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TITLE: The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 20

AUTHOR: Old Edinburgh Club

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THE BOOK OF THE
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TWENTIETH VOLUME

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB



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Issued to Members
April 1935

19541

THE BOOK OF THE
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THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF THE CANONGATE

IN his valuable and interesting work on the *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, James Grant suggests that the School of Canongate and the Grammar School of Edinburgh were already in existence in the time of David I. and were granted by him to the monks of Holyrood. 'David I,' he writes, 'in his great charter . . . grants to the monks of Holyrood the churches of the Castle and St. Cuthbert, with all appendages and rights. In other instances we have seen that conveyance of the church frequently includes the schools, and it may be supposed that David's charter granted to Holyrood the school of the Canongate and the Grammar School of Edinburgh as well as the churches.'¹ This is a tempting theory for the would-be historian who is seeking for the origin of his subject. Unfortunately there does not appear to be any documentary evidence for it. The charter quoted by Grant makes no mention of schools, though it gives minute details of all its other grants, whereas the other charters referred to by him seem to mention school as well as church whenever both are gifted; but though we cannot therefore offer proof of David's foundation, we may still believe the school to have been of an ancient and honourable origin. This at least is vouched for by the Bailies and Council of the Canongate when in the year 1580 they brought to the Privy Council a complaint against one, Mr. William Robertson, schoolmaster of Edinburgh, who had infringed their rights; they being, as they stated, a burgh with privileges and liberties like other burghs, and having 'ane severall and particular kirk

¹ *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, pp. 22-23.

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establishit amangis thame, sa have they bene evir cairfull according to thair dewiteis that thair youth sould have bene instructit and brocht up in the knowlege of God and gude letters, and thairfoir hes had grammar sculis, ane or ma, and that not onlie sen the Reformation of Religioun, bot also in tyme of papistrie *and past memorie of man.*¹ If then the exact founding of our school was already in 1580 lost in the mists of the past, we must leave it there unless some ancient document is discovered to throw further light upon it.

We may, however, put forward a suggestion as to its possible beginning. By the end of the fifteenth century Holyrood had become not only an abbey for Augustinian canons but a very favourite abode of Scotland's kings, and the long 'gait' of the canons was beginning to be bordered by the houses of nobles and gentlemen, who found there a convenient residence between the abbey and the town. In 1496, James IV. ordered an Act to be passed whereby, 'It is statute and ordanit throw all the realme that all Barronis and frehaldaris that ar of substance put thair eldest sonnys and airis to the Sculis fra thai be aucht or nyne zeiris of age and till remane at the grammar Sculis quhill thai be competentlie foundit and have perfite latyne.'² Here then is reason and a need for a school if one did not already exist? Be that as it may, the first authentic notice yet discovered about the Grammar School of the Canongate, though dated thirty-three years later, suggests that the school was already some time established. The notice, which is among the Holyrood Charters, has often been quoted, but is of value as the only strictly pre-Reformation one which has yet been discovered, and also for the light it sheds on certain points of interest.

The Abbot's Letter of Gift (modernised) runs: As it is

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 305.

² *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 5.

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clearly known to us that our lovite clerk and orator, Master David Vocat, principal master and teacher of our grammar school of the Burgh of Edinburgh, has chosen his lovite friend and disciple, Master Hary Henryson, to be joint master with him in the said school, and to have half the profits thereof during the lifetime of Master David Vocat, and that after his decease Master Hary Henryson shall be his successor; and because we, the Abbot and Convent, understanding that Master Hary is an able and sufficiently qualified person for office, he having made 'under him gude and perite scolaris now laillie be tym that he was maister of our scule withinoure burgh of the Cannongait,' ratify and approve the admission of Master Hary to be co-master of the grammar school with Master David Vocat and to be principal master after his decease. Further, Master Hary Henryson is taken bound to be the good, true, and thankful servant of the Abbot and Convent and their successors during his lifetime, and to attend high Mass and Evensong at the high solemn festival times with his surplice on, to do them service.¹ This appointment was confirmed under the Privy Seal, 21st March 1529.

It will be seen that at this time the Abbot and Convent of Holyrood were patrons of the schools both of their own burgh of Canongate and that of Edinburgh, but that both schools had a considerable say in the management of their own affairs; their masters, though clerks, were not regulars nor indwellers in the Abbey, nor were they dependent on it for their pay.

We do not know who followed Master Harry at the Canongate School, nor how soon it began to feel the gathering storm of the Reformation, but when we do hear of it again changes have already begun.

In 1568, there appears in the Register of the Privy Seal

¹ *Regis. Magni Sigilli*, 1513-1546, No. 918. See also *Holyrood Charters* (Bannatyne Club), p. 256.

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the ratification by the Lord Regent in the King's (James VI.) name of the appointment, fourteen years before, of one Master Robert Dormond, as master of the Grammar School of the Canongate.

'Ane lettre maid with awise of my lord regent ratifeand apprevand and for oure soverane lord and his successouris perpetuallie confirmand ane lettre maid be Robert commendatere of haliruidhous makand Maister Robert Dormond maister of the grammer scole within the burght of the cannogait for his lyfytyme and gevand to him all feis and dewiteis usit and wount to be payit be scollaris during his lyfytyme with power to him to hald scole quhairevir he pleisis within the said burgh scollaris to ressave and to teiche thame in grammer rethorik and poetrie and to ressaif his feis and dewiteis thairfore Doctouris under him to substitute and all uthir thingis to do necessare in the premissis as in the said lettre maid thairupon of the dait at haliruidhous the tent day of August the yeir of God j^m v^c liiii yeiris under the subscripioun of the said commendatar and his seill at mair lenth is contenit Attoure oure soverane lord with awise of his said regent will and grantis that the said Mr. Robert be fortifeit mantenit and defendit in the said office of maister of grammer scole for all the dayis of his lyff within the said burght be the baillieis and inhabitantis thairof and that na uthiris be sufferit to oppin and hald ony grammer scole within the said burght in tymes cuming during the said space but admissioun and consent of the said Mr. Robert had thairto with command in the samyn to all oure soveranis liegis and in speciall the saidis baillieis of the cannogait present and being for the tyme and all inhabitantis thairof to manteine fortifee and defend the said Mr. Robert in the possessioun breuking and joising of the said office of maister of the said grammer scole within the said burght and of deputis and doctouris to be substitute be him during the said space and in stopping and impediment making to all uthiris to hald ony grammer scolis within the said burght but the admissioun and consent of the said Mr. Robert had thairto during the said space etc At Edinburgh the xiii day of September the yeir of God j^m v^c lxxviii yeiris.'¹

There appears to be some mystery about the appointments of Master Robert. He was, as we have seen, in 1554 duly

¹ *Regis. Secreti Sigilli*, vol. 38, fol. 19.

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appointed schoolmaster of the Canongate for life by Robert, Commendator of Holyroodhouse (a natural son of James V., who had been granted the Abbey as an infant), and had been given all the fees, duties, etc. Yet in 1559 the Town Council of Haddington record in their Minutes that they have engaged Master Robert Dormont to be schoolmaster of that burgh for '24 merks in the year, to be paid from the common good of the burgh, besides 12d. termly of schoolhouse fee for each town bairn,' the Council also undertaking to find him 'ane chalmer and skoilhouse maill fre.'¹ Nine years later the Canongate appointment is being ratified by the king. Was Master Dormond too advanced a Protestant for so ecclesiastical a burgh as the Canongate, and did he in consequence find himself more at home in the town which claims to have fathered John Knox? We cannot tell. It is not without significance, however, that in 1567 'Our soverane lord with avise of my lord Regent and thre estatis of this present parliament has statute and ordanit that all Sculis to Burgh and land . . . be reformit.' And in 1568 Master Robert is being reinstated in the Canongate. Unless, of course, there were two Robert Dormonds, schoolmasters at that time, which seems unlikely.

Undoubtedly the times were difficult, and that the School of Canongate did not escape seems plain from the next few notices. In 1580, the Bailies and Council record² the 'compeiring' before them of Gilbert Taylor, who had been granted the gift of the Canongate School by Adam, Bishop of Orkney. The Bishop had some years previously, by a deal characteristic of the times, exchanged his lands in Orkney for Robert Stewart's Abbey, and with it presumably considered that he had inherited the patronage of the school. The Kirk Session and Council, however, were by now also claimants for that position, and Gilbert had to demit his gift of the school-

¹ Grant, *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 40.

² Maitland Club *Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 345.

mastership to them and receive it again at their hands, while in the meantime a further complication had arisen.

William Robertson, master of the rival school of Edinburgh, having 'be sum particular solistatioun, purchest of his Hienes in the moneth of October (1579) the confirmatioun of ane papisticall gift, gotten in tyme of blindnes at the abbot of Halieruidhous (*i.e.* from Robert Stewart) then being in minoritie, without consent of the convent,'¹ had closed the school and discharged the scholars, 'be the space of ane quarter of ane yeir or mair last bipast.' The Bailies, Council and Kirk took their complaint to the Privy Council, but the Lords found that they had not jurisdiction in this matter and remitted it to the judges who had. The Burgh appears to have won its case, for on 16th June 1584 the burgh records state:—

'The quhilk day the haill bailleis and counsall convenit hes appointit and agreit with James Daudisoune Scholemaister quhill Witsounday nixt to cum for xx l of fie and makis and constitutis him assignay to the x markis being in the handis of the Abbot and Convent of the pitt-commounes By and attour the said xx li to be payit be thair said Thesaurer at Witsounday and Martimes Begynnand the first terme payment at Martimes nixt to cum And the said Mr. James obleist him that he sall schaw the bailleis and counsall ane quarter of ane yeir afoir his removing that thai may provyd the nixt remeid to place utheris in his roume.'²

Nine years later another schoolmaster of the Grammar School was brought to the notice of the Privy Council, when 'Alexander Pennycuke of that Ilk, as principal, and Thomas Porteous of Glenkirk, as surety, £500, not to harm Mr. James Frenche, schoolmaster of the Canongait.'³

David Laing, himself a pupil of the Grammar School, and who seems at one time to have meditated a history of the

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 305.

² *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 353.

³ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 772.

school, mentions in some rough notes, which are preserved in the University Library, that one, John Hastie, was in 1606 master of the school of the burgh of Canongate 'besyde the Abbey of Holyrood,' but adds 'that he did not long hold this office.'¹ Unfortunately, he gives no reason, and I have not been able to find any other reference to Hastie. The phrase, 'besyde the Abbey,' is interesting as perhaps referring to the early position of the school, which, it is to be noted, Dormond had been empowered to hold wherever he pleased, within the burgh. Before the end of that century we know that it was situated at the head of Leith Wynd, where it occupied the first floor of the tenement.²

In 1612, the affairs of the school were once again before the Privy Council and in a most unpleasant light, a complaint being brought forward by one Thomas Elder, son of Robert Elder, messenger, to the effect that on 26th December last, the said Thomas

'being in the grammer scole of the Cannogait, undir the chairage of Mr. Robert Stevin, maister of the same scole, thair studying his lessoun in sober and quiet maner,' Mr. Williame Henry, 'ane of the doctouris of the said scole, upoun ane malice and haitrent borne be him in his hairt againis the said Thomas this long tyme, come to him within the said schole, quhair he wes sittand in his awne clasce in quiet maner as said is, and thair efter a most insolent maner pat violent hand in him, lap upoun him with handis and feit (the said Thomas being a young boy not past fourtene yeiris of aig), with the violent force of his feit gaif him mony strykis upoun his breist and bellie, and brak the haill inward noble pairtis of his body and left him for deid; quhair of he hes lyne continewallie sensyne bedfast undir the cure of doctouris and ypothecaris, and in thair opinioun he is not lyklike to convalesce.'³

William Henry, not appearing in his own defence, was denounced a rebel. Steven, the head master, does not seem to have been directly responsible for this barbarous treat-

¹ Laing Papers, Edin. Univ. Library, bundle 21.

² Minutes, Town Council, 11th Nov. 1696.

³ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 322.

ment of his pupil, yet the incident can hardly have been creditable to his influence, and our doubts as to his suitability for the mastership are not lessened when we find his name appearing in a list of prosecutions by the Lord Advocate in 1617 for usury!¹ He was at that time denounced rebel, but in the same year the name of Robert Stephen appears in a list of professors, ex-professors and graduates, whose poems were presented to King James VI. on his return to Edinburgh,² and he continued to hold the office of school-master until his death, being so described with regard to his will.³ He died on 17th January 1618, leaving a widow, Margaret Scott, and five 'Bairnis,' and among his gear a library estimated at £20. Moreover, there must have been a certain fascination about Master Robert, as on his leaving the High School of Edinburgh, where he had been classical master, he is accused of contravening his oath as a burghess, 'by taking up gramar schole in Canongait, and drawing the bairnis fra the Hie Schole of Edinburgh.'⁴

Our next notice appears at first sight to be of a more peaceable nature, yet over it too the waywardness of the times casts its shadow:—

'HOLYROOD HOUSE,
'June 13 1633.

'Forsamekle as the Kings Majestie having sent home to this kingdome with Edward Kellie, one of his Majesteis chappell for the tyme, twa bibles and ten gilt bookes unnoted for the use of his Majesteis chappell, the said Edward at his departing out of this kingdome left the saids bookes in the custodie and keeping of Mr. Johne Melvill, his brother-in-law, who sensyne delyvered the same bookes to Mr. Johne Hart, maister of the grammar schoole of the Cannogait, in whois keeping they now remaine; and whereas the King's Majestie is now at the good pleasure of God happilie arryved

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. xi. p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xi. p. 134 n.

³ *Register House Test.*, Sept. 1618.

⁴ Steven, *History of the High School*, App., p. 83.

in this kingdome, and that there will be daylie use of the said bookes in his majesteis chappell, thairfore the Lords of Secreit Counsell ordains a maisser to pas and charge the said Mr. Johne Hart to delyver the bookes foresaids to Adame, Bishop of Dunblane, deane of his Majesteis chappell, or to suche in his name who sall have his power to receive the same, to be keeped be him as deane of the chappell for the use of the chappell, within sax houres nixt after the said Mr. Johne beis charged thereto, as he will ansuer to his Majestie and the said Lords upon his obedience, and under all highest pane, cryme and offence that he may committ aganis his Majestie in that behalfe.'¹

The request was promptly obeyed, as we read of a warrant a few days later to Mr. John Hart for delivery to the Bishop of Dunblane of such music books as he had received from Edward Kellie.² These books were probably required for the coronation of Charles I., which took place at Holyrood on 18th June 1633. It is perhaps not without interest to notice in passing that there was still felt to be some connection between the school and Holyrood. It might even suggest that the school was still housed at no great distance from the Abbey.

Hart died on 21st October 1636, little more than a year before the signing of the National Covenant. He was evidently of the Episcopal persuasion, as he appointed Dr. James Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, as one of the tutors of his daughter, Agnes.³ His library (even without the Bibles and ten gilt books) was estimated at 200 merks.

His successor was Mr. Alexander Gibson, who, 'to the admiration of his friends, embraced a call to the Grammar School of Canongate' in October 1636.⁴ Gibson was the son of an Edinburgh writer, and had already owed his advancement to his Episcopal leanings, as in a contest in December

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, 2nd series, vol. v. pp. 114-115.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *Register House Test.*, Oct. 1636.

⁴ Craufurd, *History of Univ. of Edin.*, p. 125.

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1633 between him and one, Mr. Archibald Neuton, for the Chair of Humanity in the University, it is stated by Craufurd (possibly a biased opinion) that 'Mr. Archibald was known to be of far more eminent ability, but the other having more favour of the judges, and Mr. Archibald being odious to the Episcopal faction (whose power was then great), Mr. Alexander was elected.'¹ Possibly he owed his appointment to the Grammar School to the same reason, but from whatever cause he did not hold it long, for in 1640, David Bishop, who had for ten years been classical master at the Edinburgh High School, was appointed Rector of the Grammar School.² Bishop held the post for thirty-one years. Among the papers in the University Library is the following receipt signed by him in 1670:—

'I Mr. David Bishope master of the Gammar Schoole of the Canogait be thir presents grants me to have received from Isaak Brand thesaurer of the Kirk session of Halyroodhous the soume of tuentie pundis Scots and that for ane halfe years annuel rent of the thousand merks aughtand be the session to me as Schoolmaster from Whitsonday to Martimes ane thousand sex hundreth threscor ten yeirs as also I grant the receipt of all bygon rents dew to me be this my discharge written and subscryved with my hand at the Canogait the 11 of Novemb: 1670

M. D. BISHOPE.'³

And in the Acts of the Bailies of the Canongate, under date 14th December 1671 (vol. ii.), we read:—

'The baillies and thesaurer sittand in counsell with advyse and consent of the ministers, elders, deacons and kirk session of Holyroodhous, taking to their consideration the qualifications abilities and good literature of Maister Alexander Strang to be ane maister of ane grammar scooll, therfoir they *unanimi consensu* heirby resaves him as Maister of the Grammar scooll of the Cannogate in place of Mr. David Bisshop lait maister theroff now deceassed and grants

¹ Craufurd, *History of Univ. of Edin.*, p. 125.

² Council Records, quoted by Steven, *History of the High School*.

³ Bundle of Papers, No. 482, Edin. Univ. Library.

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and indulges to him the hail priviledges benefits immunities and casualties belonging therto or that belonged to his said predecessour be and through his lyfityme without ane fault culpable of deposing him that sall happin to be unto him.'

In the bundle of papers at the University Library (already referred to) there are two receipts of Strang's, and as these do not seem to have been printed before we give them in full:—

'Received by me Mr. Alex Strang present scholemaster of the Grammar schole of the Canogate fra John Smith present thesaurer of the Kirk session of Halyrudhous in name of the said session the soume of twentie pundis Scots and that for the mertimes rent last bypast in this present yeare of god j^m vj^c and seventie eight years, dew to the master of the schole therfor I be thir presents discharges the said John Smith thesaurer and all others having interest of the termes rent for now and ever as witnes thir presents writtin and subscribite with my hand at Canogate the fyfteen day of November 1678 years

ALEXANDER STRANG.'

Endorsed Discharge:—

'Mr. Alex' Strang to John Smith thesaurer 1678

'Received by me Mr. Alex Strang present scholemaster of the grammar schole of the Canogate from John Smith present kirk thesaurer of Halyrudhous the soume of four merks scots And that for the ground rent of the land belonging to the kirk session of Halyrudhous from witsunday j^m vj^c and seventie sevin to witsunday last bypast j^m vj^c and seventy eight years And discharges etc: etc:

ALEX STRANG.'

Besides Strang's receipts there is one from James Proband (or Provand), Doctor of the Grammar School of the 'Channongait,' who in September 1677 received from the kirk treasurer £36 Scots 'as token of their gratuity' to him.

Strang's tenure of office fell in evil times. In 1673, a declaration that the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were unlawful was presented to the Provost and Bailies, and duly signed by all who were

present; but some had found it more convenient to be absent. Their absence did not however save them, as an order was sent forth that those who had not already signed should at once do so; and among them the masters of the High School of Edinburgh and the Grammar School of Canongate were called upon to take the oath of allegiance, under penalty of loss of office if they refused.¹ In 1675, it was further declared that all schoolmasters must have a licence from the Bishop.² How Strang and the others evaded these commands I do not know, but for a time they seem to have done so, for it is not until February of 1679 that we read:—

The Lords of the Privy Council 'having considered the returns made . . . by the Bishop of Edinburgh in obedience to their letter of the second of January last for calling befor him the principall, professors, regents and masters of the colledge of Edinburgh, as also such persons as teach any publict schooll within the toune of Edinburgh, Leith, Cannongate and suburbs thereof without his licence, and requyring them to subscribe under their hands the oath of alledeance and supremacie.'

The return made by the bishop was found satisfactory except in the case of Mr. Alexander Strang, schoolmaster of the Canongate, and Mr. John Givan, his assistant (and one or two others). The Lords therefore ordained the magistrates and other patrons to remove all who refuse obedience and to put other sufficient persons qualified to conform in their place unless they gave obedience before the following March.³

In June 1681, the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, being informed that several persons in the town of Edinburgh and its suburbs take upon themselves to keep schools without licence, gave warrant to the town major to apprehend these persons until they should find caution to answer and obtain

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, 3rd series, vol. iv. p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 425.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 120.

licence.¹ And later, the Lords having considered the petition of several schoolmasters who were prisoners in the Tolbooth, ordained the magistrates to set them free; Strang's name is, however, not among these. He was perhaps one of those schoolmasters of whom Wodrow writes: 'Whether any of these worthy men complied, I have not learned; several of them, I know, did not, and underwent a course of suffering.'²

Strang was followed by Mr. George Burnet, whose receipt for the sum of £20 Scots as half a year's interest 'of one thousand merks mortified to the said school, which half years annual rent being from Whitsunday last to Martimas 1683,' is the last in the bundle of receipts already quoted. Burnet's name appears again twelve years later in a law case against Lady Hallgreen to recover a debt.³ He died in 1703, and it must have been during his mastership that a great change took place in the fortunes of the school.

As has been already stated, it was at this period housed in the first flat of the tenement at the head of Leith Wynd, but in 1696 a fire consumed the building, leaving the school homeless.⁴ Edinburgh came to her neighbour's aid. An entry in the burgh records, dated 11th November 1696, states:—

'The same day it being represented be the baron baillie of the Canongate that in the late dreadfull fire which happened in the head of [Leith Wynd] the Canongate school amongst other houses was byrnt and destroyed, That therefore the Council would for this time authorize and impower the Schoollmaster to take ane house within the good town for accomodating the said school until some convenient house should be found out in the Canongate betwixt this and Whitsunday next which desyre the council agrees to and grants warrant to the schoolmaster and his schollars to propose any house they can best aggree for their accomodation where anent thir presents shall be a warrant.'

¹ *Regis. Privy Council, Scot.*, vol. vii. p. 122.

² *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 3.

³ Fountainhall, *Decisions*, 13th December 1694.

⁴ Burgh Records for 1697-1701.

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The ground on which the old school had stood was afterwards sold to one William Colt.¹

The baron bailie and his colleagues took some time to settle the question of a new site for their school, but at last a petition was given in to the Dean of Guild by Patrick Jackson, burgess of the Canongate, 'For himself and in the name of the Kirk Session thereof and as treasurer thereto, setting forth where they had purchased from the heirs and representatives of the deceased James Kirk an yard and several houses lying at the north side of the Canongate on the west side of the Common Close. Where upon the Kirk Session were resolved to build a common school, several conveniences as a house to the master all in their own lands.'² This petition was approved and granted by the Dean of Guild on 27th September 1704. The new building seems to have been long and narrow, 75 feet by 23½ 'or thereby.'³ It consisted of three storeys and garrets. Sir Daniel Wilson, who saw it in its old age, describes it as being ornamented⁴ with dormer windows and a pediment in the centre, bearing a sundial with the date 1704. The area in front was 107 feet by an average breadth 54 feet, and at the back 73 feet by 64. It seems to have been open land at the back towards the Calton, except for 'stacks of whins and broom and other impeding,' belonging to the Incorporation of Baxters. Altogether a much pleasanter and more healthy situation for a school than a first-floor tenement in a narrow close; though the smell of new bread from the adjacent bakehouse⁵ may have been somewhat trying at times to hungry schoolboys!

¹ Burgh Records, 11th November 1698.

² Copy of Inventory and Titles of School House and Yard, Canongate, 1704 (City Chambers).

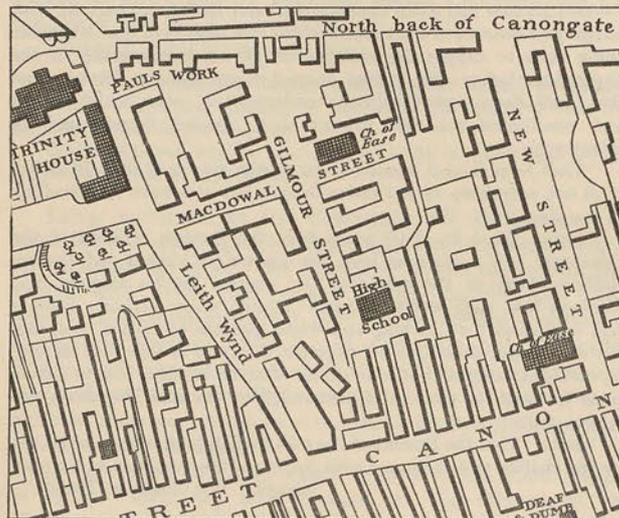
³ Advertisement, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12th October 1822. Also articles and conditions of Roup and Sale (City Chambers).

⁴ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 1891, vol. ii. p. 79.

⁵ A bakehouse is mentioned both in the Inventory and in a protocol. See also Minutes, Town Council, 11th September 1805.

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David Laing, in one of his rough notes, states that the building of the new school cost £5944, 4s. 2d. Scots (about £500 stg.). He also says that the upper story and attics were let to the master for a dwelling-house at £1 yearly



SKETCH (ENLARGED) SHOWING SITE OF HIGH SCHOOL,
1704-1822

From Plan of Edinburgh, published by Peter Brown and Thomas Nelson, 1831

rent; but that later the schoolmaster apparently occupied the sunk flat, which from the nature of the ground was only open to the back, or north side, with its kitchen garden.¹

Some interesting and curious notices of the school have been found by Dr. Marguerite Wood among the Acts of the

¹ Laing Papers, Edin. Univ. Library, bundle 21.

Bailies of the Canongate. The following shows some changes to be made, presumably in lieu of the extra accommodation and advantages of the new buildings:—

'25 March 1703. The which day William Neilson and David Denoon Baillies and John Cochran thesaurer sitting in Councell, with advice and consent of the ministers and kirk session of the Canongate being mett to supply the vacancy of the scholl mastership of the Canongate, before the Doeing thereof Have thought fitt to enact the Limitations and Conditions underwritten, upon which Terms and conditions the new Intrans shall succeed thereto and no otherwayes, viz.

'That he who shall happen to be chosen master of the said school shall not only keep decent order therein but also have his Dwelling in the place.

'Item. That he shall exact from the Burgess children of the Canongate half a crown at least per quarter for himself and Twenty shillings Scots as the minimum per quarter for his Doctors And likeways that such of the Burgess Children whose capacity inclines and fitts them for Learning and whose parents are fallen back and not able to pay their Quarter payment then and in that cace he shall be obliged as by Acceptation of the office he obliges him to educat some few such as shall be recommended by the said Magistrats and session gratis.

'Item. That the Doctors of the said Schooll when vacant be chosen by the Baillies and thesaurer with Advice of the ministers and master
(signed) WM NEILSON, Baillie.'

On the same day, 'Considering that the office of schoolmaster of the Canongate is now vacant through the decease of Mr. George Burnet,' they appointed Mr. Alexander Laing, present schoolmaster at Leith, to be their new master and 'Therefor they *unanimi consensu* hereby receive as master . . . in place of the said Mr. George Burnet late master thereof now deceased.'¹ Mr. Laing seems to have been a popular master in South Leith, from which school he came, for a passage in the *South Leith Records* tells of how the

¹ Acts of the Bailies of the Canongate, 25th March 1703 (City Chambers).

ministers and six or seven elders met to discuss the appointment of a new schoolmaster and considered that his nephew, at the time doctor of that school, should be chosen. The Session however, 'being informed that the neighbours are so peeked at Mr. Laing for his going away,'¹ decided that his nephew would not be acceptable!

During Laing's headmastership:—

'Mr. Thomas Edmond, Doctor in the gramar schooll of Canon-gate made burges and freeman of this burgh his ticket to bear for payment of fourtie pound scots.

'Ralph Mertoun wryting master there made burges of this burgh his ticket to bear the above cause.'²

Laing remained at the Canongate till 1715 when, in regard to his 'great age and other causes and considerations,'³ he demitted his office. In December of the same year the bailies, with advice and consent of the ministers and Kirk Session, and considering that they 'have sufficient testimony of the qualifications abilities and good literature of Master Mungo Galloway session clerk of the said burgh to discharge the said office of schoolmastership thereof, Therefore they *unanimi consensu* hereby receive him as master of the gramer schooll of the Canongate.'⁴

Laing retired to Leith, where he died in the Yard Heads in 1724.⁵ Galloway was followed at the Canongate by Mr. George Arbuthnot, who had been classical master at the Edinburgh High School, to which he returned in 1717 as Rector, having been master of the Canongate for little more than a year. Steven notes that in Arbuthnot's time there was 'great decay in those attending the High School, owing, he says, to the nobles flocking to London, so that only the

¹ *South Leith Records*, 2nd series.

² Acts of Bailies of Canongate, 29th August 1712.

³ *Ibid.*, 27th September 1715.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2nd December 1715.

⁵ Register House Test., 11th November 1724.

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sons of burgesses now attended.'¹ This change in the fortunes of Edinburgh probably affected the Canongate School also, though possibly not to the same degree, as it seems always to have been a school for burgess's children.

Arbuthnot was followed by Mr. George Ogilvy, who was master until September 1720 :—

'The which day Archibald Wallace and Adam Thomson baillies and George Jamieson Thesaurer sitting in Counsell with advice and consent of the Ministers elders and deacons of the Kirk Session of the same considering that the office of schoolmastership of the grammar schooll of the said burgh is now vacant throu the removal of Mr. George Ogilvy Late schoollmaster thereof to the Grammar Schooll of Kelso and that wee have sufficient testimony of the qualifications, abilities and good Literature of Mr. John Walker sometime one of the Doctors of the gramar scholl att Leith to discharge the said office of schollmastership. Therefor they *unanimi consensu* hereby receive him as master of the grammar schooll of the said burgh of Canongate and apoints and indulges to him the hail privileges benefits immunities and casualties belonging therto or which belonged to his predecessors be and through the exercising of the said office of scholmaster and that during his lyfetime without a fault culpable of deposition that shall happen to be done by him He always observing the Conditions and Limitations incumbent on Mr. Laing late schollmaster of the said burgh contained in ane act made by the baillies and thesaurer thereof dated the twenty fifth of March 1703 whereupon thir presents are expressly granted to and accepted by the said Mr. John Walker and noe utherwayes.'²

Walker was succeeded in 1757 by Mr. Ponting,³ and from 1770 to 1772 William Cruikshanks, M.A., was head of the school.⁴ Cruikshanks, like Arbuthnot, deserted for the rival post of Rector of the High School. 'He was,' says Laing, 'well trained by his uncle, the eminent schoolmaster of Dunse.' Cruikshanks was followed by John Inglis, M.A., during whose time the school began to be regularly advertised

¹ *History of the High School*, p. 93.

² Acts of Bailies of Canongate, 28th September 1720.

³ Laing Papers, Edin. Univ. Library.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, a source from which we can gather much valuable information.

'GRAMMAR SCHOOL, CANONGATE,
' August 10th, 1775.

'We, being desired by the Magistrates and Ministers of Canongate, to attend the examination of their Grammar School, now under the care of Mr. John Inglis, heard the boys go through their exercises greatly to our satisfaction; and as we approve much of Mr. Inglis's attention and method of teaching, we very willingly give this public testimony of our approbation, which we think due to his merit.

JOHN DRYSDALE, Minister.

ROBERT DICK, Minister.

JAMES DEANS.

'N.B.—As Mr. Inglis is just now beginning a Rudiments Class, he begs that the Gentlemen who intend to intrust him with the care of their children would send them as soon as possible. The number of scholars in this school has of late increased considerably, but the number to each master is less than in many schools in Scotland. Mr. Inglis can assure his employers that he will always be very attentive to engage well qualified assistants, in proportion to the increase of his pupils. The Grammar School of Canongate is placed in a very open, pleasant and healthful situation. It is large, well lighted, and in every respect exceedingly commodious, having a large area in the front, and nothing but gardens in the back, as far as the bottom of the Calton Hill.'

In the issue of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 12th September 1778, 'the judges . . . were happy in finding that a great part of the scholars consisted of sons of gentlemen of the first rank.' It is also interesting to note the importance already given to games and fresh air.

'In Mr. Inglis house, which is joined to the school-rooms, young gentlemen may have very good accomodation for boarding; and this unites a peculiar advantage, being situated at a considerable distance from the street and in a very extensive area surrounded by walls, which affords an ample space for the school games and exercises without being exposed to the danger of the public street.'

Education in its more elegant forms was not neglected. 'To enlarge the mind and improve the taste of the fifth form, the beauties of the classical authors are pointed out, and the fine passages of the poets are exhibited in Poetical English. Classical Geography is taught and antiquities are illustrated as they occur.'¹

Inglis died in 1786, and 'having received very ample recommendations of Mr. William Ritchie . . . master of the Grammar School of Perth, which fully satisfied them of his abilities and good temper,' the Kirk Session of the Canongate, with the advice of the magistrates, appointed him as Inglis's successor.²

Ritchie seems to have been a man of character and originality. He was a traveller, or (in modern parlance) a hiker, for he did most of his journeys on foot. Joining the British troops during the Peninsular War, he later visited Malta, Egypt and Palestine. Perhaps a more interesting thing about him from the point of view of our history, is that for a time during the residence of the Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X. of France) in Holyroodhouse, Mr. Ritchie gave him lessons in English, thus once again connecting the school and the Abbey. Ritchie left the Grammar School to become classical master in the High School³; and in 1795, James Cumming, the last of its masters, took his place.

On 11th August 1796 the *Evening Courant* once again bursts forth in a paean of praise:—

'CANONGATE HIGH SCHOOL.

'This day (5th August) the High School of Canongate was examined in presence of the Magistrates and Ministers of this place and a considerable number of gentlemen. The boys in the several classes were

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22nd September 1784.

² *Ibid.*, 12th August 1786.

³ Steven, *History of the High School*, App., p. 101.

examined at great length upon what they had learned during the last year, and acquitted themselves in a manner that did much credit both to themselves and their teacher.

