dr. Cheyne's forebears on both sides were well-known physicians. (His son was Physician-General Cheyne.) Dr. Cheyne succeeded to the practice in Leith of his uncle. The latter was known as 'the friend of the poor.' His grandfather, who was a Jacobite, was a distinguished member of the Royal College of Surgeons, in whose Hall in Nicolson Street hangs his portrait painted by Sir John Medina. The family are no longer represented in Leith, having migrated to Australia after Dr. Cheyne's death.

HILLHOUSEFIELD

Hillhousefield, like Bonnington, is first mentioned in James Young's protocol book (1484-1493). In 1484 William Spencer in Hillhousefield held six acres from the Abbot of Holyrood. On Spencer's death in 1493 they passed in equal shares to two nieces, Margaret and Janet. The latter was married to John Downie, who belonged to a seafaring family in the North Brig of Leith. Of the early portioners of Hillhousefield we know little beyond their names. The majority seem to have been sailormen, and their descendants can be traced in charters of Hillhousefield through many generations.

The estate of Hillhousefield was bounded by Bonnington and the Anchorfield Burn on the west, and by the temple lands of North Leith on the east, while north and south they extended from the sea to the Water of Leith. They were arable except from North Leith to Newhaven, where

stretched the Links, long since covered by the sea. It has already been stated that the Bonnington estate included portions of Hillhousefield, while feuars on the latter often owned parts of Bonnington.

Jean Ramsay, the widow of John Kincaid of Warriston, had the liferent of her husband's lands in Hillhousefield. On her death in 1610 they were inherited by her second surviving son, Archibald, who also succeeded to a house on the east side of St. Nicholas' Wynd. When Archibald Kincaid inherited his father's portion of Hillhousefield, nearly half the estate, including 'the great tenement called the manour place of Hillhousefield,' had for generations been the patrimony of the Gourlay family. A Walter Gourlay owned lands here in the reign of James III. In 1500 Alysone Gourlay, evidently Walter's widow, possessed the lands of Greendyards, the site of which is now partly included in the Citadel and partly in North Leith Burial Ground. Alysone Gourlay was a contemporary of Margaret Spittal, the widow of Thomas Crawford, and must have been as noted in Hillhousefield as the latter was in Bonnington, for her name finds a prominent place in all its later charters.

According to the Register of Services of Heirs, Hillhousefield in 1596 belonged to Nicolas Edgar, in 1616 to James Logan, and in 1666 to George Duncan. But to read the Retours thus is to misinterpret them. Throughout this period the greater portion of Hillhousefield was owned by the Gourlays and the Kincaids. In 1666 George Duncan succeeded his father Robert in Bonnington, which, as we have seen, always included portions of Hillhousefield. Nicolas Edgar and James Logan owned only those portions of Hillhousefield (in Logan's case the lands of Broomhills) which they had purchased or inherited.

The Gourlays continued to hold twenty-two acres of Hillhousefield until 1641, when they disposed of them, together with the manor-place and Greendykes, to Archibald Kincaid,

younger, who, with his wife, Janet Jameson of North Leith, was infefted in January 1642. In 1644 Kincaid acquired other four and a half acres of Hillhousefield. Ten years later he was infefted in five acres of Bonnington as well as other four of Hillhousefield, which had belonged to his father, who bore the same name.

When Leslie's defeat at Dunbar in 1650 brought Scotland under Cromwell's sway, the two chief strongholds of the army of the Commonwealth were Edinburgh and Leith. At the seaport General Monk determined to construct a great fort, or citadel, as the English called it. The site chosen was on the outskirts of North Leith, and included portions of Hillhousefield. St. Nicholas' and St. Ninian's Wynds and the greater portion of the hamlet of Greendykes were demolished to provide stones for the construction of the Citadel. But the supply was not sufficient, and Colonel Wilks, the deputy-governor of Leith, alive to the danger of his defenceless position, tapped other sources. In 1657 he purchased from Sir John Touris of Inverleith for sixty pounds sterling the ruinous manor-place of Wardie, with power to pull it down and remove the stones and timber, and 'to win all manner of stones from the quarry lying betwixt the House of Wardie and the sea so long as they should be abuilding of the Citadel.'

After the Restoration the Citadel was purchased by the city from John, Duke of Lauderdale, to whom it had been gifted by Charles II. Among the charters and sasines of the properties demolished for its construction (now kept in the City Chambers) is a contract of sale between Colonel Wilks and Archibald Kincaid, younger, of Hillhousefield

'for the purchase and buying in of the lands, tenements, houses and ground lying within the town of North Leith towards building of a Cittadel there by which contract the said Archibald sold and disponed irredeemably, All and hail that great tenement of land . . . the manour house of Hillhousefield lying within the Toun of Leith

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between the croft of land and houses sometime pertaining to Alison Gourlay called the Greendykes on the east, the Water of Leith on the south part and the highway passing from Leith to Bonnington upon the north.'

The sale was completed in February 1657, the price being £330 sterling. To Archibald Kincaid was reserved any portion of the parks around the house that was not required for the building of the Citadel. This implies that the old manor-house of Hillhousefield stood nearer Leith than the present mansion. Kincaid also sold his Leith house to Cromwell, St. Nicholas' Wynd being situated on the line of the main gateway (which still exists) of the Citadel.

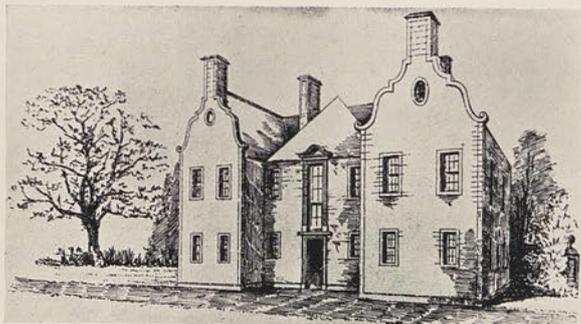
With the money received for their properties, the Kincaids erected the present mansion of Hillhousefield. The undertaking loaded the family with debt, and ultimately led to the loss of the estate. On Archibald Kincaid's death in 1667, Hillhousefield ought to have passed to his only sister Margaret, the wife of William Orrock of Balram's Walls,¹ but she never took sasine of her brother's estate. Her rights of inheritance therefore descended to her eldest son, William, who assumed them under pressure, for he dreaded becoming responsible for his grandfather's and his uncle's debts. According to the law of Scotland as it then stood, if the debts on an estate exceeded its money value when sold, the heir infetted not only lost his inheritance, but also whatever he himself possessed, until the balance was paid. This was precisely what happened in William Orrock's case. In 1684, on the Court compelling him to become infetted, the creditors took out a decree of apprising against him, and not only sold his inheritance of Hillhousefield, but also some acres there which had been his personal property.

Hillhousefield now became the possession of Orrock's relative and chief creditor, Sir James Cockburn of Cockburn, who immediately sold it to James Law, shipowner.

¹ Balram's Walls stood in Giles Street near Storrie's Alley.



HILLHOUSEFIELD, SOUTH FRONT



HILLHOUSEFIELD, NORTH (OR ORIGINAL) FRONT

With Pump Well on extreme right

Law had considerable property in the Sea Wynd and Braid Wynd of North Leith. Like so many Leith seafaring families, the Laws are frequently mentioned in the records of Trinity House. Law's only son, sometimes styled 'James Law last of Hillhousefield,' succeeded in 1703. Like the Kincaids, he burdened the estate with debt. Both Law and his wife, Jean Foulis of Colinton, were dead by 1753. There being no children, Hillhousefield passed in equal shares to James Law's sisters, Katherine and Christian. The latter's share descended to her two grandchildren, who, on coming of age, sold it in 1771, as their grand-aunt had hers in 1753, to William Robertson of Ladykirk. He belonged to the Struan family, and had his town house in Old Assembly Close. There is still preserved the 'Protection' William Robertson received from John Murray of Broughton, by command of Prince Charles Edward, during the Highlanders' occupation of the city. Every year, as summer came round, the family moved to Hillhousefield, which, with its gardens and lawns sloping to the Water of Leith and looking to the sun, then lay quite in the country.

William Robertson died in 1783 at the great age of 95. As his only son Roger had predeceased him, he was succeeded by his grandson William, whose descendants, the Askew-Robertsons of Ladykirk, are now superiors of the larger portion of Hillhousefield. In 1847 the mansion and ten acres surrounding it were purchased by William Boyd, merchant in Leith, who in 1806 had acquired the old mansion of Bonnington with twelve and a half acres of its lands adjoining those of Hillhousefield. In 1876 Boyd's trustees sold the mansion with two acres and three roods of its parks to David Bruce Peebles for his gas engineering works, 'which subjects,' as his sasine tells us, 'are now and in time coming to be known and designed as Tay House, Bonnington.'

The mansion of Hillhousefield still exists, though its rural surroundings have long since vanished. Externally, it is

much as it was when inhabited by the Robertsons of Ladykirk, but the interior has been entirely remodelled. The only feature dating from the eighteenth century is the spacious and handsome staircase, with its hammered-iron balustrade. In the garden adjoining the west gable there existed until recently a pump-well erected by the Robertsons in the year they acquired the mansion. The sloping top bore the inscription: '31 feet A.D. 1753.'

In 1779 Paul Jones, as commodore of a small French squadron displaying American colours, invaded the Firth of Forth and threatened Leith. The alarm created compelled the Government to take action. In June 1780 Captain Frazer, the chief military engineer for Scotland, laid before the Lord Provost's Committee a plan and estimate for a fort and batteries. The Town Council unanimously approved of the proposals, and agreed to raise subscriptions to defray the expense of purchasing a site from Robertson of Hillhousefield. The ground selected lay between the Citadel of North Leith and Newhaven. The building operations must have been carried out expeditiously, for the *Scots Magazine* states that the guns were fired for the first time on 4th June 1781, the King's birthday. The only entrance to the Fort was by the coast road between Leith and Newhaven which, a few years later, was reduced to a mere footpath by the erosive action of the sea. When North Fort Street was opened up, the Fort was enlarged and the main gate and guard-house placed there.

The story of Hillhousefield may be rounded off with a reference to one or two of its outlying portions. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the road from Leith to Newhaven passed between the links of North Leith and the sea on the one hand and the hedgeless fields of Hillhousefield on the other. It was a lonely road, the only sign of human life being a farm situated on the ground overlooking the road and the links. Near its site has stood since 1784 Bath-

field House,¹ which adjoins Leith Fort on the west. In the first half of the nineteenth century the market garden at Bathfield House, which stretched from Leith Fort westwards to Anchorfield, was known locally by the Tennysonian-like name of Balmer's Field, a person of the name of Balmer having been tenant. The farmhouse was called 'Lodge-me-Lone.' It long stood deserted and ruinous, and people were 'in danger to pass yt way in ye night time be reason of ye rogues yt shelter themselves in it.' The receipts for the annual feu to South Leith Church describe the property as 'Lodge-me-Loune, now called Bathfield.' Some five hundred yards beyond Leith Fort is the boundary between Hillhousefield and the Warriston lands of the Abbots of Holyrood. These were distinct from those of the Kincaids, and are now Crown property.

The only other part of Hillhousefield to which reference need be made is that portion which has always belonged to the lairds of Bonnington. It lies on the north side of Ferry Road between North Junction Street and North Fort Street, but at St. Nicholas Church extends southwards across the road to the Water of Leith. This portion, now the Keddie Public Park, was formerly known as Pennywell Park. With this exception the lands south of Ferry Road formed part of Hillhousefield. The ground on both sides of Ferry Road had been acquired between 1764 and 1784 by James Chalmers, a wine merchant, of whose calling Madeira Street (formed right through his land) constantly reminds us. Chalmers had business establishments in Leith, Boulogne and Bordeaux. When not in France, as he frequently was, Chalmers resided in the Citadel, then the most fashionable part of North Leith, but some time before 1784 he built on the

¹ Bathfield House was not a mansion, but a tenement with stables and gardens, 'built principally for accommodating families who wish to enjoy sea-bathing.' It was erected and owned by the Bonnar family (of the firm of Messrs. Thomas Bonnar and Son), whose name has been associated with decorative art in Edinburgh for over two hundred years.

Bonnington portion of his estate the mansion of Leith Mount, so named from the rising ground on which it stood. It had extensive gardens and a pond of which no memory remains.

James Chalmers died in 1791, and was buried beside his wife in North Leith Burial Ground. His estate, including Leith Mount, passed to his nephews and nieces, who in 1804 sold four and a half acres of the Hillhousefield portion opposite Leith Mount to Archibald Cleghorn, merchant in North Leith. On this ground Cleghorn built in 1809 Bank House, so named from its situation on high ground overlooking the Water of Leith. Like Leith Mount, Bank House stood amid spacious grounds. The mansion was taken down in 1876 to make way for Largo Place. Leith Mount was sold ten years before to the heritors of North Leith as a residence for the minister of the parish. The name of Leith Mount has long been appropriated by a neighbouring villa. North Leith Manse (or Leith Mount) was demolished in 1930, and on its site has been erected Leith Town Hall and Public Library.

JOHN RUSSELL.

THE MUSICAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH AND ST. CECILIA'S HALL¹

IN his diverting *Letters from Edinburgh*, published in 1776 after a six months' stay in the Scottish capital, Edward Topham, Adjutant of the Horse Guards, and afterwards an indefatigable journalist and playwright, singles out the Musical Society of Edinburgh for special mention. Topham writes:

'One of the principal entertainments in Edinburgh is a Concert, which is supported by subscription, and under the direction of a Governor, deputy Governor, Treasurer, and five Directors, who procure some of the best performers from other countries, and have a weekly Concert in an elegant room, which they have built for that purpose, and which is styled St. Cecilia's Hall. It is rather too confined; but in every other respect the best accommodated to Music of any room I ever was in. The figure of it is elliptical, and the roof is vaulted, and a single instrument is heard in it with the greatest possible advantage. The Managers of the Concert have a certain number of tickets to distribute to their friends, so that none are admitted but the people of fashion.'

A more terse outline of the broad general features of what in the early days was called the 'Gentlemen's Concert' there hardly could be. The task of the historian of the Musical Society of Edinburgh is but to amplify Topham's description, and this he is enabled to do from an examination of the Sederunt Books of the Society. These were recently purchased by Edinburgh Public Library, and are now for the first time made accessible to all interested. It is no exaggera-

¹ This article does not travel beyond the subject-matter of the Sederunt Books of the Society except in regard to one or two points which would have remained obscure had not information been drawn from other sources.

tion to say that the four folio volumes containing the records of the Musical Society of Edinburgh (1728-1801) constitute a most illuminating chapter regarding the growth of musical culture in eighteenth-century Scotland. No one can hope to say anything authoritative on the subject unless he has consulted these books.

The Musical Society of Edinburgh was local in nothing but the name. It moulded the musical life of Scotland, there being no other organisation of the kind north of the Tweed. And its influence throughout the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century was rendered more effective by its fashionable prestige. Its membership was entirely representative of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. The aristocracy were then the only class to whom æstheticism in all its forms made an appeal, and not to be a member of the Musical Society was to come perilously near social ostracism. But while the Society showed uncommon respect for blue blood, it must not be supposed that the membership comprised dilettanti anxious merely to follow the trend of fashion. Many were highly accomplished musicians, and at first nearly all took their places among the performers, either vocal or instrumental. These high-born folks insisted on the best music, and nothing but the best. Further, in order that their appreciation might be stimulated they engaged singers and players of European fame. Under the auspices of the Society the first performances in Scotland of the concertos and sonatas of Corelli, the oratorios of Handel, the symphonies of Haydn, and the early works of Beethoven, were given. In short, the feast of good things provided at the weekly concerts in Niddry's Wynd was such that the Society became the centre of musical art in Scotland.

To demonstrate the first-class importance of the Musical Society of Edinburgh it will be advantageous to give a brief account of the state of music in Scotland previous to the year 1728, when the organisation had its rise.

I

The concert, in the sense of a musical entertainment provided by vocalists or instrumentalists, or both, is relatively modern. Down to the Revolution of 1688, and indeed for a considerable time thereafter, music in Scotland was at a low ebb. The times were gravely unsettled, and the growth of social intercourse was retarded by stern problems—political, ecclesiastical, financial. It was a sorely-riven Scotland; the generality of men had neither time nor inclination to cultivate the arts. But even in this barren period coteries of gentlemen met occasionally and performed for their own delectation some of the best contemporary music. In Vol. I. of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, William Tytler of Woodhouselee has a paper on the 'Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh,' at the end of which he reproduces a 'Plan of a grand concert of music, performed at Edinburgh on St. Cecilia's Day (22nd November), 1695,' as evidence that there was then 'a general taste for music in our metropolis.' Tytler states that the orchestra consisted of more than thirty performers, that nineteen of these were 'gentlemen of the first rank and fashion,' and that eleven were 'masters of music,' *i.e.* professional musicians. Several members of this orchestra, it is interesting to add, afterwards played at the concerts of the Musical Society.