'The gentlemen present expressed in very strong terms, their approbation of the manner of teaching practised in this School, and the Magistrates and Ministers think themselves called upon to testify, in this public manner, their high sense of the abilities and assiduity of Mr. Cumming, the Rector, and Mr. Johnston, his Assistant.

JAMES CLEPHAN, Bailie.

WALTER SMITON, Bailie.

ROBERT WALKER, Minister.

DAVID DICKSON, Minister.

'The School will be opened on Monday 19 September and Mr. Cumming will begin his Rudiments Class on the 1st October.'

David Laing, who was a pupil under Mr. Cumming a few years later, gives us a description of the school at this time:—

'When little more than seven years old (in or about 1800) I was put to the Grammar School, Canongate, to learn Latin—but the rector said I had much better go back to the English school to learn both to read and spell! . . . The Canongate School was then in a tolerably flourishing condition. The course extended over five years—but the first and second classes sitting together in one room under the charge of an assistant teacher—and the other three classes in the rector's room, it so happened that we sat half the day idle, unless when engaged with slate and pencil on lessons in Arithmetic. After that came the study of Geography—with Greek in the fourth and fifth years. In the fifth year the class to which I belonged had dwindled down from upwards of thirty scholars to five! . . . Mr. Cumming's assistant was a rough old fellow of the name of Johnstone—and was succeeded by Thomas Smith.'¹

It seems evident, in spite of the enthusiasm of the magistrates and examiners, that the school was already fighting a forlorn hope. The exodus to the New Town had already begun and must soon have left its mark. By 1814,

¹ Gilbert Goudie, *David Laing: A Memoir*, pp. 19-20.

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Mr. Cumming, who had himself moved to 21 Lothian Street in the previous year, was eking out his slender stipend by taking as boarders 'young gentlemen attending the High School or University.'¹ As to the slenderness of his salary, we get some light from a receipt in his handwriting in the City Chambers: 'Received nine pounds from Mr. Henderson, Kirk Treasurer, being payment of my salary from Oct. 1 1813 to Jan. 1 1814.'²

We cannot help feeling that the inducement which he offers must have sounded a trifle grim to the young gentlemen themselves, however acceptable it may have appeared to their parents and guardians:—

'Mr. Cumming, Rector of the Grammar School of the Canongate, has excellent accomodation for a few young gentlemen attending the High School or University as BOARDERS. They will be assisted in their Classical studies by himself, and at their *leisure moments their attention will be directed to the study of Geography and History both ancient and modern by way of recreation and amusement.*'

The year of Waterloo saw the presentation by the magistrates of two 'elegant medals,' one to Master William Munro, dux of the highest class, and one to Master James Lorimer, second.³ The medals bore the arms of the Canongate, and its motto (*Sic itur ad astra*) on one side, and a Latin inscription giving the names and merits of the recipient on the other. Premiums for 'superior penmanship' were also given; but in spite of these encouragements, in spite too of an evident effort to adapt itself to the times such as is suggested in the *Courant* for September 1816, where 'Commercial' is added to the usual 'Classical' education in the new term's advertisement, the school was doomed.

As early as 1788 an academy had been opened in Hanover

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 29th September 1814.

² Packet of Accounts, City Chambers, relative to Canongate High School, 1777-1822.

³ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 4th August 1815.

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Street by one William Laing, where 'the method of Education so successfully practiced in the English Academies' was adopted.¹ In the same year the New Town Grammar School was opened in Register Street.² Nor was it only the departure of the Burgh's former inhabitants that caused trouble to its school; it suffered also from those who had taken their place. Appended to an account (1820) from A. Munro, painter and glazier, is a note in Mr. Cumming's hand, which speaks for itself:—

'None of the above windows were broken by the Boys attending the School, therefore I hope you will pay the bearer the above and adopt some effectual measures for preventing the School yards from being constantly invested by Blackguards.—J. CUMMING.'³

Against all these disadvantages the old school, as we have seen, endeavoured to stand its ground; but its end was near. In 1822 there no longer appears in the *Courant* the laudatory commendations of the Magistrates, but the sad brief notice:—

'To be Sold or Feued.—That large Tenement in which the High School of Canongate has long been taught. . . . Sealed offers for the above subject to be lodged with Mr. Millar, No. 167 Canongate, before 10 Nov. next.'⁴

During the rectorships of Mr. Inglis and Mr. Cumming, the school had its Old Boys' Clubs, which met annually for a dinner. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 8th March 1794, there occurs the following:—

'It is proposed by several gentlemen who attended the late Mr. Inglis, teacher of the High School of Canongate, during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 and 1784, to dine together in Milligan's Tavern, Royal Exchange, on Friday 21 March. Dinner to be on the table precisely at four.'

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 11th August 1788.

² *Ibid.*, 30th August 1788.

³ Accounts, City Chambers.

⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12th October 1822.

Again in 1808:—

'Mr. Cumming's Scholars.—The gentlemen who attended the Grammar School of the Canongate between the years 1795 and 1801 are to have their Anniversary Dinner in the Royal Exchange Coffee House, on Thursday, the 7th July. Such gentlemen as mean to attend are requested to leave their names with the waiter. Dinner on the table at half past four o'clock. Edinburgh, 30 June, 1808.'¹

Among the Laing papers is preserved a small paper-backed note-book, the ink already fading on its yellowing leaves, which still seems to preserve the flavour of these merry meetings. It is all that remains of the old school. We finish therefore with a few quotations from it:—

'July 1807. According to agreement, a number of gentlemen educated at the Canongate High School, under Mr. Cumming, during any of the years 1795 and 1801 dined together in the Royal Exchange Coffee House, Mr. McCready in the chair. Mr. Cumming honoured them with his company.'

'July 1809. The third annual meeting of gentlemen, educated under Mr. Cumming, took place in the Royal Exchange Coffee House, Mr. John Rae in the chair. Moved and carried, That when any member of the meeting shall have been married, he shall, at the next subsequent meeting, entertain those present with two bottles of wine.'

'July 1810. Resolved that the two bottles of wine mentioned in the minute of July 1809 shall be Claret Wine. The fourth annual meeting of Mr. Cumming's scholars was held in the Royal Exchange Coffee House. Mr. J. Gray in the chair. Mr. Meek, Mr. Cumming's Assistant, honoured the meeting with his attendance. The President, having been lately married, complied with the Resolution of 1809.'

'July 1814. The members of Committee elected at the last meeting being met, the Convener informed them with regret that Mr. David Robertson had resigned the office of Secretary which he had long filled to the general satisfaction.

'Resolved, That Mr. John Brown fill up the vacancy.

'Resolved, That the Dinner be ordered in McDiarmed's Tavern—Foot of Pleasance, on Friday, the 15th current.

¹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1st July 1808.

'Moved, That for the future, all business be transacted before adjourning to dinner.

'Moved, That the Law of 1809 anent marriages and amendment of 1810 be reversed and when any member or number of members shall have been married since the last general meeting at which they shall be present, his or their health and success be drank to in Madeira Wine, the expense to be defrayed by the unmarried members of said meeting.'

'Friday, July 15, 1814. The Marriage Bill not having been brought forward before dinner was ordered to lie over until next general meeting.'

'Wednesday, 12 July, 1815. The ninth anniversary meeting held this day was attended by the following gentlemen—viz., Messrs. John Brown, Preses, Alex. Gifford, Croupier, John Rae, John Walker, Lewis A. Wallace, James H. Gray, Alex. Torrance, James Yule, David Laing, John Watt, John Dunn, Benj. L. Brown.

'Mr. Cumming and his assistant, Mr. Ferris, did the meeting the honour to attend.

'The Marriage Bill referred from last general meeting was rejected by a majority.'

H. M. ANDERSON.

DALRY HOUSE: ITS LANDS AND OWNERS

SITUATED in the heart of a thickly populated district of Edinburgh, and wedged in by working-class tenements that project slightly on either side, stands a seventeenth-century manor house which exhibits traces of having looked upon better days. The rather drab appearance of its surroundings is relieved to some extent by the old-world flavour of the façade with its octagonal towers, each carrying a newel stair and crowned with an ogee roof. Otherwise the front is devoid of ornament, an unusual feature in mansions of this period. The covered doorway between the towers is modern, and not a thing of beauty. The central portion of Dalry House (for of it we write) is three storeys high, but the flanking towers have an additional storey. On the north there has been much structural alteration, not for the better, while at the south end a somewhat crude extension, in which utility has been the sole consideration, detracts from the symmetry of the building. Indeed, the discordant styles are only too apparent. In the original structure the windows are severely plain, and by no means violate the old Scots tradition of economy in the matter of light, whereas in the annexe they are obtrusively large.

The internal arrangement of Dalry House has been also sadly transformed, so much so that it is difficult to conceive of its setting in the days of the Stuart dynasty. Nothing of architectural or artistic interest remains, save a curious arched recess, and a hand-wrought ceiling similar to those at Merchiston Castle, Gorgie House and Stenhousemill.

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The ceiling at Dalry House once adorned a spacious apartment, but, owing to a modern partition, only sections can now be seen. It is divided into squares, each containing a decoration. For example, cherubs and female figures, together with the appropriate emblems of thistles, roses and fleurs-de-lis, are worked out in fine detail. One panel contains the Crown and crossed Sword and Sceptre along with the initials 'C. R. 2' (*Carolus Rex Secundus*), the date 1661, and the motto: *Nobis haec invicta miserunt 108 proavi* (To us these things unimpaired 108 ancestors have sent). In another square is represented the Cross of St. Andrew, with a Crown in the upper angle, the date 1661 in the lower, and in the side angles the initials 'C. R. 2.' While these emblems are to be regarded simply as patriotic gestures towards the distant throne, the date 1661 and the initials of the reigning monarch, Charles II., are indicative of the period during which Dalry House was built. Bailie Walter Chieslie, who then owned the house, is presumed to have erected it. He was an ardent Royalist, whose enthusiasm for the Stuart cause was demonstrated by the part he took in the embalming of the body of Montrose, as recorded in the first volume of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

Until about sixty years ago the situation of Dalry House was entirely rural. The mansion stood in extensive and well-wooded grounds which extended southwards to Fountain-bridge, from which there was an entrance. On the north the policies were bounded by what is now Dalry Road, while the gardens and orchards of this house of the Chieslies stretched to near Haymarket. The eastern limit was marked by Semple Street and the western by the lands of Gorgie. The estate also included the Haughs of Dalry, which extended to the Water of Leith. But while reckoned a country house, Dalry was sufficiently near Edinburgh to make it an object of commercial exploitation when an expanding population could no longer be kept within the limits of the Flodden Wall.

The exodus from the Old Town began about the middle of the eighteenth century, and though the migration was especially noticeable to the north and south, the movement also made itself felt, as will be shown presently, in Dalry and Fountainbridge.

I

Little is known of the early history of the lands of Dalry—the 'King's Field.' At the beginning of the fourteenth century they appear to have been conjoined with those of Merchiston. The owners at that time were the powerful family of the Bissets. In the reign of David II. they were possessed by William Mure (or More) of Abercorn, son of Sir Reginald Mure, Chamberlain of Scotland. Mure parted with the lands of Dalry to William Touris and to Helenor Douglas, his wife, widow of Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick.

Not until the seventeenth century, when the proprietors of Dalry were the burghess family of Chieslie, do we come upon authentic and detailed information. The first of the Chieslies to come prominently into view was the Covenanter, Sir John. He is said to have been knighted inadvertently by Charles I. Be that as it may, his career and character, as estimated by Wodrow and Gilbert Burnet, present a strange medley. To the Covenancing historian he was 'a man of shining piety,' but Bishop Burnet dismisses him contemptuously as 'a noted fanatic of the time of the Civil War.'

It is, however, with Bailie Walter Chieslie that we are mainly concerned. A prosperous Edinburgh merchant, his influence was by no means local. From entries in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, it is clear that he played for a larger stake. Under date, 7th May 1662, there is a charge to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and others, including Walter Chieslie, merchant, to ascertain the sums due to persons engaged in the building of the Citadel of Leith.

Again, on 3rd March 1670, there is reference to a bond by the magistrates of Edinburgh, of whom Chieslie was one, anent the entertainment of rebels and the holding of conventicles in the burgh of Edinburgh. Finally, on 18th September 1672, Chieslie, as one of the managers of the Company and Society of Fishing, complains against William Anderson, Provost of Glasgow and others, for infringing the Company's monopoly.

Probably the earliest mention of Walter Chieslie in connection with the locality occurs in 1656, in which year he was residing at Easter Dalry. The third son of John Chieslie, minister of Quothquan, in Lanarkshire, he was apprenticed to James Nasmyth, merchant in Edinburgh, and quickly became rich and prominent in public affairs. As already indicated, there are strong reasons for believing that Walter Chieslie built the manor house of Dalry about the time of the Restoration. His advancement no doubt was due in some measure to his alliance with Katherine, daughter of Sir Archibald Tod, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1646-48. Mrs. Chieslie died in January 1679, and to her memory the laird of Dalry raised what is perhaps the most imposing monument in Greyfriars' Churchyard. Not much more is known of Walter Chieslie, save that one of his sons, John, obtained unenviable renown as the murderer of Lord President Lockhart in Old Bank Close in 1689.

II

The Chieslie connection with Dalry came to an end in 1696. On 15th May of that year sasine was granted to Sir Alexander Brand, merchant and late bailie of Edinburgh, of 'ane yearly annual rent of ane thousand pounds (Scots) furth of the lands of Dalry and Gorgie and haill pertinents and lands of Reidhall (or Redhall) in warrandice of the lands of Gorgie.' When Brand acquired the manor house and

lands of Dalry he changed their names to Brandfield House and Brandsfield respectively. But the new name of the mansion did not outlive the connection of the Brand family with it. All subsequent owners reverted to the older designation of Dalry House. In the case of the lands, however, the new name became more permanent. Indeed, it was customary to insert in the sasines a clause to the effect that 'the subjects were part of the lands of *Dalry now called Brandsfield.*'

Brand, with whom Dalry began the most notable chapter in its history, was a great public character who was almost as outstanding in the national life as he was in that of Edinburgh. The son of Alexander Brand of Baberton and Reidhall, he lived in an atmosphere of commerce and the ambitious pursuit of power. In September 1681 we find him supplicating the Privy Council for a monopoly of the manufacture of Spanish leather, *i.e.* leather stamped with gold for use as room-hangings. In his petition Brand mentions that he has 'at great expense introduced materials and servants from abroad for making gilded and stamped leather, and being the first to attempt the setting of such work, and sufficiently able to serve the country at rates as easy as such material can be imported,' he craved a monopoly. The petition was granted, and for seventeen years Brand and his heirs enjoyed the sole privilege in Scotland. An example of the vigilance with which Brand sought opportunities for disposing of his merchandise is afforded by his connection with the Merchant Company, in which he wielded great influence, being one of the founders and the occupant of the Master's chair in 1686. When, in 1691, the Company bought property in the Cowgate with the object of providing a meeting-place, the problem of the decoration of the Hall was solved by Brand offering gilded hangings from his manufactory to the value of £150 Scots, provided the Company paid for any additional hangings that might be required.

The transaction, so far as Brand was concerned, was entirely successful. Sometimes, however, his pushful methods brought him trouble. In 1681, and again in 1683, he was summoned before the Privy Council on a charge of having imported prohibited cloth, but on oath declared that he had neither imported nor bought goods 'contrary to the manufactories.' Brand also reminded the Lords that he had proposed to the Committee of Trade to bring over from Brussels good workwomen for making white lace, but had received no encouragement.

Brand was a shareholder in the New Mills Cloth Manufactory (1681-1703), a remarkable business concern, the history of which is chronicled in one of the publications of the Scottish History Society. His dilatory and not altogether scrupulous habits were an annoyance to the management. In 1682 he was informed that 'if he pay not his money betwixt and ten of the clock to-morrow his bond is forthwith to be registered and executione to be done thereupon.'¹ Equally mortifying must have been an incident that occurred in January 1683. Bailie Douglas 'being desirous of some cloth . . . itt was thought fitt to gratify him by allowing him to take out the halfe peeeces cloth (that) fall to Alexander Brands lott . . . in respect the said Alexander Brand could not take itt out himselfe, he not haveing paid in his stock.'² In July the managers decided that Brand 'be denounced.'³ Then on 8th June 1687 he was requested to take out what cloth fell to his share, or 'forfeit the benefitt of the said offer.'⁴

In 1693 Brand contracted with the Lords of the Treasury in Scotland to import into that country 5000 stand of firelocks. If the episode testifies to Brand's resourcefulness and enterprise, it also demonstrates his proneness to indulge in sharp practice. He had two co-partners in the contract—

¹ *New Mills Cloth Manufactory* (Scot. Hist. Socy.), p. 30.

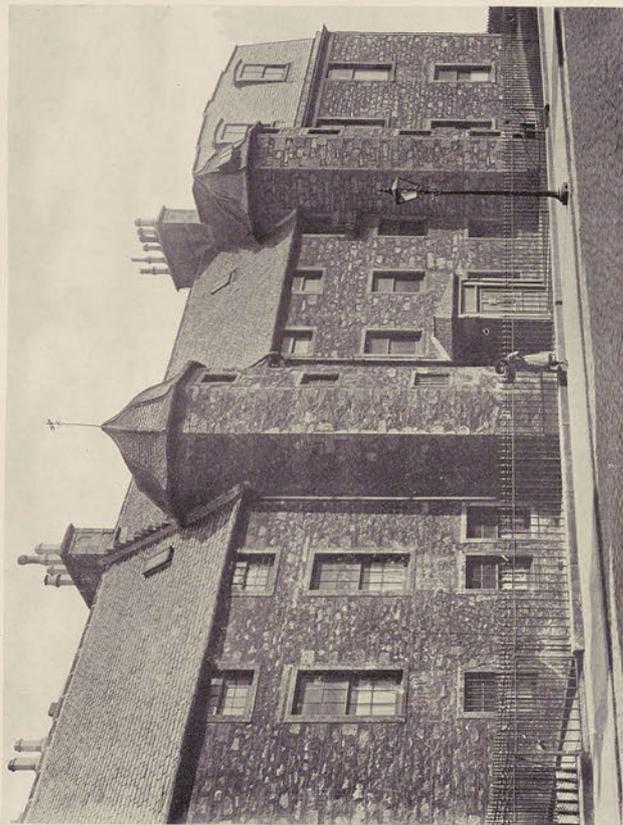
² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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Sir Thomas Kennedy and Sir William Binning. On the arms being imported, it was represented to the Treasury that they were superior to those contracted for. The Treasury called for a report, which bore that the arms exceeded the value of those contracted for by £1500. Whereupon Brand was allowed this sum, the money being deducted from the rent which he paid for the Crown lands of Orkney and Zetland, of which he then had a tack. In due course, Brand executed an acknowledgment declaring that Kennedy and Binning should have their shares of the additional allowance; but disagreements arose among the co-partners, and Brand inserted an anonymous advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, informing the Treasury that they had been imposed upon in a certain transaction, and offering to disclose the matter if adequately rewarded. The advertisement was answered by the Treasury, whereupon Brand stated that he had been imposed upon by Kennedy and Binning in claiming the additional allowance, there being no ground for the same. Brand contended that the £1500 was due to him for his great service to the Government. The Treasury took no action. Kennedy and Binning, however, sued Brand for payment of their shares of the £1500, and obtained decret against him. But Brand fell into arrears with his rent for the Crown lands, and was sued. In 1705 he submitted to the Commissioners of the Treasury and Exchequer a statement of his accounts, in which he admitted 'that though he had formerly stated an article of £1500 due to him as the surplus price of 5000 arms, yet having now discovered that there was no ground for any such allowance, he would not claim it.' In 1707 the Commissioners decreed that the whole articles claimed as deductions by Brand be disallowed, likewise the £1500 which he had waived. Further, they decerned him to pay the arrears of his rent. Following upon the decree, Brand granted a bond to Kennedy for his share of the £1500, but refused to settle with Binning. The latter demanded



DALRY HOUSE: MODERN ASPECT
From a Photograph presented by Francis C. Inglis, Esq.

payment upon the decret of June 1704; Brand retaliated by bringing a bill of suspension. But the Court of Session, on 24th December 1707, decerned Brand to pay to Binning £416, 13s. 4d. as his proportion after deducting expenses. Brand appealed, but with no success.

This laird of Dalry also made his power felt in municipal affairs. He was one of the bailies of Edinburgh in 1684, and again three years later. His services to the town would appear to have been specially noteworthy. At any rate, he received a knighthood on severing his connection with the Town Council, a rare distinction, one would suppose, seeing that he never occupied the Lord Provost's chair. But his chief interests, as has been shown, were in mercantile pursuits. He was a member of a committee of merchants for the improvement of the trade and manufactures of Scotland, and was appointed to a body formed to deal with the coinage.

Prolonged litigation and hazardous commercial undertakings ultimately brought Brand to the brink of financial ruin. So serious was his plight that he plunged into a madcap venture, the nature of which is disclosed in the following advertisement which the laird of Dalry inserted in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 2nd August 1706. Incidentally the announcement affords what is probably the earliest description of the manor house.

'The House, Garden, and Park of Brandfield, within less than a Myle of Edinburgh, with the whole Planting in the Park and Back-fence, with a Stable and Coachhouse. There is a Rivolet (*i.e.* the Lochrin burn) that runs through the Park, and an excellent Spring Well within the Court. The House stands in the middle of the Park and Yards, finely planted with Trees at an equal Distance, all inclosed with a Stone-dyke; and in all Scotland there is not such a piece of Ground more pleasantly Situat, and for Wood and Water most convenient for any Nobleman or Gentleman that has their Houses at a great distance from Edinburgh, and obliged to be most part of the

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Year in Town. The House is furnished with good gentile Furniture, Tho not extraordinary fine, Is to be Raffled for upon the 26th of September next, at the House of Brandfield, or by way of Lots or Billets, just as the Major Part of the Adventurers pleases. There is to be 250 Tickets at 5 lib. Sterling each, makes 1250 lib. any time after this Day. Those that design to take out Tickets, may take a view of the Ground, Planting, House and Furniture, and perhaps some will rather pay me the 1250 lib. than let such a Bargain go to any one for 5 lib., for such a House cannot be built for double the Money, deducing the value of the House, Furniture, Ground, Plantings and Stone-dykes. Inventars of the Furniture of the several Rooms will be seen at my House in Edinburgh, or in the Country. As also, a valid and sufficient Disposition thereto, with absolute Warrantice to secure him or her that shall have the good Luke to get it. For 5 lib. for every Ticket that is taken out, there must be given in a 5 lib. Bank Note, for which they will get a receipt from the Trustees obliging them to pay back the same, if the 250 Tickets be not taken out the Day before the time appointed. No single person is allowed to sign for more than 20 Tickets at most, which is 100 lib. And those that do not think the Bargain truly worth the Money, after they have considered the Buildings and everything else, with the Advice of knowing Tradesmen, may forbear to adventure. If the full number of the 250 Tickets be subscribed for before the day appointed, then there shall be Advertisement given in the *Courant*, to the Adventurers, to meet sooner.'

Though Brand was an adept at puffing his wares, the raffle does not seem to have come off. The laird was now hard pressed, and his creditors sought the aid of the Court of Session, who appointed a factor on the estate. On 5th December 1709 the lands of Gorgie, mills and manor house were sold to George Lind, merchant in Edinburgh, for £3997, 6s. 5d. sterling,¹ and on 12th June 1710 sasine was granted to Walter Chieslie of Bonnington (near Ratho) of an annual rent of 600 merks (being interest on a bond of 10,000 merks) from Dalry and Gorgie. A few months later (1st September) Dalry House with its furniture was re-exposed

¹ *Proceedings, Socy. of Antiq., Scot.*, vol. lxii. p. 276.

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for sale. The advertisement in the *Scots Courant* is as follows:—

'At the Desire of several Gentlemen, the House, Park an Yeards of Brandsfield, with the whole planting within the Walls of the Park and Back-fence, is to be roup'd separate from the Lands (with the Hangings, Pictures, Cabinets, Chairs, Tables and Chimneys etc.) belonging to Sir Alexander Brand, upon the 8th day of September next at 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, in the House of Brandsfield.

'Any person that desires to bid may see the house and furniture betwixt 2 and 5 in the afternoon . . . and the Lands are to be roup'd that day 8 days at the same place.'

No sale was effected. On 23rd June 1711 another attempt was made to dispose of the manor house, but it also was a failure. Meanwhile the Barons of Exchequer were holding the house and lands of Dalry as security until Brand paid up the arrears of rent on the Crown lands of Orkney and Zetland. That there was some likelihood of his clearing himself was probably due to the sale of two properties belonging to the estate, a transaction that enabled the Barons to grant Brand co-operation with a view to the betterment of all concerned. What really transpired was that the laird of Dalry, under their supervision, was allowed to feu his estate—a step which, as we shall see, had far-reaching consequences.

Keenly alive to the possibilities of the situation, Brand, on 22nd August 1711, disposed to John Watson, younger, an Edinburgh merchant, a tenement or 'great lodging' (probably Roseburn House) with the inner yard adjacent and whole parks, as was formerly possessed by Mary, Countess of Mar, and in warrandice of the same he also conveyed to him the eastern half of the lands of Dalry, called the 'Town' of Dalry, with the manor place, houses, etc., containing 147 acres of arable land.

A purchaser for Dalry House and park was found at last in Sir James Nicolson of that Ilk, Bart. The price has not

been ascertained, but the sasine, dated 29th November 1714, shows that the following subjects were included in the purchase:—'Twelve full acres of arable land lying upon the south side of the Park; two foot of ground around the said twelve acres for the foundation of a dyke; and the mansion house and manor place of Dalry with the stable and coach-house thereto belonging, the yard, park, current water or burn running through the same from Straton's Loch, with the privilege and use of the spring well of Foull-Bridge, with power of conveying in pipes so much of the water to the foresaid mansion house as may serve for the possessors allanarly, etc.'

In 1719 Brand, who had evidently some idea of a surplus after his liabilities had been met, granted a bond of provision in favour of his wife (whom he had married in 1674) and family. It is dated 19th August 1719, and sasine followed on 24th October thereafter. Provision is made for an annuity of 1200 merks furth of the lands of Brandsfield to Christian Scott, his wife, and for payment of 40,000 merks to his son Alexander, and of £500 sterling each to his other children, George, Katherine, Elizabeth, Christian and Bethia.

Brand appears to have been more exemplary in his domestic relations than he was as a merchant and a man of affairs. There has fortunately been preserved an intimate and delightful sketch of this laird of Dalry among his family. It is from the pen of an English traveller, Joseph Taylor, late of the Inner Temple, whose entertaining *Journey to Edenborough in 1705* was printed from the original manuscript, with notes, by a former President of our Club (the late William Cowan) in 1903. Taylor spent a day with Brand at his country house near Edinburgh, and this is what he writes:—

'Another day, one Sir Alexander Brand, a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate in that Country (Scotland), and a Parliamente man . . . invited us to his house, with very civill and genteele

expressions of his respect for the English Nation; His seat is about a Mile from Edenborough, and it being a pleasant walk, and a fine day, we agreed to wait on him, his house as well as his entertainment seem'd to us the most like the English fashion of any we saw in Scotland. The gardens were very neat, and encompassed with a pretty Grove of trees, he show'd us all with many Apologies, telling us we could not find anything to admire there, after we had seen such fine Palaces in England. But in the midst of our discourse, we hapned to enter a walk where we saw his 2 daughters mending their fathers breeches. Our finding them in such an Employ, no doubt put them into a Surprize, and therefore we endeavour'd to withdraw without paying the Devoirs we afterwards intended, but the Old Gentleman would let us know, they were his daughters, and recommended us to them, not seeing what they were about, so we were oblig'd to be rude against our inclinations. After we had seen the Gardens we waited on him into his house, where we found his Lady ready to receive us, and after drinking some excellent Champaign and Burgundy, the Young Ladyes at our request came in drest to the best advantage, and appear'd the most charming of any we had seen in Scotland. There being a Spinnet in the room, we knew it our duty to begg a Tune, and after that a Song, which was complied with very obligingly, and I must confesse whilst they entertain'd us with the Scotch Songs, 'twas very diverting, but when one of the Ladyes sung an English Song of Purcell's, with a Scotch Tone and Pronunciation, I had much ado to forbear laughing; by this time we were well acquainted, and so presum'd to return the Ladys Favours with all the expressions of thankfulness we were able, and Sir Alexander would not let us part, till we had danc'd with his daughters. We spent this day with greater pleasure and satisfaction than any we had done since we arriv'd in Scotland, and the good nature and Civility we met with here detain'd us so long that 'twas almost dark before we return'd to Edenborough. I ought not to forget a Motto on the Ceiling of the Dyning room at this house. The Devise was a Crown, and 2 Sceptres across. Under it these words *Haec invicta miserunt 108 Proavi C. secundus 1660*,¹ which shows the pride of the Scots in valuing themselves on the antiquity of their Monarchy, which in their Common discourse, they always style, the auncient Kingdom. Sir Alexander taught us a

¹ The date is 1661.

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Scotch health, call'd Duck and Doreeth, which in English signifies Stark Love and Kindnesse' (pp. 129-33).¹

In the National Library of Scotland there is a copy of a broadside entitled 'Overture for cleansing of the Streets,' of which Brand is believed to be the author. It begins:— 'Seing the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland are when they are Abroad esteemed by all Nations to be the finest and most accomplished People in Europe; yet its to be regrated that it is always casten up to them by Srangers, who admire them for their singular Qualifications, That they are born in a Nation that has the Nastiest Citys in the world, especially the Metropolitan.' Wherefore the writer of the tract humbly proposes by way of remedy that if the magistrates will give a tack of the 'whole Muck of Edinburgh for a certain Number of years,' the proposer 'will find sufficient Caution that he will cause the whole Streets, Closes, Courts, and Turnpyks within Edinburgh to be paddeled and swept clean every morning,' not excluding Sunday. And to convince the Estates of Parliament that the proposer is 'more concerned for removing the Reproach' than reaping gain for himself, 'he is willing to pay 400 lib. Sterling a Year during the Years of his Tack to the Poor of Edinburgh.'

Brand died in London in September 1727, and about two years afterwards his landed property was offered for sale. Here is a portion of the announcement taken from the *Caledonian Mercury* of 27th October 1729:—

'The Lands of Dalry alias Brandsfield are to be exposed to Sale, by way of public Roup, by the Lords of Session in the Parliament House . . . upon the Sixth Day of November next. . . . The Lands hold Blanche of the Crown, for Payment of a Pair of gilt Spurs valued at £8 Scots. . . . There's £5-6-8 ster. yearly payable to the Proprietor by the Town of Edinburgh, out of the imposition of Two

¹ Deoch-an-douris—the drink at the door, or stirrup-cup. The author's translation is somewhat far-fetched.

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Pennies upon the Pint of Ale during their Gift, which is valued by the Lords of Session, and to be set up at five Years Purchase only; but it being to last near 30 years, upon the common Computation of Annuities, it is worth 14 or 15 years Purchase. Extending the Value of the Lands, Feu-duties, Teinds and Duty furth of the Two Pennies upon the Pint of Ale, to £59979-19-00 Scots, at which Price they are to be set up.

'There's likewise at the same time to be exposed to Sale, the 3rd and 4th Storeys of a great Stone Tenement in the Castlehill . . . the 3rd Storey liferented and possess'd by the Relict of Sir Alexander Brand. . . .'

Appended to the advertisement is a statement in which Brand's son attempts to free himself of responsibility for anything contained in the announcement. It reads:—

'The Advertisement and Account of the Lands of Dalry, alias Brandsfield, is published by Creditors, and not by the Apparent Heir, Carrier on of the sale. Wherefore he, the Apparent Heir, hopes he will not be called upon to make good any Assertion in the above Particulars.'

No information is available as to the amount realised by the sale, but evidently sufficient was obtained to satisfy the Lords of Session, since Alexander Brand, junior, was afterwards allowed a free hand in the management of the property.

In 1743 an effort was made to wind up the estate, and, two years later, sasine was granted to Sarah Brand, widow of James Blackwood, merchant, London, of part of the lands that had been feued. Finally, on 1st September 1763, John, Earl of Glasgow, who was infeft in the eastern half of the lands of Dalry, as security for his becoming cautioner under a bond to the creditors of Sir Alexander, granted an acknowledgment to Alexander Brand, junior, that as he had paid the amount due to his father's creditors, the lands were free from the cautionary obligation. In this way Sir Alexander Brand's son remained owner of the eastern portion of the lands of Dalry.

III

We must now trace the later history of Dalry House, as distinct from the lands from which it was detached in 1714. In that year, as we have seen, the mansion was purchased by Sir James Nicolson of that Ilk, Bart., along with twelve acres. And with the change of ownership there disappeared the name Brandfield (by which it had been known throughout Sir Alexander Brand's proprietorship), the original designation of Dalry House being reverted to.

Sir James Nicolson did not own the manor house and twelve-acre park for long, since on 24th March 1716 he parted with them to Archibald, first Earl of Rosebery. The latter probably regarded the purchase merely as an investment. At all events, there is no evidence that either the Earl or any member of his family ever resided at Dalry House. On 24th October 1724 James, the second Earl, granted a sasine to Matthew Lant, who in 1726 became Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. An Englishman by birth and training, he was one of the original Extraordinary Directors of the Royal Bank of Scotland, holding office from 1727 to 1736. Lant also was the second Governor of the Bank, an office in which he was succeeded in 1742 by Robert Lant, his nephew. The latter also resided at Dalry House. In a sasine, dated 8th June 1742, granted by James, second Earl of Rosebery, this laird is described as Robert Lant, Esq. of Putney, in the county of Surrey. But his occupancy was short, for on 11th February 1743 John Idle, another Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, was infeft in the lands of Dalry.