Arnot also bears testimony regarding the position of music in Scotland during this period. Referring to the founding of the Musical Society in 1728, he says: 'Before that time, several gentlemen, performers on the harpsichord and violin, had formed a weekly club at the Cross Keys tavern (kept by one Steil, "a great lover of music, and a good singer of Scots songs"), where the common entertainment consisted in playing the concertos and sonatas of Corelli, then just published, and the overtures of Handel. That meeting becoming numerous, they instituted, in March 1728, a society

of seventy members, for the purpose of holding a weekly concert.¹ Patrick Steil's tavern, which bore the sign of the 'Cross Keys,' was in Old Assembly Close, and doubtless the gentlemen musicians patronised this establishment because the owner took an intelligent and active interest in their studies. Steil was a man of note, a captain in the Trained Bands, and a friend of Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, who praises the Cross Keys Tavern in one of his Latin poems.²

II

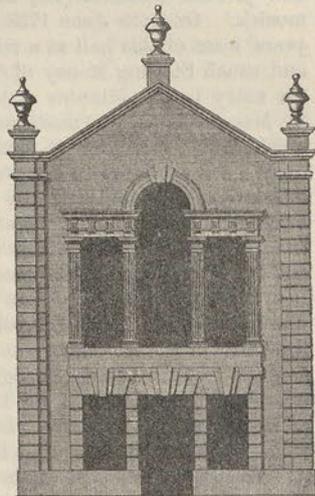
While Steil's tavern was the scene of the weekly concerts given by those amateur musicians who formed the nucleus of the Musical Society, it does not appear to have witnessed the actual birth of the organisation. The Articles and Regulations of the Society tend to show that when the formal inauguration took place on 29th March 1728, the gentlemen players had been holding their concerts in St. Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd. At all events they resolved on this day, for their 'mutuall Diversion and Entertainment,' to assemble weekly in St. Mary's Chapel 'for the performance of Concerts of Musick, as we have already done for these Twelve months past.'

The membership was limited to seventy, 'unless it shall afterwards appear necessary . . . to increase the number'—a proviso that was not allowed to become a dead letter. The affairs of the Society were to be administered by a Governor, Deputy Governor, Treasurer, and five Directors. The annual subscription was fixed at a guinea. It was subsequently increased to a guinea and a half, and finally to two guineas. Every Friday 'during the time of Session'

¹ Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 290.

² Interesting particulars relating to Steil and his tavern will be found in Dr. Fraser Harris's *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 1899, pp. 259-62, a work containing much valuable information but lacking at many points, the author not having inspected the Sederunt Books of the Musical Society.

a 'Concert of Musick' was to be performed at 'six o'clock in the afternoon in summer, and at half an hour after five in the winter.' The Directors were 'to appoint (special) Concerts for the Entertainment of the Ladys.' The tickets for these were not to exceed sixty, 'except on the feast of St. Cecilia,' and were to cost half a crown each. Further, the Directors might invite 'one or two of their Acquaintances to share . . . the Musick performed in the said Concerts other than those to which Ladys happen to be Invited.' The Articles and Regulations close on a note of rigid exclusiveness. 'None besides members are to be admitted, unless in some very particular Case it shall appear reasonable to the Governor and Directors to allow of the same.' This rule, as will be made clear, was more honoured in the observance, though the managing body did their best to maintain the *status quo*.



St. Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd
(From an Engraving in Maitland's
History of Edinburgh)

St. Mary's Chapel, in which the Gentlemen's Concert was usually held from 1728 till the opening of St. Cecilia's Hall in 1763, stood near the middle of the east side of Niddry's Wynd. The building, which occupied the site of an ancient chapel, was acquired in 1618 by the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons, a body that later bore the name of the United Incorporations of St. Mary's Chapel. In Maitland's *History*

of *Edinburgh* there is an illustration showing the classical and ornate front of this historic building. St. Mary's Chapel consisted of a lower and an upper hall, and it was in the latter that the Musical Society held their 'whole publick and private Consorts [*sic*] and Meetings for practising of musick.' On 14th June 1738 the Directors took a nineteen years' lease of this hall at a rent of 'sixteen pounds of Good and usuall Sterling Money of Great Brittain of yearly duty.' An entry in the Minutes states that the Charter Room of St. Mary's Chapel was made suitable for holding the Society's music, which soon grew to formidable dimensions.

We are therefore to suppose that St. Mary's Chapel was intimately associated with the earlier fortunes of the Society. Within its walls Handel's oratorios were heard for the first time in Scotland, and to this building flocked rank, beauty, and fashion to listen to the most renowned artistes in Europe. It is worthy of note, too, that when the Gentlemen's Concert was held in St. Mary's Chapel, Allan Ramsay (whose shop, the 'Sign of the Mercury,' was opposite Niddry's Wynd) was employed by the Society, though in what capacity it is difficult to say. In the Accounts for 1732-34 the poet is represented as having received £6, 12s. 'for musick,' a vague expression which might mean either that he copied music or that he sold it. Ramsay is credited with having composed a poem on one of the prominent gentlemen performers, James Oswald,¹ whose departure for London, as the poet suggests, resulted in the impoverishment of the talent at St. Mary's Chapel:

'Alas! no more shall thy gay tunes delight,
No more thy notes sadness or joy excite.
No more thy solemn bass's awful sound
Shall from the Chapel's vaulted roof rebound.'

¹ A popular composer. Originally a dancing-master at Dunfermline, Oswald, in August 1734, advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* that he was publishing a collection of minuets. In 1736 he settled in Edinburgh and became well known as a violinist, organist, composer, and teacher of dancing. On going to London in 1741 he set up business in St. Martin's Lane. He died in 1769.

Another circumstance recalling the original concert-room of the Society is that Adam Craig, in 1730, dedicated his *Collection of the Choicest Scots Tunes* 'To the Honourable Lords and Gentlemen of the Musical Society of Mary's Chappell,' who are described as 'generous encouragers and promoters of music.'

III

The first general meeting of the Society was held on 12th June 1728 in St. Mary's Chapel, when the following office-bearers were elected: Alexander Bayne, Governor; John Douglas, Deputy Governor; Robert Lumsdaine, Treasurer; and Peter Wedderburn, Hugh Dalrymple, Coline Campbell, Robert Pringle, and David Inglis, Directors. The Society proceeded to discharge its function with the utmost spirit—a function entirely opposed to the modern conception of a concert. To-day the prevailing notion is that good music should be brought within the reach of all capable of appreciating it. No such humanitarian principle animated the promoters of the weekly concert in St. Mary's Chapel. The Society was a close corporation, the strict preserve of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. Its privileges might be enjoyed only by those whose social status was above suspicion. Another peculiarity of those early days was that an audience, in our sense of the word, was non-existent. At first, every member attended, not to adopt the passive attitude of listener, but to perform, either by singing or playing some instrument, since all were executants of varying degrees of attainment. It may therefore be concluded that in its incipient stages the Society insisted upon an aristocratic atmosphere and a practical knowledge of music as primary requisites.

The holding of concerts behind closed doors did not, however, always succeed. Numerous entries in the Sederunt Books show that the governing body were constantly devising

ways and means to keep down the number of 'privileged strangers.' No doubt this policy was in a measure dictated by the limited accommodation, but the main incentive was the notion that the concerts must be kept select. In June 1738 the Directors were wrestling with the problem of admitting 'too great a number of strangers.' It was decided that the Governor was 'to give tickets to and admit no more than ten strangers' to certain concerts arranged for ladies, while each Director was 'to admit no more than three strangers to every private Concert.' Then, 'to prevent the Crowding of the Room or the admission of Low Meen folks at private Concerts,' the Clerk was instructed 'to lett no person pass' without a ticket 'regularly signed.' Was this desire to keep out mean persons accountable, one wonders, for this item in the Accounts for 1751: 'By 2 Centrys attending at the Concert 25 nights at 1/- each night'? Again, on 9th November 1748, Andrew Blair was bluntly told that if he admitted any person who was not a member without a ticket, he would forfeit 'such a proportion of his salary as the Directors shall think fitt.' Sometimes trickery was resorted to, as, for example, in the case of the Master of Napier and Captain Halden, who gained admittance on 26th January 1750 by tickets which 'had been erased and alter'd in the Date,' an offence which resulted in no tickets being given 'to either of the said Gentlemen' for a whole year.

The ladies' concerts were a distinctive feature from the first, and when the Society's financial obligations became burdensome the enlisting of female support was, as we shall see, increasingly the policy of the Gentlemen's Concert. Here is an advertisement from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 17th July 1749, which clearly shows how matters stood: 'The Gentlemen of the Musical Society have appointed a concert for ladies at Mary's Chapel on Friday next, the 21st inst., at 5 o'clock afternoon. . . . No more than sixty tickets are to be given out, and no ladies to be admitted

without tickets.' The same journal announces on 16th January 1755: 'We hear that on Tuesday last Signor Pasquali¹ had a general rehearsal of the music that is to be performed at the Assembly Hall for his benefit, and as it is expected that the company will be numerous, many ladies have resolved to go without hoops, as they did at the last St. Cecilia's Concert.'

Another peculiarity of the Musical Society (to which further reference will be made) was that although composed of amateur musicians, who sang solos, or took part in the choruses, or played in the orchestra, the gentlemen performers never felt sufficiently strong to rely on their own unaided efforts. From the first they sought the assistance of a few professional musicians of high standing. Most of them came from Italy, and were induced to settle in Edinburgh for varying periods. Their salaries were, in most cases, ludicrously small, but when they were engaged they were told that their slender income from the Society could be considerably increased by private teaching. The mere existence of the Society was a testimony to the growth of musical culture among the upper classes of Scotland, and many of the members placed their children under the musical care of the Masters, as the professional singers and players at the Gentlemen's Concert were called.

The Governors of the Society, who were its chief officers, were all men of high musical talent. The first two, Alexander Bayne (1728-31) and Thomas Pringle (1731-35) were commoners, but the subsequent holders of the office belonged, with one exception, to the nobility. These were Lord Drummore (1735-55), the Earl of Dumfries (1755-61), the

¹ Nicolo Pasquali, an Italian, who was engaged by the Society to play the violoncello. He published *Thorough-Bass made Easy* (Edin., 1757) and *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* (Edin., 1758). At a benefit concert for Pasquali, held on 20th January 1756, the programme included 'Chorus of the Youths and Virgins' with 'the side-drum march set by Mr. Handel in *Judas Maccabæus*.'

Earl of Haddington (1761-93), and the Duke of Buccleuch, who seems to have been the last Governor. Those called to this office were not figureheads, but were expected to take an active part in the administration by presiding over the meetings of Directors, which, in the early years, were held weekly. Further, some of the Governors took their place beside the other gentlemen performers.

Probably the most noted Governor was Lord Drummore, who held the office for exactly twenty years. His Lordship was held in high esteem both as a man and as a musician, and Allan Ramsay, junior, was paid £25, 4s. by the Society for painting his portrait. When Lord Drummore died in June 1755 a 'funeral concert' was held in St. Mary's Chapel, the programme including Handel's 'Dead March' in *Saul* and solos from the oratorios of the *Messiah*, *Judas Maccabæus*, and *Samson*. The 'funeral concert,' which it was customary to hold on the death of a Governor or Director, was, says Arnot (himself a member of the Society), 'conducted in the manner of a *concerto spirituale*.'¹ The pieces were all from what is called 'sacred music,' while the symphonies were accompanied with the full organ, French horns, clarinets, and kettledrums. On such occasions the members were clad in deep mourning.

Outstanding Deputy Governors were Thomas Alexander Erskine, sixth Earl of Kelly, the great Lord Provost Drummond, and Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., the eminent banker. Lord Kelly was the most able amateur instrumentalist of his time in Scotland, and Burney, in his *History of Music* (iv. p. 677), goes so far as to say that his Lordship was possessed of more musical science than any man he had ever known. Besides being an executant, Lord Kelly was widely known as a composer of songs, overtures, and symphonies. Lord Provost Drummond was admitted a member in 1752, and for some years was the most influential of the governing

¹ Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 291.

body. In 1756 he was elected Deputy Governor, and sometimes presided over the deliberations relating to the building of St. Cecilia's Hall. Sir William Forbes became a Director in 1773 and Deputy Governor in 1782. He was a tower of strength to the Society in times of financial stress.

IV

What kind of music was performed at the Gentlemen's Concert? How were the chorus and the orchestra composed? Who were the professional musicians (*i.e.* the Masters), and what were their relations with the Society, especially with its governing body? In short, what precisely was the nature of the contribution which the Society made to the musical life of Scotland? It may be well to attempt answers to these questions, so far as this can be done from the records, before passing to the central incident in the history of the Society—the building of St. Cecilia's Hall.

To the Society belongs the distinction of having originated choral-singing in Scotland. In the early years of its history Handel was not only alive but at the height of his fame, and his oratorios and overtures formed the staple of the concerts at St. Mary's Chapel. Homage was done to other great composers, mostly of the Italian school, but Handel was pre-eminently the favourite with the gentlemen performers. In the heyday of the Society as many as four oratorios were performed annually, three in winter and one in summer. The massive choruses, so distinctive of these compositions, were an innovation in Scotland, and much hard and difficult work was involved in getting together a body of singers, in furnishing them with accurate copies of the music, and in training them to give efficient renderings of the choral portions of the oratorios. The soprano parts of the Handelian choruses were sung by boys from Heriot's Hospital, each of whom received half a crown for a single

performance. In March 1757 the Directors appointed Cornforth Gilson¹ to instruct these scholars in 'the Choruses and what other peices of musick they shall Direct.' Gilson was also to 'teach the Gentlemen performers the Choruses of any Oratorio' selected for performance, and 'to continue to Sing and play himself in the Concerts,' for which his salary was increased to £15 yearly. While the chorus partly comprised boys from Heriot's Hospital, the orchestra was frequently strengthened by regimental bandsmen from Edinburgh Castle.

Both performing members and Masters, by a decree of 7th November 1749, met in St. Mary's Chapel at a quarter before six o'clock every Friday night, a fine being inflicted on those who were unpunctual. Further, a Director was appointed to give 'the proper orders for the night.' The Acts began at six o'clock, a quarter before seven, and a quarter before eight, these times being intimated by 'an alarm on the harpsichord,' which every performer had to obey instantly. Finally, there was to be 'no Speaking in time of the Musick.'

Strict rules were laid down not only for the concerts but for the rehearsals. At first, the latter appear to have been well attended, but gradually slackness crept in, and certain of the professional musicians absented themselves without leave. In the winter of 1772-73 the rehearsals were 'extremely

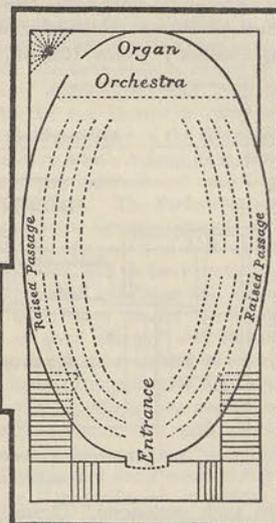
¹ A chorister of Durham Cathedral, who came to Edinburgh as Master of Music in the city churches. Gilson's appointment arose out of a resolution of the Town Council (26th Nov. 1755) that, owing to the 'very indecent and offensive way in which church music was performed,' a master skilled in the theory and practice of church music should be employed to teach in the city. A comprehensive scheme was drawn up, which aimed at giving every one an opportunity of learning music. Several schools were opened, under the supervision of competent teachers, the whole being under Gilson's direction. In 1757 eight or nine schools were in existence, and a fund was raised to pay the fees of those who could ill afford the money. The Musical Society gave a concert in aid of this fund. Tobias Smollett, in *Humphry Clinker*, alludes to the fact that 'Psalmody is here (*i.e.* Edinburgh) taught by a professor from the Cathedral of Durham.'

ill attended by the Masters,' who presumably thought they were absolved from attendance because they were performing the oratorios at their benefit concerts. But this practice was stopped by the Directors withholding the use of the Society's music books. In future the Masters were to attend at least four rehearsals of every oratorio chosen for performance. Non-attendance was to be visited with a fine of ten shillings.

After the Society removed to the more commodious St. Cecilia's Hall performances became more elaborate, and the number of performers showed a corresponding increase. Nor was the Concert any longer restricted to members. When Handel's *Alexander's Feast* was rendered on 19th February 1768, the 'company in the room' consisted of 440 ladies, 80 members, 50 'stranger gentlemen,' and 70 performers, of whom 40 were choristers—a total of 640.

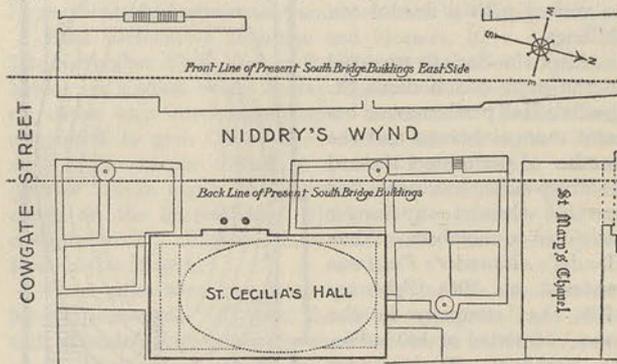
George Thomson, the friend of Burns and one of the most ardent members of the Society, has left an account of the Gentlemen's Concert,¹ which, although referring to a later period, furnishes a fair idea of the usual composition of the choir when 'the grandeur and loftiness of the choruses of the late great Handel' (a phrase of William Tytler's) were being heard at their best. Thomson tells us that the choral

¹ Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, new ed., pp. 249-55.