Idle was a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and owned the estate of Weston near Malton in Yorkshire. Despite his unfortunate surname, he came to Scotland with recommendations from Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and Lord Chief

Justice Mansfield. The Lord Chancellor entreats for Idle Lord President Forbes's 'favour and protection,' being 'one of the oldest acquaintances I have in the world,' and 'a perfectly honest worthy gentleman,'¹ while Lord Mansfield desires Forbes to 'take possession of him (Idle) by all sorts of civility. He is a good-natured man' though 'not a man of business or much parts.' Lord Mansfield's qualified approval is confirmed by another contemporary, Ramsay of Ochertyre, who speaks of Lord Chief Baron Idle as 'the weakest of men,' a trait which he emphasises with an anecdote. Idle, it seems, once interrupted Alexander Lockhart (the future Lord Covington) when addressing a jury, by telling him he did not understand what he (Lockhart) meant by a *long* hundred and a *short* hundred. After vainly trying to make the matter clear, Lockhart asked the jury if they understood. 'Perfectly,' was the reply. 'Why, then,' proceeded Lockhart, 'it is of less consequence whether my lord understands me or not.'²

When, on the death of Matthew Lant in 1742, Idle succeeded him as Lord Chief Baron, there was much jealousy among the senior members of the Court of Exchequer. But Idle lived down all opposition, and held the office till his death in September 1755. The mansion and park of Dalry then passed to his sister, Francisca Idle, 'a sensible woman though born deaf,'³ she being granted sasine on 2nd October 1759.

The next proprietor of Dalry House and park was William Kirkpatrick of Allisland. He had previously resided for a brief period in Baron Edline's mansion in Fountainbridge, the latter having died there in 1760. The charter in his favour is dated 27th October 1761 and sasine was granted on 5th May thereafter. One of the Principal Clerks of Session,

¹ Wood MSS., Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

² *Scotland and Scotsmen*, vol. i. p. 134 n.

³ Wood MSS., Nat. Lib. of Scotland.

Kirkpatrick was the brother of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Bart. He was admitted an advocate in 1728. Subsequently he represented Dumfries Burghs in Parliament, but in 1738 returned to the law, being appointed to a Clerkship of Session. Kirkpatrick was also Sheriff of Dumfriesshire and Keeper of the Register of Tailzies. These three offices he held till his death, 22nd May 1778. In 1746 he married Jean, second daughter of Charles Areskine of Tinwald and Alva, a Lord of Session.

Kirkpatrick resided at Dalry House previous to the date of his sasine. This is proved by an advertisement which he inserted in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 17th March 1762, and which revealed that he was contemplating a project that was ultimately to transform the Dalry district.

'Feus for Houses and Gardens—This is to give notice, that the proprietor of the Parks of Dalry intends to set off, for situations of houses and gardens, certain parts of the said inclosures upon the south side thereof, lying along from the turnpike road from Fountainbridge, and also upon the east side thereof, lying down from the said turnpike road northward towards the Castlebarns road, in larger or lesser spaces as purchasers shall call up. . . .'

Briefly, Kirkpatrick here announces his intention of feuing portions of the acreage surrounding the manor house. Two feus were granted in 1766, but difficulties afterwards arose which frustrated his plans, and on 3rd August 1771 Dalry House and what remained of the adjoining ground were offered for sale. In 1774 James Montgomery and others were infeft in the property as security for £1600 sterling, but on Kirkpatrick's death in 1778 the property was re-conveyed to his trustees. In 1778 it was acquired by the Hon. Basil Cochrane, one of the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland. Cochrane's tall and slender figure was etched by John Kay. He was the seventh son of William Cochrane of Ochiltree, a branch of the Dundonald family. In early life he served with the Hanoverian Army. At the

battle of Prestonpans he was taken prisoner by the Highlanders, and, along with others, was conveyed to Edinburgh, where he was liberated on parole not to leave the city nor correspond with the enemies of the Prince. After the suppression of the Rebellion, Cochrane was Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Man, under the Duke of Atholl. On the resignation of his brother Thomas (who became eighth Earl of Dundonald) as a Commissioner of Excise, he was appointed in his place. Subsequently he was promoted to the Board of Customs.

Kay's etching of this laird of Dalry is very characteristic. Commissioner Cochrane, we are told, was fond of carrying a gold-headed staff, the head of which inclined a little downwards. He usually 'wore black silk-velvet straps, instead of garters, which added very much to his military appearance.' Cochrane resided much at Dalry House. He died 2nd October 1788.

IV

It was now that the Walker family began their long connection with the property. On 31st July 1790 Cochrane's trustees granted sasine to James Walker of certain portions. This was followed by another on 13th May 1812, by which Walker acquired the mansion and further acreage. By and by the new proprietor made fresh purchases, with the result that he became owner of the major portion of the lands. Later on, his territorial possessions were further supplemented by his acquiring that area of the lands of North Merchiston which adjoined Dalry.

There were three members of the Walker family named James who owned, and for shorter or longer periods, resided in, Dalry House. All three lairds are buried in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, and on a large tombstone there are inscribed the few particulars about them that are of public interest. The

first James Walker of Dalry, W.S., died in 1817, at the age of seventy-four. James, his second son by his first wife, Jane Hay, was a Principal Clerk of Session. Another son, Francis, on his marriage with the heiress of Hawthornden, Margaret Anne Forbes-Drummond, assumed the surname and arms of Drummond. Captain Forbes-Drummond, whose only surviving child married Francis Walker of Dalry, was created a baronet in 1828 for distinguished naval service, with remainder to his son-in-law, and dying in 1829, was succeeded, according to the limitation, by Sir Francis Walker-Drummond. This son of the laird of Dalry therefore became the second baronet of Hawthornden, and was thus linked with William Drummond, the Jacobean poet and historian, who entertained Ben Jonson at his romantic seat by the banks of the Esk.

The second James Walker, advocate, died at Dalry House on 3rd May 1856, aged sixty-six. He was, like his father, twice married. One of his daughters, Jane, was the wife of James Hope of Wardie Lodge, Midlothian. Juliana, the only daughter by his second wife (Marion-Anne, daughter of John Hope, M.D.), married Sir John Hall of Dunglass, Bart. The third James Walker was the eldest son of the second, and died at Hanley Lodge, Midlothian, on 11th September 1900, aged seventy. He was a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland.

The second and third James Walkers saw extensive changes in the surroundings of their ancestral home, which, until near the middle of the nineteenth century, was (as has been indicated) an isolated mansion standing within well-wooded grounds. The economic factors which transformed the district and whittled away the Dalry estate were the construction of the Union Canal and, nearly a generation later, the Caledonian Railway Company's line to Glasgow. Gradually these undertakings attracted large industrial concerns to the neighbourhood, and led to the building of long rows of tenements for the workers. These changes necessarily were detrimental to the residential value of Dalry House,

but the Walker family continued to reside in their mansion until about 1870 when, the encroachments becoming general, they were compelled to relinquish it. The last phase was reached in 1877 when the old manor house of Bailie Walter Chieslie (in Orwell Place) was acquired by the Scottish Episcopal Church, and converted into a training college for teachers.

V

Hitherto we have been tracing the successive owners of Dalry House from 1714, when it was separated from the estate of that name. It remains to deal with the history of the lands apart from the demesne—those lands which were bought by Sir Alexander Brand, and of which he was so proud that he re-named them Brandsfield.

It was characteristic of so shrewd and enterprising a trader as Sir Alexander Brand, that when he decided to enrich himself by opening up and developing the lands of Dalry, he should do so in the interests of industrial and commercial projects. He believed that more money would accrue to him in that way than by feuing his ground for residential purposes. And in this view he was probably confirmed by the congested state of industry in Portsburgh. The breweries especially had no room for expansion, and it was clear to him that some of these undertakings would be compelled to go farther afield. Brand, therefore, prepared to reap the advantage. His intentions are laid bare in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 1st May 1706.

'There is Arable Land, a little without the West Port, upon the Road as you go to Saughtonhal or Corstorphine, convenient for Brewars or Tradesmen, to be Feued at a reasonable Rate, either in Akers, Half or Quarters, well watterd. Four substantial Brewars having Feued some and Built thereon, there remains little more to be Feued. Those who speake not in time may be disappointed.'

Later on, the advertisement was repeated, but with the additional information that there was 'a good quarry of stone on the ground and plenty timber at half the price paid for it at Leith.' There can be no doubt about the latter statement, since a large area of the Dalry estate was thickly wooded, so much so that when portions were offered for sale, it was mentioned as an inducement that the ground had been cleared of trees.

The response seems to have been encouraging, for Brand, as has been noted, gave off feus to brewers. He also disposed of sites for a starch manufactory and a weaving enterprise. Two of the applicants were Bailie Robert Mitchel and Thomas Hodge, both brewers in Portsburgh. Mitchel's sasine is registered 24th December 1705, showing that Brand had actually sold the ground before the advertisement appeared. Mitchel was granted:—

'Those three aikers of land of the saids lands of Dalry now called Brandsfeild, lyeing neir the well called the Foullbridge well, upon the north syde of the common hieway leading to Sauchtounhall bridge . . . a stripp of which well runs throw the west parts of the saids lands—and which are bounded with the said Sir Alexander Brand his other lands . . . upon the west north and east parts and the said common hieway upon the south parts . . . as also two foot breadth of land further surrounding the saids three aikers of land for building thereon ane stone dyke . . . together with the libertie and priveledge of the said well called the Foullbridge well¹ for their own use and

¹ The name 'Foullbridge' occurs on more than one eighteenth-century tombstone in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. The term 'Foullbridge' seems to have been applied to a bridge which spanned the Lochrin burn in the vicinity of Grove Street. The burn, then uncovered, was a common sewer, and was called the Foullburn. Notwithstanding its unsavoury surroundings, the Foullbridge Well is said to have been noted for the softness and purity of its water. In an advertisement, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 12th March 1774, mention is made of 'that Fountain of excellent, never-failing water, from whence the . . . street of Fountainbridge obtains its name.' The site of the well probably was in the rear of the tenement now numbered 171 Fountainbridge, a conjecture that is strengthened by the fact that the sasine states that a 'stripp,' or overflow, passed through Mitchel's property.

the use of the other inhabitants dwelling upon the saids three aikers of land.'

Sir Alexander Brand also reserved liberty to grant the use of the well to other feuars.

Mitchel, who had a brewery at Wrightshouses as well as in Portsburgh, was a leading member of the Society and Fraternity of Gardeners of Midlothian, an organisation to be referred to later. In the Valuation Roll of the County of Edinburgh for 1726 the value of the subjects owned by Mitchel is entered as £26 Scots. He died in 1730, and was buried in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, under a memorial column of singular design, being surmounted by a large carved urn adorned with the heads of four cherubs, below which are his armorial bearings and the motto 'Advance.' Mitchel's property at Foullbridge passed to William Mitchell, merchant in Leith.

The other brewer, Thomas Hodge, also acquired three acres, the date of his sasine being 22nd May 1706. He came from Gorgie Mill to Portsburgh in 1703. As in the case of Mitchel, he had the use of the Foullbridge Well. Though Hodge and Mitchel acquired their feus in Dalry with the intention of erecting breweries there, they built houses for themselves instead, both of which survived till the middle of last century. Of Mitchel's house a relic still exists in the shape of a triangular stone preserved in a wall at the rear of 170 Fountainbridge. Inscribed on it are the initials 'R. M., I. C.,' which are those of Robert Mitchel and Janet Clark, his spouse.

The mansions which Mitchel and Hodge built for themselves did not occupy the whole of the feus purchased from Brand. They therefore re-feued the surplus ground, on which other houses were erected. The building scheme of the two Portsburgh brewers had important consequences. It was the nucleus of an aristocratic suburb which existed into the nineteenth century. The presence of the well, the pleasant

rural character of the neighbourhood, and the comparatively easy access to the city, proved strong attractions, and not many years after the initial experiment of Mitchel and Hodge, the district now known as Fountainbridge was dotted over with pretentious and roomy mansions, each having its own garden and orchard and stabling accommodation. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century these houses were occupied by wealthy and influential citizens.

As was to be expected, the inhabitants of an exclusive suburb were not enamoured of the name 'Foullbridge,' and gradually the more attractive one of Fountainbridge was adopted. Nor was its appropriateness in doubt, for if there was a foul burn in the vicinity there also was a well of clear-springing water. The earliest mention of Fountainbridge the writer has found occurs on the stone in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard to the memory of Thomas Hodge, who died in 1713. He is described as 'Portioner in Portsburgh and Feuer in *Fountainbridge*.' The name does not appear in the sasines before 1735, but after that date its use is general.

VI

Another interesting feature connected with the feuing of the lands of Dalry for residential purposes is that the southern portion of the estate, along the line of what is now Fountainbridge, became a small colony of English government officials, most of them sent to Edinburgh after the Union of 1707, it being presumed that the efficient working of the new fiscal system introduced after the passing of the Treaty was more likely to be brought about by Englishmen than by natives, many of whom disliked the Union. We have seen that two Englishmen, Matthew Lant and John Idle, resided at Dalry House, and the preference shown for this district by these high officials (both held the office of Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer) may have induced lesser luminaries of the



PART OF KIRKWOOD'S PLAN OF EDINBURGH, 1817
Showing the Dalry Estate, and recording the Names of Owners of Properties in Fountainbridge district

public service coming from across the Border to settle there also. By making their homes in Fountainbridge, they were at some distance from the inhabitants of the Old Town, who viewed them in no amiable light. Moreover, in this rural suburb the English tax-gatherers, strangers in a strange land, might enjoy social intercourse with each other, and forget the disagreeable duties they had to discharge among a population largely hostile. But however we may explain the circumstance, it is a fact that Fountainbridge became the home of English officialdom. And the presence of these revenue officers, most of whom were of good family, created an atmosphere in which education and good breeding, likewise a love of open-air life, were conspicuous. These Englishmen took a pride in their gardens, and the display of fruits and flowers was a feature of Fountainbridge.

Who were the English officials who lived in this neighbourhood in the eighteenth century? First of all we would mention Richard Dowdeswell, who was appointed a Commissioner of Excise in 1730. Dowdeswell, who belonged to the West of England, came to Edinburgh to undertake the duties of an important legal post in the Revenues of Excise. He was also entrusted with the sending of confidential reports regarding the state of Jacobitism in Edinburgh, and in several letters printed in the correspondence of James, first Earl of Seafield (Scottish History Society), he expressed views which resulted in certain Jacobite prisoners, who had been removed from Edinburgh Castle to London, being sent back to the Scottish capital, and acquitted. It is also interesting to recall that Dowdeswell's advice was sought when the Royal Bank of Scotland was founded in 1727. He was a member of the first Court of Directors, a position he retained for over thirty years. Dowdeswell, who was made a burgess and guild brother of Edinburgh, owned certain lands in St. Leonard's that had formerly belonged to Sir James Nicolson, Bart., the sasine being granted on 8th March 1729.

But he continued to reside in Fountainbridge, where he died in 1758.¹ His mansion was then offered for sale, and was described as 'that large house in Fountainbridge Street, lately possessed by Commissioner Dowdeswell, with a stable, coach-house, hay-loft, flower-garden and small park thereto adjoining.'

The Comptroller of Excise in Scotland also resided in Fountainbridge. This was Stephen Penny, who acquired four acres of the lands of Dalry, on which he built two mansions. One was occupied by himself, while the other found a tenant in Vaughan Montgomery, first clerk in the Customs Department. In 1744 Penny was admitted a burgess and guild brother, along with Mansfeldt Cardonnel, another of the English officials who lived in Fountainbridge, though he subsequently was Commissioner of Customs at Musselburgh, where he became intimate with Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, who mentions him frequently in his *Autobiography*. Cardonnel's father was secretary to Marlborough, and grandson of the Duke of Monmouth. Other Government officials hailing from England who had their abode in Fountainbridge were Edward Broughton, Accomptant and Clerk of the Edinburgh Fines, and William Nelthrop, Secretary of Customs.

VII

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the lands of Dalry in the eighteenth century were given over entirely to the class of people that have been described. In addition to the small English colony, not a few of the Scottish nobility and gentry forsook the wynds of the Old Town and retired to Fountainbridge, where they could enjoy pure air and the delights of refined society. One of these was Thomas Kennedy of Dunure, who, according to Ramsay of Ochtertyre,

¹ *Scots Magazine*.

'was long the great ornament of the Court of Exchequer.'¹ The son of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh and one of Brand's co-partners in the firelocks transaction, Baron Kennedy was Lord Advocate during the temporary disgrace of Sir David Dalrymple in 1711-14. In the latter year he was given a seat on the Exchequer bench, which he held for thirty-three years. Ramsay tells us that Kennedy 'lived long at Fountainbridge among the English commissioners'; that his house was 'the rendezvous of the learned and polite'; and that 'every topic which engrossed the attention of men of letters at home and abroad was discussed by him and his accomplished guests.' We are also told that under 'Kennedy's auspices were formed a number of persons, some of whom made afterwards a considerable figure in the great, the learned, and the busy world,' and that 'all professed infinite obligations to the Baron for what they had learned under his roof.' Baron Kennedy died in Fountainbridge on 19th May 1754, in his eighty-second year. An obituary of him appeared in the *Scots Magazine*.

Kennedy's mansion, which was demolished many years ago, stood near the north-east corner of Brandfield Street, and, as we shall see, came to be known as 'The Grove.' An advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 20th January 1759 refers to the house as 'lately possessed by the deceased Baron Kennedy for many years.' After the Baron's death his son-in-law, James Finlay, tenant in Coates, let the house to Patrick Boyle, second son of David, first Earl of Glasgow, who was a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Shewalton. His Lordship was also one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland. In 1762 the mansion was purchased by Allan Whitefoord of Ballochmyle, who was a friend of Lord Chief Baron Lant.

¹ See sketch of this interesting man in Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, vol. i. pp. 76-81.



Whitefoord was the first Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland, and was afterwards a director of that institution. With the Cashiership he also held the office of Receiver General of Taxes in Scotland. After Whitefoord's death in 1766 the house was tenanted by the Dowager Countess of Moray. Some years later it was sold to the Hon. Charles Colville, second son of the fifth Lord Colville, a distinguished soldier. He was present at the battles of Malplaquet, Dettingen, Fontenoy and Culloden. Colville died at his house in Fountainbridge on 29th August 1775, in his eighty-fifth year. The property then passed to his nephew, John, Lord Colville, who named it 'The Grove.' The house was advertised for sale in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 29th March 1784:—

'To be sold the villa at Fountainbridge called the Grove, being the property of Lord Colvill, and presently under lease to Lord Gardenstone, consisting of a commodious dwelling house, with good offices and above seven Scots acres conveniently and agreeably laid out in grass fields, garden and pleasure grounds etc.'

Lord Gardenstone was none other than that eccentric Scots judge about whom many droll stories are told, but who has more substantial claims to remembrance, one being that he was the donor of St. Bernard's Well.¹

In 1795 the Grove was in possession of John Gordon Haliburton, late of the East India Company. He died shortly after acquiring the property, and on 15th November 1796 it was purchased by Thomson Bonar, a Leith merchant. The new proprietor belonged to a well-known Edinburgh family. His brothers, Andrew and Alexander, were partners in the banking house of Ramsays, Bonars & Company. Alexander acquired the lands of Rosebank (now covered by Broughton Place and Forth Street), while another member of the family owned Easter Warriston.

¹ For sketch of Gardenstone's career, see *Some Old Scots Judges*, by W. Forbes Gray, pp. 75-97.

Thomson Bonar married a daughter of Andrew Bell, the celebrated engraver, and joint-founder and proprietor of the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Bell purchased two acres near his son-in-law's residence on which he erected printing works. From these premises the early editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* were issued by Bonar, who became sole proprietor of this well-known work of reference. South-west of the Grove stood a linen factory which Bell also purchased. The building was 108 feet long, 19 feet broad, and three storeys high. So far back as 1748 it had been advertised as 'that large factory, dwelling house and garden at Fountainbridge possessed by David Spence, and lately by Joseph Smeiton, hatter.' Spence was a prosperous linen weaver. In 1761 his factory was bought by Allan Whitefoord of Ballochmyle, who conveyed it to Walter Hog. The latter sold it in 1782 to Walter Biggar, linen manufacturer in Sciennes. A house which stood near the factory, and may have belonged to Spence, was tenanted about 1760 by Anne Stewart, widow of Colin Maclaurin, Scotland's renowned mathematician. According to an advertisement of 1762, it had a garden, a summer house, a pump well, a vaulted cellar, and stabling for four horses. Adjoining Spence's factory was another mansion equally pretentious. A tenant for it was being sought in 1761, as we learn from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 7th March:—

'To be let, That large dwelling house consisting of two storeys and garrets, containing eleven fires and several light closets without fires . . . with a garden at the back of the same of about half an acre . . . all lying to the west of Mr. Spence's factory . . . and lately possessed by Mrs. Margaret Nicolson, widow of Mr. Andrew Hay of Bridgehouse. . . .'

This lady, who died in Fountainbridge, was a daughter of Sir William Nicolson of Glenbervie, Bart.

But to return to the Grove. Thomson Bonar died on 25th July 1814, and was buried in the family tomb in St.

Cuthbert's Churchyard. His heir was John Bonar, merchant in Leith, who was granted sasine of the property in Fountainbridge on 24th May 1820. Meanwhile great changes were foreshadowed in the district in consequence of the construction of the Union Canal, and, later, of the Caledonian Railway. These projects led to the feuing of the ground in the vicinity of the Grove for small, self-contained houses. One of the last glimpses of the Grove before it was divided by the canal is afforded by the following advertisement from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 18th January 1816:—

'To be sold or let for such time as may be agreed on. The house, offices and grounds of 'Grove' situated at Fountainbridge in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. The house contains eight fire rooms besides kitchen, cellars, etc., with an excellent washing house and dairy adjoining, and the offices consist of gardeners houses, six stalled stables, byre and poultry house. The grounds consist of upwards of ten English acres and extend northwards from Fountainbridge to the Glasgow Road. About four acres are laid out in garden and pleasure grounds well stocked with fruit trees, and in the highest order. The remainder of the ground is divided into four parks, well fenced and surrounded with old trees under the shadow of which there is most delightful walks round the premises.'

At the west end of Fountainbridge, close to the mansion of Mrs. Hay of Bridgehouse, stood another, in which resided Catherine Porterfield, widow of Sir William Lockhart of Carstairs, Bart. This house, which was offered for sale on 16th October 1762, had a parterre in front. There was also a small park. Lady Lockhart was superior of a portion of the lands of Dalry. When her daughter, Jane, who was heir to Sir William Lockhart, married William Bertram of Nisbet, she removed to George Square. Mrs. Bertram either let or sold the Lockhart mansion in Fountainbridge to William Bertram, an uncle of her husband, who was a banker. He married a daughter of John Hay of Haystoun, Peeblesshire, and died in Fountainbridge in 1795.

Close to Lady Lockhart resided another Lockhart whose house is described in an advertisement dated 21st April 1764. 'To be let or sold. A house at Fountainbridge presently possessed by Colonel James Lockhart, consisting of ten fire rooms, a coach house, stable for six horses, lately built' (by John Shaw, 1760). Probably he was that Colonel James Lockhart who was made an honorary burghess and guild brother of Edinburgh in 1753.

Other aristocratic dwellers in the west end of Fountainbridge towards the close of the eighteenth century were Lady Mary Cunningham, Lady Naesmyth, and Lady Jane and Lady Margaret Leslie, the two daughters of John, eighth Earl of Rothes. Both died in Fountainbridge, Lady Margaret in 1767 and Lady Jane in 1771. At their house, in 1768, the tenth Earl of Rothes was married to Jane, second daughter of Captain Maitland of Soutra.

While the Union Canal and the Caledonian Railway greatly transformed the Fountainbridge district, they did not entirely obliterate its semi-rural character. One of the parks of the Grove was leased by the Grange Cricket Club from 1833 to 1868. But with the industrialisation of the neighbourhood soon after this period the last greenery vanished, and in place of aristocratic mansions, each in its own grounds, there were set up breweries and factories and streets of working-class tenements.

VIII

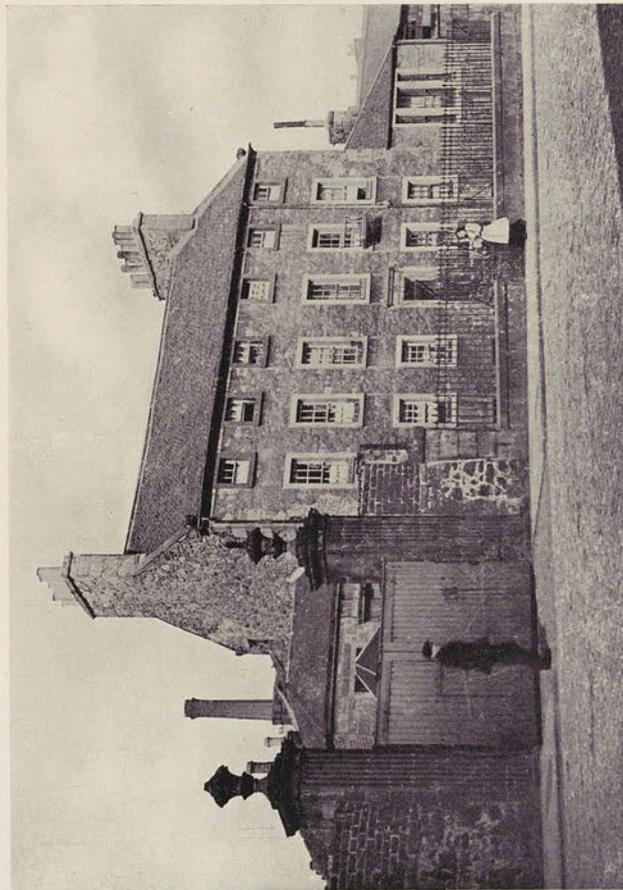
The last of the notable mansions in Fountainbridge was swept away so recently as 1934. Fountain House, as it was latterly called, had an air of distinction. Set well back from the thoroughfare, it remained externally pretty much as it was built. The central portion consisted of four storeys, adjoining which on the east was a low-roofed wing built at a later period. One of the apartments in Fountain House

56 DALRY HOUSE: ITS LANDS AND OWNERS

had a fine plaster ceiling of the Adam period, together with a neat mantelpiece of dove-coloured marble. Another feature was a spacious wooden staircase, the balusters of which were admirable specimens of old Scots craftsmanship. The mansion actually stood on the ground belonging to Dalry House, one of the entrances to which still remains in the form of a handsome gateway consisting of two massive, fluted pillars surmounted by tastefully designed vases. This gateway stands immediately to the west of the site of Fountain House.

After Dalry House had become a separate property, one of the lairds, William Kirkpatrick, being a man of enterprise and wishing to obtain wealth, feued his ground (see p. 42). The first feu was given off on 13th April 1763 when half an acre was granted to Alexander Bain, Agnes Dunlop, his spouse, and Alexander, their son. The Bains subsequently acquired another half-acre, it being stipulated that 'Alexander Bain and his foresaids shall and hereby be obliged to build a handsome dwelling house upon the plot or parcel feued to them.' The structure was to be 'fifteen feet from the high road leading from Fountainbridge to Saughtonhall' and the same distance from the 'intended new road.' This thoroughfare was to have linked up Fountainbridge and Morrison Street, and to have been thirty feet wide, with side walks four feet wide. But the project was never carried out, and until Grove Street was formed half a century later, there was no communication from Fountainbridge northwards between Semple Street on the east and Tynecastle on the west.

On the first half-acre acquired from Kirkpatrick, Bain erected the mansion which from 1868 until its demolition in 1934 was known as Fountain House. Who were the original occupants is uncertain, but in 1774, when the mansion was offered for sale, it appears to have been mortgaged to Messrs. Douglas, Heron & Company of the ill-fated Ayr Bank. At any rate, Thomas Hog, cashier of the Ayr Bank, granted a disposition on 10th October 1783 in favour of George Home,



FOUNTAIN HOUSE (DEMOLISHED RECENTLY)
The gate on the left with massive pillars and ornaments was the south entrance to Dalry House

W.S., who in turn granted on 31st October of the same year a disposition and assignation to Alexander Gardner, Depute Remembrancer of Exchequer. Gardner died in Fountain House in November 1818, and his remains were interred in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. His wife and daughters continued to reside in the mansion. The last Miss Gardner died in 1862, so that the Gardner occupancy lasted almost eighty years.

IX

The suitability of the lands of Dalry for all kinds of market gardening is evidenced by numerous feu-contracts granted to nurserymen, and particularly by the foundation in this district of an organisation known as 'The Society and Fraternity of Gardeners in the Shire of Midlothian.' Few facts are discoverable about the Society, though a building called the Gardeners' Hall long remained the visible embodiment of its activities. The members were mostly prominent business men who owned property in the Fountainbridge district. Curiously enough, however, they did not make themselves directly responsible for the nursery owned by the Society and Fraternity of Gardeners, but handed it over to a tenant. In 1729 James Bain of Bainfield was deacon of the Society, while Charles Duncan, goldsmith in Edinburgh, was treasurer. The ordinary membership included Bailie Robert Mitchel, brewer; John Wallace, apothecary; and John Weir, gardener at Heriot's Wark.

Though some of the founders were not gardeners, they judged that the industry presented an opportunity for profitable investment. The Society and Fraternity of Gardeners was founded in 1722. On 25th September of that year the Society rented four and three-quarter acres and thirty falls of the lands of Dalry, and on 12th March 1724 sasine was granted by Sir Alexander Brand to the deacon and

treasurer. The area lay to the north-east, and included what later was known as Romilly Place as well as the ground on which Gardner's Crescent is built. In the Valuation Roll of 1726 the Society's is valued at £30 Scots yearly.

In 1722 the Society and Fraternity of Gardeners set in tack to John Smith, gardener, the low storey of Gardeners' Hall with the yard adjacent thereto for twenty-one years (no rent mentioned), the tacksman to be allowed to quit at the end of every seven years, 'for which causes the said John Smith and Reuben M'Rabie, wigmaker, Edinburgh, as his Cautioner, are bound conjunctly and severally for the Tack duty therein mentioned during the whole years of the Tack.' Smith fell into arrears, and the Society were obliged to call upon M'Rabie for the tack duty. M'Rabie resisted the claim, and in 1731 raised an action 'for reduction of the Tack and a suspension of the charges upon the portion that he had at the expiry of the first seven years' duty over the Tack.' He pleaded that as the tacksman had taken advantage of the clause in the lease by relinquishing at the end of seven years, he was liable as cautioner only for the arrears during that period. The case came before Lord Haining, who held 'that the tack gives a power and liberty to the tacksman only to give over his possession at the end of every seven years, but there is no such clause in favour of the cautioner.' M'Rabie, therefore, had to pay £154 Scots for the first nine years and £182 Scots for the remaining twelve years.

The Society and Fraternity of Gardeners seem to have had doubts as to how the case would be settled. At all events, they sold, while it was *sub judice*, a portion of their holding, including a house, to Patrick Anderson, Comptroller of the Stamp Duties, and Barbara Montgomery, his spouse. Again, on 13th February 1731, the Society sold by public roup the Gardeners' Hall, a building which they must have erected immediately after acquiring possession of their four and three-quarter acres, since it is referred to in Smith's

tack, granted in 1722. The building, which was surrounded by a high wall, stood back from the highway and faced Ladyfield Place, a short street near the railway bridge in Morrison Street. In 1785 Gardeners' Hall belonged to Nathaniel Donaldson, who had returned from the West Indies. He probably was the originator of the name Tobago Street, a row of houses on the lands of Orchardfield that appear to have been owned by him. In 1787 Donaldson had a law-suit with William Morrison over the sale of two parks west of Gardeners' Hall. He won his case, and on 4th January 1788 advertised for sale, at the upset price of £900, 'the house, offices and parks of Gardeners' Hall and Dowhill, half a mile west of Edinburgh.' The house is described as 'elegant from its size, and commands a fine prospect.' Mention is also made of 'two enclosures, consisting of five Scots acres,' part of which are 'laid out in parterres and shrubbery.'

On 26th July 1810 sasine was granted to Christiana Shairp, spouse to James Atcherly, Captain, Royal Marines, as heir to Barbara Shairp, her aunt, of two acres and two roods of the lands of Dalry 'with the dwelling house thereon called Gardeners' Hall.' Mrs. Atcherly is mentioned as proprietrix in Kirkwood's Map (1817). In 1821 Gardeners' Hall was again in the market, and was acquired by William Gardner, W.S., 35 York Place, who pulled down the building and feued the site. By 1826 the imposing range of tenements known as Gardner's Crescent was erected. Gardner also built a church on his ground, and named it the Gardeners' Hall Church. There a congregation of the Secession body worshipped till about 1831, when they removed to the present church in Lothian Road. Their former meeting-place became the property of the Church of Scotland, and was re-named St. David's Parish Church. The old Gardeners' Hall Church was demolished when Gardner's Crescent was made through-going, the congregation of St. David's removing to a new church at the north end of Viewforth.

It only remains to deal with the north-east corner of the lands of Dalry as it was in the eighteenth century. Adjoining a row of self-contained houses on the south side of Morrison Street and extending eastwards to Semple Street was a large brewery built round a cobbled yard, and entered from a 'pend' which still exists under the name of Semple's Court. The brewery seems to have been built in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. Anyhow, it was seeking a tenant in 1758, having previously been owned by George Laidlaw. The brewery was bought by John Semple, who, in 1762, was succeeded by Robert Semple. These owners gave their name to the thoroughfare running between Morrison Street and Fountainbridge. Originally it was referred to merely as the cross-road from Castle Barns to Fountainbridge, but in 1766 it was named Semple Street. In that year (19th June) Robert Semple was granted sasine of one acre three roods and thirty-four falls on the west side of this thoroughfare. The ground lay south of the brewery, and on it he erected three two-storey houses. These have disappeared only recently. The central one was occupied in the eighteenth century by James Morton, weaver. Over the entrance was a carved stone showing the insignia of the Weavers' (or Websters') Incorporation of Portsburgh. The heraldic inscription on the stone (which has been preserved) is 'azure, on a chevron between three leopards' heads argent, each holding in its mouth a shuttle or, as many roses gules.' Beneath is the Latin motto, *Sine me nudus* (Without me naked). John Morton, who followed his father's trade, occupied the house in Semple Street so late as 1819. In Kirkwood's Map (1817) the building is marked as 'Mr. Morton's property.'

JOHN SMITH.

THE MAGISTRATES AND MASTERS OF LEITH

IN 1915 the writer published a book with the title *The Bailies of Leith*. It purported to give an account of the municipal history of the port. In one of the chapters a narrative was given concerning the Police Commissioners of Leith, a body set up by local Acts of Parliament for the purpose of carrying on certain departments of local government, all of which were later added to the functions of the Town Council. For the purpose of the present article it is not necessary to detail these Acts of Parliament, but reference may be made to one, which provided *inter alia* that certain of the duties imposed on the Police Commissioners should be entrusted to the Magistrates and Masters of Leith. The body which bore this somewhat unusual title held meetings, appointed a clerk, and kept a Minute Book of its proceedings from October 1827 to December 1841. This volume has recently been recovered and handed over to Edinburgh Corporation by Sir Joseph Dobbie. A perusal of its pages does not add much to the known history of Leith; but the book is valuable for the reason that it provides ample details concerning the important events which happened in the town during the period it covers. It is proposed in this paper to give a short account in regard to two or three events which may be reckoned as of major importance, and to refer still more briefly to certain minor matters. The narrative will be limited to the information obtained from the Minute Book.

I

In local history it is well known that the Magistrates of Leith had for centuries been appointed by the Edinburgh

Town Council, and that the choice of the individuals and the manner of the appointments had not always been satisfactory to the people of Leith. It is also well known that from early times the people of Leith had been grouped into four incorporations, viz.: (1) the Trinity House, representing sailors and mariners; (2) the maltmen and brewers; (3) the trades or craftsmen; (4) the traffickers or merchant company. These incorporations had a Convening House in which they held meetings and discussed the affairs of the town; and it followed, quite naturally, that the four masters of these incorporations regarded themselves as the chosen representatives of the community. It should be added that the people of Leith had always claimed that their Magistrates should be residents in the port; but while for long periods this qualification had been observed in practice, yet the Edinburgh Town Council never formally admitted the claim and the practice had been interrupted at various times.

In 1827 the Police Commissioners of Leith obtained a private Act 'to provide for the municipal government of the Town and suburbs of Leith.' Under this Act the appointment of Magistrates was put on a new basis. It was provided that at Michaelmas the old Magistrates of Leith and the Masters of the four incorporations should meet in the Council Chamber or Tolbooth and frame a list of nine names, from which the Town Council of Edinburgh should select three names as resident Magistrates for the ensuing year. This arrangement was probably a compromise made by parties or imposed on them, but at any rate it disposed of an old difficulty. Edinburgh, however, retained right to appoint a fourth Magistrate, called by the title of 'Admiral,' and he took precedence of the others.

Another clause of the 1827 Act provided that the 'resident Magistrates of Leith and the Masters of the four incorporations for the time being shall be entitled to hold and to

administer all property of whatever description, heritable or moveable, to be acquired by them for the use and behoof of the inhabitants of the said town.' Power was also given to provide a Court House and necessary offices. The Act also divided the town into ten wards, each having three Commissioners. Accordingly, when the 1827 Act became operative the numerous body of Police Commissioners met by themselves in the Convening House of the town; while the Magistrates and Masters held separate meetings in the Trinity House, an arrangement which did not work too well. The clerk of the Commissioners was John Harvey, Writer, 22 Bernard Street; the clerk of the Magistrates and Masters was Pillans Scarth, W.S., 35 Bernard Street. The latter gentleman was a well-known 'Leither,' and in the caricatures of the time he is represented as of Gargantuan proportions. A third official who comes into the minutes was Hugh Veitch, the Town Clerk, who had his office in the Tolbooth, which had recently been re-built in the Tolbooth Wynd. He was the grandfather of Earl Haig. Mention should also be made of Sheriff Duncan Matheson, for by the Act of 1827 Leith obtained a Sheriff all to itself. The Magistrates were Bailies John Hardie, Scarth, and Scott, while the Masters were Captain Duncan of the Trinity House; Robert Philip of the Maltmen; Neil Dryburgh, Convener of the Trades; and John Macfie of the Merchant Company. The Chairman of the Police Commissioners was George Crichton.

II

The subject of the Town Hall was taken up at once by the Police Commissioners, probably for the reason that it was necessary to provide the Sheriff with a Court House. In December 1827 the Magistrates and Masters had before them a detailed proposition from the Commissioners as to

a Court House with Police offices and other accommodation. They suggested that the Magistrates and Masters should feu an area belonging to St. John's Church, build thereon, and thereafter give the Police Commissioners a lease of the subjects for ninety-nine years at a rent calculated at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the cost to be incurred, which was estimated at £2500. This proposition met with a 'favorable opinion,' and the Magistrates and Masters resolved to make the necessary preparations, but not to build until funds were available. On 17th January 1828 the Magistrates and Masters accepted a tender amounting to £2300, the stone used to be 'the best Rock' from Craigleith quarry. The foundation stone was laid by the Magistrates and Masters on 12th March 1828.

To raise the necessary funds an arrangement was made with the Leith Banking Company for an overdraft of £2100 which was doubly secured, in the first place by guarantees of £150 each voluntarily given by fourteen local gentlemen, and in the second place by a heritable security given over the new buildings.

In April 1829 a minute bears that the clerk was desired to get the picture of the King's (George iv.) Landing which belonged to the Magistrates and Masters removed from the Tolbooth to the Town Hall. This picture still adorns the Council Chamber. On 25th July 1829 the meetings in the Trinity House ceased and henceforward the Magistrates and Masters met in the new building; and doubtless the Police Commissioners also held their meetings there. A statement was prepared showing the total expenditure, which amounted to the moderate sum of £3260, 10s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In June 1830 a lease of the subjects was given to the Police Commissioners for ninety-nine years, and the yearly rent was fixed at £239, 10s.

From the outset the Town Hall was the recognised forum for the public life of Leith. It has been the scene of many gatherings and events in which the voices of a long succession

of eminent citizens have been raised. One of the earliest ceremonial events associated with it was the proclamation of William iv. on 30th June 1830. The narrative given in the minutes is rather long, but the following extract may be permitted:—

'About half past one o'clock the Magistrates and Masters proceeded to the Hall, where they were joined by the High Constables, the clergy, and a numerous assemblage of members of the several public bodies, the Collector and Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs and other inhabitants of the Town. Mr. Scott, Senior Magistrate, having taken the Chair, about two o'clock Mr. Sheriff Matheson entered the Hall followed by Mr. Small, Admiral, and the heralds, pursuivants, and trumpeters then arrived, when the meeting proceeded to the Balcony where Mr. Sheriff Matheson read the following proclamation.'

On 5th September 1831 a meeting was held to consider as to the illumination of the Town Hall on the evening of that day. There was not much time to make preparation for what appears to have been a royal event. The meeting resolved that there should be a star of variegated lamps on the front towards Charlotte Street, and the letters 'W. & A.' with a Crown in the centre at Constitution Street, these being the initials of King William and Queen Adelaide. In this modest fashion the Magistrates and Masters expressed the loyal sentiments of the citizens of Leith.

On 25th June 1832 an Address to the King was voted unanimously on the occasion of an attack on His Majesty:—

'We deeply deplore the occurrence of the late alarming and daring attack on your most Gracious Majesty's person at Ascot and sincerely regret that a subject of Your Majesty existed capable of perpetrating so atrocious an Act. We beg to convey our congratulations and to declare how grateful we are to Providence that no serious injury has occurred to your Majesty on the occasion, and to state that our most anxious wish is that Your Majesty and your Royal Consort may long enjoy every happiness and occupy a throne surrounded and protected by a free and loyal people.'

III

On 22nd July 1831 the Magistrates and Masters received 'a most important communication from the Rev. Dr. Russel, incumbent of St. James's Episcopal Chapel, to the effect that Dr. Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, had gifted £120,000 to be distributed among certain towns for the endowment of schools on the Madras principle, and that £10,000 'had been gifted after considerable hesitation to Leith.' This sum was to be put under the management of the Magistrates and Masters as trustees, and to be used either for founding new schools or making grants to schools already existing. The meeting 'unanimously voted their warmest thanks to Dr. Russel, by whose means there was no doubt the munificent gift had been obtained for the town.'

The intimation of this donation was duly confirmed, and the clerk has engrossed in the Minute Book the indenture made by Dr. Bell relative to his gift of £120,000. It narrates the donor's desire for the more effectual diffusion of the Madras system, 'the greatest boon which he can confer upon his native country.'

In September 1831 Dr. Russel was commissioned to engage a teacher at a salary of £50, plus fees estimated to amount to £100. Two advertisements were put into the newspapers, one to the effect that an English School was to be instituted on the new system by a 'teacher, a native of England eminently qualified,' and the other inviting offers of ground on which to build a school 'in a central and airy situation.' In October it was agreed to visit some ground in the vicinity of Great Junction Street with a view to obtaining a site for the new building. Negotiations for the site proceeded rapidly, and a bargain was made for an area containing 2242 square yards subject to a feu-duty of £35. The

minutes do not give the date when Bell's school, the tender for which was £1705, was opened. It is stated, however, that the Magistrates and Masters allowed Mr. Wyer £2, 10s. and Mr. Carter £2, 15s. to be expended on prizes 'at the ensuing examination of their classes which they appoint to take place on Friday, 10th August 1832.' They also gave a customary gold medal for the dux of the High School.

The narrative about Dr. Bell's school, slight as it is, might convey the impression that the Magistrates and Masters were the education authority of the day. This, however, was not the case. The subject of education does not appear in the minutes apart from the administration of Bell's Trust. No doubt various claimants came forward seeking to share in this endowment, but none of them made a case to satisfy the Magistrates and Masters. One memorial was presented by the 'President and Committee of Management of the Newhaven Education Society,' calling attention to the claims 'of their schools in which upwards of 150 children were instructed.' In these schools the monitorial system was practised, and it was stated that for this reason they should receive 'a small donation to relieve the Society from present difficulties.'

'The Schools of Newhaven are chiefly designed for the benefit of the children of the Fishermen, who would be left in a state of great mental destitution were this Society compelled to relinquish their efforts for their instruction, and the funds of the Society are at present so low as to make them sometimes anticipate this painful result if some pecuniary relief is not afforded to them. Their efforts though paralysed by their straitened means will be restored to their wonted energy and usefulness by a successful answer to this very urgent, because needful, yet most respectful petition.'

The meeting considered this memorial but resolved not to come under pledge to any school or charitable institution whatever.

IV

When the Magistrates and Masters began their administration in 1827 there were no railways in Leith, but it was already realised that a connection to the Docks would be a great benefit. At a meeting held in June 1828 Bailie Hardie proposed that a railway should be formed to communicate between Leith and the Edinburgh and Dalkeith Railway. A meeting of parties was held shortly afterwards in the Royal Exchange Coffee House, in Edinburgh. The Forth Railway Company, as it was called, was represented by Sir John Hope, Sir J. H. Dalrymple, Robert Dundas and George Wauchope. At this meeting it was arranged to obtain a report from Mr. Jardine, the engineer for the Railway Company, on two topics: (1) the best line for a railway from Niddrie North Mains to Leith Harbour; (2) the prices at which coal could be procured from the different hills. The Leith representatives undertook to furnish information as to the business which might be expected to follow. The details which followed are not important, for the reason that nothing came of the proposal at that time. But some of the figures quoted are interesting, as indicating the dimensions of the trade of the town about a century ago.

The Magistrates and Masters supplied information to the effect that the yearly quantity of coal consumed by the inhabitants of Leith was 25,000 tons. The different public works accounted for other 10,000 tons, while shipping and export were responsible for 15,000 tons, the total being 50,000 tons. 'From the most intelligent bakers in the town' the Magistrates and Masters obtained the information that the wheat consumption in Leith was 52,000 bolls per annum; and of oats 60,000 bolls. The consumption of barley varied from 70,000 to 100,000 bolls; for beans and peas the amount was 5100 bolls. According to the 'opinion of the best in-

formed inhabitants of Leith the amount of general goods conveyed betwixt the country and Leith will at least be 6000 tons.' This included 200 tons of whale oil carried from Leith to Dalkeith.

Jardine's report appears in the minute of 12th November 1828. He estimated the cost of a double railway line running from Niddrie North Mains Bridge to Leith Harbour, a distance of four miles, at £29,628. On the figures supplied by Pillans Scarth he estimated the revenue of the railway at £3277, taking the charge per ton of coal at 8d. and for the others at similar rates. Repairs and management were put at £277; which left a clear return of £3000 or 12 per cent. on a capital of £25,000.

In January 1829 a prospectus was issued calling attention to the considerable economy in prices which the railway would effect. Manufacturers and traders were informed that the town 'will not only be benefited by the cheap supply of coal through means of the railway affording outward cargoes of that article which owing to its present high price is seldom if ever exported therefrom; but also that very circumstance will be the cause of inward freights being thereby obtained to importers at a cheaper rate.'

In February 1829 the Magistrates and Masters resolved to subscribe £500 to the Leith Branch Railway. Thereafter the matter dropped out of the minutes for several years. In February 1835 there is a reference to a determination intimated by the railway company that they would forfeit all shares on which the instalments were unpaid, including twenty shares of the Magistrates and Masters which were in that position. Apparently the enterprise had not prospered.

In the meantime, however, another railway project had been attracting the people of Leith. In October 1830 papers were produced relative to a line of railway projected betwixt Leith and the harbour of Broomielaw. The Magistrates and

Masters entertained favourable views of this scheme, and stated that they would co-operate with the railway company 'in forwarding an undertaking which they considered would conduce so much to the interests of Leith.' The matter is mentioned in several minutes, but apparently nothing came of it at the time; and there was no further investment in railway stocks.

V

At the time when the Magistrates and Masters began their administration the Docks of Leith were managed by a statutory commission. There was therefore no need to keep up the old subject of controversy with Edinburgh, but at times the temptation was irresistible. In March 1828 the Magistrates and Masters sent a memorial to the Commissioners of the Navy as to the attitude of Edinburgh in regard to certain obligations imposed by Parliament. One of those was the extension of the East Pier. Apparently the necessary plans could not be adjusted. This was characterised by the Magistrates and Masters as an evasion of solemn obligations and detrimental to the trade of the port. The memorial stated that the object of the city was 'evidently to avoid any outlay for the improvement of the harbour, but on the contrary to continue to expend its revenues on other purposes as they have for a long period done'; and the hope was expressed that the representations of Edinburgh would 'find no countenance from your honourable board.' What followed on this memorial is not stated, but apparently nothing was done. It was an old complaint that Edinburgh diverted the Dock revenues from their proper purpose, and this was still possible, because while at this date a statutory commission managed the affairs of the port, the collection of the revenues of the port continued to be in the hands of the Town Council of Edinburgh.

In July 1832 the Magistrates and Masters addressed another memorial to the Lords of the Admiralty. This related to improvements desired on the entrance to the Docks in order to accommodate steam vessels. The subject was attracting public attention in Leith, partly for the reason that Captain John Donaldson Boswall had printed and circulated to the owners of these vessels a pamphlet calling attention to the facilities which could be provided at Wardie.

The memorial repeated the former complaint about the extension of the East Pier, and mentioned that Edinburgh was under obligation to expend £28,000 for this purpose, according to the orders and directions of the statutory commissioners, of which body Captain Boswall of Wardie was a member. In this matter much depended on the attitude of the statutory commissioners, and it was stated that Captain Boswall

'took a prominent part in impeding and opposing the progress of the improvements and in reviving the old and exploded scheme for making an entrance to the Docks at Newhaven, more immediately in the vicinity of his own property of Wardie. . . . In the course of the last twelve months a new question of much importance to the trade of Leith has arisen. The larger class of steam vessels which until recently were employed chiefly in the conveyance of passengers have now been adapted to the conveyance of large cargoes of goods, for the landing and holding of which it is necessary for them to be alongside a quay. The locks and gates of the wet Docks at Leith not having been originally constructed of sufficient width to admit a steam vessel with the usual large projection for her paddles, it became necessary either to widen the present gates or to make an additional entrance.'

These improvements were, however, held up because of a prospectus issued by Captain Boswall of a separate harbour for these vessels at Wardie, which, if it had been carried into effect, would have been injurious to the port of Leith. In this crisis in the affairs of the port the memorialists desired the Admiralty to intervene, since the Government had invested

a large amount of public money in the Docks of Leith and the facilities required by steam vessels could be provided there at much less cost than by the construction of an unnecessary rival harbour. Despite his strenuous efforts Captain Boswall's project did not materialise.

VI

It has been hinted above that the Magistrates and Masters were fain to keep alive the old feud with the Town Council of Edinburgh. In the ordinary course of public business the two bodies were certain to come into contact. It was a time when the accepted course was to carry every dispute into the law-courts, and so throughout the Minute Book there are references to summonses, opinions of counsel and memorials. By way of illustration some details may be narrated concerning one of these petty quarrels.

The Magistrates and Masters provided gowns for themselves at a cost of £63, these garments being chiefly used for attending divine service in South Leith Parish Church. Public men were expected to set a good example on Sundays, and for generations the Bailies of Leith and the Town Clerk had occupied an official pew in the church.

On 11th October 1828 Hugh Veitch, the Town Clerk, transmitted a letter to Pillans Scarth requiring the attendance of the Magistrates at divine service on the following Sunday. This letter had been preceded by a verbal request. In his reply Scarth regretted that this request should be persisted in notwithstanding the explanation given to Admiral Ritchie, the representative of the Town Council of Edinburgh.

'As we will not on any account make the House of God a scene of contention we have declined the honour. Mr. Ritchie seems to found his reasons for attending church on old custom and on the

ground of maintaining feudal superiority. The Magistrates of Leith are actuated by other motives. They attend worship publicly as an example to their townsmen. They are well known to the people and their example may therefore be of benefit. Mr. Ritchie's attendance can be productive of no such end, as he is altogether unknown, and the very object of his attendance, so far from being exemplary, displays an erroneous interference in spiritual matters with concerns altogether temporal which they cannot recognise.'

At the same time the Magistrates and Masters instructed Scarth to procure separate accommodation in the church for their use in order to prevent disagreeable consequences. The problem was soon solved, for at their next meeting the clerk reported an offer from the Incorporation of Maltmen to provide seats in their loft, now converted into the organ gallery of the church. This was promptly accepted, and the clerk was instructed to have the seats prepared, and to procure three Bibles and eight psalm-books; also to negotiate with the Maltmen for a lease of the accommodation at a proper rent.

The minute of 8th December 1828 contains a resolution 'to dispense in future with the attendance of the town's officers on the Magistrates at church to avoid being placed in the same situation as on last Sunday by the interference of the Admiral in requiring their attendance on him.' The clerk submitted an offer from the Maltmen to lease 14 sittings or 'bottom rooms' in their loft for a rent of £12 and for a period of 99 years. This offer was accepted, and seemed indeed to provide for a long future.

In August 1829 the controversy was revived by a long letter from the Lord Provost. He stated that the Town Council had deemed it proper to consult their legal assessors in regard to the matter of the church sittings, and their opinion was as follows:—

'When the Admiral-depute, acting under authority of and representing the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council, attends worship

in the Parish Church, the resident Magistrates are not entitled to separate themselves from him and to take their places officially in another part of the church so as to appear to the public as assuming a character independent of instead of subordinate to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh.'

In view of this opinion the Lord Provost suggested that the Magistrates and Masters should appoint a solicitor to confer with their assessors, as the questions involved 'legal principles more proper for the discussion of lawyers than of gentlemen.' A long reply was prepared by the clerk as to this interesting suggestion, which was declined in unequivocal terms. The following extract is typical of many passages in the correspondence :—

'We must deprecate this additional subject of controversy as a further renewal of those contests so much to be regretted between the city of Edinburgh and the town of Leith. We must be permitted to add that the subject of your Lordship's communication is the last which in our opinion should have been chosen for the renewal of such discussions on matters of legal right or supposed superiority. We think that the benefit to be derived by the inhabitants of Leith in general will be much better promoted by the public attendance on divine worship of the resident Magistrates with whose public and private characters they are acquainted, than by the occasional appearance of an authority of whom they know nothing and with whose assumed temporary dignity they in no ways sympathise.'

This reply was read to a meeting of Council held in Edinburgh on 2nd September 1829. Apparently it was felt that the subject was hardly fitting for litigation, and the Town Council resolved to pass a formal enactment setting forth the duties of resident Magistrates and requiring them to conform thereto. In a long narrative it was pointed out that the Magistrates and Masters were acting in a manner contrary to their duty to the superiors of the barony, and contrary also to the

'immemorial practice not only in the barony of Leith, but in the baronies of Canongate and Portsburgh; and that it is proper and

necessary for the Town Council to prevent any encroachment on their rights and privileges as superiors, however unimportant apparently the act may be whereby such encroachment is manifested. . . . The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council do therefore enact and enjoin in virtue of the powers conferred upon them . . . that when the resident Magistrates of Leith attend divine worship in the parish church they shall occupy the official seat set apart for them and shall on no account attend as Magistrates with the insignia of office in any other seat; and the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council require obedience of the resident Magistrates to this Act as they shall be answerable therefor.'

An extract of this Act of Council was forwarded to the Magistrates and Masters. It provoked another lengthy rejoinder from Scarth, in which he scouted the notion that the law could require the Magistrates and Masters to occupy either the Edinburgh seat or any other seat; or even to enforce them to go to church at all.

VII

The Magistrates and Masters were seven in number, three of the former and four of the latter. The Masters were therefore in the majority, but the minutes do not record any difference of opinion prior to 1833 when the Leith Town Council came into existence. This event changed the position altogether, since the new Town Council had a provost and four bailies. This gave a majority to the Magistrates, and the older body, therefore, could, if necessary, be made amenable to the wishes of the Town Council.

Scarth stoutly maintained that the body which he served and which had largely been fashioned by him must continue to function apart from the Town Council so long as the Act of 1827 stood unrepealed. But the new Town Council were disposed to take the view that the Magistrates and Masters

had been superseded, and implicitly abolished. This view was also adopted by the Convener of Trades. The result was that three masters of incorporations were left to assert the rights of the older body. In December 1834 the issue between the two bodies was sharply raised in connection with Bell's Trust, when the Town Council made a formal protest, declaring that the functions of the Magistrates and Masters had ceased and that the administration of the funds of Bell's Trust had devolved on the Town Council. The protest was recorded in the minutes together with a long reply or vindication, no doubt composed by the redoubtable Scarth. The Magistrates abstained from attending the meetings called by him, and three Masters were left to carry on, but their meetings became less frequent as their functions were taken from them, some by the Town Council, and others by the Police Commissioners.

The last phase occurred in April 1836 when the Town Council promoted in Parliament a Bill having as one of its purposes the abolition of the separate body of the Magistrates and Masters. Scarth prepared a spirited petition against the Bill; and his document in draft came before a special meeting of the Magistrates and Masters when, perhaps unexpectedly, the Provost and Magistrates chose to attend. Being in a majority they had no difficulty in transforming the petition against the Bill into one in its favour, in converting a curse into a blessing. But Scarth contrived to lodge a petition on behalf of the minority, and for various reasons the Bill seems to have been dropped.

After this incident the minutes become scrappy, and cease altogether in 1841. The Magistrates and Masters were perhaps a unique body created on account of the special circumstances existing in the locality at the time of the passing of the Act of 1827. Their most obvious claim to be remembered lies in the fact that they erected the handsome Town Hall and Dr. Bell's School.

In *The Bailies of Leith* a narrative is given of the Police Commissioners, who continued to function until 1848, when the Town Council obtained an Act of Parliament by which they amalgamated that body. Shortly thereafter they took possession of the Town Hall.

DAVID ROBERTSON.

THE HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE:

PART II

UNLIKE other trades, the Hammermen of the Canongate seem to have been slow to invest their money in property. The Bakers of the same burgh possessed several houses on both sides of the street, with which they parted one by one before they acquired the land which changed the name of Hammermen's Close to Bakehouse Close—but that is to anticipate.

I

From the earliest mention of the craft's finances it appears that they lent out their money in small sums to a variety of persons, including burgesses of Edinburgh, and met with the usual difficulty both in obtaining payment of their annual-rents and in recovering the principal when they wanted it. At last they wearied of the difficulties, and resolved to collect all the cash due to them and to invest it in the purchase of a house in the burgh. It was a move which had much to recommend it, in so far as they had no settled place for their assemblies, meeting sometimes in the open air, sometimes in one of the available buildings in the burgh. On 9th October 1646 the whole craft, premising that 'thair predecessours (except of laite yeiris) have been very cairless and slauchfull in manadging and governing the Craftis estaitte and meynis,' resolved to buy the land and great lodging in the Canongate, above the Canongate Cross, from its owners, the

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heirs of Mr. John Scharpe, and to borrow for that purpose such extra sums as should be necessary.

No further progress was reported for nearly a year, the craft being too much occupied in setting its affairs in order after the disappearance of the plague. Then, on 23rd September 1647, it was reported that the house had been bought and paid for. By the boxmaster's accounts, presented on that day, it appeared that the craft had raised 4476^u 17s. 8d., partly their own, partly borrowed money—the latter by far the greater sum—and had paid for the house, the composition to the City of Edinburgh as superiors, legal expenses and the pointing of the buildings 4308^u 18s. 2d., leaving a balance of 167^u 19s. 6d.

This great lodging has been, unfortunately, one of the houses of Old Edinburgh round which hangs a wholly erroneous tradition. The late President of our Club, in his 'Note on Huntly House' (*O.E.C.*, vol. xiv.), did his best to lay it, but the name of Huntly House, assigned to it on insufficient evidence, still sticks. But the chronicle of owners excludes the possibility of the supposed ownership of the Earls of Huntly and their family, of which two members, Henrietta, Dowager Duchess of Gordon, and her son Lord Adam Gordon, were, towards the close of the Hammermen's tenure, tenants of a part of the building.

The craft made no important structural alterations upon their new purchase. All they did was to add on several rooms, to subdivide others and to alter the staircases to admit of more tenants being accommodated in their new possession. For, when they purchased the house, it was more to obtain a good investment than for their own purposes as a craft, and they set about recouping themselves by letting it out to tenants.

The charter of the Town Council bears that the house had been acquired by Richard Guthrie from John Schairp, a minor, for the sum of 5442 merks 6s. 3d., with a further

sum of 183¹ for expenses, being 381¹ 4s. 2d., showing that he made quite a substantial profit in getting rid of the place to the craft. They, apart from the purchase price, had to pay a feu-duty of 8¹ a year to Edinburgh, and a sum, which there is no means of estimating, as interest on the borrowed money. With these was also another payment, a survival of pre-Reformation times, in the form of pittance silver payable to the Abbey of Holyrood.

The craft seemed to have moved slowly in all alterations of their property. It was not till 30th October 1648 that they set about contriving a place of meeting for themselves, when it was decided unanimously, 'That the divisone betwixt the tua loftis in thair land above the Kitchine be takin away and baith maid ane for ane conveening hous and that the same be reparat, drest new with sylerine bankeris and utheris easmentis with ane chimney and stair buirdis and utheris requisit and putt in gude ordour as becumes.' On the same day the fore lodging, high and low, with kitchen and yard, vacant by removal of a tenant, was set to Patrick Creighton of Lugton for 220¹ a year, with the condition that, while he paid regularly, he should be asked, neither to pay more, nor to remove. Four months later the craft decided that 'these southmost housis of thair lodging at the baikhous to be reedifet and buildit and beattit and maid tua hous hight and the ruiff put on and theikit conforme to an visite maid thairof be Maister David Hereot, advocat, and Richard Guthrie Wryter to the Signett and that with all possible diligence and ordanis the boxm^r. to get and borrow money and deburs all necessars for that effect.' An act of September 1649 records the letting of a 'low' house to James Crombie, deacon of the weavers, for 40¹ a year.

Prior to that date the Hammermen had begun to realise that their investment had proved costly so far, for 'considering the great burdings lyeing on the trade in building and repairing of the land belonging to them' and to defray

a part of the debt on the house, the sum of 6s. 8d. a quarter was ordered to be levied from all brethren of craft, under the penalty of the loss of the right of voting, should two quarters remain unpaid, and a fine of 40s.

Creighton did not require his lodging for long, but in 1650 asked permission, which was granted, to put in a sub-tenant. It was unlucky for the Hammermen, but not surprising, since the application came three weeks after the battle of Dunbar, for who would have wished to stay in a place occupied by the English Army when he had responsibilities elsewhere. Worse followed in March 1651 when it was recorded 'annent the present conditione of the whole land bak and fore within and at the close heid now given over by the present possessors and lest the said houses shall be prejudiced by anything which may fall through the not taking care of them . . . condescendit . . .' that the deacon, boxmaster and a committee of four should do everything possible for the letting of the said houses. In 1655 it was determined to let the lodging 'in which Mr. Culling dwells' for the highest possible price, presumably over his head.

These are all the entries for what later writers termed the 'usurpation.' It is not surprising: the Canongate depended still on the nobility and gentry within her borders, and to these, at such a time, there was no inducement to live in the burgh. In 1666 'Mr. Culling's' name recurs, but as plain Thomas Couling in an act arranging for a meeting with him anent his tenancy. Five years later the craft were building again. So far as can be gathered from the entries, the roof was heightened on either side of the central gable to make two additional 'houses.' The craft consulted with 'Mr.' Mylne, the King's Master Mason, and their own wrights and masons about the construction of a turnpike stair and entry. It appears that this must have been in view of the additional houses, for it was agreed that a 'skellie' stair should be made to the east turnpike and that, if need were,

the turnpike itself should be enlarged. The question of 'syllering' or plastering the new rooms was discussed with six experts and the former method settled upon. One of the new rooms was to be painted, but as cheaply as possible, and the room next the convening house was to be painted also. The cost of these additions was 4649¹¹ 17s.

It is matter for regret that so little is recorded about the tenants of the house. In 1670 the deacon was permitted to let the craft's lodging to the Earl of Morton for a year, but neither terms nor any other particulars are given. Between 1672 and 1674 one tenant, the laird of Brounhall, was allowed certain improvements, a coal house in the back yard and the re-decorating of his parlour, either plaster work or panelling as the craft, the laird and the tradesmen could agree.

But, with the end of a volume and the year 1685 the Hammermen's records stop abruptly, and the story of the house has to be pieced out from other sources. According to Maitland, in his *History of Edinburgh* (1753), the Dowager Duchess of Gordon was living there. It need not be imagined that she had the whole, or even the greater part of the house, for, when her son took over the lodging at her death in 1760, he was only one of many tenants. That is shown from the list of inhabitants given at the time of the sale of the property by the Hammermen in 1762. This list is worth quoting as an instance of the truly democratic existence possible in Old Edinburgh. There were seventeen tenants, including Lord Adam, four weavers, a plumber, a painter, a merchant, a blacksmith, a staymaker, a letter-carrier, a stabler and a gardener. Lord Adam and two others had leases of their lodgings, but the Incorporation, when disposing of their property to William Wilson, writer, and George Innes, cashier of the Royal Bank, gave 'power to the purchasers to quarrell the said tacks upon any ground of law that will not infer warrandice against the Corporation.' There may have been a flaw in the leases, but history is silent. The purchase price

of the house and lands was £1400 sterling, a sum which, compared with what the craft paid for the land, should have been enough to discharge their liabilities.

In 1784 the Bakers of the Canongate offered for and acquired a part of the buildings in Hammermen's Close for a bakehouse, and the year after erected an oven with bakehouse and a convening room above. It is due to their ownership that the old name of the close was superseded by the present name of Bakehouse Close. They sold a part of their land, 'the large old house,' in 1786 for the purpose of defraying part of the debt incurred in making the purchase. The last notice of any interest connected with the Hammermen is found in 1834, when one of the new schools, which had sprung up in Edinburgh since 1812 for the education of the poor, was housed in the Hammermen's Hall. To be exact, it is not stated definitely that the hall was the original one, but the presumption is fairly strong that the name had stuck—at least in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

II

It is an almost invariable rule of early burgh legislation that it is not preventive but corrective. Only after the steed was stolen was the stable door locked and, to continue the metaphor further, it had to be relocked frequently. It was a simple enough matter to enact statutes and rules, but very difficult to enforce them.

In this the Hammermen are no exception. Their laws are nearly all framed to combat abuses which had sprung up among themselves. The methods of enforcement were few. In serious cases the authorities could be invoked, the bailies of the regality of Broughton and burgh of the Canongate, but this appears to have been a last resort, to which application was made but seldom, and the ordinary punishments

were fines of various magnitude, loss of freedom or social ostracism. The latter two rarely failed of their effect—in time.

The statutes, copied in May 1613 into the new book, cannot embody the earliest craft ordinances, for the first entry is dated only in 1537. But, as was the practice with other crafts and in other burghs, the original constitution and laws of the Canongate Hammermen must have been given in their Seal of Cause, while later acts dealt with occasions for discipline as they arose. There is a marked tendency to repetition in all of them, showing how difficult it proved for the deacon and masters to exact the standard of conduct which they thought desirable.