First-Floor Plan of St. Cecilia's Hall

work was rendered with the assistance of a principal bass, a tenor, a few chorus-singers from the English cathedrals, together with some Edinburgh amateurs. Signor and Signora Corri, the latter the Society's *prima donna*, sang 'most of the principal songs, or most interesting portions of the music.' The amateurs who took the lead as choristers were Gilbert Innes of Stow; Alexander Wight, advocate; John Hutton, papermaker; John Russell, W.S.; and Thomson himself.



Old Plan showing transformation brought about by erection of South Bridge

'On such occasions,' Thomson adds, 'the Hall was always crowded to excess by a splendid assemblage, including all the beauty and fashion' of Edinburgh. A supper to the Directors and their friends at Fortune's Tavern generally followed the oratorio.

A gratifying episode in the history of the Society was that its labours were countenanced by Handel himself. In December 1753 the Directors wrote to the Master requesting to be favoured with 'a Copy of the Recitatives and Choruses to some of your oratorios.' The letter is as follows :

'SIR,—The Gentlemen of our Musical Society, who have been greatly indebted to your excellent Compositions for their success in Pleasing the Publick these many years past, have lately attempted two of your Entertainments, *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast*. The first in July last, and the other on St. Cecilia's Day.

'The Great Satisfaction expressed by the Audience on both these Occasions, as it did Justice to the inimitable Genius and Expression of the Composer, has Encouraged these Gentlemen to Exhibit in this place a further Specimen of these admirable Works, that have so long been the delight and Wonder of those who have been so happy as to hear them performed under your own management and Direction. This Design, however, it is impossible for our Society to carry into Execution without being obliged to you for a Copy of the Recitatives and Choruses to some of your oratorios, which indeed they would not Ask were the[y] not informed that you have allowed such Copys to other Societys that have applied for them. The Performances of our Society have hitherto been confined to the Compositions of Corelli, Geminiani, and Mr. Handel. We are already possest of most of your oratorios and other works that are published, and we have particularly all the Recitatives and songs of the *Messiah* excepting one, namely "How Beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospell of peace and Bring Glad tidings of good things," and therefore could we obtain your orders to Mr. Smith,¹ for writing out for us that Song and the Choruses to that Sacred Oratorio, and the Recitatives and Choruses of any other of your works, we would ever retain the most Gratefull Sense of the favour, and with pleasure reward Mr. Smith to his Satisfaction. At the same time we can give you the strongest assurances that whatever you are pleased to favour us with in that way shall never be Communicated to others or Suffered to go any further, and we flatter our selves that you will not have any Difficulty of obliging in this matter a numerous Society composed of Persons of the first Distinction in North Britain, and particularly, Sir, yours'

[Here follow the signatures of the Governor and Directors.]

'P.S.—Please send any return you give to this to the Earl of Morton's house in upper Brook Street [London].'

¹ John Christopher Smith (1712-95) was Handel's amanuensis and man of business. He presented Handel's scores and harpsichord to George III.

The application was successful. Handel condescended to favour the Society with a brief and formal communication :

'Mr. Christopher Smith at the Blue Periwig in Dean Street, Soho, has Mr. Handel's orders to let the Gentlemen of the Musical Society at Edinburgh have any of his Compositions that they want, if they write to Mr. Smith he will Obey their Commands.'

On 27th April 1754 Smith was informed that 'Mr. Handel has been so good as to allow the Musical Society of Edinburgh the Favour of a Copy of such of his Compositions which are not published'; that they wished made out 'for them in

*Mr Handel's Return to the above Letter
Mr. Christopher Smith at the Blue Periwig in Dean Street
Soho, has Mr. Handel's orders to let the Gentlemen of the Musical
Society at Edinburgh have any of his Compositions that they
want, if they write to Mr. Smith he will Obey their
Commands.*

Handel's Reply to the Musical Society of Edinburgh

From the Sederunt Book

score the Recitatives, Choruses, and such other parts of his oratorio of *Deborah* as are not printed'; and that the various items were to be 'wrote upon paper of the Same Size with the printed Score, in Such a manner as to be put in the proper places of the Score, that so a Compleat Copy thereof may be bound up together.' Mr. Smith is also told that he will afterwards 'get the trouble of making out some others of Mr. Handell's works.' Smith certainly was not exorbitant. For writing out the unpublished score of *Deborah* he received £7, 17s., and for similar work in connection with *Judas Maccabæus*, £5, 7s. He was also instructed to copy out the recitatives and choruses in the oratorio of *Samson*.

In 1757-58 the Society performed *Acis and Galatea*, *Alexander's Feast*, and *Samson*. But the rendering of the choruses was faulty, and applications were made to James Oswald and a Mr. Manwaring (both musical enthusiasts and both residing in London) to obtain for the Society 'a right Bread [*sic*] Chorister, a man that has a good voice and can sing a song readily at Sight,' one, too, who can 'lead the Chorus Singers at Oratorios.' An efficient person 'might have a Sallary of ten pounds certain,' and, if to other accomplishments he added the teaching of church music, 'for which there is at present great encouragement in this place,' he might 'with great ease make from 100 to 150 pounds a year.' The salary offered by the Gentlemen's Concert was admittedly small, but the recipient might console himself that his connection with the Musical Society 'Insures him of Bread directly.' The case of 'poor Pasquali' is cited as an example. 'Pasquali was Engaged to come from Dublin here by the managers of the playhouse, and continued here for 6 or 8 months without any Scholler, but no sooner did he appear in the Musical room than he had every [hour?] Employed & continued so till his dying day.'

Handel's patronage gave a great impetus to the work of the Society, and while the old composers were rarely absent from its programmes, it was the works of Handel, choral and orchestral, that inspired most enthusiasm and claimed the loyalty of the members for upwards of twenty years. All through this, the most lustrous period in the history of the Society, great music was being energetically practised and frequently performed. Take the year 1772 as an instance. On 26th March, Jommelli's *La Passione* was rendered; on 16th April, Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*; on 24th July, Handel's *Acis and Galatea*; and on 4th December, Handel's *Messiah*. Nor was this all. On 22nd December 'the celebrated and truly sublime musical performance, the Oratorio of the Messiah,' was repeated.

V

If the Society showed a decided partiality for music which accorded well with the fashionable taste, the compositions of Handel being given first place, it was equally biased as regards the few professional musicians who were brought in to reinforce the efforts of the gentlemen amateurs. Nearly all the extraneous singers and players came from Italy. But these Italian artistes, however much they might please from a musical point of view, were usually not to be relied on where the ordinary relationships of life are concerned. Much space in the Sederunt Books is devoted to showing how in many cases they turned out unsatisfactory because of their erratic, unbusinesslike habits, and their constant demands for money. A whole book might be written (and entertaining reading it would be) regarding the Society's troubles in this respect, but here mention can be made only of a few of the prominent artistes.

In April 1749 a contract was drawn up to engage Giuseppe Passerini¹ and his wife for three years 'to perform in the Concert hall every Friday Night, Mr. Passerini on the Violin and Madam Passerini to sing Six Songs each night when required.' Both artistes, however, were dissatisfied with the terms, and a considerable correspondence ensued, Signor Passerini writing letters from Moscow, Berlin, and Hamburg. Eventually agreement was reached, and the Passerinis arrived in Edinburgh in January 1751. A year later Passerini submitted a fresh contract. One of the terms was that he and his wife be allowed to go to London once a year on account of Signora Passerini's religion, 'she being a Lutheran.' At a meeting in 'Cleland's Vintner' the Directors decided that the Passerinis 'had no reasonable claim,' but offered to allow them three

¹ In 1752 the Passerinis gave a series of 'Spiritual Concerts after the manner of Oratorios.' This practically meant a miscellaneous programme, which generally included the music by Handel, Pergolesi, and other master-composers.

months' leave of absence without deduction of salary, provided they found security to return. Passerini declined to agree, and was about to depart for London without leave when the Directors obtained a warrant 'to have him stopt.' Ultimately he requested that the engagement be limited to two years, and the Directors, 'to prevent all future debates,' agreed conditionally that at the expiry of the engagement he and his wife should serve for three months without salary, in place of three months' leave of absence that had been granted them on the assumption that the contract was for three years. But the Directors were not yet done with the Passerinis. The Italian now claimed £300 for travelling expenses instead of £50, which had been stipulated for. The Directors replied by offering the former terms, but reducing the period of service without salary to two months. To this final offer Passerini probably agreed. At any rate this very troublesome artiste now drops out of the records.

Nicolo Pasquali, a talented composer of overtures, acted more sensibly than his countryman Passerini. Engaged in 1753 as 'First Fiddle' at a salary of £55 a year, Pasquali augmented his income with a benefit concert 'which by his obliging behaviour turn'd out generally from Twenty to Thirty pounds and upwards. With this and what he had by Teaching he made a very handsome leaving, for he had as many Schoalers at a guinea and a half a month as he could attend, and a guinea of Entry.'

On Pasquali's death in 1757 Martini Olivieri became his successor, on the recommendation of Lady Torphichen. Olivieri was accounted 'a very great performer on the Violin' and superior to Passerini and Pasquali. His salary was only £50, but he was assured that the Society would do all in its power 'to get him into Business.' In the same year the Directors engaged Peralto Mazzanti, an Italian lady who had 'sung a whole season at the Opera and at Mr. Handell's oratorios as likewise at Ranalaigh [*sic*].' Moreover she was

'young, of very genteel appearance,' and of 'a very Decent life and Behaviour.' Mazzanti's duties were to sing four songs, and to attend the rehearsals of, and 'perform in the Oratorios.' 'Her Concert,' the Treasurer stated in a letter to the person who recommended her, 'depends intirely on herself in being Discreet and obliging.'

In March 1760 Mazzanti, following in the wake of Passerini, presented a petition of grievances, demanding more salary as well as ten weeks' leave of absence. But the Directors thought she had no cause of complaint, and said so with the utmost candour in a letter they sent to her:

'When you was told that by teaching and a Benefit you might make a hundred a year it was likeways told you that both these would depend upon yourself & the favour of the Publick. . . . You must be sensible that you never was heartily Inclined to teaching or to gain scholars. . . . You may remember by your first Benefit, which was a very good one, how much the Publick was disposed to favour you, how much respect, and how many Civilitys were shown you by everybody. Had you cultivated this Disposition on your part we are confident you might have made more than the above sume, and been in high favour with all the People of fashion in the place who alone can make a good Benefit.'

In pointedly setting forth the causes of Mazzanti's failure the Directors indulge in a little self-laudation.

'The Company who frequent the Concert as well as the members are not only of the first rank in the Kingdom but People of great taste in Musick, and the generality of them have heard the best Musick and the greatest Masters and singers [in] Europe. When they attend our Concerts they not only expect good musick but variety, especly in the singing part.'

Mazzanti, alas! had not fulfilled these expectations.

'In Place of improving your voice at home and learning new songs you gave the Concert every night a repetition of the same. You brought to this place about a Dozⁿ songs, and since that you have acquired about half a Dozⁿ more, and these we got from you over

and over, so that every body knows what they are to expect, and even these are sung by you often with an unconcerned air and without any previous study by yourself. . . . All this the Publick is very sensible of and must certainly be disgusted with.'

Mazzanti's demand for ten weeks' leave of absence was refused. 'It's quite inconsistent with our Plan to give a salary of £100 a year to a Singer and want her all the Summer.' However, the Directors granted her six weeks in which to 'make a jaunt.' But Mazzanti stayed away longer than she was entitled to, and in November 1761 was dismissed. It was not, however, a 'final farewell,' for in June 1764 'Madame Mazzanti entered to sing in the Concert' at £3 per month.

In 1757, after Mazzanti had been engaged to sing, the name of a powerful rival was brought to the notice of the Directors—Signora Barbarini, a Venetian. Though unable to offer anything 'worth Barbarini's acceptance,' the Society did not wish to lose her services. Accordingly, they offered her £50 a year and a benefit concert 'upon which she may live very well in this Cheap place till Something better offers.' Barbarini was vexed that her countrywoman had forestalled her, but she accepted the Society's terms. The gentleman who recommended her remarked that he 'was sending a treasure to Scotland.'

In the middle of the eighteenth century one of the most popular instruments with amateurs was the harpsichord. In Edinburgh teachers of it were never without pupils. A skilful harpsichord player was then a desideratum with the Society, and in 1759 William Bates¹ was prevailed upon to come north of the Tweed, being promised 'very good encouragement.' 'There are young Gentlemen and Ladies,'

¹ A composer who produced music for various dramatic pieces. With Arne he was responsible for the alteration of *The Jovial Crew*. Bates was also the composer of 'Songs sung at Marybon Gardens, 1768,' and of several glees, catches, and canons.

writes William Douglas, the Treasurer, 'Every day wanting to be taught the Harpsichord and can't get masters. All the masters for that Instrument here have their hours wholly taken up.' In short, if Mr. Bates were sober and industrious he might 'depend on very good bread.' In trying to persuade this Englishman to take service at a salary of £20 a year, the Treasurer sketches an alluring picture of the Society.

'Our Concert here consists of a very pretty little Band, part Masters and part Gentlemen who perform for there pleasure. Some play, some sing, and one of the Chief Entertainments is Handell's Oratorios. Two or three are performed here in Winter & one in Summer.'

But there is one drawback. 'We want Just now a Right Bread Chorister, a man with a good full Voice, who can Sing readily at Sight. His Chief business in the Society is to teach the Chorus's & lead one of the parts and Sing a Single Song himself gently. His Salary from the Musical Society woud not be great, about Ten or twelve pounds, but by their recommendation and his knowledge in teaching Church musick, for which there is great encouragement at present and a great Spirit for learning, he may with ease make above one hundred pounds a year.'

In January 1761 the Treasurer wrote to James Bremner,¹ who was studying music at Naples, asking him to try to procure a 'Right Singer.' 'You know very well what would answer here. A woman preferable to a man. Good Looks you know bespeakes favour, and if she had comon sense it would be a great addition.' But these were 'only Supplements to a Singer. If she could Teach & play a little on any Instrument it would be a great advantage to her. . . . A single woman would do better, but if that could not be got a married one woud do. If you are oblidge[d] to have recourse to the last pray see her husband is not an Idle

¹ Son of Robert Bremner, *ut infra*.

dron. If he could but make a Trump or play on one it would always bring in Something.'

Whether Signora Cremonini was recommended by Bremner or not, she at all events was engaged soon after. This singer, like so many more, proved a heavy drain on the Society's funds, as appears from the following items in the Accounts for 1761:

By Signora Cremonini, one year's Salary	£112	0	0
By do. do. Travelling expenses	100	0	0
By do. do. Her Journey Stopt by Sickness on the way	56	6	0
By do. do. Her allowance to buy clothes at Rome	25	0	0
Total	£293	6	0

This formidable outlay notwithstanding, Signora Cremonini was exasperating. In November 1762 she betook herself to London without leave. When the Directors were apprised they instructed Robert Bremner¹ 'to wait on her and know if she intended to return or not, and if he found her inclined to return but in want of money, to offer to take places in the stage coach for her and her mother, and even

¹ He began life as a teacher of singing, but about the middle of the eighteenth century set up in Edinburgh as a music printer and publisher at the sign of the Golden Harp, opposite Blackfriars Wynd. Later, he removed to 'the back of the Cross Well' and changed his sign to the Harp and Hautboy. At the request of the Town Council he published *Rudiments of Music*; 'or, a Short and Easy Treatise on that Subject. To which is added, A Collection of the best Church tunes, Canons, and Anthems.' Bremner removed to London about 1762, but retained his Edinburgh business under a manager. In the Metropolis he continued his music-publishing business at the sign of the Harp and Hautboy, opposite Somerset House, in the Strand. Here he brought out a series of Scotch songs, the words of which were by Allan Ramsay. He also issued an instruction book for the guitar; *Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music; The Harpsichord and Spinnet Miscellany*, etc. In London he acted as agent for the Musical Society of Edinburgh, and made several important engagements on its behalf, including that of Schetky. Bremner was enterprising, and sold the best music. He died at Kensington in 1789.

to offer them (as from himself) a little money to bear their charges down.' But the next we hear of Cremonini is that her contract, bills, and the correspondence relating to her engagement have been sent to London with a view to prosecuting her 'for the money of her Travailing Charges' and to cause her to fulfil her contract. It would appear that Cremonini did not return.