The first act is concerned with upholding the authority of the deacon and masters. It enacted that no master or servant should 'contempne, lichtlie or disobeye' the deacon or his masters under penalty of a fine of 40s. and loss of the right to vote in craft meetings for a year; for the third fault the punishment was loss of freedom. The substance of this is repeated frequently. The 12th act, dated 1560, alludes to such as are so 'unreverent' as to strike their servants in the deacon's presence, awarding a fine of 40s. for the offence; the 26th, that no brother 'truble or molest' another in his presence, under pain of 40s. fine and loss of his vote. Act 35 forbids the brethren of craft to seek any other judges but the deacon and masters, with the condition that, failing justice from them, they may apply to the old deacon and masters, 'and quhasoever brekis or violatis any point of this presentis to lose the priviledges of craft and never to have vote amang us.' This act, passed in 1598, was confirmed later in act 55 in a slightly modified form, making it necessary for a member of the craft to complain to the deacon before he sought another judge.

The ordinary minutes of the craft abound in prosecutions for this offence, alluding to 'malicious and wicked speches'

against the deacon and masters. Sometimes the deacon, thus insulted, called upon the old deacon to take his place while he made his complaint, as in a case in 1615 when Francis Mowtray, deacon, was accused of partiality. In that, as in other cases, the punishment was a fine, loss of freedom and complete isolation, insomuch as his companions were forbidden to work, drink, buy, sell or lend with him, a punishment which brought submission in the end, though certain hardened sinners held out for long, in one case at least for about two years.

It was perilously easy to break this statute, when 'mis-calling' the deacon behind his back, giving the lie to another in presence of the deacon, or similarly abusing or striking one another in his presence. Tempers apparently were hot among the Hammermen, and 'idle and disdainful speiches' were only too common, due very probably to the common practice of reporting fellow-craftsmen's delinquencies at the meetings. The Cromwellian occupation of the burgh seems to have set the nerves of the Hammermen on edge, for such incidents are very frequent and the clerk of the period reported them at length. There was the occasion when one man interrupted a discussion of trade affairs by saying that 'if John Padyeane wer hanged that he sould have his mynd so accomplished as his intent was,' and for his 'absurditie and base cariage' was fined 40s.

The principal subject of the statutes, and indeed a very large part of the Book, dealt with the relation of masters and apprentices and with the conduct of servants and apprentices. From the statutes alone it might be assumed that the life of the latter was a hard one and that justice was rarely done them. From the Book it appears that any prentice with a justifiable complaint against his master was sure of redress, backed by the whole influence of the craft, while any complaint, however unfounded, was sure of a hearing.

A constantly recurring trouble was the conduct of servants and apprentices, both with regard to their work and their leisure. As has been seen, qualification for freedom of the craft required a definite record of service with one or more masters, and not only the apprentices, but also the servants were required to engage themselves formally with masters. The former evaded this whenever possible and paid the penalty when caught, and their attitude seems to have been copied by the servants. Among several acts to much the same effect the earliest is quoted here for the choice and emphatic nature of its language :—

'The deacon and Maisters of hammermen craft within the Cannogait for good ordour to be keipit amangis and that thair be na servandis nor unfriemen going about lyk vagaboundis from booth to booth not acknowledging ane Maister nor yit will fie themselves with any Mr. in hie contemptatioun both of us and our occupatioun as also in contempt of the baillies and commontie. We thairfore all in ane voce statutis and ordanis that fra this furth nane of our brethrene nor frie men tak upoun hand to resset ressave or hald within thair boothis or company any sick vagabondis or unfriemen the space of xij houris except he fie himself for yeir or half yeir at the least. . . .'

It should be remembered that apprentices were definitely part of the household of their masters, who were responsible for them at all times, a fact which helps to account for the multiplication of statutes anent their behaviour. If all were as unruly as the acts make out, the life of a master must indeed have been a difficult one. One early statute forbids prentices or servants to 'mak any stryffe debaitt, querrelling or tulyie' either within or without their masters' booths. Another forbids them to absent themselves from their masters' service without permission asked *and received*. Again, the deacon and masters, finding that some of their apprentices and servants were given to drunkenness, night walking and unlawful pastimes 'quhen they sould be better excercysed quherby thair hes fallin out dangerous accidentis

and slawchter,' enacted that any servant or prentice, found to be players of cards or dice, or otherwise offending, was to be fined at the discretion of the deacon and masters. The offence of night walking had a further act to itself in which it was explained how the offenders 'will not gang to thair bed in dew tyme quhairby they may be the mair abill to ryse in the morning to thair Mr^{is} work.' Sabbath observance also was regulated, and it was enjoined that apprentices and servants must accompany their masters to church both forenoon and afternoon. This act was expanded in 1686, forbidding any master to allow his prentice out after eight at night.

There were other graver faults which had to be corrected. In 1560 it appears that it had been the custom to allow servants and apprentices to work for their own hand on Saturday evenings and any times when work was slack. This had led to 'great pykrie and stealing' of materials from their master's booths, and the craft promptly ordered the practice to cease. Again, the craft found reason to complain of the 'pryd and stuburnes' of the prentices and servants to their masters and 'houssies,' or masters' wives, and imposed a penalty for such offences of a fine of 20s. and imprisonment. This statute appears to have been necessary indeed, for the records abound in instances of such defiance. The stress on the 'houssie' as well as the master is a reminder that women seem to have helped their husbands and, at their death, frequently kept on the shop, apprentices and servants till the termination of their indentures or of the years for which they were hired.

The engagement of servants appears to have been a troublesome business. Freed from the restrictions of a long apprenticeship, the young men appear to have been trying in the extreme, for a variety of acts record the different kinds of offence against which precautions had to be taken. They were apt to leave one master for another with-

out sufficient notice—forty days being the prescribed time. They posed as disengaged when they had already been feed by one master, they hired themselves out to two masters at a time, they left a master to whom they were in debt, and took another to escape paying what they owed. These offences were dealt with by fines and by enacting that all servants were to be engaged in presence of the deacon and several masters. It is possible that the masters themselves were partly to blame for this state of affairs, for acts in the Book of the Hammermen show that the rate of payment was not uniform, while some perquisites added to the wages must have been more tempting than others. The would-be servant might choose between a pair of shoes, or two pairs, a new shirt and a pair of shoes, a suit of his master's old clothes, a pair of shoes and a pair of old breeches, or some similar offering.

Another grave offence, repeated several times, was of a different nature, and it is recorded how servants were guilty of enticing prospective customers from a neighbour's booth to their own master's. This zeal was frowned upon by the authorities, and the offenders were warned or fined.

Apart from regulations as to behaviour, the statutes deal at some length with the fees chargeable for admission to the craft, either as apprentice, servant or freemen, as noted earlier. The fees showed a steady tendency to increase as the currency depreciated and the cost of living rose, with one exception. For while the craft agreed to raise the payments for admission as freemen in 1657, they found good to rescind the act of that date in 1664 and to revert to an earlier agreement, which was less burdensome. They were consistent in trying to keep down the incidental expenses of the various admissions, partly because of the extravagance involved, partly because of the 'ryots' which were apt to supervene on the festivities on these occasions. A custom, called 'apron ale,' the standing of free drinks to fellow-

servants by one newly engaged with a master, was viewed with disfavour: so also was the custom of feasting at the time of offering an essay, and several statutes limit the amount of 'banquet silver' on such occasions to 20 merks, a sum which, even in these days, would not permit promiscuous entertaining.

But, even in times which were poor and when morals were severe, the craft apparently liked entertainments, and used means which appear now inadvisable, not to say slightly dishonest, to obtain them. A statute was passed towards the end of the sixteenth century, forbidding the deacon and masters to 'drink or spend any of the commoun good belonging to the craft.' In 1630 another statute, after explaining that on the day of the elections it had been the custom to banquet at the craft's expense and that 'jarris and inconvenientis' had occurred, ordered all freemen to keep in their own hands their quarterly dues and that the banquet should be discontinued. There is, however, no evidence that the statute was enforced, and judging from the example of the Canongate bailies, it is probable that the act was a dead letter.

The officials and meetings of the craft were the subject of considerable legislation. As regards the deacon, it was enacted that he must not override the opinion of masters of the craft. It was also settled that, to make him eligible for the office, he must have served for a year at least as boxmaster. In 1683 a statute was passed, relating that continuance in office for two years together had resulted in financial loss to the deacons so elected, and that in future such appointments were to last for one year only. The same statute was made applicable to the office of boxmaster.

That official, whose appointment dated only from 1560, was in charge of the craft's financial affairs and submitted his accounts yearly, before the elections. Because of irregularities and delay, it was enacted in 1614 that the accounts

must be submitted before the election of a new boxmaster, and later it was agreed that they must be shown and audited quarterly. This was done, but the accounts are disappointing in that the detail is never recorded but merely the totals, and for this reason it is impossible to come to any satisfactory idea of the craft's finance.

The meetings of the craft are alluded to frequently in the statutes. There were penalties attached to the calling of meetings on insufficient grounds as a waste of time. Equally it was a punishable offence not to attend a meeting to which summons had been made, or to reveal to outsiders the business considered by the deacon and masters or by the whole craft. To a great extent the Hammermen met only as need arose, though it was ordered that the deacon and masters must convene at least once a fortnight on Wednesdays. Behaviour and precedence at meetings was provided for also, as follows:—

'no frie brother . . . sall keip privat or publict discourse with one another at the table when the deacone boxm^r. and remanent brethrene of the traid as mett about thair lawfull ocationes bot what sall be requyred of thame from the deacone for the tyme. And also ordanes that ilk maister of trad sall without debait or questione sitt doune at the table when the trad is mett eache of thame in thair respective places and this for decensie and good order of traid in tyme coming. . . .'

The act 'that nane of the brethrine at any meitting mak ony noise or Mutinie nor speak quhill they be requyret and thair vote cravet . . .' speaks for itself. It may be appropriate to note in this place that, till the house was bought by the Hammermen, they met either in the open air, on McNeill's Crag, or in Trinity College Church, the Abbey Church or the Canongate Tolbooth. Meetings of masters, though it is not stated, probably were held in the house of the deacon for the time.

No less than four acts are directed towards the necessity for attendance of the whole craft at the funeral of any one

of their number, even stipulating that none might appear on such occasions in working dress, that is in an apron. The use of the craft's mortcloths also was prescribed. Over these they had trouble with the Kirk Session, as the income from the burgh mortcloths was applied usually to the support of the poor and the possession of private mortcloths was detrimental to that fund. But the craft were strong enough to have their own way, subject to the restriction that they might not hire out their cloths to unfreemen.

Other acts forbid the changing from one art to another, insist on the use of individual marks for all goods sold, forbid the taking of booths or houses to the prejudice of a fellow-craftsman, safeguard the giving of charitable support or of loans by disqualifying any recipient from a vote in craft affairs, and condemn in no measured manner the evils of drunkenness.

III

It is disappointing that the records of the Hammermen are almost exclusively concerned with their own business, and that during a century when Edinburgh was the centre of national politics—more, the leader to a great extent of public opinion—this Canongate craft is almost altogether without allusion to the events of the time. In this, it must be said, they run true to type, for, even in the Town Council of Edinburgh, a careful avoidance of debatable matter is the rule.

The happenings of the century might well have provoked some comment, if not some legislation, but the Hammermen passed over the visits of Charles I. in silence, were not at all concerned with the National Covenant, and were apparently untouched either by the Bishops' wars or the lightning campaign of Montrose which roused Edinburgh to such acute anxiety. Before the advent of Cromwell's army, nothing

seems to have touched them save the payment of their share of the taxation imposed by the parliament of Charles I. The whole craft was convened in 1625 to consider the tax, and agreed to assess themselves for 50 merks, 'this being kollektid with descrisiane amongis the said craft.' From that time till 1651 the troubles of the country were not considered worthy of mention. Then they manifested not a little anxiety for the preservation of their own valuables. They ordered the titles of their new house to be built up in a corner of one of the rooms and confided their other papers to the deacon, with the express condition that he was not to be held responsible for their loss. The craft's mortcloths were bestowed in the custody of another member, despite his protests that 'by reasone that the English armie being heir that the said mort cloath may be plundered robd or taken from him and that he would not byd the hazard theroff.' That they had reason for their precautions is apparent by an act of 26th May 1651 relating that 'thair lockit book quhairin wes all thair acts and statuts for reiding of the traid and the samyne actis and statuts being reft spoiled and all lost,' the said acts were to be rewritten and bound in the old boards. The explanation of the cause of the damage is given briefly in another act—the book had been 'wronged by the suldiers.' The craft then settled down to endure the English occupation as best they might.

There appears to have been little interference with the life of the burgh, so little indeed, that freemen admitted to the craft seem to have taken the usual oath to uphold the King and government of the realm till 1658, when an alteration in the formula made them swear obedience to the supreme magistrate.

In February 1686 there is a hint of the anti-popish agitation in the neighbourhood, due to the actions of James VII. and II., probably with particular reference to his act setting apart the Abbey Church, then the only church of

the parish of the Canongate, to be his Chapel Royal, and the orders for fitting it up as a Roman Catholic Church. The craft's act is entirely non-committal as to the views of the individual members, and destined merely to prevent disorder in the burgh:—

'Taking to their serious consideration the frequent abuses that of late have fallen out by a rabble and rascality of people convocated together in time of divine service and at other times to the great prejudice of the place and to the effect that all prentices and other servants belonging to the members of the incorporation may be free and innocent of the said tumultuous meetings they consent that each member shall order his prentices and servants to keep the Sabbath day and not be found on the street in time of divine service or on the street at any tumult, and that each master do not suffer his prentices or servants to go abroad after eight o'clock at night, with certification that, if they do, they shall be disowned by their respective masters who shall concur in seeing them punished and imprisoned. And each person failing to pay to the trade 10^{li}.'

IV

A similar reticence characterises the craft with regard to the relations with Edinburgh. The capital for long had viewed with jealous apprehension the liberty of the adjacent burgh and, during the time of the last commendator, Robert Stewart, had made a determined effort to prove unfounded the Canongate's undeniable right to be considered as a burgh of regality. The attempt had failed, but up till and after the acquisition of the superiority of the burgh by Edinburgh, the Town Council tried repeatedly to obtain control of the crafts there.

One dispute, heard before the Privy Council on 20th March 1594-95, concerns the Hammermen. The Bailies and Council of the Canongate espoused the cause of George Foullair, armourer burgess, and produced his complaint before

the Privy Council. It had to do with the right of free markets in Edinburgh, held on three days of the week 'fra sone to sone,' and bore that the inhabitants of that town, induced by the 'impunity' of their magistrates, had begun to molest the Canongate men. Foulair, on three separate days, had had goods reft from him; first, four new sword scabbards, valued at 40s.; next, a new sword worth 10 merks; next, a sword worth 10^l and three scabbards worth 30s. The Privy Council ordered that his wares should be restored to him and remitted the whole question to the Lords of Council and Session. Pending their decision there was to be freedom of trade in the markets. Their decision, however, does not appear to have been recorded.

The whole transactions regarding the acquisition of the superiority of the Canongate by Edinburgh are passed over in silence in the craft records. It is true that the Town Council, with marvellous discretion, forbore any interference with the government of the burgh, save in so far as regarded the appointment of the baron bailie. Also they abstained from any meddling with the rights of the Hammermen. Possibly as a result of this tact, the craft in 1643 upheld their brethren in Edinburgh in a complaint made against William Roger, saddler in the Canongate, forbidding him to have benefit of the craft till he appeared to answer the charge against him. The man held out for three months and then gave in, but five years later was convicted again of an offence against the boxmaster of the Edinburgh Hammermen and fined 4^l.

So far all had been amicable, but on 19th October 1649 comes the echo of a 'contraversie' between the two burghs anent the privileges of the Canongate as 'have been practesed of all superiours before the towne of Edinburghs challenge.' The craft consented unanimously to bear any charges put upon them 'ay and quhill the contraversie shall be endit.' The matter in question, which no records give in detail,

appears from the Acts of the Edinburgh Town Council to have dragged on through the years 1650 to 1653 without any agreement being reached. The Hammermen noted the continuance of the dispute in May 1650 when they agreed to pay 100 merks for the defence of their liberties with the other trades in the action before Parliament, and again, more forcibly, in May 1652:—

'Annet the desire of the toune of Ed^r. toward the discrepancies betwixt them and the toune of the Cannogate and anent the submission craved be the toune of Ed^r. to yield all obedience to their demands thereanent as also in the mater of the act relative of the said deacone to be counsellour in the Cannogate. After consideration and examination with voyceing about of the trade convenit they all in ane voyce disclame dissasent and pass frae the whole substance contenit in the twa decreits from Ed^r. counsell ane wherof daited the twelf of May ane uther of the nynteenth of May for the reasons conteenit in the twa severall decreits and to saiff the trade and their successours from present and future periurie therein.'

The decrees have not been traced, but it may be allowable to assume from the act of the craft that it was an attempt of the Edinburgh Council to place the trades of the Canongate under the control of the deacons of the royal burgh. The affair was not settled in June 1654, but the craft resolved not to proceed with the case against Edinburgh for the moment because of the shortness of the session and the importance of the matters at issue.

In 1659 comes an allusion to the powers of the Town Council, as superiors, to impose taxation on the Canongate. The craft, on that occasion, were concerned only to defend the deacon against the insinuations of a fellow-member. John Makie had 'scandalized' the deacon, Andrew Wilkie, by declaring that he had no right or warrant from the trade to give 'any condiscendence to the toune of Ed^{rs}. impositione upon 8d. of the pynt of the malt,' and for expressing his opinion was fined 40s.

The latent hostility between the Hammermen of Edinburgh and the Canongate is shown in an act of the Hammermen of 10th May 1667, fining Gilbert McKaill, pewterer, 40s. for 'devulging of his brothers waiknes to the friemen of Edr. and not representing the caice to the deacone of this trade.' Whatever the exact offence it was judged so serious that any repetition of it was to involve a fine of 10 merks.

An attempt to control the crafts in 1676 found the spirit of the Canongate unbroken. The Hammermen registered, in June of that year, their intention to help the fleshers of the Canongate in their defence against the skinners of Edinburgh and to spend in their defence as much as any other trade consented to do.

In 1686 the tumult in which the apprentices and servants were concerned, already noticed as an expression of popular feeling against the King's attempt to favour Roman Catholicism, gave Edinburgh a legitimate excuse to interfere. The Hammermen had tried already to suppress disorder so far as they were concerned by their act of 2nd February, but, four days later, they recorded that the Town Council had presented a bond to be signed by them as surety for their servants and apprentices. It sounds a comparatively trivial obligation into which they were asked to enter, but the craft thought advisable to discuss the bond with an advocate and to take his advice how far they might engage themselves without prejudice to their liberties. It seems probable that they fought shy of signing, and that the rest of the inhabitants of the Canongate did likewise, because they suffered the usual penalty for disturbances by having troops quartered upon them.

The royal burgh was the stronger, and the eighteenth century saw the gradual waning of the independence of the Canongate. The weakening of the craft's powers was not due entirely to that, but to changing circumstances and more modern views as regarded freedom of trade. It was a gradual

process and common to the trades of all burghs, and the final stage was reached in the conclusions of the 1835 Commission on the Royal Burghs. The Commissioners examined the state of the Canongate and interrogated all the crafts as to whether their former privileges were worth retaining. The evidence with regard to the Hammermen was that they had instituted only ten prosecutions for breaches of their privileges in the past thirty years, and that these privileges did not form any considerable inducement to enter the craft and might with safety be abolished.

V

Compared with its neighbour beyond the Netherbow, the Canongate had a most peaceable record of civic government in which the strife between merchants and craftsmen was practically unknown. Still, it appears to have been found necessary to have some definite organisation among the more important of the crafts, the hammermen, the tailors, the bakers and the shoemakers. This agreement, dated 14th February 1610, is dealt with and given *in extenso* in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xiv., and so requires but slight comment in this article. It is, however, worthy of note how jealously the crafts guarded their own privileges, especially as regards matters of discipline. The Hammermen, who doubtless were not unique in so doing, made it a punishable offence to appeal beyond the jurisdiction of their deacon and masters; the agreement between the four trades also stresses that point, even though they were represented on the Council of the burgh. In the Book of the Hammermen one allusion is made to this document, termed the 'union band,' another is found among the acts of the bailies. The former, dated 1647, runs as follows: 'The brethren having often desired that the union band might be read in their

presence that they might understand the nature of it, the deacon and masters caused it to be read openly that they might pretend no ignorance of the acts contained in it. Thereafter it was statute that if any freeman divulge or talk of it he or they shall be not only censured and punished but debarred from all privilege of craft.' The other act, dated 1709, bears that the deacon of tailors, representing all the incorporations, gave in a petition for ratification of their right to judge in matters solely regarding their own incorporations, according to their 'union contract.' The bailies approved the petition, with the provision that difficulties which could not be settled among themselves must be referred to the magistrates.

Neither a favourable sett nor the 'union band' could prevent clashes with the magistrates, and in September 1622 the deacon, masters and brethren met in the College Kirk

'anent ane wrang that wos doune be the baillies of the brughe in electing and shoosing of thair majestrats the wrang being delaited to the hail brithering and everie ane of thair consentis being speired thairanent all with ane voce concluded to ask for remeid of law thairanent and to concour with the uther thre dekins and quhat is warid thairupon sall be thankfullie alluid in thair compts and everie ane of the said brithering to defend the sameine actiounes gif neid beis to the uttermost of thair powar to understand of the wrong that this miting and ak was concludit was for the liting of the M^{ris} at thair aune hand and not siking consent of the dekins.'

The spelling and grammar of the clerk, Robert Bruce, is shaky, but the sense is abundantly clear. The quarrel was one similar to the almost annual affair in early Edinburgh history; the difference lay in the fact that the Canongate crafts were strong enough to defy the bailies. While in Edinburgh the crafts had to submit to choosing their deacons from a leet made by the Town Council and to having no voice in the leeting of magistrates, in the Canongate the principal crafts at least were uncontrolled in the nomination

of their representatives. The threat of litigation seems to have been enough. Barely a week later the Council Book recorded an act of the bailies and council, ordaining that the deacons of the Hammermen, Tailors, Bakers and Shoemakers, with their brethren, were to have a vote in the leeting and election of the magistrates, treasurer and council in future, and that one deacon was to be present at the collecting of the votes. The craft recorded their victory as follows:—

'Conserving ane upror that rais anent the electiounes of the majestrats efter gud advysement and for keiping of gud order in tyme cuming hes obtinid ane ordinans of the bailyies and counsel that the counsel heirafter sall not usurp or do wrang to the four dekins in na maner of way as the ordinance beiris at mair lenthe quhilk ordinans was extraktid from the clark for the tyme and pit in the bokis in presens of the hail maisters to be ane evident for all tyme cuming.'

In 1638 the Hammermen and Wrights brought a question of their respective privileges before the bailies and council. One wright complained that his own deacon and brethren had imprisoned him in the Tolbooth and compelled him to sign a bond promising not to work for any neighbours, particularly the Hammermen, without express permission from his own craft. This, he protested, was contrary to law. The Hammermen upheld him, taking instruments to the same effect. The bailies and council considered the case for a fortnight and pronounced the action of the Incorporation of Wrights to have been unlawful, since the complainer, as freeman and burges of the burgh, was entitled to use his calling to work for all the King's lieges.

VI

It has been a matter of regret to many that, while there exists a sufficiently ample record of Edinburgh civil cases, there appears to be none of criminal trials. With the

Canongate it was otherwise. The books of the regality of Broughton and of the burgh of the Canongate supply both civil and criminal cases. The matter, however interesting, is outside the scope of the present article, except in so far as the Hammermen came before the courts as accused, accusers, witnesses or assize.

The manuscript record of the meeting of these courts starts about 1569 and continues down to the eighteenth century, though in the later records all entries tend to become merely formal. As the volumes are many and, as yet, unindexed, it has not been possible to make an exhaustive search through them for the history of the Hammermen. Yet the contents of several volumes, chosen more or less at random, may be taken as typical, on the whole, of the appearances of the craft in the courts.

There were two courts: that of the regality, presided over by the bailie of Broughton, and that of the burgh, presided over by two bailies, who sat, sometimes together, sometimes separately. For the most part the appearances of the Hammermen are in the burgh court, though occasionally members of the craft, not burgesses of the Canongate, but merely freemen in the regality, figure in the court which had authority over them.

The craft appear in few serious cases, a fact probably due to the efficiency of their own organisation. Various members sat frequently on the assizes in criminal cases, particularly when the case concerned a burgess and craftsman, for usually scrupulous fairness was exercised by the court in allowing a man to be judged by his peers. Between 1593 and 1619 there are two instances of Hammermen being accused in criminal trials. The first is in 1593 when Andrew Mathesoun, smith, was tried for attacking John Gray, smith, and wounding him in the 'wambe.' Mathesoun was found guilty, but the sentence was not recorded, probably because it would have depended upon the recovery or death of the

wounded man. If Gray recovered, it would merely have been a case of 'bluidwyte'; if he died, of murder, with the inevitable capital punishment. In August 1600, Thomas Huchesoun, younger, armorer burgess of the Canongate, was 'indytit and accusit for the cruell hurting wounding and bluid drawing of James Skathowie upone the chakill bane of his richt arme with ane swoird at the leist ane dager throw the quhillk he is abill to be mutillat all the dayis of his lyfe.' The assize of craftsmen found him guilty, and a tailor of the burgh became caution that he would give satisfaction to the wounded man. In August 1619 a Hammerman was the victim. John Gray, pewterer, son of the late Martin Gray, pewterer in Dundee, was brought to trial for the murder of William Sibbald, pewterer burgess of the Canongate. Sibbald had been a member of some consequence, having held the office of boxmaster and having been elected a master several times, including the year May 1618 to May 1619. The Hammermen's records give nothing against him, save that once he was fined for not booking a servant, and there is no indication of any motive for the crime. On the assize, among other Canongate craftsmen, were Thomas Glen, dagmaker, and William Smith, blacksmith. The indictment bore that John Gray had struck Sibbald with a whinger above the left breast, inflicting a wound of which the victim 'lay bedfast' for forty-eight hours and then died. Gray had fled to the Cowgate and had been arrested by the officers and constables of Edinburgh, and conveyed to the Tolbooth in that town. He had lain there till the day of the trial, when he had been delivered by the bailies of Edinburgh to John Bellenden, baron bailie of Broughton. He was found guilty and ordered to be conveyed to a scaffold at the Canongate Cross, there to be executed by 'the instrument callit the Maydin.'

The craft figured as frequently as others in civil cases, processes of removing, retours of heirs, actions for debt, in

which they appeared either as pursuer or pursued. A few examples may serve to show their nature. In 1570 Janet Robertsoun and David Schang, her husband, were ordered to pay 26s. 8d. to Thomas Murdoch for a culverin received from him, that Schang might make a 'skrow' for it. The culverin had been given in three months past, had not been returned, and had been valued at the price stated. The following, typical of many others, shows how the wives of craftsmen and merchants eked out their husband's trade with an industry of their own. In 1570 George Barbour was ordered to pay to Christian Derneling, wife of John Richesoun, cutler, 20s. for four barrels of ale furnished by her. In 1573 John Roger, steel bonnet maker, was convicted of having insulted Patrick Burrell, also steel bonnet maker, calling him 'false throat cutter and thief.' The provocation had resulted in Burrell's attacking him with a whinger and wounding him on his right arm, for which he too was fined.

The following gives an idea of the standard of living of a fairly prosperous member of the craft. In 1619 the widow of Robert Tailfeir, cutler, was ordered to give up to his nephew, a burgess of Edinburgh, certain heirship goods, including a copper cauldron of 24 gallons and brewing utensils, valued at 100¹¹; a silver piece, valued at 42¹¹; a furnished feather bed, an almery and long settle of oak, 20¹¹; a dozen plates, a dozen trenchers, 24¹¹; a suit of black clothes of Scots 'seybombasie,' a brown cloak of English cloth, a pair of woven worsted 'shanks,' a Scots hat with a crape band, all valued at 80 merks; a sword and other arms, a chest, a chair, six stools, a brass pot of two gallons, a brass candlestick and a dozen shirts, these last valued at 20¹¹.

VII

With the Reformation and the alienation of church lands new problems came before the inhabitants of burghs, the

support of the ministry and the poor. To a certain extent these were considered as one, for while each craft was responsible for its own poor, the unattached poor were ministered to by the Kirk Sessions. For this reason little enough comes into the Hammermen's records. But ministers' stipends, the expenses of their transportation, the matter of church seats and such like received at least a cursory attention, and the acts concerning these matters are noted briefly.

In 1625 the Hammermen, considering the abuse of their places in church, ordered that none but the deacon, old deacon and such as had held that office, with the boxmasters, new and old, should sit in the front seat. No boys or servants were to sit in the second and third seats. Three years later, the craft, meeting in the Abbey Kirk to consider a proposal made to them by the Kirk Session to take their seat down and put it up in another place, refused unanimously to alter it, and also refused the monthly contribution claimed from them by the Session. In 1641 the craft sent a deputation to the Kirk Session to ask for space for a new seat between the two pillars at the east end of the King's old seat. The request was long in obtaining an answer, for it was not till 1643 that confirmation was granted by the bailies and council to the permission of the Kirk Session for a 'high loft' between the pillars east of the pulpit pillar, in addition to the low seat already possessed by them. The rivalry between craft and craft immediately prompted the tailors and weavers to ask and obtain similar concessions.

There is no mention in the craft's records of a minister of the Canongate earlier than 1629, when, in June, they authorised a payment of 30¹¹ to the deacon for his expenses at the baptism of Mr. James Hannay's¹ son. The following year saw a controversy between Mr. James Hannay and his parishioners of which the first stage probably is represented by the act of the Hammermen on 9th February. Then they

¹ Later, Dean of Edinburgh.

agreed unanimously to collaborate with the other three crafts 'anent the stopping of the gift purchest be the minister againes the treddis for evicting of thair haille upsettis.' The act is worded rather obscurely, but seems to relate to the minister's attempt, noted in the Council Book on 11th March, to obtain support for the poor of the parish. He may be surmised to have failed in his attempt to obtain the upsets or entrance dues of the crafts for his purpose, and to have substituted for that demand, a monthly collection from all parishioners for the poor, 'the rather that his Maiestie being of purpose to cum to his ancient Kingdome this somer it wilbe ane verie uncrisiane thing that strangers sould see our poor starving and deing in the streits and that his Maiestie nobilitie and gentrie of both the Kingdomes sould be troublit with their importunitie.' The council, influenced by this plea and by a complaint of the Privy Council that beggars pestered them as they came and went from meetings, agreed to the minister's proposal.

Though Hannay remained as minister of Holyroodhouse till his translation to Edinburgh in March 1635, his name does not occur again in the Canongate records, while in 1631 there is mention of Mr. Matthew Wemyss, at whose coming to the burgh, the Hammermen agreed to give a propine to his wife. A year later they agreed to pay to him at the baptism of his child what the other crafts were paying, and in 1635 they agreed to give him 'for composition' a like sum for one year only, with the stipulation that the gift was to constitute no precedent.

In 1641 the craft became involved in a quarrel with the ministers and Kirk Session about mortcloths. It is undeniable that Kirk Sessions looked upon the hire of mortcloths as a substantial part of their income for charity: it is equally certain that the crafts prided themselves on the possession of private mortcloths, spent large sums on them and were not averse from lending or hiring them out. The

Hammermen had collected recently the sum of 103¹¹ to replace their old cloths with new velvet ones, and the ministers and Kirk Session apparently took the opportunity of complaining. The craft were somewhat uneasy in their consciences as to the matter and promptly yielded upon conditions. 'Willing to avoid dissention' they would pay 10 dollars for the use of the poor, if they were not troubled in future, and if they were allowed to use their mortcloths for their own brethren and families and elsewhere to landward. If the Kirk Session refused their request, they would go to law.

In the same year as the quarrel the Hammermen contributed 27¹¹ to the brethren of North Leith to enable them to put up a seat in the church there. In an elaborate document the craftsmen of that port acknowledged their gratitude, bound themselves to keep the seat in repair and to allow access to the craftsmen of the Canongate, and promised to pay all dues to their Kirk Session.

The payment of 10 dollars to the Canongate Kirk Session does not seem to have closed the matter of claims on them by that body, for in 1643 the craft resolved to give them 40¹¹ 'freely,' provided that the gift constituted no precedent. Possibly the payment was again for the poor, but the act gives no hint of the intention. In the matter of mortcloths the Session had the last word. In April 1657 an act of the Council records that the Kirk Session's mortcloths had been lost in 1650. Since the Session was too much in debt to buy others, the Council ordered that the profits of the mortcloths of the various trades should be divided equally between the respective trades and the Session, till new ones could be got. After that no trade was to hire out its mortcloths.

A part of their 'quarter compts' or quarterly dues was used for the assistance of the widows, orphans or decayed members of the craft, but the Hammermen were generous enough to take exceptional cases into account and to give assistance. Such a case is seen in 1615: 'gevis and grantis

to Peter Littiljohne for help and support to put his sone to France the sowme of ten pund.' That, unfortunately, is all, and there is no explanation why the lad was being sent away. Possibly it was to learn modern methods in a particular art. In 1616 the deacon and masters ordered that a cloak, costing 20 merks, should be given to Patrick Law. It was an expensive gift for charity and may have been bestowed as a reward or an honour. A year later, the widow of John Foular, armorer, petitioned the craft for assistance with the funeral expenses of her late husband. The deacon and masters considered the petition and, finding that all the expenses had been paid except the winding sheet, ordered 30s. to be given to her. They were obliged to deal with other cases for assistance at the same time, and two other grants were made, one of 40s. for the support of the child of one of their freemen, the other of a suit of grey clothes, cloak, coat, breeches, stockings and a pair of shoes, to another freeman who had fallen on hard times.