Cornforth Gilson, who (as already mentioned) came to Edinburgh in 1757 to teach the boys of Heriot's Hospital the soprano parts of the Handelian choruses performed at the Gentlemen's Concerts, quitted the Society's service in 1764. Three years later, however, Gilson was invited to assume his former duties. He was then in Dublin, and inquired of the Treasurer as to the prospects of a living should he return to Edinburgh. Here is a portion of the latter's reply :

'The Gentlemen of the Musical Society are . . . willing to give you your former sallary from the Concert, but with respect to the Church I think it's but fair to tell you the situation there. Mr. Jarden¹ is dead, and your Good friend pro[vost] Drummond.² I spoke to severall others of the Clargey & told them you had thought of returning. . . . They said they were sorey you went away, for that now your place was filled up. So that you can promis on nothing certain but your £20 from the Concert.'

Gilson took the risk, and in June 1767 was awarded ten guineas for his diligence 'in attending the rehearsalls, teaching the singers, and promotting the Oratorio.' In April 1768, at his own request, the Directors agreed that in place of salary Gilson should receive eight guineas for teaching the performers and attending the rehearsals, but should be at liberty to give renderings of three oratorios annually. He was also

¹ Rev. John Jardine, minister of the Tron Kirk. 'While attending the General Assembly, and listening to a debate on "the causes and growth of schism," he dropped down and was carried home dead, 30th May 1766.'—Dugald Butler, *Tron Kirk of Edinburgh*, p. 197.

² Lord Provost Drummond died in 1766.

to be paid five shillings at every Concert for either singing single songs or taking part in duets, but when not singing was to assist by 'playing a Violin or Tenor.' In the summer of 1769 Gilson was in ill-health and begged an advance of £40 'to cary him to London to be under care of the Physicians there.' But the Directors thought he might have all the medical attention he needed in Edinburgh, and Dr. Gregory¹ was asked to deal with his case.

In February 1773 Gilson petitioned for an advance of £30 to pay off his debts. The Directors allowed him six pounds, and suggested to his daughter that a benefit concert would be the best way of meeting her father's financial obligations. An increase of salary would, it was thought, be prejudicial to Gilson himself. But before long there was friction. In March 1775 Gilson wrote that the Directors had reduced his salary and thus damaged his professional reputation. Consequently, he desired them to find another Master.

The most outstanding of all the professional singers engaged by the Society was Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci.² A native of Sienna, where he was born about 1736, he had a rich, sonorous voice which won him enthusiastic admiration. In 1764 he became acquainted with Mozart, and in 1784 and 1791 sang at the Handel Festivals. Previously he had made a tour in Scotland with the famous composer, Dr. Arne, to whom we owe the tune of 'Rule Britannia.' He visited Edinburgh and was patronised by the noble family at Hopetoun House.

The members of the Society were of course enraptured with Tenducci's voice, and no effort was spared to get the great singer to settle in Edinburgh. At last, on 2nd June 1768, Tenducci agreed to 'Sing & play on the Harpsichord

¹ John Gregory was Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh from 1766 till his death in 1773.

² A detailed and interesting account of Tenducci, and of his connection with the musical and literary life of Edinburgh, will be found in Dr. Fraser Harris's *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, pp. 108-22.

in the Concert and at the Oratorios for one year, from the 10th of June next, for a Salary of one hundred and fifty pounds.' Tenducci's family was then in Ireland, and as he had to go there to bring his wife and children to their new home in Edinburgh, he was granted £40 of his salary in advance. On his return he appears to have sung regularly in St. Cecilia's Hall, and after every performance received an ovation. In fact, according to George Thomson, Tenducci caused a 'sensation amongst local musicians.' For himself he adds: 'I considered it a jubilee year whenever Tenducci arrived, as no singer I ever heard sang with more expressive simplicity, or was more efficient, whether he sang the classical songs of Metastasio, or those of Arne's *Artaxerxes*, or the simple melodies of Scotland . . . I never can forget the pathos and touching effect of his "Gilderoy," "Lochaber no more," "The Braes of Ballenden," "I'll never leave thee," and "Roslin Castle."'

In September 1768 Tenducci applied for more money, despite the fact that the previous advance was not exhausted, and again the Directors responded, granting him 'Twenty or Thirty pounds on his Receipt,' he 'being yet a Stranger in the place, and had not so many scholars as he would get in winter.' In the end, Tenducci secured a large amount of teaching. One of his pupils for singing was Alexander Campbell, who in turn became the singing-master of Sir Walter Scott.

At least three oratorios were performed during Tenducci's engagement, including *Judas Maccabæus* and *Acis and Galatea*. He therefore had plenty of opportunity of exhibiting his superb vocal powers. Besides performing an entire work, the Society occasionally indulged in a choral-orchestral concert, known as 'a concert after the manner of an oratorio.' Here is the programme of one of these entertainments. The date is 23rd December 1768:

'Overture in *Joshua*.

SONG . . . Doria, "Verrie Dorte."

SONG . . . Tenducci, "Pious Orgies."

2 Act.

SONG Tenducci, "Verde Prate," to the words in the Oratorio.

Overture in *Stabat Mater*, by Pasquali.

DUET "From this dread Scene," *Judas Maccabæus*.

3 Act.

SONG . . . Tenducci, "Father of Heaven."

8 Con. Corelli.

CHORUS . . . "Hear us, O Lord."

The singularly high quality of Tenducci's singing made so deep an impression that several months before his engagement expired, Lord Kelly and the Treasurer arranged with him to serve another year at a salary of £250. Meanwhile this singer's extravagance was leading him deeper and deeper into debt, and on 30th June 1769 he is again applying 'very Earnestly' for money. The Treasurer had already advanced him £20, and to this sum was now added the remainder of his quarter's salary. In August he was once more in trouble, and again the Directors advanced a quarter's salary.

In November Tenducci suddenly departed for London without the knowledge of the Directors, his intention being to stay in the Metropolis for several weeks. His wife begged that his contract might not be broken, and obligingly offered to sing for him. The offer was accepted, and Signora Tenducci appeared regularly in St. Cecilia's Hall. In London Tenducci seems to have become quite irresponsible, offering his services at Drury Lane Theatre and at the Opera for any date those establishments liked to fix, and alleging that he had a year's leave from the Musical Society. The situation was promptly handled by the Directors, and on 13th December Tenducci's contract was declared void. His wife, however, continued to

sing at the Concert until 26th January 1770, her remuneration being three guineas a week. A week later the Treasurer wrote to Robert Bremner: 'I am afraid our friend Mr. Tenducci has created this stop, for I hear he still retains his Lodgings and keeps a Servant there. This he may save himself the Trouble, for the Society will have nothing more to do with him on any Account.' But this was not the case. In the Accounts for June 1781 there is this item: 'By an express to Mr. Tenducci at Hopeton House, 5/-.' Tenducci also seems to have been in the pay of the Society in 1785. At any rate the following paragraph appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 30th July:

'*Samson* was performed last night in St. Cecilia's Hall to a most numerous and brilliant audience, by the most capital band perhaps ever collected together in this country. . . . Mr. Tenducci, whose merit as a singer is well known, was a capital addition to the other vocal performers.'

Soon after Tenducci had gone there appeared at St. Cecilia's Hall another Italian singer who was to exert an abiding influence on the musical life of Edinburgh. This was Domenico Corri. A native of Rome, he was so precocious that at the age of ten he had played in some of the principal theatres in Italy. After studying at Naples for four years, the Society, learning of his great reputation as a singer and composer, invited Corri to sing at the Concert as well as to conduct. He arrived in Edinburgh with his wife (who was also an accomplished musician) on 25th August 1771. The engagement of the Corris was for three years at a salary of £185.¹ They were also given £100 for travelling expenses, while £25 of their salary was advanced to 'buy Musick.' After settling in Edinburgh Corri eked out his allowance from the Society by setting up as singing-master and subsequently as music-publisher.

¹ This appears to have been a joint salary, but there is room for conjecture.

In September 1774 Corri applied for leave to go to London to superintend an Italian opera he had composed. He stated that he had been offered £500 to perform for twelve nights at the Pantheon with a benefit concert from which he hoped to reap nearly double that amount. If the Directors granted his request he would provide a substitute and promise to remain in Edinburgh another year. Corri's application was successful, the opinion being expressed that 'it would be so hard and cruel a case to prevent any of their Band from making Twelve or fifteen hundred pounds in so short a time.' In December Corri made a fresh demand. He now wanted leave of absence not only for himself but for his wife. The offer of engagements for them both 'to the extent of about Nine Hundred or a Thousand pounds' was tempting, and as they would only be away for about four months he 'would provide the Concert here with a singer in place of Mrs. Corri.' Again the Directors 'for many good reasons' agreed to Corri's proposal.

It was now the Directors' turn to make a proposal, but in this instance Corri did not reciprocate the generous feeling that had been shown him. In 1777 the financial state of the Society was causing anxiety, and it was recommended that Corri's salary, which under a new contract was now £250, should be reduced by £50 for one year only, and that to make up for the loss he should be given a 'Summer Concert.' This step was taken with little hesitation because Corri, without consulting the Directors, had entered into an agreement with the lessee of the Theatre Royal, and had thus assumed burdens that were deemed incompatible with his duty to the Society. Corri replied with a long letter setting forth the embarrassed state of his affairs. In the end he probably agreed to the reduction, though he does not explicitly say so. At any rate, the Directors refer in their answer to his remuneration being 'now fixed' at £200.

Corri remained in Edinburgh until the close of 1787, when

he settled in London. He left behind him, however, his brother Natale, who continued the music-selling business, and carried on other professional activities which do not concern us. When Domenico was still in Edinburgh he collaborated with his brother Natale in publishing *A Select Collection of Forty Scotch Songs*, 'with introductory and concluding symphonies, proper graces,' etc., also *A Complete Musical Grammar*.

The engagement of the Corris synchronised with that of another Italian musician of high standing, whose name frequently recurs in the Minutes. On 27th June 1771 Thomas Pinto,¹ in response to inquiries, expressed his willingness to lead the band for a salary of £150 and two benefit concerts. But these terms were considered too high. Pinto then agreed to engage with the Society on their terms, provided his wife obtained an engagement at the theatre in Edinburgh. Eventually he accepted £100 with one benefit concert.

Pinto proved a valuable asset, and when, in October 1773, he decided to spend the ensuing winter in Dublin, there were loud lamentations. 'We will be extremely sorry if you should find it inconvenient to be with us this Winter, as we would prefer you to every other person.' Pinto did not return to his duties, but on 28th May of the following year wrote from Dublin thanking the Directors 'for their flattering partiality in my favour,' and assuring them that he would wait on them 'some time this summer,' tidings which made the Directors 'extremely happy.' Pinto, nevertheless, remained in Ireland, and on 8th September, by which time the Concert had been without a leader for a whole year, he was the recipient of a

¹ Born in England about 1710, of Neapolitan parents. While still a youth he stepped into the front rank of violin players, and was associated with the Gentlemen's Concert in the early days of the Society. Later on he became the leader of Italian opera in London, likewise at provincial festivals. At various times he was also first violinist at Drury Lane Theatre. Towards the close of his career he was overtaken by financial misfortune, and again entered the service of the Society.

letter demanding an immediate and explicit answer as to whether or not he would 'positively be here by the beginning of November.' Pinto now went the length of signing a contract for one year, on the strength of which he received £20 to bring him from Dublin. But on 15th December it was reported that he had not only failed to implement his promise, but 'had not even wrote a single line.' The patience of the Directors was now exhausted, and it was decided that Pinto having 'behaved so extremely unhandsomely' another leader should be immediately engaged. But hardly had steps been taken to fill up the post when, on 28th December, Pinto arrived in Edinburgh. His explanation was that 'he had been almost six weeks stopt by storms and contrary winds.' This was deemed satisfactory, and Pinto was installed in his old post. But barely three months elapsed before he was again in disgrace. After the winter's work he was granted a month's leave 'to go to Dublin to bring over Mrs. Pinto and his family,' but stayed away for three. Whereupon he was informed that unless he returned within a month 'all engagements with him' would be at an end. This may have come about, for we hear no more of Pinto for some time.

Another distinguished musician (and with Pinto's capacity for causing trouble) was Johann Christoff Schetky, who was born at Hesse-Darmstadt in 1740 and died in Edinburgh on 29th November 1824. In 1772 Schetky was engaged as a violoncello player at a salary of fifty guineas with a benefit concert. He insisted, however, on travelling expenses for himself and his brother, a German flute player, who always accompanied him. Schetky being engaged 'upon the terms demanded,' he and his brother 'set off . . . in the Newcastle Fly' and arrived in Edinburgh on 28th February.

For about eighteen months matters appear to have gone smoothly, but in December 1773 Schetky came forward with preposterous demands. He wanted 'to be permitted to direct the Performers to be employed'; to be afforded time

to 'compose Musick' (the Society had already paid him three guineas for 'six setts of his Trios'); to go to London for a month or more every year; and to have a salary of £100 'settled upon him for life.' The Directors were conciliatory but firm. While 'exceedingly sensible' of Schetky's merit, his proposal to control the *personnel* at St. Cecilia's Hall ran counter to the constitution of the Society. Nor could the Directors give him a life appointment, seeing that the Concert depended upon gentlemen, any or all of whom might withhold their subscriptions whenever they chose. Ultimately a nine-years' contract, with possible breaks, was arranged. In 1777 Schetky had 'fallen off greatly of late.' He was, however, still in the Society's employment in March 1779, when he was granted a month's leave of absence to go to London, provided he arranged 'with Mr. Reinagle¹ that he shall play the Violoncello and with Mr. Corri that he shall play the second fiddle.' In 1778 Schetky obtained three guineas from the Society to buy 'a suit of clothes.'

Schetky spent the remainder of his long life in Edinburgh, and was a prominent figure in the social life of the city. Burns mentions in one of his letters that Schetky set his song, 'Clarinda, mistress of my soul,' to music. This celebrated artiste was one of the founders of the Boar Club, and he appears with his 'cello in the well-known picture, by Stewart Watson, of the interior of St. John's Chapel, Canongate, on the evening of the 'Inauguration of Robert Burns as Poet-Laureate of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, No. 2, 1787.' In 1790 Schetky became President of the Edinburgh Musical Fund, which had just been formed 'for the benefit of decayed musicians and their families' belonging

¹ Joseph Reinagle was the son of a German musician resident in this country. He was apprenticed to an Edinburgh jeweller, but, adopting music, studied the French horn and trumpet, and soon appeared as a player of these instruments. He afterwards studied the violoncello under Schetky and the violin under Aragoni and Pinto. At one time he was leader of the orchestra at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. Nathaniel Gow was one of Reinagle's pupils.

to the Musical Society, which body gave an annual concert on behalf of the Fund. Schetky himself was a family man. His fourth son, John Christian, was born in Ainslie's Close on 11th August 1778 and educated at the High School. He became Marine Painter in Ordinary to George IV., William IV., and Victoria.

Among other artistes of renown who sang and played in St. Cecilia's Hall in Schetky's time were Pietro Urbani,¹ Giuseppe Puppo, and Hieronymo Stabilini. None of them, however, are prominent in the Minutes. In 1786 Urbani laid before the Directors a letter from Venice recommending a female singer, who was willing to come to Edinburgh for £150 per annum, with £50 for travelling expenses. The Directors approved, and on 18th February 1787 Signora Sultani arrived to fulfil her engagement.

When, in December 1774, the Treasurer was empowered to engage another leader of the orchestra in place of Pinto, his choice fell upon Giuseppe Puppo,² who undertook the duties for '£100 of salary till September next.' Though Pinto returned unexpectedly, Puppo remained until the close of 1777 when, owing to the severity of the Edinburgh climate, he thought of returning to Italy. But he stayed on in Edinburgh, and, following in the footsteps of Pinto, was, in August 1778, reprimanded for having gone to Dublin 'without liberty and

¹ An Italian musician who settled in Edinburgh. Urbani edited a collection of the song music of Scotland. In the course of his Galloway tour Burns met Urbani at St. Mary's Isle. The Italian on this occasion sang 'many Scottish songs, accompanied with instrumental music.' Burns showed the air of 'Scots wha hae' to Urbani, 'who was highly pleased with it, and begged me make soft verses for it.' And writing to George Thomson of 'Todlin' Hame,' Burns says: 'Urbani mentioned an idea of his which has long been mine, that this air is highly susceptible of pathos; accordingly, you will soon hear him at your Concert try it to a song of mine in the *Museum*, "Ye Banks and Braes o' bonie Doon."'
Chambers, *Life and Works of Burns*, new ed., iv. 37, 47.

² Born in Italy, he travelled the Continent, and is said to have amassed a fortune in Spain and Portugal. He was afterwards in London. A portrait of him was published by H. M. Humphrey of London in 1781, bearing the inscription: 'Signor Puppy, First Catgut Scaper.'

before the vacation.' In November he was still absent, but was now in Bath. An earnest appeal to him to return was sent, the Directors agreeing to pay his travelling expenses from London. Puppo eventually arrived in Edinburgh, and on 16th January 1778 played a solo concerto by Luigi Borghi. He appears to have remained with the Society till 1782.