In 1619 there is a list of small sums given apparently as pensions: 3¹¹ 6s. 8d. was given to John Foular's widow and a similar sum to another widow. One Katherine Cleuch received 40s., as did the recipient of the suit of clothes, while two other men received 40s. and 14s. respectively. An act of a year later explains this list. The boxmaster was ordered to 'answer the puir folkis billis.' Pensions ordinarily needed no special act, so these must have been particular cases, when individuals made application by written petitions. A different variety of charity is seen in the same year. Thomas Forster, being imprisoned, probably for debt, begged for 10 merks to get his release, which the boxmaster was ordered to pay.

A little tragedy recorded in a few lines was the cause of another donation in 1622. The clerk, Robert Bruce, described it in his usual laconic style: 'The dekin and maisters convind at Lethe Wynd anent the funatur of Gilbert Halliday Vyf

with consent of the dekin and maisters ordind the bokis maister Wm. Smithe to gif three punds to bye ane kist and ane Winding sheit to his Vyf funatur and to the said Gilbert Halliday funatur immediatlie threttie shellings for ane kist to the said Gilbert Halliday.'

Some time before May 1631, Patrick Lauristoun, armourer, died, leaving a son Patrick, who apparently had no other relations. Patrick senior had been a master, but also a troublesome and unsatisfactory member of the craft. That did not influence the craft in their treatment of his son: the deacon and masters agreed to share with the Kirk Session the cost of apprenticing young Patrick to a craft, paying his dues and providing him with clothes. Two masters 'trysted' with the Kirk Session and came to an agreement. Patrick was apprenticed to another armourer for eight years, and the craft agreed to pay 50 merks towards his dues and his clothing. The end of the episode was satisfactory. Lauristoun served his apprenticeship and his two years as servant, was admitted to his assay and received freeman in 1642, entering burgess in the same year. He was a master in 1645, but probably died during the plague, for his name disappears from the records.

In 1634 there was another batch of petitions from the poor, and the boxmaster was ordered to pay them 26¹¹ 4s., according to their bills, all 'minuted' on the back. In 1638 there is an allusion to the hospital, called St. Thomas, situated at the north-east corner of the Canongate: 'the craft ordains the box maister to caus mak ane fir bed in the chapell at the fute of the gait with the hammermens airmes therupon to serve James Hairt and any uther of the craftis pure that sall come ther heirefter.'

A plea for assistance once found the craft short of ready money and three masters with the boxmaster were invited to borrow to pay Widow Loch's debts, with the safeguard that 'what money they sall happin to spend reasonably' would be allowed in the trade's accounts.

In 1683 comes a curious entry. It states that several of the trade's creditors had been troubling the boxmaster for payment of the interest of their money, and that there were persons who had offered to lend money and had promised also to mortify something towards the poor of the trade. The deacon was empowered to accept such offers, one of which was for 5000 merks with the mortification of such a sum as the lender should think 'convenient.' The trade's management of their money is at all times obscure, but, in this particular instance, it is difficult to see why the lender, not being a member of the craft, should feel any obligation to help its poor. The only possible reason seems to be that to lend to the Hammermen was considered a good investment and therefore worth some concession.

VIII

Short of reproducing the whole Book of the Hammermen, it is not possible to show its great attractiveness properly. There is something in the wording of the acts, combined with the arbitrary spelling, which makes even the smallest detail graphic and usually amusing. A few transcripts of separate acts follow to illustrate the nature of the rest. It must be owned that the various clerks seem to have been at their best when chronicling delinquencies, for all the acts to be quoted refer to disciplinary action.

'Compeirit Walter Smyth servand to James Nasmyth, dagmaker, and is challengit for cuming to Thomas Glen dagmaker his buith with ane pestilot in his lap and tuik ane gentilman away thairfra quhilk was standit therein quhilk wes provin be the said Walter his awin brother The deacon and M^{rs} knowing that be sick doing thair hes bene great stryfe and debait betwix M^r and Maister of befoir and great inconvenients fallin out among them convicts him thairfoir in xx^s to be payit presentlie to the boxm^r and he to be dischargit wark till he pay the samyn.'

'Compeirit Alex^r. Broun Johne Law and Johne Hagie quha ar found to have bene over lait out of thair beds and drinking efter the dew and law^l tyme of nicht of ganging to bed quhilk the deacon and M^{rs} thinks very offensive and contrair to the acts of craft. They have confest the samyn and ar cum in the crafts will thairfore the deacon and M^{rs} convicts ilkane of them in x^s for this fault and ordanis them to pay the said xxx^s among them to the boxm^r and taks them actit not to do the lyke under the pane of the penaltie contenit in the crafts buik and gif thai or ony uther beis fund doing the lyk it sall be an impediment to thame gif evir it sall pleis god that evir thai be fremen.'

'Comperid Thomas Craig and complinid upone his prenteice Thomas Hendersone for this unthankfull service and for blasfeming of me with his tung and upbraiding me with his hands and feit quhilk was confessed be the said Thomas Hendersone out of his ounne mouthe. The dekin and Maisters ordinis that in tyme to cum gif the said Thomas be not ane thankfull and obedient prenteice and disobey his said M^r in any poynt the dekin and M^{rs} all in ane voce concludis that the said Thomas sell be puneissid according to the acts of thair buik and sall tyne his libertie. . . .'

'The deacone and M^{rs} being convenit anent the complaint gevin in be Wm. Fergusoun aganes J^{on}. Law his M^r. for abuisis done be him in not learning him his tred And not suffering him to worke in peace The said craft desyret J^{on} Law to inact him self of his awin consent not to trubill his prenteis heirefter he absolutlie refusit bot utterit sic speaches not beseeming ane cristiane The craft ordines him to haif na place as ane M^r quhill he mak satisfacioun.'

'They unanimously inact and unlaw Johne Smyth prenteis to Andrew Wilkie in the sowme of fourtie schilling Scots money and that for the running away out of his M^{rs} service and thereafter wryting most abusefull sklanderous and opprobrious lynes and letters to his said Mr his wyfe and children and also heirby inacts and declaires that if ever he comit the lyk fault in tyme comeing he sall be declaired voyd of ever being ane frieman except he by the same as an stranger.'

'Alexr. Wilson present deacon and Joⁿ. Cook present boxm^r and Remanent brethrein of the hammermen being conveyed unlawes Hew Somervell gunsmith in ane unlaw of ffourtie schilling Scots for the reasons following ffirst for Refusing to come in to the table and set down in order as be cometh and Lykwayses for cursing within the

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conveining house Be saying devill swall George Reid and all that wes at Wm. Stenhousis dynner and when he went out at the doore by God he wold goe to the Baillie.'

'John Gellatlie did abuse John Wilson and his wiff and called hir Glengorie bitch with severall uther abusses not worthie to be rehearsed And did lykeweyes abuse his maister and mistres at severall tymes for which he showld be noticed Lykway he since hes left the friemen in the Cannogate and went and served John Simsons in Ed^r. the years he had to serve and called all the trad buthers and bumsters.'

MARGUERITE WOOD.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RIDING SCHOOL *

PROFICIENCY in the equestrian art, as the phrase went in the old days, was once deemed essential to a first-class education. This may sound strange in the twentieth century when the horse has been displaced by the motor car and the aeroplane as a means of locomotion, and horsemanship is restricted to the racecourse, the hunting-field and the circus. Yet there was a time when riding was an acquirement that no young gentleman could afford to be without, since it made accessible the pleasures of the chase and, more important, enabled him to serve his country in time of war. A variety of circumstances, chiefly economic, have in our time considerably lessened the devotees of this old-fashioned if graceful accomplishment. But in the eighteenth century, horsemanship was at the zenith of its popularity, and in order that it might be regularly and effectively practised, institutions known as riding academies were set up in every large town, and widely patronised by the nobility and gentry.

The foregoing remarks, however, are more applicable to England than to Scotland. For many years after the Union of 1707 horse-riding was looked upon by the generality north of the Tweed as an expensive and not too reputable luxury. Writing so late as 1778, Hugo Arnot expresses surprise at the neglect of riding and attributes it to a 'base effeminacy.'¹ Captain Topham, the English traveller, was also struck by the comparative indifference of our nation to the equestrian

* The drawings on pp. 120-21 are reproduced from *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (2 vols., 1922), by permission of the author, Arthur T. Bolton, and the publishers, *Country Life*.

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, new ed., 1816, p. 325.

art. 'The Scotch,' he says, 'are exceedingly ignorant of horses, and the care and management of them,' and have 'no genius or taste for riding' nor any wish to learn.¹ Topham assigns as a probable explanation that Scotland is ill-suited for hunting. Be that as it may, he urges the necessity for diligent cultivation in Edinburgh of the art of riding, because the roads, being constructed 'like the *Pavée* in France,' are troublesome to horses.²

Topham's criticism notwithstanding, there were Scotsmen who wished to see horsemanship one of the subjects of a liberal education. For example, Allan Ramsay, the portrait-painter, when he heard that a project for a riding academy in Edinburgh was being discussed, wrote jubilantly to Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield. Ramsay's letter is dated London, 31st January 1762. This is what he says: 'The setting up an Academy for Riding is an excellent design. A few more of such institutions will render Edinburgh the Athens of Britain; where instead of the awkward and monkish pedantry of the old-fashioned Universities, young gentlemen will be initiated in the principles of usefull knowledge and at the same time exercised in all these liberal accomplishments which qualify a man to appear in the distinguished spheres of Life.'³

Despite Allan Ramsay's prognostication of the excellent results that would accrue from the establishment in the

¹ Although horsemanship was neglected in Scotland in the eighteenth century, this does not appear to have been the case in earlier times. Equestrian masques were held in Edinburgh in Queen Mary's time, and the Court and nobility were certain to be good horsemen, as it was the only way, apart from walking, of getting about the country. It may be added that Scottish hackneys were in demand in France in the sixteenth century on account of their easy pace, which made them very suitable for elderly and rheumatically persons. Probably the change indicated by Arnot and Topham took place on the removal of the Court to London. (For this information the writer is indebted to Mr. William Angus of the Register House.)

² *Letters from Edinburgh (1774-75)*, vol. ii. pp. 26-27.

³ *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest*, ed. by Hon. Mrs. Atholl Forbes, p. 198.

Scottish capital of a riding school, the equestrian art never attained sufficient patronage to enable it to become a commercial success. That horse-riding languished in Edinburgh was probably due neither to 'base effeminacy' nor to the roads being 'exceedingly disagreeable and inconvenient,' but to the simple fact that the expense involved severely restricted this form of recreation in a country which at that time was miserably poor. It might also be plausibly maintained that riding did not, as in the case of the English, make an insistent appeal to the Scottish temperament.

This view receives confirmation in contemplating the wavering fortunes of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises (the official but puzzling title), which was founded in Edinburgh in 1763. This, the earliest institution of the kind in Scotland, was superintended by a teacher of equitation of European fame. In spite of this distinct advantage and the 'laudable solicitude'¹ displayed by the nobility and gentry, the existence of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises was always precarious. More than once the financial position was so critical that it appeared as if the institution would have to close its doors. Arnot laments that the riding school was not 'more generally attended,'² but this is to ignore the fact, already mentioned, that our nation in the middle of the eighteenth century was much too poor to give general support to an art involving very considerable outlay. Riding was then, as it is still, an aristocratic pastime, and if the institution founded in Edinburgh in 1763 did not realise expectations, the reasons are not far to seek. Even the nobility and gentry were not so loyal nor so generous as they should have been. Indeed it is a striking commentary on the situation that much of the time of the directors was occupied with defaulting subscribers.

A volume of the minutes of the Royal Academy for

¹ Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, new ed., 1816, p. 325.

² *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Teaching Exercises is now in the possession of the Edinburgh Public Library, and it is possible for the first time to tell in outline the story of a most interesting local experiment which aimed at making horsemanship an essential part of the education of a Scots gentleman. Unfortunately the record is incomplete, but (with one or two slight gaps) it covers the period from the foundation in 1763 down to 1804. The narrative, it must be confessed, is rather scrappy in places, and one or two not unimportant incidents have to be consigned to the region of conjecture. Moreover, the abrupt close of the record of sederunt leaves us without an official narrative of what transpired between 1804 and the removal of the establishment, twenty-four years later, to Lothian Road, where it existed within living memory. Happily, it is possible from extraneous sources to bridge the gap.

I

There is difficulty in recounting with exactitude the origin of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises. This much, however, seems clear, that the project emanated from the nobility and gentry. Further, the main sources of revenue were annual subscriptions, a royal grant of £200 per annum (latterly increased to £400), and the fees derived from pupils. The general meeting of subscribers was held annually, when the managing body, usually referred to as the directors, was elected.

It is noteworthy that the original promoters came under an obligation to subscribe a definite sum by instalments for three years. A list of the earliest subscribers, together with the amount promised in each case, is given in the book of sederunt. But the chief interest of the list lies in the names. The Earl of Bute, the first Governor of the institution, stands, appropriately enough, at the head of the subscribers. His

Lordship agreed to contribute fifty guineas per annum for three years. Sir Laurence Dundas (whose palatial mansion in St. Andrew Square is now the headquarters of the Royal Bank of Scotland) subscribed £21 per annum for the same period. The Duke of Buccleuch gave £100 in three annual instalments. Many promised sums ranging from £5 to £10. These included the Earl of Rosebery, the Earl of Cassillis, Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Sir John Whitefoord, Sir David Rae (Lord Eskgrove), Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, James Coutts, Walter Scott, W.S., Robert Macqueen (Lord Braxfield), Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, Henry Dundas (1st Viscount Melville), and Andrew Crosbie, the prototype of 'Counsellor Pleydell' in *Guy Mannering*. The original subscriptions, it will be seen, were comparatively small, but, according to Arnot (who had every means of knowing the facts), the sum raised during the first three years amounted to £2733, 15s.¹ Out of this the riding school in Nicolson Street was built.

From the body of subscribers was chosen the directorate. The Royal Patent of 1766 (to which reference will be made presently) authorised the election of thirty-eight directors, but this number was not always maintained. It may even be doubted if the directorate was ever at full strength. In June 1804 there were no fewer than fifteen vacancies, but only eight were then filled up. Besides the incorporation of the Academy by Royal Charter, it was deemed advisable that the prosperity of the institution should not be allowed to depend wholly on private management. Accordingly, certain public officers in Scotland were named by the Charter to be perpetual directors along with the private directors, to be chosen from time to time. The directors *ex officio* consisted of the Lord President of the Court of Session, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court of Scotland, the Lord Advocate, the Lord Justice-Clerk, the Commander-in-

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

Chief for Scotland, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Principal of Edinburgh University.

This Edinburgh riding school was indubitably aristocratic. There was no more obtrusively select body in Scotland. The Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises drew its chief strength from the Scottish peerage, though it was reinforced by a contingent of landed proprietors, a fair proportion of eminent lawyers and other professional men, and a sprinkling of prosperous merchants.

The deference paid to rank is exemplified by an analysis of the list of those who, on 1st March 1763, attended the first meeting of subscribers, in 'Clearihues' tavern. Prominent are the Earls of Erroll, Haddington and Leven; Barons Grant and Mure, of the Court of Exchequer of Scotland; George Lockhart of Carnwath; and David Ross, the future Lord Ankerville. The chair was occupied by the Earl of Erroll, who, as hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, had officiated two years before at the coronation of George III. And while Lord Erroll was chairman, the following were among those chosen to represent the subscribers on the directorate: the Marquess of Lorne; the Earls of Rosebery, Leven, Haddington, Eglinton and Dunmore; Lords Alemoor and Elliock, both Lords of Session. Lord Provost Drummond and Sir Laurence Dundas were also members of the governing body. From what has been said, another significant fact emerges. The Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises was an Edinburgh institution only in so far as it had its headquarters there; in all other respects it was unmistakably national.

Lord Erroll again presided at a meeting on 7th March, when steps were taken for the erection and furnishing of a riding school in Edinburgh. The directors were instructed to obtain a site, 'settle a Plan,' contract with tradesmen for building a manège, buy horses, and appoint a riding master and 'Clerk for the Stables.' At the same time the

Earl of Bute and the Duke of Queensberry were unanimously elected Governor and Deputy Governor respectively. Both noblemen accepted office. Lord Bute, who was then Prime Minister, wrote to Lord Erroll, as follows:

'I have received your Lordship's Letter, acquainting me with the Honor which the Directors of the intended Manage at Edinburgh have done Me by chusing Me their Governor, and I beg your Lordship would believe yourself, and at the same time assure those Gentlemen, that any mark of your and their Esteem must always be very acceptable to Me.'

In accepting the Deputy Governorship, the Duke of Queensberry was less formal. His Grace wrote:

'I have always been of opinion that the establishment of a good Riding School in our own Country, would be in some degree of Public, as well as private Advantage, and I shall be very ready to concur in every Measure tending to the carrying on and perfecting the Scheme, in which I apprehend one of our greatest difficulties will be to procure a thorough good Riding Master.'

II

The initial stages of the enterprise were gone about in rather a peculiar way. Instead of bending their energies first of all to obtaining a site and erecting the riding school thereon, the directors deemed the buying of horses the most pressing consideration. At all events, this matter comes first in the record of transactions. On 21st March 1763 the directors were apprised that William Alexander, one of their number, had sent 'a Credit to Portugal for Two Hundred Pounds, in order to purchase Spanish Horses for the Manage.' Not till 4th April was the question of premises discussed, John Fordyce, one of the directors, being then instructed 'to write to Mr. (Robert) Adam at London to consult with Sir Sidney Meadows and Mr. Bellinger concerning the plan.'

Similarly James Brown (who built Brown Square and George Square) was empowered to 'proceed with all expedition in the purchase of the Ground for the Building.' Arnot says that the site was presented by the Town Council,¹ but this statement is at variance with the instruction to James Brown, likewise with what occurred at a meeting of directors on 11th July, when Lord Provost Drummond announced that 'the Town Council chearfully agreed' to pay the ground rent of so much of Lady Nicolson's Park as would be wanted for the riding school.

The site, however acquired, was fixed in Lady Nicolson's Park, and is now occupied by the Hall of the Royal College of Surgeons. The riding school therefore stood on the east side of Nicolson Street. To the north, and extending to the Flodden Wall, was a small park owned by Dr. Alexander Monro, *primus*, the anatomist, while westwards stood the mansion of Lady Nicolson, a plain, sombre-looking building, approached by a short drive. To the south, again, lay the fields belonging to Lady Nicolson. The Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises was therefore set in a rural environment.

Robert Adam apparently lost no time in preparing the plans, for on 21st May, little more than six weeks after he had been communicated with, he writes to John Fordyce to say that he has finished his design, which he is forwarding by Captain Thomas Pringle. The famous architect points out that he has 'avoided all extra ornament' and has used only what is necessary 'to make the façade decent and genteel.' He has put 'the exercising pillar in the lobby, which all the Commissioners recommended,' and made provision for 'three large windows at that end which fronts the entrance.' Adam also informs Fordyce of a conversation regarding 'the extension of our scheme, and forming a complete academy for fencing, dancing, etc., and having houses for the different masters, all formed on a regular plan;

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

making this Riding House the centre building.' Some interesting details of the extension scheme are then explained. Adam writes:

'If you have considered and approve such a plan, I would endeavour to make out the whole for you: but I ought to have an *exact* plan of your ground, so as to extend or contract my building to answer the shape of your ground. . . . The rooms I call, *for the Gentlemen*, at each end of the lobby, are proper for dressing and undressing in. The closets in these rooms will hold boots, whips, etc., and as there is a communication twixt them and the stables, in bad weather the horses may go that way from the Riding House to the stables, and the chimneys may be used for boiling drinks for the horses: and I would have these rooms with Dutch Clinkers.

The rooms above would answer for the clerks to keep your accounts, or for a person to sleep who has the care of the Riding House, till such time as a proper house is built for the riding master.'¹

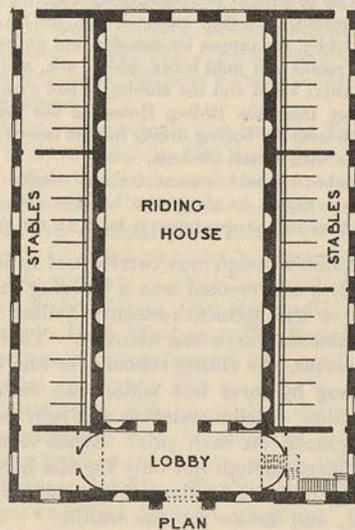
Whether Adam's design was carried out in its entirety is uncertain. What was erected was a building in the pseudo-classical style of the sixteenth-century Italian Palladio, by no means ornamental, says one account.² Thoroughly utilitarian in character, the riding school was one hundred and twenty feet long by forty feet wide, with stables, eighteen feet wide, at sides. Accommodation was provided for thirty-six horses—eighteen on each side. Arnot asserts that the stables were 'large enough not only for the horses necessary to the academy, but also for livery horses, which are properly taken care of, and broke for the saddle.'³ The entrance block was fifteen feet wide with end niches. The walls were twenty-one feet high, while the roof tiles were transversely curved to ogee shape, one curve being much larger than the other. The ground acquired by the Academy extended from Nicolson Street to Roxburgh Place, but having regard to the measurements of the riding school, it would seem that a

¹ Arthur T. Bolton, *Architecture of Robt. and Jas. Adam*, 1922, vol. i. pp. 60-61.

² *Picture of Edinburgh*, 1825, p. 270.

³ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

considerable portion of the area was unbuilt upon. This conjecture is borne out by Arnot, who alludes to 'an area without the building sufficient for an open manage.'¹ Topham, again, describes the riding school as 'large and spacious . . . admirably adapted to the purpose, and of great benefit to



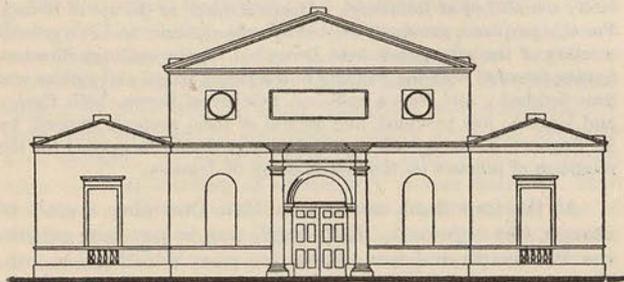
the students; who, in the shortest time possible, have the advantage of taking these wholesome exercises.'²

Though Adam was expeditious in preparing his design, building operations proceeded somewhat slowly. The plans were completed in May, but it was not till 11th July that the directors visited the site and issued directions for begin-

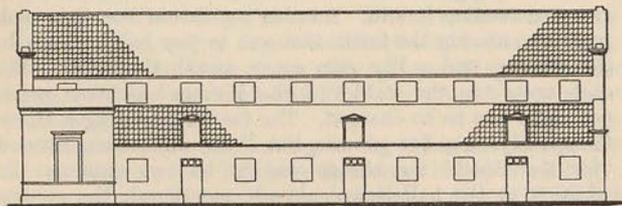
¹ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

² *Letters from Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 26.

ning the work. The delay probably was due to protracted negotiations with the Town Council regarding the site. At any rate, tradesmen were now engaged, and on 15th August James Brown reported to the directors that 'the Foundations



Robert Adam's Design of Riding School: Front Elevation



Riding School: Side Elevation

of the Manage, according to Mr. Adam's Plan . . . , were dug out.'

The erection of the building when once begun must have been a matter of but a few months, since at a meeting of subscribers on 12th December, Lord Aberdour presiding, it was resolved 'that the Manage shall be opened for the Reception of Scholars on the first Monday of January' 1764.

The stables were to be ready at the same time. The *Scots Magazine* of December 1763 thus heralded the new riding school:

'A branch of education, not formerly taught in this country, is lately established at Edinburgh; Horsemanship, or the art of Riding. For this purpose a menage is erected by subscription; and at a general meeting of the subscribers, held December 12, the ordinary directors having reported that the building of the riding school and stables was near finished; and that a sufficient number of horses, both foreign and English, was provided, and several of them properly dressed, by M. Angelo; it was agreed that the menage should be opened for the reception of scholars on the first Monday of January.'

At the important meeting on 12th December a scale of charges was approved. Each pupil was to pay four guineas the first month and two guineas for every additional month. There were to be sixteen teaching days each month. Those who could not attend regularly were to have tuition at the rate of three guineas for the first month and £2, 16s. for every succeeding month. Another regulation was that each pupil on entering the institution was to pay half a crown to the grooms, and a like sum every month thereafter. For each horse 'in the stables of the Manage' eighteen pence per night was to be charged. The fee for 'dressing a Horse Compleatly' was five guineas, but if the animal was dressed 'for the Road' the charge was to be two guineas. In addition to the half-crown, already mentioned, the grooms were to receive a shilling a month while a horse remained in the stables. It was also decided that from April to September inclusive the riding school should be open from six o'clock in the morning till noon. For the rest of the year the hours were from nine o'clock till two in the afternoon. Finally, gentlemen who intended to become pupils, or 'to Send horses to the Menage,' were requested to communicate with 'Mr. Gilchrist, Clerk to the Menage, at his Shop, Head of Forrester's Wynd.'

III

From the outset, it was recognised that the success of the institution would largely depend on the riding master. The Duke of Queensberry, the Deputy Governor, predicted (as we have seen) that one of the 'greatest difficulties' would be 'to procure a thorough good Riding Master.' The directors appear to have thought there was point in the remark, for they were considering the matter before even the premises were erected. As early as 11th April 1763, barely a month after the first meeting of subscribers, it was intimated that the Earl of Warwick had written to Lord Greville, one of the directors, to acquaint him with the fact that 'Mr. Angelo in London'¹ had informed his Lordship that 'his Brother (Angelo), now at Petersburg, was willing to undertake the Office of Riding Master in the intended Academy at Edinburgh for a Salary of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling per Annum, and that for Three Years certain.' Lord Warwick's letter led to inquiries regarding Angelo's character and qualifications, and the directors being favourably impressed agreed to his terms. 'A sum not exceeding Fifty Pounds was allowed for Travelling Charges.'

This, the most outstanding of the riding masters of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises, hailed from Italy. He bore the ponderous name of Anthony Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo, but was known in Edinburgh as 'Mr. Angelo.' Topham, who speaks of Angelo as 'one of the best masters,' says it might be conjectured from his name that he came 'from the confines of Mount Vesuvius.'² Anyhow, he was Italian by birth and temperament. Some idea of Angelo's personal appearance is afforded by one of the etchings in

¹ The phrase 'Mr. Angelo in London' occurs in the minutes, but probably Domenico Tremamondo, the elder brother of Angelo, is meant.

² *Letters from Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 26.

Kay's Portraits. He is there represented as a thick-set little man wearing a Khevenhüller hat and long riding-boots, and, as a notable exponent of equestrianism ought to be, astride a high-stepping horse. There is a pen-portrait of Angelo by Arnot, and the fact that it is appreciative may be accepted as an indication of its trustworthiness, for this historian of Edinburgh was at all times hypercritical. Arnot, who probably knew Angelo, writes: 'It is doing but justice to the master of the academy, to observe, that his abilities, which indeed had already procured him an honourable appointment at the court of Russia, fully correspond with the purpose of the institution; and that he deserves public encouragement, not more from his skill as a teacher, than his manners as a gentleman.'¹

Angelo was the earliest public teacher of riding in Scotland, and for many years the establishment in Nicolson Street over which he presided, though indifferently supported, was widely known for the excellence of its tuition. He came of a family several members of which were eminent teachers of horsemanship. His elder brother, Domenico, found professional employment in London. George II., after witnessing one of his equestrian performances, declared him the most elegant horseman of his time. It may be added that Domenico was engaged by the Prince of Wales to teach the young princes the use of the small-sword as well as riding. It was the elder brother of Angelo, too, who posed for the equestrian figure of William III. in the picture which Benjamin West painted by royal command.

When Angelo arrived in Edinburgh on 11th September 1763, the riding school was in 'great forwardness.' One of his first duties was 'to write to his Brother in London to enquire for Horses and to provide Saddles.' Angelo seems to have begun his work auspiciously. At any rate, the *Scots Magazine* for April 1764 was able to inform its readers that

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

the school and stables were finished, that a number of horses had been purchased, that Angelo had been teaching since the beginning of January, and that the institution had been visited by several persons of distinction, who all proclaimed 'their approbation of Mr. Angelo's skill and application.' The riding master appears to have been a man of indomitable energy and enterprise. One of his successful features was the holding of annual carousels,¹ at which the scholars exhibited 'undoubted specimens of their progress' before 'numerous spectators,'² which another writer regards as synonymous with 'all the beauty and fashion of the time.'³ The carousels sometimes lasted for several days. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 1st February 1768 there occurs this advertisement:

'Subscribers to the Manage, who chuse to attend the Carousell at the Royal Academy on Monday next the 8th of February at 10 o'clock forenoon, may have tickets any time before Thursday next by sending to the Houses of Mr. Ross, Drummond's Land, in the Canongate, Mr. Alexander's in Roystoun's Close at the Bowhead, and Mr. Chalmers, Adam's square in the Cowgate. If subscribers cannot come themselves they may transfer their tickets to gentlemen.'

From the record of sederunt we learn that on 22nd February 1770 orders were given for the printing of 150 tickets for a carousel to be held on 5th March following. Gentlemen scholars were to receive two tickets each, lady scholars one each, and directors five each. At the last carousel the prize, 'an elegant gold medal,' was carried off by Allan Maconochie, the first Lord Meadowbank, who received the award from the hands of the celebrated Jane,

¹ From the French *carrousel*, meaning 'a tournament in which knights, in companies, variously dressed, engaged in plays, exercises, chariot races, etc.' The *Oxford English Dictionary* points out that 'carousel' is by many erroneously identified with 'carousal,' a mistake which occurs in the minutes of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises.

² Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1816, p. 326.

³ *Picture of Edinburgh*, 1825, p. 270.

Duchess of Gordon, the undisputed queen of beauty and fashion not only in Edinburgh but in London. Henry Mackenzie, the 'Man of Feeling,' was another of the students during this period. At these carousels a gold medal presented by the Town Council, 'as an incitement to emulation,' was also competed for, the winner being presented with the trophy by the Lord Provost. Later on, Angelo himself presented a gold medal. In the *Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement* for 23rd May 1776, we read: 'On Saturday a carousel, at which a numerous and genteel company were present, was held at the Riding School. The gentlemen performed their exercises with great dexterity. A gold medal, with suitable device and motto, given by Mr. Angelo, was, by the Countess of Selkirk, presented, as the prize of successful merit, to Robert Cay, Esq., of Northumberland.'

IV

The riding school opened with high hopes, but before long an ominous note was sounded. On 5th July 1764, after a review of the financial position, it was resolved to reduce the fees, so that the teaching might be on 'as Moderate a footing as possible.' Scholars were now to pay three guineas for the first month and two guineas for succeeding ones, while the teaching days per month were to be increased from sixteen to twenty. Furthermore, gentlemen who had been taught to ride and wished to continue the exercise 'for pleasure or health' were to be admitted for a fee of ten guineas a year. It is doubtful, however, if these rules were strictly adhered to, since, on 24th March 1767, a committee was appointed to 'make up proper Regulations for the Riding School and to see them put into Execution.'

The directors were also apprehensive of the expense of maintaining the horses, and it coming to their knowledge that certain animals had been 'sent to the Manage to be drest who

from natural defects' were unfit, Angelo was 'requested in such Cases to order the Clerk to Acquaint the Owner after a week's tryall to take back his horse and pay for his maintenance only.' Then, with a view to further economy, the directors resolved 'to agree with Mr. Adams, scleature (slater) for keeping up the Roofs of the Riding School and Stables, etc., at fifty shillings sterling yearly for twelve years.'

Despite the erection of the riding school, the purchase of horses and furniture, and the appointment of a distinguished master, the whole undertaking rested at first on a purely tentative basis. But it was now felt that what was originally only a *private* establishment should be converted into a permanent *national* institution. This is clearly brought out by the action of the directors (26th June 1766) in appointing a meeting of subscribers to be held at 'Clearihues' to consider 'such a plan as may now be necessary to render the Institution permanent.' The meeting was held on 2nd July, when there was submitted 'the Draught of a Patent, for erecting the Contributors to the Riding School into a Body Corporate, by the name of the Royal Accademie for Exercises at Edinburgh, in order to be laid before his Majesty.'

The task of presenting the Patent to the King was entrusted to the Lord Justice-Clerk, who acquitted himself well. Accordingly, when, on 17th November, the directors again met, they had before them the Warrant for the payment of £200, dated 17th July 1766, and addressed to the Barons of the Court of Exchequer. The document with its redundant phraseology need not be quoted in full. It sets forth that George III. had been graciously pleased to erect into a body corporate the Academy for Teaching Exercises at Edinburgh, and, as a 'farther proof of our royal disposition to encourage and promote so useful an institution,' that a warrant had been granted for the payment of the above-mentioned sum. This royal grant must have been very acceptable, since the experience of three years had demonstrated that

the fees were quite unequal to the expense of maintaining the horses. The whole of the £200 went to Angelo in salary. The riding master also received £20 'in name of the Current Year's Rent of his Dwelling house,' but on 24th March 1767 it was decided to build a house for Angelo.

The Patent itself, the original of which is in the Register House, passed the Great Seal on 15th November 1766. The salient passages are as follows:

'Whereas Petitions have been laid before us from the Provost and Magistrates of our City of Edinburgh, from the Principal and Masters of Our University there and from several Noblemen and Gentlemen in that part of Our United Kingdom called Scotland, whereby it appears that a sum of Two Thousand Nine Hundred Pounds had been Contributed for Erecting at Edinburgh an Academy for Teaching Riding and other Exercises, which for these three years past has been found of Great Utility for perfecting the Education of young Gentlemen there, and has saved to the Country a very Considerable Sum of Money usually expended at Foreign Academies, And that in Order to promote and Encourage this laudable Institution, and to induce Persons, further to Contribute towards Supporting the same, They have humbly prayed us, That we would be Graciously pleased to take the said Academy under our Royal Protection, And to Grant such Aid thereto, as may render its Establishment lasting and permanent. . . .