Stabilini probably was the last notable artiste employed by the Society. He reached Edinburgh from Italy in the spring of 1784. He was allowed travelling expenses amounting to £50, 16s. 3d. At first he served on probation, but on 25th March 1785 the Directors expressed the view that a contract ought to be entered into for two years, the salary being fixed at £100. In Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh* the following account of Stabilini's arrival is given :

'After Puppo had withdrawn himself from the weekly concerts, the Directors were at no small pains to get a proper person to supply his place as the leader of the orchestra. At this time a young performer of promising celebrity as a violin player appeared in Rome ; and the Directors resolved to invite him to settle in the Scottish capital. The offer was accepted. . . . The performer made his first essay in such a style as to gain unqualified approbation. . . . But Signor Stabilini, though a respectable performer . . . has never advanced much beyond the limits to which his talents had already arrived. He, however, still continues a favourite . . . and though better performers visit the Metropolis, he is still to be considered as the first resident violin player in Edinburgh.'

This qualified view is rather confirmed by George Thomson, who says of Stabilini : 'He had a good round tone, though, to my apprehension, he did not exceed mediocrity as a performer.'¹

VI

The chief external incident in the history of the Society was the building of St. Cecilia's Hall.

¹ Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, new ed., p. 254.

From the foundation of the Gentlemen's Concert in 1728 until the year 1762 it was customary (as has been already noted) for the performances to be held in St. Mary's Chapel, a two-storey building with a somewhat portentous classical front, which stood half-way down the east side of Niddry's Wynd. Renderings of Handel's oratorios, however, were occasionally given in the Assembly Room in Bell's Wynd. It is true that the Society's nineteen years' lease of St. Mary's Chapel dated only from 1738, but it is quite evident that from 1728 the gentlemen performers had some right to the use of the 'high Hall' above the 'Laigh Hall' of St. Mary's Chapel, the Directors having held their meetings there. Concerts also took place in the 'high Hall' during this period ; and on 28th January 1736 the Directors decided to allow any of the Masters to hold a benefit concert in St. Mary's Chapel, provided there was no charge on the funds of the Society.

The lease of the 'high Hall' of St. Mary's Chapel expired in 1757, but several years previously it had become clear that the Society's activities were being hampered by the unsuitable nature of the building. Accordingly, a movement was set on foot for collecting funds with the object of erecting premises that would be thoroughly adapted to the purpose for which the Society existed. This step was also dictated by the fact that a more commodious hall had become a necessity. On 10th June 1752 the membership had been increased to 130, the funds being small and 'a great number of Masters on the Establishment.' The minute of this date significantly adds that 'a considerable Subscription' had been collected 'for a new Room, which must take place very soon.'

The original idea was that the Society should unite with the Edinburgh Assembly, and erect a building which would serve both organisations. On 18th February 1755 the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concert met the Managers of the Assembly and considered 'some difficultys that had cast up in their

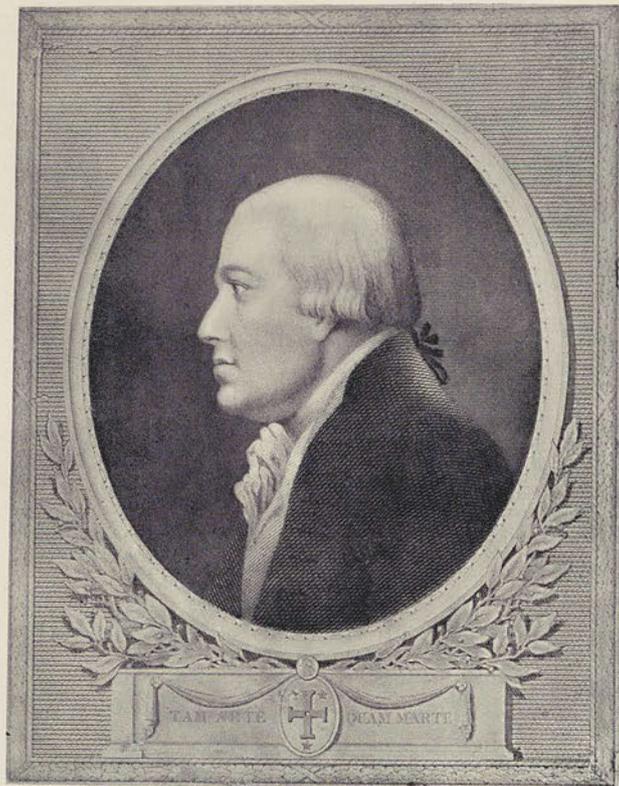
proposed Scheme of Building along with the Assembly on an Area to the north of Miln's Square.¹ But after examining a plan of the ground and 'Considering the Declivity laid Down by Mr. Adams [*sic*],' it was decided that the expense of building so far below 'the Level of the room' was prohibitive. The project therefore was abandoned, and the Directors proceeded to search for 'a more proper place.'

Matters seem to have drifted for some years, but in 1759, by which time the nineteen years' lease of the 'high Hall' of St. Mary's Chapel had expired, fresh action was taken. Apparently the Society had at first proposed to remain in their old premises for some time longer, but on 27th February the Directors sent a communication to the Deacon and Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel, which revealed the real situation. The letter was as follows:

'Gentlemen, As we find it will take some time to make proper plans and Estimates of the Building proposed for Mary's Chapell, and as the Corporation are afraid the present tenants may provide themselves in other houses by this delay, which would be a loss to your poor, Therefore, I, in name of the Directors of the Musical Society, oblige myself to make good to you the rent of that Land in Nidry's Wynd to the South of the Chapell amounting to in whole £22, 13s. 4d. Ster^s for this year. . . . However this we agree to under an express condition that your plans & Estimates are given us in fourteen days from this date. I am, Gentlemen, Your most humble ser^t
'(Signed) WILL^d DOUGLAS, Treas.'

The decisive step was taken on 27th June 1759 when, at a general meeting, George Drummond (the famous Lord Provost of Edinburgh), in his capacity as Deputy Governor, reported that 'in consequence of their former instructions,' the Directors had fixed upon an area of 77 feet by 41 feet 'for building a new musick room lying in the same wynd, a little below Mary's Chapell, belonging to Deacon Hunter,

¹ It stood opposite the north side of the Tron Church and was removed about forty years ago.



ROBERT MYLNE (1734-1811)
ARCHITECT OF ST. CECILIA'S HALL

the wright, for which they proposed to pay Three hundred pounds Ster^s. The bargain was approved, and the Treasurer was instructed 'to call in the Subscriptions for purchasing the same.' Plans and estimates of the proposed building were also ordered.

Almost a year later, 25th June 1760, the Directors approved of 'a plan for the new musick hall' to be designed by the celebrated Robert Mylne¹ for a fee of ten guineas, and requested the Treasurer to advertise 'for undertakers to give in their Estimates.' These were laid before a general meeting on 17th March 1761, when Lord Kames, Sir Adam Fergusson, and Dr. Clerk were appointed a committee to cooperate with the Directors in negotiating with tradesmen. They were also authorised 'to give directions about the Building directly.' On 25th November it was resolved to increase the membership by twenty 'in June next,' thus raising the total to 170. This was done in view of the fact 'that the new Hall would be ready next winter.' The Directors were also influenced by the circumstance of 'a great many Gentlemen of Distinction applying and few Vacancys.' The 'Gentlemen of Distinction' admitted included Lord President Dundas, Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart.,² and Andrew Crosbie, advocate, the original of Counsellor Pleydell in *Guy Mannering*.

Towards the close of 1762 the finishing touches were being given to St. Cecilia's Hall. On 7th December it was agreed

¹ Robert Mylne (1734-1811) was the eldest son of Thomas Mylne of Powderhall, who was City Surveyor in Edinburgh and designed the old Royal Infirmary. Young Mylne studied in Rome, and after returning from his travels designed Blackfriars Bridge, London, a work which was in progress when he drew plans for St. Cecilia's Hall. Mylne was engaged in many architectural and engineering works in England and Scotland. In 1766 he was appointed surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral, and held the post till his death. He was, at his own desire, buried in the crypt of St. Paul's, near to the remains of Sir Christopher Wren.

² 'One of the most estimable characters in Scotland.' *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 1787-1807, Centenary ed., vol. ii. p. 314.

that 'the Seats in the new Room should be placed round the Side . . . five rows of seats only, and the fore Seat to be 18 Inches high above the floor, and each seat to be 5 Inches higher than the other.' The back seat was 'to be movable and Serve for a passage occasionally.'

Unfortunately, the Minutes contain no account of the opening of the Hall, nor even mention the date. But as there was evidently much to be done after 7th December 1762, it is probable that the building was not inaugurated before the beginning of 1763. Full details, however, are given in the Sederunt Book of the cost and the means taken to defray it. On 19th June 1764 an elaborate statement was submitted by the Treasurer as regards the expenditure and the amount of subscriptions received. Here is the abstract :

BUILDING ST. CECILIA'S HALL

Amount of the Subscrip- tions Received . . .	£1332 13 6	Will ^m Good, wright's Acct.	£568 4 0
Ballance due—		Will ^m Mylne, mason . . .	468 16 0
Will ^m Douglas . . .	294 18 4	James Ramsay, Sclater . .	38 14 0
		David Robertson, Smith . .	66 16 0
		Robert Selby, plumber . .	147 8 5
		Caron Company for Stoves . .	17 11 2
		Wilson, Glazing the Cupola	3 12 0
		James Grant, for Iron . . .	2 6 10
		Broomweek & Compy . . .	4 8 6
		Will ^m Govan	9 14 11
			£1327 11 10
		Paid James Hunter for the Area	300 0 0
	£1627 11 10		£1627 11 10

It will therefore be seen that while the subscriptions totalled £1332, 13s. 6d., the tradesmen's accounts, together with the sum paid to James Hunter for the site, amounted to £1627, 11s. 10d., leaving a deficit of £294, 18s. 4d., which

the Treasurer was instructed 'to reimburse himself of out of the Balance of the annual Income of the Society.' That official was also to pay ten guineas to George Paterson, architect, 'for his trouble in superintending the Building and wright work of the Hall.' A list of the principal subscribers to this date, together with the amounts, will be found at the end of this article.

St. Cecilia's Hall, as is well known, still stands at the foot of Niddry Street, though, as will be noted presently, both the building and its surroundings have been strangely transformed since the days when its walls echoed with the choruses of Handel and the concertos and symphonies of Haydn. Several descriptions of the Hall are in print, but probably the best is that of Arnot. Modelled after the design of the Opera House at Parma, but on a smaller scale, it is, says Arnot, 'of an oval form; the ceiling, a concave elliptical dome, lighted solely from the top by a lanthorn. Its construction is excellently adapted for music; and the seats ranged in the room in the form of an amphitheatre, besides leaving a large area in the middle of the room, are capable of containing a company of about five hundred persons. The orchestra is at the upper end, which is handsomely terminated by an elegant organ.'¹ The concert-room was in the upper portion of the building. Below was an arched and pillared vestibule, in which the members forgathered prior to entering the Hall. Originally a small portico added something in the way of embellishment to the entrance from Niddry's Wynd, but this may have disappeared with the Wynd itself. The gallery shown in the illustration of the interior of St. Cecilia's Hall in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* was not erected till long after the Society had ceased to be.

In September 1764 an iron 'Rael' was placed in front of the building. It was supported at each end by wooden pillars, these being kept in place by 'iron hold fasts drove

¹ Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 291.

in to the gavell of Mr. Hunter, the wright's land, which lyes to the South of the area.' On 2nd January 1766 the wright was instructed 'to put dales under the Seats for foot Boards.' In 1767 the Hall was used on Sundays for public worship by the 'Gentlemen of St. Andrew's Chappell,' the rent being £20 a year. But when, in February 1770, 'Mr. Rea the Conjurer' applied for it in order that he might show 'his trick at the Cards,' he was 'absolutely refused.'

After St. Cecilia's Hall had been open three years, the Directors were still confronted with the problem of paying for it. On 24th January 1766 'the outstanding Subscriptions' were called in, but the response was disappointing. Serner measures were resorted to on 5th April 1768, when the Treasurer was authorised 'to cause raise a summons directly and prosecute all the Subscribers for Building the Hall who had not yet paid up.' In 1769 the roof was raised and supported on pillars. But alterations and repairs were making inroads on the funds, and on 25th November 1774 it was resolved 'that no Expense shall be bestowed upon the Hall upon any Account whatever unless for keeping it Wind and Water tight.'

VII

When, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Society erected St. Cecilia's Hall, the approach and surroundings were very different from what they are now. That the whole aspect of the place, and even the building itself, underwent transformation was due in the first place to the construction of South Bridge (1785-88). This formidable public work swept away Niddry's Wynd, which, it is important to remember, was not on the line of the present thoroughfare that goes by the name of Niddry Street, but was situated farther west. When the buildings forming the east side of South Bridge were erected, they not only covered the site of the

ancient wynd but even cut into what had been its eastern frontage. The houses on this side projected considerably north and south of St. Cecilia's Hall, with the result that a little courtyard was formed in front of the entrance to the concert-room. Now the erection of South Bridge necessitated the projecting buildings immediately to the north of the Hall being taken down and rebuilt on the present line, while the ancient houses at the south-east corner of the Wynd were entirely demolished. The consequence was that the courtyard (which quite likely was used for 'parking' the sedan chairs of the concert-goers) disappeared. The demolition of the projecting houses had another effect. It exposed to view for the first time the *whole* of the west front of St. Cecilia's Hall, an alteration never contemplated by Robert Mylne, who, on the assumption that it would be hidden, finished off this portion of the structure in a rough style.

It is therefore easy to understand that the amenity of St. Cecilia's Hall was seriously injured by the construction of South Bridge. The Directors of the Musical Society were fully apprehensive of this, and at an early stage dealt with the situation. The funds of the Society being depleted, compensation was thought of, and in June 1787 the Directors interviewed the Trustees of South Bridge regarding 'an Equivalent to be given for the Area of the Musical Society now occupied by the new street leading from the Cowgate to the High Street.' There was also talk of making an entrance to the Hall on the east side by means of Dickson's Close, the South Bridge buildings having considerably narrowed the old approach.

At a meeting of Directors held on 27th June 1788, and presided over by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Deputy Governor, it was resolved that 'a memorial should be drawn up & presented to the Trustees for the South Bridge, stating the inconveniences and expences this Society have been put to by the improvements carrying on, praying indemnification

of that expence, or at least that they will dispose to this Society the area to the east of the Concert Room in the Cowgate as the only means by which a tolerable entry to St. Cecilia's Hall can be obtained.' At another meeting on 12th December, the Directors agreed to apply to the Trustees of South Bridge 'to get if possible 6 additional lamps from the Commissioners of Lamps & to have 3 lamps every Friday on the stair to the Bridge opposite to the Hall door.' This item brings out the interesting fact that after the opening of South Bridge some of the members of the Society preferred to reach St. Cecilia's Hall by the stair in the tenement opposite rather than proceed down the new thoroughfare of Niddry Street.

The making of South Bridge caused such an upheaval that for a brief period the Society held its concerts in the Canongate, as we are reminded by the following notice which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 7th June 1787 :

'Harmonical Society [a new name]. The access to St. Cecilia's Hall, in which the meetings of the Harmonical Society have hitherto been held, being rendered extremely incommodious by the taking down the tenements at the foot of Niddry's Wynd, the next meeting will be held Monday next, the 11th of June current, in St. John's Lodge, Canongate, at seven in the evening, and the meetings will be thereafter regularly continued, once a fortnight, till further notice.'

VIII

Next to the building of St. Cecilia's Hall and the erection of South Bridge, the Society were most concerned about obtaining a suitable pipe organ. So early as 1750 it was represented 'that it would contribute very much to the Improvement of the Concert' if such an instrument were purchased. Accordingly each member was 'at this time' called upon to contribute an additional half-guinea, and with the sum collected some kind of an organ was procured, for

in 1753 James Norrie was paid five guineas for painting it. This instrument may not have been removed to St. Cecilia's Hall. At any rate, in January 1766, negotiations were entered into with John Snetzler, an organ builder in London and Newcastle, with a view to procuring an organ at a cost of £150. 'Our Society,' wrote the Treasurer to Snetzler on 2nd July, 'are determined to have an Organ, and if they have it not before winter they will be much disappointed.' A full description of the proposed organ is given in the Sederunt Book :

'The Musical Society at Edinburgh want an Organ for a new musical room they have lately Built. . . . The place or neech (niche) for the Organ is at one End of the room at the Back part of the Orchestra, and is 5 feet 4 inches wide by 2 feet 3 inches deep and 8 feet 10 inches high. But this place we think too small to hold an organ of a proper size, for the room . . . is an oblong of 65 feet by 38 feet at the Extrems, and 26 feet high in the middle. To remedie the Size of the Neech the Organ may advance one foot out on the Orchestra beyond the Neech and Spread a foot and a half on the Wall on each Side of the Neech. The pipes may be so disposed as to do this and form a pretty picture for the End of the room.'