We do by these presents Erect, Create and Incorporate into one Society and Body Corporate all those who have already Contributed or who may hereafter Contribute to the support of the said Academy, which was to have power to hold and purchase Lands, Houses or other Hereditaments to the Extent of Five Hundred Pounds per Annum.'

The royal grant came at the psychological moment, for the directors were already grappling with the problem of defaulting subscribers. On 8th December 1766 the Clerk was instructed to write to several gentlemen informing them that the accounts could not be closed till they paid their subscriptions, and expressing the hope that they would not delay further, as it was impossible 'to perfect the new

Establishment under the King's Patent' till 'the old accounts' were settled. There was talk, too, of prosecuting the worst offenders. Three months later the position had not improved appreciably, and Charles Livingston, writer in Edinburgh, was employed to recover the debts. Those 'due by the Menage' were 'to be pay'd out of the first and readiest of the money.' Concurrently with the round-up of negligent subscribers, Lord Haddington and George Brown of Elliston were deputed to make a valuation of the horses, furniture, and other property. The horses were reported to be worth £200.

But all efforts to work the establishment on economic lines were ineffectual. In February 1768 the finances were so low that a communication was forwarded to the Duke of Queensberry 'concerning an addition to be made to the annual grant by His Majesty towards the upkeep.' During the crisis Angelo had to shoulder part of the burden. On 8th August he was given two months' salary 'on Account of his disbursements in Clothing the Grooms in the King's Livery.' Acting on instructions, the riding master also sold three horses. Sultan brought £26, 10s., Centaur £21, and Pompeii £15. Again, on 13th March 1775, when estimates for repairs amounting to over £50 were submitted, it was agreed, owing to the state of the finances, to request the riding master to advance this sum, and to repay him 'out of the funds of the Academy.'

James Brown, who from the outset had taken a prominent part in the affairs of the riding school, was also financially involved. On 17th February 1770 he produced a statement showing that the liabilities of the establishment amounted to £426, 7s. 7½d., whereas the assets amounted only to £176, 16s. 9d. And being 'Harassed and threaten'd with Diligence,' Brown claimed 'Right of the Feu of the Ground Belonging to the Manage.' The directors were compassionate, and 'for Immediat Reliefe of Mr. Brown' instructed their agent, Livingston, 'to apply to the persons who are in-

debted to the Manage for payment, and to inform those who refuse to pay, that he has their orders to raise a Summons against the whole of them before the Court of Session.' But these measures did not relieve Brown, who, on 1st May, represented to the directors that he had been 'apprehended on a Caption' for a debt of £117, 18s., which was their share of the 'Expenses for making the Road, etc., in Nicholson Street.' Whereupon it was resolved to borrow sufficient money to pay all debts. Out of this the bill granted by Brown was to be met.

The directors took another step in the hope of easing the financial situation. Mindful of the fact that after payment 'of the outstanding Debts due to them' they would still be owing about £300 (for the discharge of which they had 'no reason to expect that any fund can be raised by further Subscription'), they resolved that 'so much Ground for Building upon should be fewed off from the open Manage alongst the (Nicolson) Street as will raise a Sum equall to the Discharge of this Debt.' In June 150 feet, or thereby, at the 'south end of the open Manage' was offered for sale, the price aimed at being not less than £400. Ultimately, on 27th January 1774, a feu-contract was drawn up between the directors and Alexander Hay, wright in Edinburgh.

In a feu-contract, dated 8th August 1783, in favour of Hay's daughter, Elizabeth, it was stipulated that 'the said Elizabeth Hay and her foresaids shall not allow any shops or yards for Masons, Wrights, Coopers, Smiths, Weavers, Candlemakers, Crackling houses, nauseus Chemical preparations or other noctious or noisy Manufactories whatsoever which may be a nuisance or occasion disturbance to any of the neighbouring Feuars.' Elizabeth Hay was also 'bound and obliged to perform and fulfil any other conditions or obligations' that might be contained 'in the New Contract of the ground above mentioned and others entered into betwixt the Deceased Dame Elizabeth Nicholson, Widow of

Sir James Nicholson of that Ilk, Baronet, on the one part, and James Brown, Architect in Edinburgh, on the other part, dated the Sixth of May seventeen hundred and Sixty three.'

The decision to borrow in order to discharge all debts led to an application to the Merchant Company, who granted a loan of £400. This transaction took place in September 1771, but the relief it brought was only temporary. Two years later, 7th December 1773, the directors were in another quandary, they having received a letter from Edward Rutherford, Clerk of the Merchant Company, demanding payment of principal and interest. Further borrowing was resorted to, this time from the Bank¹ and George Innes. The latter agreed to lend £430. On 1st February 1774 it was reported that the loan from the Merchant Company had been repaid.

V

What measure of prosperity came to the riding school in the early years was wholly due to Angelo, who, on 17th February 1770, in response to his memorial praying to be placed on 'a more fixt footing,' was unanimously continued in his office 'for nine years after Whitsunday next with the same powers committed to him by a former Commission granted to him, 1768.' This commission stipulated that Angelo was not only to teach the scholars, but also to maintain the horses 'with their furniture, apparel and other things, and to deliver over to us (*i.e.* the directors) at the expiry of the term to the value of £245, 5/-.' Angelo, on the other hand, was to uplift the whole of the fees. During the next few years Angelo gave 'ample satisfaction.' It was therefore with regret that the directors learned in February 1774 that, by reason of ill-health, he was unable to fulfil the duties without assistance. As a matter of fact, he had for some years been helped unofficially by his nephew, Antonio

¹ No particular bank is mentioned.

Tremamondo, and he now requested that his relative be appointed joint master with himself. The directors acquiesced, and the arrangement seems to have continued till 20th April 1779, when Angelo, who was still in bad health, expressed a desire to return to Italy, though it would have been his 'pride and pleasure' to continue. He pointed out that his inability 'to Acquire a Competency' sufficient to render his retirement 'easy and Comfortable' was due in great measure to his 'having spared no expense towards the object of his duty.' In short, he had made sacrifices for the riding school which had rendered 'his present Circumstances less independent.' Angelo's petition was regarded sympathetically, but the matter of a pension was delayed.

'The Managers, being fully sensible of Mr. Angelo's faithful services, are very desirous of complying with his request, as far as is consistent with the permanence of this Institution. But as they cannot come to any resolution in the present state of their affairs until they shall find some successor to Mr. Angelo, with whose qualifications they are satisfied, and no answer having yet been received from Mr. (Robert) Chalmers, one of their number now in London, who has been desired to look out for a proper person to be Master of the Academy, the Managers agreed to delay coming to any resolution till a future meeting.'

The real reason of the managers' caution was, of course, the state of the funds, to relieve which desperate means were being resorted to. We find an echo of this in a further paragraph of the answer to Angelo's petition:

'In the meantime it is the Opinion of the Managers that if a proper Successor for Mr. Angelo cannot be found before the expiration of the Term of his Contract, that the horses belonging to the Academy shall either be disposed of by sale, Or, if it be thought more expedient, shall be put to Grass during the summer months, and the stables put to the most profitable purpose.'

Eventually the matter was clinched by the appointment of a committee, consisting of the Earls of Haddington and

Leven, Lords Elliock (James Veitch) and Ankerville (David Ross), Principal Robertson, James Brown and Robert Chalmers, to take measures to find 'a well qualified Master, and in Case none such can be found, to determine what shall be done with respect to the disposal of the Horses. What money shall arise from the sale of the horses, or salary, in case of a vacancy, to be applied to extinguish the debts of the Academy.' Considering that the sum of £393, 9s. 2d. was required 'to make the Fund and annual revenue answer the Burdens upon them' it cannot be said that the step was premature.

A week later, it was decided to let the stables on the north side of the Academy. At the same time a plan for feuing ground adjoining the institution was submitted, and it was resolved to apply to the Town Council for their consent to settle the terms and enter into a contract. Further, the committee appointed at the previous meeting were authorised to 'take the horses and their furniture off Mr. Angelo's hands in terms of the Agreement with him.' The names of the horses, together with their valuation, are set forth, as follows: Superb, £40; Imperial, £45; Brilliant, £33; Favourite, £21; Noble, £18. Saddles, bridles, etc., were stated to be worth £30, 17s. Having relieved Angelo of the upkeep of the horses, the directors arranged with James Steil, one of the hostlers in the riding school, to maintain the animals for a shilling a day each until they were put to grass. Prince Daskor (?), Dr. Gregory and Mr. Cay were granted permission to exercise the horses.

Angelo gave up his post as riding master on 4th May 1779, but without any assurance of a pension. On 15th July John Cammert was appointed his successor, but he did not enter upon his duties until the following November. Of Cammert's previous record nothing whatever has been ascertained. His tenure of office, which was short, was not characterised by harmonious relations with the other em-

ployees. Cammert was at loggerheads with the fencing master and the wright, and on 12th March 1781 lodged a complaint. Although, by his agreement with the directors, he had the use and disposal of the whole establishment, the fencing master refused to pay him any rent for the gallery, nor would the wright pay for the premises he occupied below. Moreover, the fencing master 'often disturbed him when teaching the Scholars to ride, and would not regulate his hours for Fencing so as not to interfere with the time for teaching riding.' Livingston, the agent of the institution, was instructed to inquire into the matter, and if either the fencing master or the wright 'refused to pay a reasonable Rent to Cammert, or if the Fencing Master refused to regulate himself so as not to interfere with Mr. Cammert's teaching,' they were to be turned out.

VI

The dispute between Cammert and the fencing master draws attention to an aspect of the subject that has not hitherto been touched upon, namely, that a subordinate sphere of activity at the Royal Academy was the teaching of the use of the sword. Pupils attending the institution were trained not merely in horsemanship but how to become skilful swordsmen, though it was always understood that equitation was the primary concern, and that the riding master held undisputed sway.

Whether fencing was from the outset an integral part of the curriculum of the establishment in Nicolson Street, it is impossible to say. The record of sederunt makes no mention of a fencing master until the year 1781, when Cammert lodged his complaint against a person holding that office. This may have been Signor Rossignoli, who certainly was discharging the duties of fencing master in 1788, for when, on 30th May,

Angelo was granted leave of absence for several months in order to go abroad with his wife (who was in ill-health), he was appointed the riding master's substitute, while at the same time carrying on his tuition in fencing.

Rossignoli seems to have greatly valued his promotion to be temporary head of the riding school, and in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 16th October 1790, announcing that he was launching a fencing academy of his own, makes capital out of the fact. The advertisement sheds an interesting light on his connection with the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises.

'Signor Rossignoli, who for several years has taught Riding and Fencing, and for some time had the whole management of the Royal Academy, to the knowledge of many respectable People of Distinction in this City, takes the liberty to inform the Nobility, Gentry, etc., that he has opened a Fencing School, on his own account, in that Large Room, Head of Bailie Fyffe's Close, High Street, wherein he proposes to attend from ten forenoon till three afternoon. S. Rossignoli humbly flatters himself, that his well-known mode of teaching, and anxiety to forward those who shall honour him with their attendance, shall entitle him to some encouragement in that noble art.

He also proposes to give an Assault in the course of the season, and a Gold Medal as a Prize to him that shall be most expert in that genteel exercise, and as a diversion to his scholars, it being the custom in every Academy in France.

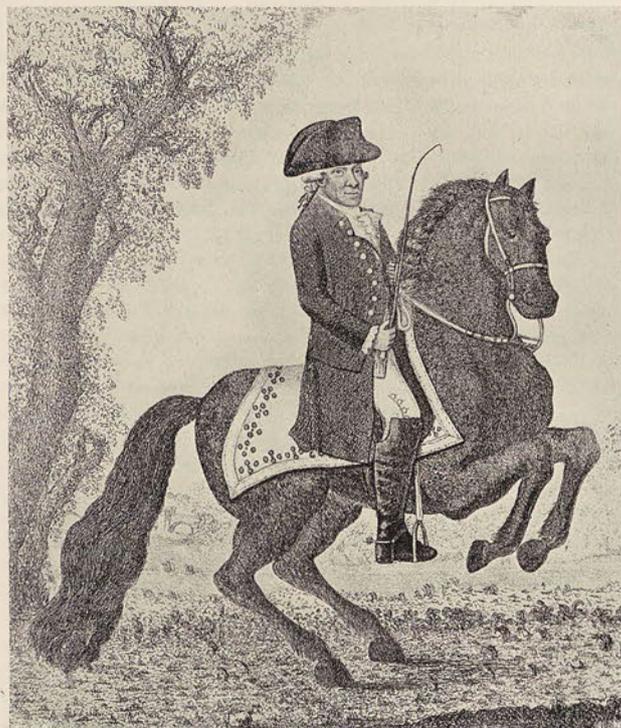
N.B.—Any person wanting to speak with S. R. shall find him at the school, or at his house, World's End Close, Nether Bow.'

Signor Rossignoli's fencing academy at the head of Bailie Fyffe's Close probably was not a success. At any rate, he had by 1797 returned to his old post at the riding school in Nicolson Street. This is proved by the fact that when, on 3rd July of that year, John Adams, Lieutenant of the Cinque Ports Cavalry, was appointed joint riding master with Angelo, the directors approved an arrangement whereby Rossignoli continued the teaching of fencing in the gallery of the Royal Academy.

VII

Cammert died suddenly on 29th July 1781, and the riding mastership was again vacant. Matters took a surprising turn. Angelo, who in 1779 had gone away, jaded and harassed, now offered to return. He was reappointed at a salary of £150 per annum, out of which he was to meet all expenses connected with the upkeep of the premises, the furniture of the horses, and the portion of the feu-duty payable by the directors. There was trouble over the last-mentioned in January 1779. Four years previously the Town Council, on their own responsibility, ceased to pay their share of the feu-duty in connection with the riding school, in respect that 'there was as much of the said ground feued out for building upon as draws a higher feu-duty than that paid for the whole.' This action led the directors to memorialise the Town Council. Ultimately the opinion of counsel was sought, Sir Ilay Campbell (afterwards Lord President) acting for the directors and Sir David Rae (Lord Eskgrove) for the Town Council. Both counsel were of opinion that the fact that 'part of the ground belonging to the Riding School' had been feued, 'did not relieve the City of the whole feu-duty.' The Town Council therefore agreed to pay a proportion which, 'according to the best view the (Lord Provost's) Committee could get of the ground feued and the ground that still remains with the Riding School,' worked out at £14 yearly instead of £21, 17s. 6d. 'But in regard that the Academy were at present in debt,' the Town Council agreed that 'the whole of the bygone feu-duties (*i.e.* from 1774), at the rate of £21, 17s. 6d. should be paid to the memorialists up to the time of Lammas.'

In 1784 the directors were still resorting to all sorts of expedients to make ends meet. During Angelo's second tenure of office there were occasions when the institution,



ANGELO TREMAMONDO, FIRST MASTER OF ROYAL ACADEMY
FOR TEACHING EXERCISES

From the Etching by John Kay

patronised though it was by rank and wealth, had no money to pay even small bills. It was in these depressing circumstances that on 30th December, at a meeting of the managers in the Exchange Coffee House, Principal Robertson brought forward a scheme for the rehabilitation of the establishment. He stated that the Duke of Montagu had obtained £100 from the King to encourage an Edinburgh school for the deaf and dumb founded by Thomas Braidwood (the first regularly organised institution of the kind in Great Britain). But before the royal gift was bestowed, Braidwood gave up the school and removed to London. Robertson thereupon suggested to the Duke of Montagu that the £100 might be handed over to the Royal Academy to help to pay its debts. His Lordship favoured the idea, and in due course obtained a transfer of the money. Thus it came about that the £100, which was to have assisted Thomas Braidwood to teach the deaf and dumb in Edinburgh, was diverted into the coffers of the riding school. Subsequently it was resolved that Angelo should be granted the whole of the King's Bounty for three years instead of the salary of £150 previously arranged.

Angelo, the earliest and most famous of the riding masters, continues to figure prominently in the record for sixteen years longer. But his position was even less enviable than before, for the finances did not improve, and a considerable portion of his salary was expended in liquidating the debts of the institution over which he presided. For example, on 22nd April 1793, the funds being 'all exhausted,' Angelo was requested to pay a debt amounting to £42, 1s. 1½d. out of the Royal Bounty. This he was to do on the understanding that when there were funds his reimbursement would be *considered*.

The policy of making Angelo accountable for the debts of the establishment on a promise of restitution the fulfilment of which was problematic, was obviously advantageous to the

directors. But, as obviously, it meant financial worry of no ordinary kind, if not actual bankruptcy, to the riding master. In 1796 Angelo's payments amounted to £210, and as there was no prospect of voluntary reimbursement on the part of the directors, he was at last driven to demand the money. His claims apparently were disputed, but ultimately it was decided that the directors and he should submit to 'the amicable decision of Dr. James Gregory, Physician in Edinburgh, as sole arbiter of all claims between them,' 'particularly the settling accounts and sums of money which Angelo had from time to time paid out for supporting the Fabrick and for the other uses and purposes of the Academy.' The arbiter, who was none other than the compounder of 'Gregory's Mixture,' gave his decision on 23rd June 1797. He upheld Angelo's claim for £210 and ordained payment to be made at Lammas.

Whether Gregory's decision was implemented is uncertain, there being no record of it in the book of sederunt. But it is permissible to suppose that the affair would lead to strained relations between directors and riding master. Besides, Angelo was growing old, and his health, always precarious, was not improving. Moreover, he had, with the exception of a brief interval, been head of the riding school for fully thirty years. These circumstances seem to have paved the way for an arrangement whereby the institution was given a new lease of life.

VIII

The proposal that another master should be associated with Angelo came, not from the directors nor from the riding master himself, but from an extraneous body. On 3rd July 1797 Archibald Swinton, W.S., intimated to the directors that a committee of the Edinburgh Volunteer Dragoons, then particularly active owing to the Napoleonic menace, had pro-

posed to Angelo that John Adams, Lieutenant of the Cinque Ports Cavalry, should be conjoined with him in the office of riding master for three years.¹ Angelo was favourable; and Lord Adam Gordon and Sir John Whitefoord having reported on the character and qualifications of Adams, the directors approved of the new appointment.

One of the names appearing on the commission to Adams is that of 'Walter Scott, Advocate.' In February 1797 Scott and a few friends, fearing a French invasion and being fond of horsemanship, decided to organise a force of mounted volunteers in Midlothian. The offer was accepted by the Government, and the formation of the corps proceeded rapidly, Scott becoming Paymaster, Quartermaster and Secretary. Adams, who was brought to Edinburgh for the purpose of drilling the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons (the name by which the corps came to be known), was given the rank of Adjutant, in which capacity he did commendable work.

On 14th August 1797 an agreement was entered into betwixt Angelo and Adams, which does not appear to have come under the notice of the directors until 11th March 1802, when, on the occasion of the renewal of the contract with the two riding masters for nine years, it was approved. 'In consideration of Mr. Angelo's advanced Age and long Services,' Adams undertook sole charge. He also engaged to pay Angelo during the joint mastership an annuity of £150, and, in the event of his surviving Angelo, he further engaged to pay Mrs. Angelo an annuity of £50 for the remainder of her life, provided he should so long be sole master of the riding school.

But the meeting of directors on 3rd July 1797 had even more important business before it. The roof of the riding school 'being very insufficient and taking a great Expense annually to keep it in repair,' Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo reported that he had caused measurements to be taken of

¹ The arrangement was for five years, as the subsequent narrative shows; but three years is mentioned in the minutes.

the ground belonging to the directors with a view either of feuing or selling it. With the money obtained thereby, he proposed the erection of a new riding school. Forbes's proposal was approved and a committee appointed to take the necessary measures. But the book of sederunt discloses nothing further regarding this project. That it did not materialise may be inferred from the fact that the riding school remained in Nicolson Street for thirty years longer. Curiously enough, however, a plan of Edinburgh ('including all the latest and intended Improvements'), engraved by Charles Thomson and published in 1820 by Thomas Brown, bookseller, shows the site of a 'Proposed new Riding School' on the line of Regent Road. The building would have stood on ground now occupied by the Royal High School. But whether the new structure was intended to be a continuation of the Nicolson Street establishment or an entirely new venture, has not been discovered, the minutes of the Royal Academy for this period not being available.

IX

Adams signalled his appointment as joint riding master by thoroughly investigating the position, financial and otherwise, of the institution. In March 1798 he reported that much renovation was required to place it on an efficient basis. Unfortunately there were no funds for such a purpose; but Adams, rather than allow the establishment to remain in a backward condition, agreed to advance the whole sum needed for repairs, and at the same time to pay a number of small debts amounting in all to £120. This he undertook conditionally that the advances should be a heritable security on the buildings and ground belonging to the riding school. The proposition was duly considered, and Adams was authorised to effect repairs and to build out-houses 'at the sight and by the advice of Sir William Forbes.'

It was resolved that the cost was not to exceed £250, but when the work was completed it was found that £368, 18s. 11d. had been expended. The excess, it was explained, arose chiefly from the carrying out of more improvements than had been originally contemplated.

While, therefore, the riding school was placed, as Forbes said, 'on a respectable and comfortable footing,' the effort inevitably plunged the directors deeper in debt. On 1st July 1799 the amount owing was reported to be £500. To meet the situation £400 was borrowed from the trustees of James Burnet, tacksman of Whitehope, and £100 from William Gordon, Queen Street, Edinburgh. In the case of Burnet's trustees, the money was advanced on the understanding that the directors would, in terms of their minute of March 1798, grant heritable security for the same over their property. Gordon advanced his sum upon a simple bond. He also agreed to lend another £100, in the event of further repairs being effected. Sir William Forbes attempted to justify the fresh outlay by reminding the directors 'that in the present most laudable military Spirit of this Country,' the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons had 'availed themselves of Mr. Adams's assistance to perfect themselves in their Military Evolutions, and with that view not only make use of the Manage and the Ground belonging to it for their regular Drills, but a good many of the Gentlemen keep their Horses there at Livery.' 'Everything therefore,' Sir William continued, 'that can contribute to the convenience or advantage of that highly meritorious Corps must be an object well worthy of the Care and attention of the Directors.' Forbes, besides being a devotee of horsemanship, was a cornet in the Edinburgh Volunteer Dragoons. It is therefore easy to understand his attitude. Anyhow, he brought the directors round to his view, and on 6th July 1799 the bond and disposition in favour of Burnet's trustees was subscribed. Gordon's terms were also agreed to.

Meanwhile Adams, as acting master, was doing excellent work. General Vyse, one of the directors, spoke of it as justly meriting 'the approbation of the Academy,' and, on 11th March 1802, proposed that the commission granted in August 1797 in favour of Angelo and Adams as joint riding masters, should be renewed. This was agreed to, the fresh engagement being for nine years. The riding masters were to look after the fabric, furnish and maintain the horses, and generally to pay every annual and incidental expense. The annuity of £150 to Angelo was to be paid out of the Royal Bounty, likewise all expenses that did not, by the agreement, fall upon the riding masters. As this source of income would be more than exhausted, Adams was requested in the meantime to make good the annual deficiency, for which he was to be a creditor of the Academy. But after Angelo's death the agent was to defray from the Royal Bounty the whole of the charges, together with Mrs. Angelo's annuity, and to account for the balance to Adams, the surviving master.

At the same time Sir William Forbes and the factor were instructed to report on the affairs of the institution, while General Vyse, Commander of the Forces in Scotland, who took a deep interest in the riding school, was requested to consider the existing regulations, also the fees and perquisites exigible from the scholars, and to report how far these should be confirmed, or altered. General Vyse was also asked to make suggestions whereby the school, stables and other buildings might be rendered more 'useful and convenient to the Public.' His report was submitted on 15th March 1803. It stated that £100 would be required to put the roof in a proper state of repair. Then the framework of the stables was 'much decayed,' while £50 might profitably be spent in wainscotting, plastering and whitewashing. Finally, an infirmary stable and straw-house would, in General Vyse's opinion, make the riding school a 'perfect establishment.'

This fresh scheme of improvements meant an expenditure which the directors were extremely loath to incur. Still, the urgency of the matter was fully recognised, and at a meeting held in General Vyse's lodgings, with Lord Provost Neil Macvicar in the chair, it was decided to spend £200 in giving effect to the proposals, the money to be borrowed on the security of the area and buildings belonging to the Academy.

X

While the work of renovation was proceeding, an event occurred that changed the whole outlook and seemed to foreshadow a fresh era of financial embarrassment. On 18th May 1804 Adams died at the early age of forty-six. He was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard with military honours, a company of the Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons forming the firing party. Two years before, the directors had renewed for nine years their contract with Angelo and Adams as joint riding masters, 'with the survivancy to the longest liver.' Angelo, now far advanced in years, proposed that another joint riding master be appointed in place of Adams, but suggested that, 'owing to the increased expense of living,' some addition should be made to the allowance which Adams had agreed to make to him and his wife. The directors approved the filling up of the vacancy caused by Adams's death. They also appointed a committee to consider the state of the funds, and 'to arrange with Mr. Angelo as existing circumstances may seem to justify.'

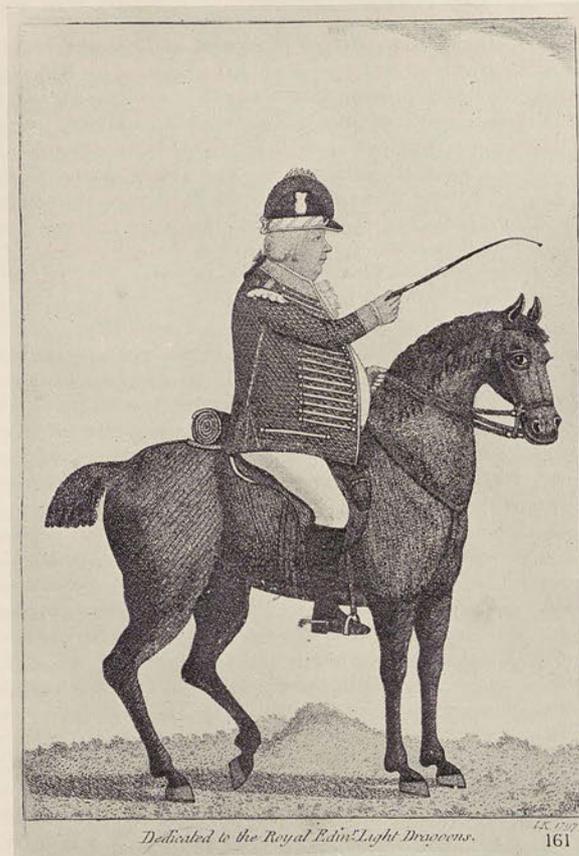
At a meeting of the subscribers in June 1804 the Lord Advocate stressed the fact that since 1766, when the royal grant of £200 per annum was bestowed upon the riding school, the cost of living had gone up, with the result that larger salaries had to be paid. He also pointed out that constant repairs to the buildings had now saddled them with a debt in the region of £800. Having reviewed the situation, he

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proposed that 'a respectful Memorial and Representation should be drawn up and presented to the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury humbly praying that a suitable addition should be made to the Royal Bounty.' The 'suitable addition' which he advised was not less than £100. This would enable the directors to make the salary of the new riding master £300.

Angelo having now signified his intention of retiring altogether, provided that he and his wife continued to enjoy the allowances they had under the agreement with Adams, the way was clear for reconsidering the whole position. On 12th June 1804 General Vyse moved that Lieutenant-Colonel James Leatham, late Major and now Paymaster to the Fourth or Royal Irish Dragoon Guards, be appointed sole riding master. This was approved, the agreement being for nine years. Leatham was to have the 'exclusive liberty of Teaching the Arts of Riding and Fencing, and all other exercises heretofore taught.' Angelo lived barely a year after his retirement, dying in April 1805 in his house in Nicolson Square at the age of eighty-four.

The Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury for an increase of the Royal Bounty was also approved, and ordered to be forwarded to the Hon. Robert Dundas, M.P., 'one of their number presently in London.' It pointed out that, in pursuance of the views of the Royal Academy, large contributions were obtained from individuals and faithfully laid out in the purchase of ground and in the erection and furnishing of the buildings necessary for teaching riding and the use of the sword. For a considerable time the royal grant of £200 was sufficient along with the fees to enable the Academy to provide masters of eminence, and the memorialists were proud to witness the important advantages which resulted to the country from their united exertions. Latterly, however, the extensive buildings fell into disrepair, and the directors had no other way of putting them again in good order but by contracting debts which they had never been able to redeem,



JOHN ADAMS, JOINT MASTER OF THE RIDING SCHOOL,
1797-1804

From the Etching by John Kay

while, from the great change in the cost of living, it had been found necessary to increase the emoluments of the riding masters. Thus the funds had become quite inadequate to the expenditure, and the debt was increasing daily.

In conclusion, the memorialists sound a bellicose note, claiming the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises as a useful adjunct of those who were intent on giving the Napoleonic menace its quietus.

'The Directors of the Royal Academy can with great truth state to your Lordships that since the military spirit was so conspicuously revived in Scotland, the exercises taught at this Academy have become every year more useful and necessary, in so much that the decline of such an institution might probably be now felt as a national loss.

In this conviction the Directors presume most earnestly to intreat your Lordships to recommend to His Majesty to make such an addition to the annuity of £200, granted now nearly forty years ago, as may correspond with the change of times, and thus enable the Royal Academy, not only to provide able masters for teaching the exercises under their patronage, but gradually to diminish the debt which latterly they have unavoidably been obliged to contract.'

The Memorial was signed by, among others, Neil Macvicar, the Lord Provost; the Earl of Moira, who had by this time succeeded General Vyse in the office of Commander-in-Chief in Scotland; Charles Hope, the Lord Advocate; the Duke of Buccleuch; the Earl of Dalhousie; Sir William Forbes, Bart.; General Vyse; and George Brown of Elliston.

XI

With the meeting of directors on 12th June 1804 the record of sederunt comes suddenly to an end. Fortunately the Exchequer Reports and other documents preserved at the Register House furnish a definite outline of the subsequent history of the Academy and, in particular, shed a

lurid light on its financial state. It is the story of frequent appeals and the granting of generous subsidies to an institution whose condition was hardly ever anything else but that of chronic impecuniosity.

Despite the fact that the 'respectful Memorial and Representation' of 1804 was successful beyond expectation, the Academy receiving (as will be shown presently) £1200 to pay off its debt and complete the repair of the premises, likewise a fresh yearly grant of £200 to defray current expenses—notwithstanding this good fortune the directors were compelled in less than four years to make another application to the Lords of the Treasury.

This fresh 'Petition and Memorial' is dated Edinburgh, 2nd December 1808, and among influential signatures are those of the Duke of Buccleuch; the Marquess of Dalhousie; the Earl of Rosslyn; Lord Cathcart, Commander of the Forces in Scotland; Charles Hope, Lord President of the Court of Session; Archibald Colquhoun, Lord Advocate; Lord Chief Baron Dundas; and William Coulter, Lord Provost of Edinburgh. The document is so illuminating that no apology need be made for presenting it in full.

'Humbly Sheweth,

That the want of an Establishment for teaching the manly and useful exercises of Riding and Fencing was long felt as a great loss attending the course of liberal education at the University of Edinburgh. To remedy this, a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen opened a Subscription by which nearly £3000 was collected. With this sum ground was purchased and a commodious Riding House and fencing Room were erected, with the necessary Stables, and the Academy was opened in 1763¹ under the direction of Mr. Angelo as master. The Salary given to him was £200 a year, and the fees were fixed at a rate which has continued the same ever since.² The money Subscribed

¹ This is an error. The Academy, as has been indicated, was opened in January 1764.

² The fees were reduced by resolution of the directors, 5th July 1764.

being soon exhausted by the Buildings and Salary to the Master, the Institution must have been abandoned if His Majesty had not been graciously pleased in 1766 to erect the Subscribers into a Body Corporate with powers to chuse Directors, and at the same time to issue his Royal Warrant to the Exchequer at Edinburgh for the annual sum of £200 to be paid to the Directors or their Treasurer towards the expenses of the Academy.

With the Aid of this Grant, the Directors were enabled to proceed for above forty years, but at last, after having had recourse to the Sale of part of their ground for Building, the Directors found themselves in 1804 above £1000 in debt in consequence of the gradual repairs which the Buildings had required.

At this time the Institution was again on the eve of dissolution, when, on the Humble Petition of the Directors, His Majesty was graciously pleased for the second time to interpose for their relief, by issuing His Royal Warrant for £1200 towards paying off their debt and completing the Repairs of the Buildings, and also for the Annual Sum of £200, in addition to the former £200, to defray the current expenses.

That your Memorialists did accordingly pay off their whole debt, and have put the Buildings in complete repair. And they were in hopes that the increased Annual Allowance which His Majesty had so graciously bestowed would have enabled them to carry on the Institution at least for many years without any additional assistance from His Majesty.

But they are sorry to state that they still find that this very useful Institution, and which from the permanent increase to our Military force of every description must become every day more useful, must soon be given up unless further Aid be granted to them. This arises chiefly from the prodigious rise in the expense of forage for the Horses, while at the same time your Memorialists find that a rise in the rate of fees to meet this increased expense is not expedient as deterring many young men from acquiring these branches of Education, and consequently not increasing the Amount of the fees in any degree to compensate for this Obvious Objection. The Emoluments arising from the Fencing School have very considerably diminished, owing probably to that Art having been much disused since the disuse of the small sword as an article of dress.

Your Memorialists beg leave to refer to the Annexed Statement

from which the Comparative Emoluments and Expenses of the Academy will appear for the year 1766 and the three years preceding 1808. Your Lordships will thus perceive that the Academy cannot be maintained on the present Allowance and that, if further public Aid be not given, this most useful national Institution must be ultimately abandoned.