'From the floor of the Orchestra to the Cornish [*sic*] where the Celeing begins which is carved is 13 feet 4 inches . . . but by cutting the Celeing you [Snetzler] might have 5 feet more of high for the long pipes if necessary. However the Show of the front of the Organ must go no higher than the Cornish and finish at the Celeing. . . .'

The 'Compass of the Keys' was to be 'from Double Gamut to D in alt,' while the organ was to have a mahogany case. There were to be eight stops 'with a pedall to play Forte and piano and to swell the whole Organ.'

The Directors, as we have seen, were anxious to have the instrument for the winter of 1766, but there were delays of one kind or another, and it was not till September 1775 that Snetzler's partner arrived in Edinburgh with the organ. In the following year fresh means had to be taken to defray the cost. It was decided that those members who had sub-

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scribed half a guinea in 1750 should subscribe another half-guinea each, while those who had not hitherto subscribed should pay a guinea each.

In addition to the organ the Society possessed numerous orchestral instruments. A list of these, along with various items of furniture, is prefixed to Vol. II. of the Sederunt Books. The inventory is interesting as showing the Society's possessions when the Gentlemen's Concert was being held in St. Mary's Chapel. The list is as follows :

' 3 large sconces with guilt [*sic*] frames & branches ; 16 smaller in walnut frames, & branches ; 2 do. on pillars between the windows, with branches ; 8 small brenchies [?] for the Orchestra ; 2 do. for the organ ; 6 lusters ; a bust of St. Cecilia in plaster ; a painting of St. Cecilia ; a harpsichord ; an organ ; a pair of French horns with crooks ; 2 double basses ; 2 Tenor fiddles ; 1 Violoncello ; 1 old — ; 1 German Flute ; 2 hautboys ; 2 octave German flutes ; 2 flageolets ; 2 kettledrums ; 3 bassoons ; a painting of Lord Drummore.'

At Whitsunday 1763, the year in which St. Cecilia's Hall was opened, the items of furniture consisted of ' St. Cecilia's picture & a Busto ; an organ ; 3 Large mirrouir glasses ; 16 Small Sconces ; 2 Smaller do. ; Lord Drumore's picture.' The organ referred to in the lists probably was a small instrument that was only used until a better could be obtained.

IX

The removal to St. Cecilia's Hall led to a marked improvement in the conditions under which the concerts were held. It did not, however, lighten the labours of the Directors, who were harassed quite as much as in the early days by the unpunctuality, evasiveness, and slipshod methods of many of the Masters. In January 1779 it was found necessary, 'in order that the business of the Orchestra may be properly conducted,' to make regulations binding upon the professional



ST. CECILIA'S HALL AT THE PRESENT TIME

performers. Any Master whose salary was £50 or over and who did not attend each concert at six o'clock, or who left before the performance was over, was to be fined half a guinea. There was to be a penalty of half a crown in the case of those whose salaries were below £50. Some performers did not attend at all, and in 1786 it was resolved to deduct a week's salary for each night's absence. A serious offender was Stephen Clarke,¹ who was engaged to play an organ concerto once a month. This he not only failed to do, but frequently absented himself from the concerts altogether.

In 1791 the Directors addressed the following communication (signed by Sir William Forbes, William Tytler, and Alexander Fraser Tytler) to Schetky, Stabilini, and other Masters :

'As there is to be no Ladies' Concerts during the Month of May the Directors recommend to the Gentlemen of the Orchestra to attend the Weekly Concerts as usual, . . . as they are sensible that the performance has of late much fallen off, particularly in the Musick of Handel, Geminiani and others of the old Composers, which is much complain'd of by the Society.

'The Directors recommend to the Leader and the other Masters & Expect that they shall consider the ensuing Concerts in May as Rehearsals, so as they may practice the above and other Musick in order to do justice to it in their performance on the more Publick Concerts in June next.'

¹ He was organist of the Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate. Burns, in a letter dated Edinburgh, 25th October 1787, speaks of Clarke as 'the first musician in town.' In another epistle addressed to Clarke, and dated 6th July 1792, the poet writes: 'Mr. B. some time ago did himself the honour of writing Mr. C. respecting coming out to the country to give a little musical instruction in a highly respectable family, where Mr. C. may have his own terms. . . . Mr. B. is deeply impressed with, and awfully conscious of, the high importance of Mr. C.'s time, whether in the winged moments of symphonious exhibition at the keys of Harmony . . . or in the drowsy arms of slumberous repose, in the arms of his dearly-beloved elbow-chair.' Clarke harmonised the airs for Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*. The personal attraction of Clarke, Schetky, and Urbani is said to have brought Burns to St. Cecilia's Hall on more than one occasion. Chambers, *Life and Works of Burns*, new ed., ii. 183, iii. 322.

When the performers did attend they did not always play correctly. This circumstance accounts for the subjoined notice issued in April 1791 :

'TO THE PERFORMERS OF THE RIPIENO¹ VIOLINS

'The Gentlemen performers of the Ripienos are desired to attend [to] the Forte and Piano passages & to play their parts plain as Marked in the Musick without any Flourishes. In accompanying the Songs the Ripienos ar allways too strong for the Voice. They are therefore desired to play Piano when the Voice comes in.

'From the Directors.'

The Society possessed an extensive and valuable collection of music, which was constantly being added to. That the Directors attached high importance to this matter is shown by the fact that so early as December 1728 the Treasurer, William Douglas, was instructed 'to prepare a compleat Catalogue of all the Musick belonging to the Society, and to propose a proper repository for keeping the same.' But this good intention was not carried out, at least not immediately, for on 28th January 1736 Alexander Stewart's salary was increased £5 because he had undertaken 'to keep the Collection of musick . . . in good order, and to make a Catalogue of them.' But nothing was done. Three years later the Directors ordered the music 'to be called in . . . so that a Catalogue can be made.' The phrase 'called in' is explained by the fact that the Society lent their music to members and Masters, who were supposed to return it within seven days. This rule, however, was frequently ignored, and a fine of one guinea was imposed on defaulters.

Ultimately a catalogue was prepared, but, unfortunately, does not seem to have been preserved, though the Laing Collection in Edinburgh University Library contains a MS. *Index to the whole Musick belonging to the Edinburgh Musical Society*, 1765; also Plans of Concerts from 1768 to 1771 and 1778 to 1786. Another MS. *Index* (for 1782) is in Edinburgh

¹ Ripieno—a supplementary instrument or performer.

Public Library. This work enables us to form some idea of the music which engaged the attention of the Society. The oratorios include most of Handel's. Other composers are but poorly represented. Handel also takes first place as regards instrumental music. No fewer than sixty-five of his overtures are mentioned in the *Index* for 1782, in addition to concertos, sonatas, trios, quartets, and symphonies by the foremost composers. Notwithstanding their resources the Society was always clamouring for novelties. 'Don't you think it worth your [while],' writes William Douglas to Robert Bremner on 15th December 1770, 'to send us any new productions either in the Overture or Concerto way, or is there nothing new coming out that would answer our refined Taste . . . ? If you have in your Eye any good Master that would answer for a Leader or Violoncello be so good as write me.' On 5th January 1771 the enterprising Treasurer wants to know the result of Bremner's inquiries regarding 'a first fiddle and a violoncello.' The Society also wishes 'a couple of French horns'—'well-chosen and compleat for accompanying on any key.'

In its more prosperous days the Society was not unmindful of local charities. When, in January 1739, George Drummond (who was six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh) appealed for financial support on behalf of the Infirmary, the Directors were inclined 'to promote so usefull and Charitable a Work.' The following resolution was approved at a general meeting :

'That upon Friday, the Twenty Third of February next, the Society shall hold their Weekly Concert in the Assembly Hall, if they can obtain the permission of the Lady Orbiston for that effect, at which the Gentlemen of the Society shall perform themselves and bring the M^{rs} [Masters] to perform. That no member shall be admitted to the Consort [*sic*] of that night who shall not take out & pay for a Ticket at half a crown, and that the general benefit may arise to the Infirmary by this Consort every Gent or Lady shall be admitted to the said Consort upon talking out a ticket at said price.'

The concert realised over £40. In the following year Drummond requested that 'another concert should be granted for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary,' and this being agreed to, the performance took place on 29th February 1740 in the 'new Assembly Hall.'

X

At an early stage in the career of the Society the financial problem became acute. Nor is this matter for wonder when a decidedly haphazard expenditure was placed alongside a strictly limited income. Much money was paid away without any adequate return. The outlay upon improvident musicians, the purchase of instruments and large quantities of expensive music, the constant payments for copying scores, and, above all, the building of St. Cecilia's Hall, proved a heavy drain on the resources of the Society. Whenever more income was wanted the usual expedient was either to increase the subscription or to sanction fresh accessions to the membership. At the origin of the Society the latter amounted to seventy, but in the closing years it was nearly three times that number. The substantial increase, however, did not relieve the precariousness of the income, for although the Society consisted of well-to-do people, many were 'very negligent' in paying their subscriptions, and because of this the names of not a few were removed from the roll.

Another factor which militated against the prosperity of the Society was that numerical expansion was often followed by extravagance. When the concerts were still being held in St. Mary's Chapel there were protests against lavish expenditure. On 2nd July 1755 Lord Chesterhall,¹ the Deputy Governor, complained 'that their Entertainments of Late

¹ Peter Wedderburn. After serving as one of the Assessors of Edinburgh and also as Secretary to the Excise, he was elevated to the Bench in 1755 as Lord Chesterhall, but died the following year.

had been vastly more Elegant than formerly and consequently much more Expensive, which Brought their funds very low.' Accordingly, the situation was eased by increasing the membership from 130 to 150. In 1757 the Society could not pay a singer who had been engaged at £100 per annum, and in the following year, owing to loss on the Ladies' Concerts, the subscription was raised to three guineas. Another deficit was reported in 1763, and again was met by increasing the membership to 180. One of those admitted at this time was Robert McQueen, the future Lord Braxfield.

A further summons 'to put the Concert upon a respectable footing' came in November 1771, and again the membership was increased. The Directors, however, expressed the opinion that as 'the Concert stands chiefly upon having Gentlemen performers,' the Society should admit ten applicants who were known to be 'most usefull performers.' These were Cuming Ramsay, Dr. James Lind, Gilbert Innes of Stow, William Grant, James Balmain, Mr. Telfer of Symington, Francis Strachan, John Hutton, David Russell, and John Russell, junior.

The Society suffered a grievous loss by the death in 1771 of William Douglas, who for many years had most capably borne the onerous duties of Treasurer, which were as much secretarial as financial. Upon the Treasurer lay the responsibility of seeing that vacancies in the orchestra were filled up. And besides supplying a 'proper Band of Masters,' that official had to secure the services of singers, which usually involved a lengthy and tactful correspondence with foreigners, especially Italians, for whom the Society had an undisguised partiality. To these the Treasurer had 'to point out the Requisites wanted,' and to fix the terms of engagement. He also was entrusted with the drawing up of 'the weekly plans of the Musick to be performed,' a task which presupposed an intimate acquaintance with the vast stores of music belonging to the Society.

But to resume the financial history. In 1775 the funds were in such a parlous state that the salaries of three Masters were reduced. A comparison of the accounts for 1774-75 with those of the following year casts a lurid light on the Society's spending capacity. The accounts for 1774-75 contain the following items:

Salaries to performers	£618 19 2
Other annual salaries	41 15 6
Annual tradesmen's Accts.	81 13 8
Incidental expenses	91 11 10
Stephen Clarke for writing <i>Samson</i>	7 3 9

For the year 1775-76:

Salaries to performers	£641 18 6
Other annual salaries	47 15 6
Expenses of Oratorios & Choruses	44 5 6
(Paid Gilson & others for performing <i>Judas</i> <i>Maccabæus</i> , 22 December 1775)	12 4 0
Annual Accounts	133 12 3
Incidental	63 3 9

It is therefore not surprising that in 1777 John Welsh, the new Treasurer, submitted a memorial advising drastic economy. When, in 1771, Welsh took over the Treasurership, the whole charge of the band, consisting of sixteen performers, amounted to £489, 9s. 2d. In 1777 there were twenty-two performers maintained at an expense of £616, 17s. 6d. Moreover, the painting of the Hall and 'other unforeseen expenses' had exhausted the Sinking Fund. In 1774 the Society was due the Treasurer £43, 19s. 7d.; in 1775, £116, 17s. 9d.; and in 1776, £257, 6s. 3d. At the date of the memorial the sum had swelled to about £365. Having laid bare the state of the funds, the Treasurer proposed 'cuts' in the salaries of the Masters, including the Corris and Schetky. By these means he hoped to effect a saving of £200 in 1778

and £150 in 1779. Another distressing fact was that the payments immediately due amounted to £360, whereas the funds amounted only to £273. The memorial also proposed that as the trouble of collecting subscriptions had become 'quite intolerable,' Thomas Sanderson should be appointed to undertake the duty at the Hall and at his shop in the Luckenbooths, the remuneration to be £10 a year.

The Directors boldly faced the situation. Reductions in the salaries of the Masters were approved of, and as regards immediate payments it was resolved to open a cash account to the extent of £250 with the bank of Sir William Forbes & Company.¹ Finally, Sanderson was appointed to collect the subscriptions, and not before time, considering £17, 6s. 6d. was due the Treasurer by subscribers who had left the Society without acquainting him.

In January 1779 the Directors were in a greater quandary than ever, the Treasurer, John Welsh, having become a bankrupt. His resignation was accepted, and the Directors were empowered to take any steps that might seem desirable for carrying on the affairs of the Society. In 1782 Allan Ramsay, the painter, issued a spirited appeal for better attendances at the 'Benefit' concerts. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 23rd February there appeared above his signature a communication entitled 'To the Public.' 'There is not in Europe,' wrote the son of the author of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 'an institution more genteel or liberal than the Musical Society of Edinburgh.'

'Judging by the harmony of the Scotch airs, our neighbours admit us to be a musical people, and an account of our Society confirm[s] them in it. Whatever has formerly been the case, I am afraid this will soon deservedly be ranked among the number of *prejudices*. . . . The fight of our Edinburgh Benefit Concerts convinces us, then, that we are not a musical people. Benefits among all public per-

¹ In December 1779 this sum was increased to £400.

formers are the very fires of emulation, and thence [*sic*] a true judgment is formed of their place in the favour of the town. Take away benefits from the Theatre and Concerts, and you remove the object of rivalry. . . . The Gentlemen of the Concert have again and again recommended the principal performers to the patronage of the town. They have a good title to do so, since they at all other times entertain that town for nothing. Unless, then, we are able, *without any assistance to entertain ourselves*, let us pay some attention to those who do it, and show some respect to the Members of the Musical Society, and a regard to merit, by attending the benefits of those who deserve it.'

Allan Ramsay concludes by saying that Puppo's Grand Concert and Ball, 'advertised for the 26th Current,' will be 'the test of our reformation.' The 'low price at which the tickets for that night are to be had must surely be an inducement to encourage him.'

XI

Creech, in *Fugitive Pieces* (p. 112), says that the Concert in 1783 'was not in general so much attended as such an elegant entertainment should have been,' but that in 1791-92 matters changed and 'the Concert became the most crowded place of amusement.' The prosperity was but fleeting. Influences were at work that were soon to make the Society a thing of the past. At the very time when the members were deploring the inconvenience caused by the making of South Bridge and desiring a new entrance to St. Cecilia's Hall, an event had taken place which ultimately led to the closing of the Musical Society's building in Niddry Street. The chief patrons, who for generations had inhabited the closes of the Old Town, were forsaking them for elegant mansions that had sprung up in the New. Then, in 1787, the elegant Assembly Room in George Street was opened, which speedily recommended itself as more suitable for fashionable

concerts than the building adjoining the Cowgate. St. Cecilia's Hall probably had as fine acoustic properties, but the new Assembly Room was more spacious, more ornate, and was situated in a more wholesome locality. The migration of the aristocratic classes from the Old Town to the New and the simultaneous opening of the Assembly Room in the stately thoroughfare of George Street ended not only the concerts at St. Cecilia's Hall but the Musical Society itself.

Although the last decade of the eighteenth century opened with a certain measure of prosperity, it was transparently clear that immense changes were in progress which would be detrimental to the Gentlemen's Concert. Accordingly, an effort was made to avert the crisis, the most revolutionary measure being the admission of ladies to an active part in the affairs of the Society. From the outset, gentlemen alone had been eligible for membership, though, by the terms of the Constitution, the Governor and Directors might 'appoint Concerts for the Entertainment of the Ladys, at such times as they shall think proper.' Hitherto the Ladies' Concert had been the nearest approach to a recognition of the fact that women are as capable of appreciating high-class music as men. But now there was a modification of the traditional view to the extent of acknowledging the possibility of the drooping fortunes of the Society being revived if ladies were brought into more intimate relationship with its work.

In August 1789 the Directors considered an 'endeavour to prevail on Ladies of fashion to honor the Concert as a place of fashionable Amusement.' Two years later, this idea took concrete form when the Directors approved of a scheme for appointing 'a certain number of Ladies as Patronesses or Directoresses of the Musical Society.' The limited nature of the innovation is noteworthy. There was no suggestion that ladies should be admitted to membership, which would have been the sensible thing to do, considering the un-

satisfactory state of the funds. Apparently all that was expected was that 'Patronesses or Directoresses' would attract ladies to the Concert in increasing numbers, and so swell the income which, in later years, seems to have been derived from tickets of admission. Whatever the changes, the entertainment at St. Cecilia's Hall was still to be the Gentlemen's Concert.

But this step, if it ever was taken, did not bring financial stability. The forces operating against the Society were already too strong. In addition to the causes of disintegration previously mentioned, the hoary idea that music is an exclusive possession of the rich and the aristocratic was losing ground. The day when musical performances could be given from which the general public were excluded was nearly over. Musical education was showing signs of popular advance not only in Edinburgh but in other Scottish cities, and though this was never contemplated by the Society, and, had it been, would probably have received no encouragement, it was in reality to the weekly concert in St. Cecilia's Hall that the uplift was mainly due. The Society's work had created a higher musical standard, and when the doors of St. Cecilia's Hall were finally closed, the professional musicians—Schetky, Stabilini, the Corris and the rest—took advantage of the situation by organising a series of concerts in the new Assembly Room, which were intended for all lovers of music irrespective of their position in the social ladder.

XII

The last Minute in the Sederunt Book is dated 30th December 1795, but a number of pages have been torn out. These doubtless recounted the final episodes in the fascinating story of the Musical Society of Edinburgh. In the *Scots Magazine* for January 1798 there appeared the following

paragraph: 'We are glad to see that the Musical Society have resolved to keep up so old and respectable an entertainment. For many years St. Cecilia's Hall was considered as the most elegant amusement in this Metropolis.' As a matter of fact, concerts continued to be given in St. Cecilia's Hall until the spring of 1798. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 29th March of that year there occurs the following announcement:

'Under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Duc de Berri, who has given authority to say that he will honour the concert with his presence, Mr. Vogel takes the liberty of informing the nobility and others that his concert is fixed for Tuesday the 10th April in St. Cecilia's Hall.'

The Duc de Berri was the younger son of Charles x. of France, who, as Comte d'Artois, was then residing in Holyroodhouse. There is a kind of melancholy attractiveness in the circumstance that the vanishing splendours of St. Cecilia's Hall should be graced by a representative of the exiled Bourbons, for Vogel's concert was one of the last, if not the very last, to be held in the Society's premises at the foot of Niddry Street.

Towards the close of the year, on the afternoon of 24th December, a general meeting was held in St. Cecilia's Hall 'for the purpose of finally determining whether the Society shall be immediately dissolved or continued on the present or any other plan.' The loss of the end pages of the Minutes has, unfortunately, prevented an account being given of what transpired at this critical juncture, nor has the writer been able to collect authentic information from other sources. But the likelihood is that the decision which sealed the doom of the Musical Society was then taken. The formal winding up of its affairs, however, did not take place until Tuesday, 17th February 1801. At three o'clock in the afternoon of that day another general meeting was held in St. Cecilia's

Hall, when measures were taken for the disposal of the property. Amongst some documents relating to the Society is one dated 5th June 1801, entitled 'Articles of Roup and Sale by Musical Society of St. Cecilia's Hall, and two areas in the Cowgate, and enactment thereon, in favour of Mr. James Gibson, W.S.' Appended are the signatures of Sir David Rae (Lord Eskgrove), Sir William Forbes, and Gilbert Innes of Stow. In March 1802 the historic Hall was sold to a Baptist congregation. Seven years later (August 1809) the Baptists sold it to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for £1400.¹ In March 1812 the Freemasons obtained warrant to build an addition to St. Cecilia's Hall on the vacant ground lying to the south. It took the form of a smaller hall built over shops, and with a frontage to the Cowgate containing a rectangular stone tablet inscribed 'Freemasons Hall, 1812.'² The effect of this alteration was entirely to hide the southern aspect of St. Cecilia's Hall. In 1844 the Town Council bought the Concert Room of the Musical Society from Grand Lodge, the purchase price being £1800. The building then became one of the schools provided for out of the huge fortune left for educational purposes by Dr. Andrew Bell, the founder of the 'Madras System of Education.'

Thus ended the public history of St. Cecilia's Hall, the chief scene of the labours of an organisation which rendered meritorious service in what George Thomson calls 'the Augustan age of music in Auld Reekie.' As we view the drab exterior of this forlorn building, fronting a street which few have occasion to traverse, let us be mindful that it enshrines richer musical memories than any other building in Scotland.

¹ D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel, No. 1)*, 1900, p. 259.

² The tablet is still *in situ*.

PRINCIPAL SUBSCRIBERS TO BUILDING OF ST. CECILIA'S HALL

Gilbert Elliot . . .	£5 5 0	Sir David Cunningham . . .	£3 3 0
Earl of Selkirk . . .	10 10 0	Earl of Fyfe . . .	10 10 0
Mr. Campbell, Stonefield . . .	3 3 0	„ Haddington . . .	10 10 0
John Belsches . . .	3 3 0	„ Dumfries . . .	42 0 0
Adam Fairholm . . .	3 3 0	„ Bute . . .	20 0 0
David Dalrymple . . .	3 3 0	Lord Barjarg . . .	5 5 0
Wm. Douglas, merchant . . .	3 3 0	Sir John Whiteford . . .	5 5 0
James Smollett . . .	3 0 0	Provost Lind . . .	5 0 0
Rutherford, Fairnlie . . .	1 1 0	Hon. W. Charteris . . .	30 0 0
Geo. Dempster . . .	5 5 0	John Coutts . . .	3 3 0
Sir Alex. Gilmour . . .	5 5 0	Provost Drummond . . .	5 5 0
Earl of Breadalbane . . .	10 10 0	Sir Adam Fergusson . . .	5 5 0
Mr. Nath. Spens . . .	2 2 0	Mr. Scott of Harden . . .	5 5 0
Gavin Hamilton . . .	2 2 0	Lord Prestongrange . . .	5 5 0
Sir Jas. Clerk . . .	5 5 0	Earl of Elgin . . .	10 10 0
John Swinton . . .	3 3 0	„ Sutherland . . .	10 10 0
Ilay Campbell . . .	2 2 0	„ Morton . . .	10 10 0
Lord Kames . . .	3 3 0	Lord Blantyre . . .	10 10 0
John Lockhart of Lee . . .	5 5 0	Earl of Strathmore . . .	3 3 0
James Cheap of Sauchie . . .	5 5 0	„ Cassillis . . .	10 10 0
Hugh Seton of Touch . . .	10 10 0	Lord Coalston . . .	5 5 0
Earl of Leven . . .	10 10 0	Mr. Campbell of Shawfield . . .	21 0 0
„ Dunmore . . .	10 10 0	Lord Minto . . .	10 10 0
„ Glasgow . . .	5 5 0	Lord Kilkerran . . .	5 5 0
Mr. Lind of Gorgie . . .	2 2 0	Harry Dundas . . .	3 3 0
Earl of Errol . . .	21 0 0	Nisbet of Dirleton . . .	10 10 0
„ Hopetoun . . .	10 10 0	John Callender, Craigforth . . .	3 3 0
„ Aboyne . . .	3 3 0	Sir Laurence Dundas . . .	30 0 0
„ Kelly . . .	5 5 0	Baron Grant . . .	10 10 0
Francis Garden . . .	3 3 0	Duke of Queensberry . . .	21 0 0
Sir Wm. Forbes . . .	5 5 0	Mr. Crosbie . . .	3 3 0
Hugh Rose of Kilravock . . .	5 5 0	Sir John Hall . . .	5 5 0
Alexander Rothead . . .	5 5 0	Robert McQueen . . .	5 5 0
Wauchope of Edmonstone . . .	5 5 0	Sir David Dalrymple . . .	5 0 0
Dr. Boswell . . .	2 2 0	Hog of Newliston . . .	5 5 0
Earl of Aberdeen . . .	10 10 0	Earl of Rosebery . . .	10 10 0
Little of Liberton . . .	5 5 0	Principal Robertson . . .	3 3 0
Lord President . . .	10 10 0	„ Wishart . . .	5 5 0
Mr. Tytler . . .	3 3 0	Sir Alex. Don . . .	5 5 0
Baron Mure . . .	5 5 0	John Scott of Craigentiny . . .	5 5 0
James Coutts . . .	10 10 0	Earl of Eglintoun . . .	15 15 0

W. FORBES GRAY.

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On January 1st
1911

APPENDIX

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT, ETC.

Old Edinburgh Club

1932

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REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 31st January 1933, at 4 o'clock.

The Hon. Lord St. Vigean presided, and there was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-fifth 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-fifth Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1932 there were seventeen vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain ten names on the list of applicants for admission.

The Council record with regret the death of Professor G. Baldwin Brown, LL.D., who for fifty years was the distinguished occupant of the Watson Gordon Chair of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Professor Baldwin Brown was an original member of the Club, and served on the first Council. Deeply interested in Old Edinburgh, he took an active interest in the affairs of the Club, and to its publications ('noble volumes' he calls them in a letter written last year) he made, in conjunction with the late Dr. Thomas Ross, two valuable contributions, writing in Volume VIII. on the Magdalen Chapel, and in Volume XI. on the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate. Professor Baldwin Brown's last service to the Club was rendered in May of this year, when (as noted below) he was one of the leaders on the occasion of the visit to the Old University.

Two informative lectures were delivered in the Goold Hall in the earlier part of the year, the first being presided over by Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson and the second by the President, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers. On 4th February, Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., with the

4 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL

aid of lantern slides, lectured on 'Portraits in Mezzotint after Scottish Artists.' Another lantern lecture was delivered on 15th March by Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., who took for his subject 'Kirk of Field.' In addition to an account of the medieval Church of St. Mary in the Fields, the lecturer submitted an interpretation of the well-known Drawing of the Darnley Tragedy of 1567.

The excursions this year were all within the Old Town. On 7th May a large company were shown over the Old University buildings under the guidance of Professor Baldwin Brown, LL.D., and Mr. Frank C. Nicholson, M.A. The former described the architectural work of Robert Adam, as well as some of the portraits of famous men connected with the University which adorn its walls. Mr. Nicholson and his assistant, Dr. L. W. Sharp, pointed out the treasures of the Library. Huntly House, the new premises of the Corporation Museum, was visited on 4th June. After listening to an address by Mr. F. C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A., on the architecture of the building (delivered in the Canongate Tolbooth), the company, which was large, inspected the fifteen quaint rooms that comprise Huntly House, together with their exhibits. The final excursion was to Heriot's Hospital, and took place on 2nd July. Mr. James Melville, M.A., History Master, George Heriot's School, acted as leader. After an inspection of the external features of the building, the party visited the quadrangle, the chapel, the refectory, and the board room. A number of historic documents were exhibited.

So far, no lectures have been arranged for the present winter. To obtain lecturers who not only are experts in their subject but can handle their material effectively, is becoming increasingly difficult, and as every lecture involves considerable expense, the Council do not feel justified in spending money for which there is no adequate return. Popular and 'stock' lectures have their value, but it is not the function of the Club to provide information on subjects which either are hackneyed or presuppose only elementary knowledge. Our object is the intensive study of Old Edinburgh, and the lecture desired is that which shows wide knowledge, research, and skilful treatment.

PUBLICATIONS

Volume XVIII. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* was issued in the spring. The Council have pleasure in announcing that Volume XIX. is now in course of preparation. It is too early to set

MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB 5

forth a definite list of contents, but the following papers have been arranged provisionally :—

- I. Incorporation of Hammermen of Canongate. By Marguerite Wood.
- II. Social Assemblies of the Eighteenth Century. By James H. Jamieson.
- III. Barony of Calton. Part II. By Henry M. Paton.
- IV. Bonnington: Its Lands and Mansions. By John Russell.
- V. Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall. By W. Forbes Gray.

Miss Wood's paper will be mainly based on a Minute Book of the Canongate Hammermen, covering the period 1613-87, but will also include much material extracted from documents in the possession of the Town Council. Interesting glimpses of social life in the eighteenth century will be afforded by Mr. Jamieson's paper. The writer has had access to a Minute Book of the Assembly when the gatherings were held in Bell's Wynd. His narrative, however, will also incorporate fresh material relating to the earlier Assemblies in West Bow and Old Assembly Close, likewise to the later ones in Buccleuch Place and Archers' Hall. Mr. Paton will conclude his paper on the Barony of Calton, and will deal principally with the burying-ground. An historical survey of the Bonnington district is promised in Mr. Russell's paper. Finally, the article on the Musical Society of Edinburgh (1728-1801) is almost entirely derived from the Sederunt Books, and will tell for the first time the story of the building of St. Cecilia's Hall.

COWGATE BUILDINGS

The demolition of buildings in the historic part of the city (to which reference was made in last Report) unfortunately still continues. The doom is now sealed of the buildings in front of the Tailors' Hall, Cowgate. They have long been dilapidated, and it would now seem that their removal is imperative, partly because they are no longer habitable, and partly to effect a widening of the Cowgate. Contrary to general belief, the extension scheme of the Heriot-Watt College does not affect this historic group of buildings, so that there is less excuse for their destruction. It is well that the citizens should be under no delusion as to what is about to disappear. The buildings are 'the finest example of street architecture of the old

Scottish style remaining in Edinburgh.' That at least was the considered judgment of Dr. Thomas Ross and Professor Baldwin Brown. The structures to be demolished date from the time of Charles I. They have a very arresting elevation, which, say the two authorities, owes its 'fine effect to the diversified skyline.' Now that demolition appears to be inevitable, the Council earnestly hope that the magnificent front with its quaintly carved stones will be taken down in such a manner as to allow of at least partial reconstruction elsewhere in the city.

A LEITH MANSION

The Council also learn with regret that the mansion of Andrew Lamb in Water's Close, Leith, where Queen Mary is believed to have rested after her voyage from France in August 1561, is in great danger of being pulled down. The building is no longer habitable, and recently the roof was removed. Historically this is by far the most important house in Leith. It was the residence of the Lambs, a distinguished family which had a continuous connection with the seaport for about five hundred years. One member was associated with the building of James IV.'s ship, the *Great Michael*, another entertained Queen Mary and was prominent at the Reformation, while a third was Bishop of Galloway. The Lamb mansion is no less significant architecturally, being a striking example of the old Scottish style. It has earned the praise of MacGibbon and Ross for its 'extreme picturesqueness.' The removal of so impressive a relic would be an irreparable loss, and the Council would strongly urge that every effort be made to save it.

Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, submitted the Report and Balance Sheet.

The Club, he said, was in a flourishing condition. It was now in the twenty-fifth year of its existence, and had done an enormous amount of good work. When one came to analyse the contents of the eighteen volumes which the Club had published, one could not but be struck with the amount of valuable historical and antiquarian material these publications contained. And they had still plenty of material to work upon, for, although the history of the Old Town was, as the late Lord Rosebery said, of paramount importance, the leading streets of the New Town were now acquiring historical interest and importance. In that connection, he wished that some one would

explore the history of the West End, and tell them all that there was to know of the feuing of Lord Moray's estate, also of Drumsheugh. Alluding to that portion of the Report dealing with the demolition of buildings in the Cowgate, the President expressed the hope that, whatever might be done, the sculptured stones of the building in front of the Tailors' Hall would be inserted in any new structure that might be erected on the site. He also pleaded for the preservation of the mansion of Andrew Lamb at Leith. It was an admirable specimen of sixteenth-century domestic architecture. This building, as well as the manor-house of the time of James VI. at Stenhouse, should, he suggested, be taken over by the Royal Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings.

The Chairman (Lord St. Vigeans) moved the adoption of the Report. He said:—

I beg to move the adoption of the Report which has been laid before you by Mr. Chambers. I think you will agree that it is a gratifying report. The finances are in a sound condition, and the activities with which the Club concerns itself are being pursued effectively along the lines mapped out by it.

There can be no doubt that the Club is performing a very useful and essential service to the citizens of Edinburgh. In a city like Edinburgh, which is so rich in relics and monuments of antiquity, there are two patriotic duties which confront the citizens. First, to do all they possibly can to preserve from destruction those memorials of the past which have historic associations or distinctive architectural features, and secondly, if actual preservation be impracticable, to take steps to see that these memorials of our forefathers are not allowed to pass out of recollection without having their distinctive features and associations duly recorded in some permanent form, which can be utilised by future historians or others interested in the subject.

While not leaving out of sight the first duty, the Club has specially devoted itself to recording all that is interesting and valuable in the historic features of our city. How admirably this loyal task has been accomplished is amply shown by the eighteen volumes which the Club has already published. I adopt the words of the late Professor Baldwin Brown, when he said that these were 'noble volumes.' I should venture to call them 'monumental,' and in process of time, they

may become no less famous than the Golden Book of Venice. One needs only to glance through these volumes to see how rich they are in the illustration of all phases of the civic life of Edinburgh in the past, and I have no doubt they will be looked upon with admiration and thanksgiving by future generations of citizens. I have often had occasion to consult them, and have found immense satisfaction in the wealth and accuracy of the information they supply. I look upon them as one of the most interesting and important sets of volumes in my library. Indeed, it is not too much to say that no one interested in Old Edinburgh can afford to do without them. They form a valuable addendum to, and an illuminating expansion of, the work done by Daniel Wilson and other notable writers in the same field.

I am glad to say that the good work is being continued in the same spirit of patient research, and the Club is deeply indebted to those writers who devote so much time and energy to the elucidation of the distinctive features of historic Edinburgh. It is a worthy subject and a loving and patriotic work, of which the Club may well be proud. The articles proposed for the forthcoming nineteenth volume are enumerated in the printed Report you have before you, and a glance at their titles will show that they promise to be of the same high standard and the same intense interest as those which have gone before. I have, therefore, much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

In a discussion on the Report which followed, Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., said that the demolition of the Old Town, not by ordinary citizens but by the Corporation, was a very serious matter indeed. The Corporation had pulled down old properties, and the buildings they had put up were of no artistic value. A great number of people came to see Edinburgh, and the question was, What was the city going to be like twenty-five years hence? When he was a young man he could walk down the 'Royal Mile,' and see right and left buildings of extreme interest. To-day there were only a few left. They should make strenuous efforts to see to it that the Corporation realised that it was not only a duty but also a profit to preserve as many ancient buildings as possible. He thought the Corporation might learn from the practice of cities on the Continent, where old buildings in stone and timber were kept in perfect condition. If Continental cities could preserve their historical buildings, why could not Edinburgh?

Dr. Alexander Darling asked if it was not possible for the Club to get a report drawing the attention of those who were responsible for the maintenance of these buildings before they became dilapidated. He suggested that the Council should consider the advisability of appointing a surveyor who would report to the Club from time to time as to the state of those buildings in which they were all so much interested.

Dr. Henry W. Meikle, of the National Library of Scotland, moved, as a matter of immediate action, that it be remitted to the Council to ask the Corporation to receive a deputation from the Club, so that such matters as had been mentioned in connection with old buildings might be discussed, and that the Corporation be asked to take action in the matter generally, and more particularly in connection with the buildings which had been mentioned that afternoon.

Mr. Francis C. Inglis seconded, and the motion was unanimously agreed to. A suggestion that the Council should act along with the Cockburn Association was also adopted.

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 Mr. Francis J. Grant, C.V.O., LL.D., Mr. C. E. S. Chambers was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

Mr. Robert T. Skinner, M.A., Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., 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, F.R.S.E., as Editor of Publications, and Mr. Henry Lessels, C.A., as Hon. Auditor.

Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., Mr. Charles A. Malcolm, Ph.D., Mr. John Russell, Mr. James H. Jamieson, and Mr. John Smith, were elected members of Council.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. A. P. Melville,

10 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

W.S., Mr. Henry W. Meikle, M.A., D.Litt., Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., and Mr. David Robertson, S.S.C., Depute Town Clerk, the retiring members of Council.

Lord St. Vigeans was thanked for his services in the Chair, on the motion of Mr. David Robertson, S.S.C.

The meeting then terminated.

LECTURES

I

MEZZOTINT PORTRAITS

On the evening of Thursday, 4th February 1932, in the Goold Hall, Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., gave a lantern lecture entitled 'Portraits in Mezzotint after Scottish Artists.' Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided. After a short sketch of the history of mezzotint, the lecturer showed a series of examples after Scottish artists for a period of about one hundred and fifty years (dating from the end of the seventeenth century), the culmination being reached in the portraits of Raeburn and Geddes.

II

KIRK OF FIELD AND THE DARNLEY TRAGEDY

Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., on the evening of Tuesday, 15th March 1932, in the Goold Hall, gave a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on 'Kirk of Field: the Church; and an Interpretation of the strange Darnley Tragedy Drawing of 1567.' Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided.

Of the Church of St. Mary in the Fields (Kirk of Field) little, Mr. Kerr pointed out, was known either of its history or its appearance. It was situated outside of the city, among the pastoral lands to the south of the Cowgate. From records in the Treasury of Durham, it appeared to have existed in the thirteenth century. It was probably founded by the Augustinian monks of Holyrood for educational purposes. In the fifteenth century the church was raised to collegiate status. This site always was devoted to educational purposes, and, after the Reformation, was used by the town for the College, now the University. The Church of St. Mary in the Fields was badly damaged in 1544 in Hertford's raid, and in a drawing of date 1567 was shown

roofless and ruinous. As to its appearance, there was a view of the city, of date 1544, showing a church with a central tower. It was scarcely fair to take such sketch views too seriously, and, indeed, it might be argued that these representations merely indicated that there was a church. From the more detailed drawing of 1567, instead of a central tower, there was a western tower, a low nave and transept, and a much higher and more sumptuous choir. Balancing the probabilities and adhering to the history as dimly outlined, they might safely conclude that the nave and transept were of the early first church of the thirteenth century, the crowsteps of the tower being later. The stately choir to the east superseded the early choir when the church was raised to collegiate rank.

Mr. Kerr afterwards discussed the Darnley Tragedy Drawing of 1567, a careful study of which had led him to the conclusion that the solution lay in assuming that there were two drawings on one sheet, these being at right angles to each other. (Mr. Kerr fully discusses the subject in a paper contributed to the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 66, pp. 140-45.)

EXCURSIONS

I

OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS

ON 7th May 1932 about one hundred and thirty members visited the Old University buildings. A melancholy interest now attaches to the occasion, for in describing the architectural features of the building, and dilating upon the numerous portraits of academic personages to be found there, Professor Baldwin Brown was rendering his last service to the Club, of which he had been a devoted and valuable member since its formation. He died a few weeks later.

The company afterwards viewed the treasures of the Library, under the guidance of Mr. Frank C. Nicholson and his assistant, Dr. L. W. Sharp. The Librarian mentioned that Clement Little presented some three hundred works to the town about the year 1580. These were handed over, four years later, to the College. Edinburgh University contained the only public library in the city until the Advocates founded theirs about 1682. Drummond of Hawthornden was remembered for having presented a valuable collection of Elizabethan literature.

The company also inspected the University Laureation Book, which dates from 1585, and matriculation albums containing the signatures of Scott, Stevenson, and Sir J. M. Barrie.

Votes of thanks were accorded, on the motions of Dr. Alexander Darling and Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S.

II

HUNTLY HOUSE MUSEUM

Huntly House, the recently reconstructed sixteenth-century mansion in the Canongate, which is now the Corporation Museum for relics of Old Edinburgh, was visited on the afternoon of Saturday, 4th June 1932, when Mr. F. C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A., gave an interesting account of the architectural history of the building. Thereafter the company

(which included Lord Provost Sir Thomas B. Whitson, Hon. Treasurer of the Club) explored the fifteen quaint rooms which comprise the Museum—one of them the old convening house of the Incorporation of Hammermen of the Canongate. Mr. Mears was thanked for his services, on the motion of the President of the Club.

III

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL

The last excursion for the season took place on Saturday, 2nd July 1932, when a visit was paid to Heriot's Hospital. Mr. James Melville, History Master of George Heriot's School, was the leader. The party first walked round the Hospital, begun about 1628, and thereafter inspected the quadrangle, the chapel, the refectory, and the board room. The features of the north tower, perhaps completed in 1690, were pointed out, the design being attributed to William Wallace of Tranent, the King's Master Mason, whose name is also associated with Winton Castle. Wallace's plans seem to have been carried out by his successors, William Ayton and John Mylne. The leader stated that of two hundred and nine windows, only two, both on the west side, were identically similar. The carving seen from the quadrangle bears the heads of David, Solomon, and the Four Evangelists, while seventeenth-century work depicts members of the Royal House, such as Charles I. and his Queen, Henrietta Maria. In addition to the loving-cup formed of a nautilus shell mounted with silver, believed to have been the craftsmanship of George Heriot himself, and presented to the Governors by John Stewart in 1792, the party inspected the Founder's Will, letters signed by the Queen of James VI. (Anne of Denmark), Charles I., and Archbishop Laud, as well as the Royal Warrant appointing Heriot to be Goldsmith to James VI.

Mr. Francis J. Grant, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, proposed a vote of thanks to the leader of the party.

IV

HOPETOUN HOUSE

The first of the excursions for 1933 took place on Saturday, 6th May, when a very large company inspected Hopetoun House, by permission of the Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T. His Lordship's factor, Mr. John

Ferguson, acted as guide. The erection of Hopetoun House was begun in 1698 and completed four years later, the architect being Sir William Bruce of Kinross, who was responsible for the reconstruction of the Palace of Holyroodhouse in 1671-79. The mansion was altered at a later date by William Adam of Maryburgh, father of the more famous architect, Robert Adam. After inspecting the Bruce entrance, the party proceeded to the Red Drawing-room, the Dining Hall, the Library, and the Ballroom. Many works of art were shown, including several portraits of members of the Hopetoun family painted by Raeburn, who, it is interesting to recall, was knighted by George IV. in Hopetoun House. Lord Linlithgow and his deputy were thanked, on the motion of the Earl of Cassillis.

V

RICCARTON HOUSE

On Saturday, 3rd June 1933, a visit was paid to Riccarton House, Currie, the home of Mrs. Gibson-Craig Lucy, granddaughter of Sir James Gibson-Craig, the third baronet. Mr. George Haining, factor on the estate, conducted the party through the mansion, and pointed out some of its treasures. Among the portraits in the Dining-room was one by Raeburn of Sir James Gibson-Craig, who practised as a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh for many years, and was prominent in local Whig politics. He was one of the victims of the scurrilous *Beacon* newspaper, whose quarrels led to the duel between James Stuart of Dunearn and Sir Alexander Boswell (the son of Johnson's biographer), the latter being killed. Born James Gibson, he assumed the name of Craig on inheriting Riccarton in 1823. In 1830 he took a leading part in restoring to Sir Walter Scott, after his bankruptcy, his library furniture, and other personal possessions at Abbotsford. Earl Grey's Administration made him a baronet in 1831. The oldest part of Riccarton House, a square tower at the west end, is supposed to have been given by King Robert Bruce as part of the dowry of his daughter, Marjory, on her marriage to Walter, High Steward of Scotland, but the main portion of the mansion was built in 1621, and a large addition in the Elizabethan style was completed in 1827. Riccarton was the residence of Sir Thomas Craig (1538-1608), a distinguished writer on Scots feudal law. His town house was in Warriston Close, and was known as Craig's Land.

VI

LEITH AND ITS ANTIQUITIES

Historic Leith and its relics were inspected on the afternoon of Saturday, 1st July 1933. The party, which was a large one, was under the guidance of Mr. John Russell, author of *The Story of Leith*, who gave detailed and graphic accounts of the various buildings visited. The tour of inspection began with the Trinity House, the beautiful guild hall of the ancient Incorporation of Leith Mariners, on the walls of which hang a number of valuable paintings, including the superb Raeburn portrait of Admiral Duncan, the hero of the battle of Camperdown. The party crossed the Kirkgate to South Leith Church, whose curious history and architectural features were explained. In the churchyard the graves of several celebrities were pointed out, among them those of Hugo Arnot, the eighteenth-century historian of Edinburgh, and Robert Gilfillan, who wrote the song, 'O, why left I my hame?' which touched a tender chord in R. L. Stevenson. Thereafter the company were shown the mansion in the Kirkgate of the last Lord Balmerino, who was beheaded on Tower Hill after the second Jacobite rising. The building is now sadly transformed, but the ornamented doorway still exists. Attention was also drawn to a curious house in Quality Street with crow-stepped gables, quaint dormers, and a spacious courtyard. The building is said to have associations with Charles II. Another structure included in the itinerary was the now roofless mansion of Andrew Lamb, a famous townsman of the sixteenth century. It was in Lamb's house that Mary Queen of Scots rested on landing at Leith in August 1561 after her voyage from France. Mr. Russell was accorded a vote of thanks, on the motion of Mr. W. Forbes Gray.

VII

ARNISTON HOUSE

Contrary to custom, a fourth excursion was held in 1933. It took place on the afternoon of Saturday, 16th September, when Arniston House was visited by permission of Miss May Dundas. There was a large attendance of members.

Arniston House is closely linked with the legal and political life of Old Edinburgh. The home of a branch of the ancient family of Dundas since 1571, when George Dundas of Dundas purchased the Mains of Arniston, there came from it a succession of eminent lawyers and statesmen whose achievements are part of our national history. Sir James Dundas, the son of the purchaser of the Mains of Arniston, was knighted by James VI., and was Governor of Berwick. His son (who bore the same name) was also knighted, and sat on the bench of the Court of Session with the title of Lord Arniston (1662-63), but was deprived of his office for refusing to abjure the Covenant. He was the father of Robert Dundas, who became a Lord of Session in 1689, the judicial title of Lord Arniston being again assumed. The next two heads of the family (who both bore the name of Robert Dundas) were raised to the Presidency of the Court of Session. But the judicial talent of the family was not yet exhausted, for in 1801 another Robert Dundas, son of Lord Arniston the younger, was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland. The distinguished ability of the Arniston family is further evidenced by the fact that the brother of the second Lord President Dundas was the first Viscount Melville, the 'uncrowned king of Scotland,' whose statue surmounts the tall column in St. Andrew Square.

The original estate of Arniston was comparatively small, but has been greatly enlarged and embellished. The laird who was responsible for most of the improvements was Lord Chief Baron Dundas, who was owner of Arniston from 1787 to 1819. The Chief Baron was of an antiquarian turn of mind, and when old buildings were being demolished in Edinburgh he contrived to rescue numerous objects of historical interest which he worked into his scheme of improvements at Arniston. He wrote a narrative of the alterations made by himself and his predecessors, which Mr. George W. T. Omond draws upon in the *Arniston Memoirs*. That work contains a woodcut of the Garden Gate which, with the exception of the mask on the top, is entirely built of stones from the old Parliament House. Writes Mr. Omond: 'At the close of last (eighteenth) century, when the Chief Baron was carrying out his improvements, the old Parliament House at Edinburgh was being rebuilt. No care was taken to preserve the characteristic carvings with which its masonry had been enriched. These were treated as mere rubbish. But the Chief Baron, in order to preserve a part at least of that old building with which his family

had been so long connected, brought many cartloads of the old stones to Arniston, where they were used for ornamental doorways and bridges about the pleasure-grounds. In particular, the Royal Arms were built into the new pediment by which the tame and unbroken outline of the south front of Arniston House was being relieved.

In the *Arniston Memoirs* will also be found a woodcut of a rustic bridge within the policies composed of sculptured stones which adorned the original façade of the meeting-place of the old Scots Parliament.

The Beech Avenue Gate is another of the Chief Baron's attempts to impart to the grounds of Arniston the flavour of Old Edinburgh. 'The pillars of that gate,' he writes in his MS., 'with the two lions on the top of them, stood in front of Mr. Mitchelson's, afterwards Dr. Bennet's, house in Nicolson Street, and were purchased by me for twenty guineas. They were erected when I was a boy at the High School about 1766 or 1767, and it was one of the first houses in that street.'

The Chief Baron, who did so much to beautify Arniston and to link it with the old life of Edinburgh, was the son of one Lord Justice-General and the grandson of another. In public affairs he was, says Cockburn, 'the most important person in Scotland,' for 'he was Lord Advocate in the most alarming times (*i.e.* French Revolution), and at a period when extravagant and arbitrary powers were ascribed to that office.' Appointed Lord Advocate in 1789, he appeared for the Crown in the sedition trials in 1793. From 1790 to 1801 he represented Midlothian in Parliament. In the Chief Baron's town house, 57 George Square, died his father-in-law, Henry Dundas, the first Viscount Melville. His Lordship had come to Edinburgh to attend the funeral of his old friend Lord President Blair, who died in the adjoining house. 'Lord Melville,' writes Cockburn, 'had retired to rest in his usual health, but was found dead in bed next morning. These two early, attached and illustrious friends were thus lying, suddenly dead, with but a wall between them.' An etching of the Chief Baron appears in Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1932.

CHARGE		DISCHARGE
I. Funds at close of last Account :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£210 0 0	
Add—Due by Treasurer,	4 18 0	
	£214 18 0	
II. Subscriptions :—		
For year 1932—		
350 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£183 15 0	
Less—Paid in advance during 1931,	3 13 6	
	£180 1 6	
26 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	13 13 0	
	£193 14 6	
For year 1933—		
2 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	1 1 0	
7 Members at 10s. 6d.,	3 13 6	
	198 9 0	
III. Volumes sold (13),	6 16 6	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts,	3 9 11	
	£423 13 5	
		£17 13 10
		13 6 1
		15 19 6
		297 5 9
		£70 0 0
		10 9 3
		80 9 3
		£423 13 5

For THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer,
ALEX. HARRISON, C.A.

EXAMINER, 6th January 1933.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1932, 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

1933

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 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.
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 Hardie, R. S. L., 3 Clarendon Crescent.
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- Hunter, Miss Jane, 10 Comiston Place.
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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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