Humbly trusting that your Lordships will be satisfied of the propriety of Granting further public Aid, your Memorialists proceed, with due submission, to propose to your Lordships the mode which appears to them the best in which it can be granted.

The Object ought to be to secure the application of the Grant to the purpose required with the greatest fidelity, and with adequate advantage to the Institution. With this view, the Directors would humbly suggest, after the Example of the Royal Manège in Dublin, an allowance for forage for the horses actually kept and used in the Academy, not exceeding twelve. This allowance the Directors would propose to be made according to the rations issued to His Majesty's Cavalry and at the prices paid for the year to the Contractor for forage for the Cavalry Barracks near Edinburgh (Piershill). This will be still under the Actual expense of the maintenance of the Horses kept at the Academy, whose work being constant and severe require higher feeding than Ordinary Cavalry Horses.

In Order to check the number of Horses, we would propose that they should be mustered once a month by one of the Directors of the Academy, and an Officer of the Court of Exchequer, and that the number actually kept and used for each month should be certified to the Exchequer at such muster by the Director attending, the Officer of the Court, and the master of the Academy. It appears to your Memorialists that this mode will prevent the possibility of any imposition and will make the relief proportioned to the extent of the School. But any Other Regulation which may appear preferable to your Lordships will be equally agreeable to the Directors, who have no interest in the matter beyond a deep conviction of the utility of the Establishment.¹

Here follow the signatures already referred to, after which is subjoined the comparative statement of emoluments and expenses mentioned in the Memorial.

¹ *Exchequer Reports*, 3rd August 1808–21st June 1810.

Estimate of Expense of 12 Horses and other Expenses of Royal Academy at Edinburgh.

1766	
12 horses at 10d. per night	£182 10
6 Helpers at 7/- per week	109 4
1 Assistant Rider, say	25
Repairs very few as Buildings were new, but say	6
Saddlery, say	35
House Rent and Taxes, say	50
	<hr/>
	£407 14

Note.—Mr. Angelo received Horses and Sadlery from the Directors. Lieut.-Col. Leatham, the present Master, has provided both.

1807

For some years Hay has never been under 1/- per stone. Often at 2/- and upwards. Oats have never been under 21/- p. Boll. Often much higher, so that the maintenance of a Horse may be fairly stated at 2/6 per night.

12 horses at 2/6	£547 10
6 Helpers at 11/- p. week	171 12
1 Assistant Rider	52
Repairs, say	12
Sadlery—per Account	70
House Rent and Taxes—per Account	150
Price of Horses on Average of three years— per Account	50 16 8
	<hr/>
	£1053 18 8
Deduct Average Emolument	928 7 8
	<hr/>
Average Loss to Colonel Leatham	£125 11

EMOLUMENTS

The fees for Riding and Fencing are exactly the same now as in 1766. The only change is an increase from £2 2/- to £3 3/- on

breaking a Horse for the Road. So that if the number of Scholars be the same the Emolument in 1766 would be just what it is now.

In 1807	
Cash for Riding	£491 14
Horses Broke	42
Fencing	16 16
Manure	63
Salary	275
	<hr/>
	£888 10
In 1806	968 8
1805	920 5 2
	<hr/>
$\frac{1}{3}$	£2777 3 2
	<hr/>
Average Emolument since Col. Leatham's appointment	£928 7 8
Deduct Expence in 1766	407 14
	<hr/>
	£520 13 8
Deduct £75, less Salary to Mr. Angelo	75
	<hr/>
Profit in 1766	£445 13 8 ¹

XII

The petition of the directors, dated 2nd December 1808, praying for further aid, was duly laid before the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, who transmitted it to the Barons of the Exchequer for a report. On 1st February 1809 the Barons recommended 'an Allowance for forage for ten Horses to be kept and used in the Academy,' which they thought might be safely granted if the conditions proposed by the directors themselves, and set forth in their memorial, were strictly observed.² The directors had petitioned for forage

¹ *Exchequer Reports*, 1808-10, pp. 93-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

for twelve horses, but the Barons, having regard to 'the number of Scholars attending the Academy at present,' were of opinion that an allowance for ten horses would be sufficient.

Apparently the Lords of the Treasury did not comply with the recommendation of the Barons of Exchequer, for in August 1816 we find the directors renewing their application for forage, but this time for ten horses instead of twelve, 'agreeably to the report' of the Barons. Lord Liverpool, who became Prime Minister in 1812, appears to have been the stumbling-block. At any rate, his Lordship had expressed a doubt 'as to the propriety of any allowance having been originally granted to such an Institution,' an attitude which the directors attempted to combat by urging that Lord Liverpool should not allow 'any private doubts of that kind to influence him in determining whether to grant any additional allowance, because that question was fully considered by the competent authority at the time, and decided in the affirmative.' After enlarging upon the advantages of such an institution and the enthusiasm with which the nobility and gentry of Scotland had supported it at the outset, the directors stress the fact that tuition in riding is expensive.

'If the Art of Riding could be taught, like almost all other liberal Arts and Sciences, by the mere exertion of Mental abilities by the Master or Professor, the thing was done, and the Establishment (the cost of the buildings being thus provided for) would have easily defrayed the mere salary of the Professor. But Riding cannot be taught without a very large Expence in the purchase of Tear and Wear, and Maintenance of a number of Horses.'

When, in 1804, the Government assisted the Academy with a grant of £1200 and a further allowance of £200 a year, the directors 'did flatter themselves that it would have been sufficient . . . at least for many years.' Unfortunately, the memorialists did not foresee 'the probable rise in the price of agricultural produce,' and fell into the error of not asking for 'an allowance in kind instead of money.'

'In consequence of this, and of the increased Expence of every-thing connected with their institution by the renewal of the War in 1803 and its continuance almost ever since, the additional allowance then so liberally given has in twelve years become so nearly inadequate as the original allowance had done in the previous forty years. For this reason the Memorialists have suggested that the allowance . . . should be given in the shape of Forage for Ten Horses . . . leaving the old allowance of £400 to cover the increased Expence of Saddlery, Grooms, repairs.'

A partial remedy of the financial situation might have been obtained by increasing the fees, but to this the directors were opposed, 'because, altho' an increased fee might not be judged by Men of High Rank and Fortune, yet it might tend to prevent Men of Moderate fortune giving to their sons intended for the Army the benefit of a branch of Education so essentially necessary in that profession.'

The memorial next calls attention to the lamentable position of Colonel Leatham, the Master of the Academy. He had given up two positions in the Army that yielded an income of over £500 a year, and had come to Edinburgh on the advice of the Earl of Moira and General Vyse. Yet during the twelve years he had been riding master he had 'literally derived no Emolument from his situation,' but had 'been obliged to subsist entirely on his own Means,' and his income not being sufficient, he had been 'forced to encroach on his Capital' and was now 'almost a ruined man.'

On these facts being brought to the notice of 'the late Mr. (Spencer) Perceval' (the Prime Minister), he desired Lord Melville explicitly to assure the directors that whatever was the fate of their application, they might depend upon Leatham being adequately provided for. The memorialists therefore presumed that Lord Liverpool would view the matter in the same light, and 'not be inclined to forfeit a pledge so solemnly given by Mr. Perceval.'

But Lord Liverpool seems to have been impressed with the

idea that the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises had a doubtful claim to be assisted out of public funds. At any rate, no action was taken by the Lords of the Treasury either in providing forage for ten horses, or in relieving the dire necessities of Colonel Leatham. Meanwhile the Duke of Buccleuch made more than one attempt to influence the Prime Minister, who, towards the end of 1820, was brought round to the view that it was his duty to grant whatever relief the Duke of Buccleuch, after consulting with the Lord President of the Court of Session and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, should recommend. Accordingly, these high officials duly reported to the Duke, after again considering the subject in the light of the various memorials which had been presented to the Treasury, and obtaining from Leatham 'an exact Statement of the receipts and disbursements for the present year.'

As the result of their inquiries, the Lord President and the Chief Baron were satisfied that the institution barely maintained itself, 'leaving not a sixpence for the support of Colonel Leatham and his Family.' The receipts for the year (1820), 'including the present allowance,' amounted to £1155, and the expenditure to £1119, 4s., leaving for Leatham the insignificant sum of £35, 16s. They were therefore 'decidedly of opinion that the assistance asked by the Directors . . . of Forage for Ten Horses' was the 'very least that can enable the institution to go on.' The report also proposed that the allowance to the riding master should be retrospective.

'It is now eight or nine years since Mr. Perceval solemnly promised, whatever became of the institution, that Colonel Leatham should be provided for, in consideration of his leaving the paymastership of the 4th D^r. Gds. (Dragoon Guards) in order to accept of the charge of the Academy. We humbly think both in Justice to the Memory of Mr. Perceval, and also to Colonel Leatham, who has been usefully labouring for fourteen years at his own expense, that this allowance ought to have a retrospect to the time of Mr. Perceval's

promise—or that a slump sum should be granted to Colonel Leatham in lieu of it, not less than £1500.’

Whatever may have been the cause, no immediate action was taken by the Government to give effect to the recommendations contained in the report to the Duke of Buccleuch. Six months later (16th June 1821), however, the Lords of the Treasury requested another report from the Barons. Independently, the Remembrancer made ‘particular inquiries’ into Leatham’s financial state, and, on 30th June 1821, reported that it did not materially differ from what it was in 1809. Leatham’s salary was £325. The fees amounted to £530, while livery and breaking horses yielded another £300, making a total of £1155. On the other hand, the annual expense of keeping twelve horses, with the necessary expenditure on the School, etc., amounted to £879, 2s., leaving a surplus of only £275, 18s. The Remembrancer therefore saw no reason why their Lordships should alter the opinion they formed in 1809, which seemed to have been ‘quite satisfactory’ to the directors at that time.

Finally, the Remembrancer points out that the average outlay borne by Leatham since 1810 for maintaining ten horses was £365 per annum, and that should a retrospective allowance from 1809 be granted, it would amount to £4380. If, however, it were made to date from 1816, the sum on the same basis would be £1825.

On 5th July 1821 the Barons, in obedience to the directions of the Treasury issued the previous month, submitted their report. They saw no reason for forming a different opinion from that expressed regarding the memorial of 1809. In addition, they advocated that Leatham be ‘reimbursed for the loss he had sustained for several years’ and that the allowance should begin from August 1816, the date when the directors renewed their application.

What action, if any, was taken by the Government as the

result of this report does not appear, but ten years later, on 1st September 1831, the Treasury gave an unambiguous indication towards the constant begging appeals of the directors of the Royal Academy of Exercises. The letter which their Lordships then addressed to the Barons seemed to show that the Rubicon had been crossed. The Barons were directed to pay what were presumably the usual grants ‘to the 5th July last,’ but in doing so they were to ‘inform them (*i.e.* the directors) that My Lords do not propose to make to them any further payment from any Public Funds on account of that Institution.’¹ But despite the intransigent mood of the communication, the Rubicon had not been crossed. On the contrary, hardly had six months elapsed when another substantial subsidy found its way into the coffers of the Academy. The circumstances attending this surprising change of front have not been ascertained. All that has been discovered is that on 31st March 1832, Henry Jardine, at the Exchequer Chambers, Edinburgh, addressed a communication to Robert Mitford at the Treasury, to the following effect: ‘My Dear Sir, I received Yours of the 28th Instant Enclosing His Majesty’s Warrant for paying to the Directors of the Royal Academy of Exercises in Edinburgh £3500, which I shall get thro’ immediately.’²

Was this the last of the Government grants? If it was, it may have kept the Academy afloat; but looking to the financial record, its stability must have been short. An institution whose very existence from the outset had depended on frequent and not inconsiderable allowances from public funds was not likely to survive their withdrawal for any length of time.

XIII

What is known of the external history of the Academy during its last years is soon told. In a manuscript account

¹ *Exchequer Reports*, 1831-32, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

of a 'Journey to Edinburgh' in 1817, preserved in the Edinburgh Room of the Public Library, the writer, Colonel Smith, describes in a matter-of-fact style a visit paid to the riding school. After stating the dimensions of the building, he explains that 'at one end is an elevated room where fencing used to be taught, and (now) serves for the accommodation of parents who wish to see their children taught to ride. Mr. Clerk, the head groom, was very civil to us—shewed us a horse he was breaking in, which was very docile and sagacious, and a fine old Andalusian Horse belonging to the Marquis of Douglas.'

Between 1804 and 1828 there probably were proposals to remove the establishment elsewhere, for the rural surroundings which the riding school in Nicolson Street enjoyed at the outset of its career had long since disappeared. By the beginning of the nineteenth century a huge urban population had grown up in the vicinity, and it is not difficult to imagine that the work of the Royal Academy was carried on under increasingly irksome conditions. Surrounded by lofty tenements, and with encroachments upon the area reserved for exercising the horses, the difficulties of both master and pupil are obvious.

In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 3rd May 1828 there appears an advertisement, which plainly indicates that the sixty-four years' occupancy of the premises in Nicolson Street was about to terminate:

'RIDING SCHOOL FOR SALE

The Directors of the Royal Academy for Exercises, intending shortly to remove the School to their new Premises, have resolved to Dispose of the Accommodations in Ground and Buildings belonging to the Academy in Nicolson Street. Those whom the Premises may suit will please give in offers betwixt and the 15th day of May, to Cranstoun and Anderson, W.S., 50 Castle Street, Edinburgh, the Secretaries.

The grounds belonging to the Academy are in the immediate

vicinity of the College, and extend from Nicolson Street to Roxburgh Place, exposing fronts to both Streets, and are thereby well adapted for public buildings, or for the residence of the young gentlemen attending the University.

The premises will be shown by applying at the Riding School; and Colonel and Captain Leatham, the joint Masters of the Academy, or the Secretaries, will give every necessary information to those who may apply for the same.'

This advertisement is enlightening. It makes clear, in the first place, that the directors had decided quite definitely to sell the buildings, and were not succumbing to any tempting offer to buy their property. Secondly, it establishes the fact that the modest dimensions of the original building erected by Robert Adam had been considerably outgrown, the premises in their final form extending from Nicolson Street to Roxburgh Place. Thirdly, the advertisement reveals the very interesting information that Colonel Leatham, who succeeded Angelo as sole riding master in 1804, was still holding that office in 1828, though the duties were latterly shared by Captain Leatham, who may have been a relative. Colonel Leatham was known to Sir Walter Scott. In a letter addressed to Lord Melville in November 1819, Scott mentions having introduced Gustavus Vasa, Prince of Sweden (then residing in Edinburgh under the name of Count Itterburg), 'to all the learned Professors whom he wished to know, not forgetting the Professor of Equitation, our friend Leatham.'

In the Edinburgh Directory for 1813-14 occurs the name of 'Thomas Clerk, riding master, Royal Ménage, Nicolson Street,' but as mentioned elsewhere, he was really the head groom. In the same Directory Lieutenant-Colonel Leatham's address is given as 14 Argyle Square, which stood on the site of the Heriot-Watt College in Chambers Street.¹ There is

¹ On 15th June 1841 there is recorded in the Register of Deeds the will of Lieutenant-Colonel James Leatham, residing in Shandwick Place. He is most likely the riding master, although not so designated.

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also mention of Alexander Leatham, living in furnished lodgings at 12 Charles Street. He may have been the person who shared the duties of riding master along with Lieutenant-Colonel Leatham.

As regards the 'new Premises' of the Royal Academy, referred to in the advertisement, these were in St. Cuthbert's Lane (the site is now covered by the Caledonian Hotel), and adjoined, appropriately enough, the Royal Scottish Naval and Military Academy. There the establishment was conducted till within comparatively recent years.

The directors apparently had not long to wait for a purchaser of their property in Nicolson Street. Less than three weeks after the riding school was advertised for sale, it was purchased by the Royal College of Surgeons at the price of £3500, with entry at Whitsunday 1829. On 22nd May 1828 the following paragraph appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*:

'We understand that the premises belonging to the Royal Menage in Nicolson Street have been purchased for £3500 by the Royal College of Surgeons, who intend to erect a very magnificent building there. The Menage is to be transferred to the Lothian Road.'

The Royal College of Surgeons, having pulled down the old riding academy, erected on the site the stately Greek building (from designs by W. H. Playfair) which we know so well.

In the quadrangle in front of the City Chambers stands the monument of 'Alexander taming Bucephalus,' which embodies the tradition that Alexander the Great in his boyhood was the first to break in the famous horse Bucephalus, thereby fulfilling the condition stated by an oracle as necessary for gaining the crown of Macedon. It may seem curious, in view of the moribund state of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises, that a conspicuous site of Old Edinburgh

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should be occupied by a monument typifying uncommon skill in the art of horsemanship. But the monument is there because it is an equestrian masterpiece by a Scottish sculptor—Sir John Steell—not for any other reason. If it had been placed where it is as a reminder of Edinburgh's renown in the gentlemanly pastime of horse riding, its position would have been strangely anomalous, for, judging by the record of the institution whose history for almost a hundred years has been traced in the preceding pages, the taming of Bucephalus created but a languid interest in our midst.

W. FORBES GRAY.

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Old Church Club
1883

THE OLD CHURCH CLUB
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
HAS THE HONOR TO ANNOUNCE
THAT THE TWENTY-SIXTH AND TWENTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

APPENDIX

TWENTY-SIXTH AND TWENTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

Old Edinburgh Club

1933

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REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 25th January 1934, at 4 o'clock.

Sir Robert Gilmour, of Liberton and Craigmillar, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., Honorary President, presided, and there was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-sixth 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-sixth Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1933 there were twenty-seven vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain six names on the list of applicants for admission. The losses by death or resignation have been heavy; but the Club is no worse off than kindred societies. On the contrary, the Club still occupies an enviable position, for at a time when a dwindling membership is a common experience, it has a waiting list, a circumstance that must surely be regarded as an indication that the Club is representing satisfactorily certain objects in which many citizens are deeply interested. But while numerical strength is being maintained, there is no certainty in these hard times that it will continue. The Council therefore urges members to do what they can to lengthen the waiting list. Names and addresses of persons desiring admission should be sent to the Honorary Secretary.

For reasons mentioned in last Report, no lectures were arranged for the early months of this year, but with the arrival of summer the Club's activities were renewed in earnest, four excursions taking place. All were largely attended and much enjoyed. Three were beyond the bounds of Edinburgh; but it must not be forgotten that the city is the special province of the Club. Hopetoun House was visited on 6th May, Riccarton House on 3rd June, and Arniston House on

16th September. Reports of these excursions will be found in the Appendix to Volume XIX. of the Club's publications, likewise one of an excursion to the older portions of Leith, which took place on 1st July, when members were under the capable guidance of Mr. John Russell.

Towards the close of the year two admirable lectures were delivered in the Goold Hall, both being presided over by the President. On 20th November, Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., with the aid of a choice selection of lantern slides, lectured on 'Vanished Buildings of Old Edinburgh.' Mr. Kerr, in racy fashion, covered a wide field, and described and exhibited many structures which made his hearers conscious of how much of the glory of Old Edinburgh has departed. Then, on 12th December, Mr. John Russell maintained the interest of his audience for nearly two hours while he discoursed on his favourite theme—historic Leith. The Council would remind prospective lecturers that the Edinburgh Room of the Public Library now contains 238 lantern slides (classified and fully indexed under subjects) illustrating Edinburgh, and prints and maps of the city. Additions to this collection of slides, all of which can be lent to lecturers, will be welcomed by the Librarian.

BOOK OF THE CLUB

The Club has now published nineteen volumes. The latest was issued to members in the second week of December. A bulky volume with numerous illustrations, it contains the results of close research in various quarters, and has entailed much labour on the part of the contributors. The Council trust that the strongly social character of the contents of Volume XIX. will render it a welcome addition to its predecessors.

BRUNTSFIELD HOUSE

On 4th December there was published in the Press a timely communication from the President, calling attention to the fact that Bruntsfield House, 'one of the most impressive memorials of historic Edinburgh,' is now in danger of demolition, and expressing the earnest hope that 'on historical and architectural grounds, as well as on those of amenity,' some scheme might be devised whereby this venerable and picturesque mansion, which enshrines so much of the Edinburgh of a long distant past, would be preserved to the community

for all time. The Council, which had the matter under consideration at its October meeting, can but hope that the President's plea will be successful. The problem bristles with difficulties, for since the Corporation cannot see its way to assume responsibility for the structure, its preservation is now entirely a matter for private enterprise. One thing is certain—if Bruntsfield House is demolished, another of the jewels from the crown of Old Edinburgh will be irrecoverably lost.

Sir Robert Gilmour, in submitting the Report and Balance Sheet, said :—

The Old Edinburgh Club is itself becoming quite historical. More than a quarter of a century has gone since the Club started, and throughout that long period we have been loyal to its purpose of collecting and authenticating written or documentary evidence relating to Old Edinburgh, and in selecting and printing historical data which might be useful for future reference. I congratulate the contributors to the latest of the Club's publications. I should never pity anybody shut up in prison if he had the nineteen volumes issued by the Club to make him happy. The report and balance sheet for the past year are extremely favourable.

Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, moved the adoption of the Report. He said :—

The prosperous state of the Club is indicated by the fact that there are many applicants for admission to membership. Our object is not merely to publish material relating to the history of Edinburgh, but to make an effort to preserve whatever remains of the Old Town as well as other ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of the city. St. George's Chapel, in York Place, we are told, is going to be turned into a warehouse, while we have heard that Bruntsfield House is threatened. All that the Club can do is to attempt to influence public opinion in the direction of preserving buildings in the city of historical or architectural interest. Our main field of endeavour must of course be the Royal Mile, which is a source of unflinching attraction not only to the citizens but to many visitors. Before sitting down, I should like to congratulate Mr. David Robertson, who has been recommended by the Lord Provost's Committee for the vacant Town Clerkship. Mr. Robertson has been a member of our Club since its foundation, and has all along shown a keen and active interest in its affairs. In 1918

6 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING

he was elected a member of Council, and has been frequently re-elected. Mr. Robertson has contributed valuable papers to our publications, and is well known by several volumes dealing with local history.

Dr. Henry W. Meikle, of the National Library of Scotland, seconded the adoption of the Report.

The Old Edinburgh Club, he said, could look back with pride to the Bannatyne Club as its mother. Their Club was the natural result of influences which had been at work as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century. One feature distinguished its publications from those of the older societies. The latter restricted themselves to the publication of documents, whereas the Old Edinburgh Club, with its wider aims, provided members with the material worked up into readable and attractive form.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

Mr. Francis J. Grant, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 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 Lord St. Vigeans, 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., 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.

Lord St. Vigeans, Mr. James S. Richardson, Mr. William Greenhill, C.A., and Mr. David Robertson, S.S.C., Depute Town Clerk, were elected members of Council.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. A. Graham Donald, M.A., F.F.A., Mr. Hugh Hannah, Mr. J. Logan Mack, S.S.C., F.S.A., and Mr. John Smith, the retiring members of Council.

The meeting then terminated.

LECTURES

I

VANISHED BUILDINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH

On the evening of Monday, 20th November 1933, in the Goad Hall, Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., delivered a lantern lecture on 'Vanished Buildings of Old Edinburgh.' Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided. At the outset the lecturer pointed out that the earliest buildings of note were ecclesiastical. It was traditionally stated that in the eleventh century a church was built on the cell of St. Cuthbert, and evidently later a new and larger church was there constructed, to be replaced in the eighteenth century by a greater church to meet the demands of the increasing population. Similarly St. Giles' Church, originally Norman, was supplanted by the fourteenth-century church built after the destruction by fire of the earlier building. But other removals had not such reasonable excuses. Trinity College Church, second in magnificence of design only to Holyrood, was swept away to make a goods siding at Waverley Station. The Blackfriars' monastery was ruined after the Reformation, and the High School finally planted on its site. The Kirk of Field, also ruined, was cleared away for the University in 1582. The Greyfriars' monastery in the Grassmarket evidently was a fine building, but there was no trace of it.

In the sixteenth century the 'Auld Towre,' presented by King Robert II. for a Tolbooth, was condemned when not probably two hundred years old, and the fifteenth-century new 'Belhouse,' and the seventeenth century 'Wairdehouse,' which latter took the place of the 'Auld Towre,' were condemned, and removed, when the Calton Jail was opened in 1817. The same fate befell one of the most interesting of all the public buildings—the Nether Bow Port, part of which was of early and part of late sixteenth century.

Many of the old Edinburgh buildings were demolished simply because they had been allowed to become ruinous. Others, however, disappeared in order to give effect to what were called 'city improvements.' Such schemes were honestly meant, and some of them skilfully done; but there was frequently but little consideration shown in the

retaining of old buildings of note and architectural merit. The construction of Melbourne Place in continuation of Bank Street was an excellent thing in itself, but there was needlessly sacrificed Robert Gourlay's house—a house of Scottish quaintness and historical interest as the place of confinement of several celebrated State prisoners. Gourlay's house could easily have been preserved by recessing it from the main thoroughfare. But the crowning folly of the promoters of 'city improvements' was the destruction of the West Bow, one of the most wonderful streets to be found anywhere. Nor could they forget the ruthless clearing away of Blackfriars' Wynd—the vennel wherein dwelt princes of the Church and feudal lords, and whose buildings exhibited a wealth of beautiful sculpture and quaint excrescences. Among the buildings thus sacrificed was Cardinal Beaton's house at the angle of Blackfriars' Wynd and the Cowgate. Advocate's Close had also been largely destroyed—that narrow, steep alley with sculptured doorways and quaint overhanging chambers. In Castle Hill, again, many mansions of note were removed to make way for the two Assembly Halls, including a famous and interesting group embracing Hope's House and the Mary of Guise Palace.

They could not expect to preserve all the old houses, but when the buildings were in the Royal Mile endeavour should be made to preserve not only those places of historical note and of architectural merit, but also every frontage that serves as a link—however feeble—with the old-world town. Quite recently there was pulled down the great cliff-like 'land' called Jack's Close in the Canongate. Jack's Land was not exactly a thing of beauty, but its rugged exterior had its value in the character of the street.

In like manner, at Bull's Close, farther down the Canongate, a small 'land,' whose chief characteristic was a quaint timber gable, had been demolished and replaced by a plain stone front. Huntly House was now the only timber-fronted building in the Royal Mile.

II

SOME HISTORIC LEITH BUILDINGS

Another lantern lecture was delivered in the Goold Hall, on the evening of Tuesday, 12th December 1933, the subject being 'Some Historic Leith Buildings.' The lecturer was Mr. John Russell. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided.

The lecturer said that before 1833 the foreign trade of Leith was entirely controlled by the merchant burghesses of Edinburgh. Such a state of affairs accounted for the fact of Leith having few public buildings. On the other hand, the burgh was, for its size, notably endowed with ecclesiastical structures of an ancient type. The lecturer recounted the history, and described the architectural features of the more famous mansions, notably the house (now derelict) in which Andrew Lamb entertained Mary Queen of Scots, when, in August 1561, she landed at Leith after her voyage from France. Another mansion dealt with was the residence, in Kirkgate, of the last Lord Balmerino, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746 for complicity in the second Jacobite rebellion. Other residences of noted Leith families passed under review were those of Sheriffbrae (the home of the Logans), Hillhousefield, and Pilrig.

Continuing, the lecturer alluded to the fact that certain writers, in referring to the charter by which Robert the Bruce, in 1329, granted to Edinburgh the harbour of Leith, mills, and their appurtenances, assumed that the King granted the mills of Leith, whereas these did not actually come into the possession of Edinburgh until 1722. The mills mentioned in the royal charter were those of Dean. Again, St. Anthony's Preceptory was older than was generally supposed. In this connection, the lecturer mentioned the recent discovery in the Vatican Library at Rome of a supplication which plainly showed this building to have existed for some years before the date given in the 'Rentale Buke of Sanct Anthonis and Newhavin,' a manuscript volume preserved in the National Library of Scotland.

Other buildings described were the King's Wark, Cromwell's Citadel, the parish churches, the Tolbooth, Trinity House, the Old Signal Tower, and the Episcopal meeting houses. A portion of the lecture was also devoted to an account of the old hostelries in the neighbourhood of the Shore and Kirkgate. These were at one time very numerous, and included the old and the new Ship Inns, whose fame was celebrated by Robert Fergusson, the poet.

III

THE WORK OF THE CANONGATE COURTS

This was the subject of a lecture delivered by Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Ph.D., on the evening of Tuesday, 27th February,

1934, in the Goold Hall. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, the President, presided.

Miss Wood said the records of this Court started regularly in 1569, and continued for nearly 200 years, but the entries in the later books were merely formal. The variety of business transacted by the bailie of the regality of Broughton and the bailies of the Canongate was amazing, from cases of petty debt to theft, assault, robbery, and murder. Cases of slander among women were frequent, and though men were not exempt from them, they figured more frequently in quarrels which ended in bloodshed. The politics of the period figured very little in the Court books, and that chiefly in retrospect, but it was remarkable that the Bailie Court carried on while Edinburgh Courts seemed to have been in abeyance. After the troubles had subsided, cases dealing with damage by civil war were not infrequent.

Murder trials seem to have been conducted with great fairness, and it was not infrequent to find the accused discharged. One particularly interesting case was the report of the trial of Lady Warriston for the murder of her husband, giving details not known to the editor of Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*.

IV

THE MARKET CROSS

The story of the Cross of Edinburgh, commonly called the Mercat Cross, was the subject of a lecture delivered on the evening of Tuesday, 13th November 1934, in the Goold Hall, by Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E. Mr. Francis J. Grant, C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms, presided. There was special appropriateness, the lecturer pointed out, in the presence of Dr. Grant in the chair, not only because of his office, but because his father, the late John Grant, Marchmont Herald, read the first proclamation from the restored Cross. On that occasion the present Lord Lyon King of Arms was among the spectators.

Mr. Forbes Gray read the following notes to a large audience :—

The Cross of Edinburgh, commonly called the Mercat Cross, was for three hundred years the centre not only of civic affairs but of the public life of Scotland. Throughout that long period the national consciousness surged round Edinburgh, for it was the seat of the Court and of Parliament, of the judiciary and, at a later date, of the General

Assembly. While primarily the symbol of the municipal authority, the Cross has at the same time been the silent witness of many of the most important events in the history of Scotland. And because of this, it is unique. The other market crosses have merely a local significance, whereas that of Edinburgh has acquired associations that transcend the municipal and bring us into touch with the life of the Scottish nation. The history of the Cross of Edinburgh accurately reflects the trend of Scottish affairs—political, ecclesiastical, social, economic—throughout the tumultuous period beginning soon after the War of Independence and ending with the union of the Parliaments in the reign of Anne.

Peter Miller, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1886, hazards the opinion that the original Cross stood in the pre-Reformation burial ground behind St. Giles', a not impossible assumption, since the markets in early times were held in the churchyards. Each Cross had its patron saint, and Miller suggests that our one may have been dedicated to St. Monan. Certainly the Cross that existed in the Middle Ages stood at the head of a wynd known as St. Monan's.

How far back its history goes, it is impossible to say. It must, however, have existed in the reign of William the Lion. A royal edict issued in 1175 decrees that 'merchandises salbe presentit at the Mercat Croce of burghis.' Now as Edinburgh was one of the Four Burghs of the kingdom whose association eventually filled a great place in the national life, the city must have had a 'mercat croce' at that far distant period. But what appears to be the first direct reference is contained in one of the St. Giles' charters, dated 1447, in which the town lets in feu-farm to William Nutt, burgess, certain land to the west of the forum and *cross*, for the good of the altar of St. Andrew. Our next piece of evidence is a letter dated October 1477, in which James III. mentions certain parts of Edinburgh where various kinds of merchandise can be exposed for sale. In this document it is stated that 'wyld foulis and tame' are to be sold 'about the Mercat Croce.' Again, we learn from the burgh records, that on 5th April 1547 it was decreed that no 'crames' were to be set up at the Cross except on market days under a penalty of forty shillings.

In 1555 it was proposed to rebuild the Cross. An entry in the burgh records for 29th March tells us that the Cross was 'rowpit threw the towne to see quha wald big the same in buith or buithis on

thair expens and tak the samyn in rentale of the town for ane yeirliie profit.' William Hucheson offered to undertake the work, and it was suggested that he should 'big the said rowme of the Croce of the breid as it is now . . . and to mak the wallis thair of substantialious . . . and set the lang stane as it is now, and to mak the interes (entrance) to the heid thair of for proclamationis as it is now without impediment, and the interes to the buith or buithis to be just of the calsay and without ony stoppis.'

But the rebuilding never took place. The Treasurer's Accounts, however, show that the door and other parts of the structure were repaired. On 27th June 1555 Mungo Hunter, a smith, was paid for 'ane loke and ane key to the mercat croce.' These did duty until July 1584, when the Treasurer was instructed to procure 'ane new lok and key to the croce dur.' In 1560 the lock was mended at a charge of eighteenpence, while sixpence was paid for 'dychting' the Cross. Then an iron chain was procured (1561) for the branks. These were probably fixed to the stonework.

The site of the Cross that existed in pre-Reformation times has aroused considerable controversy, but there seems no reason for dissenting from the judgment of Peter Miller, who in the paper already referred to quotes from sasines to show, very conclusively, that the old Cross stood on the south side of the High Street near the head of St. Monan's Wynd. It was about 45 feet east from the present eastern gable of St. Giles', or 90 feet from the original gable as it stood in 1365. To put the matter in another form, if the present Cross had been placed 24 feet farther north (which is virtually the centre of the High Street), it would have occupied the identical site of the mediaeval Cross.

Whether Dunedin's Cross at the time of Flodden 'rose on a turret octagon,' as poetically described by Scott, is open to doubt, but there is documentary evidence to show that there was a door and stair leading to a platform, on which was set up the 'lang stane,' or pillar, and that the structure had some Gothic ornamentation. In February 1861 James Drummond, R.S.A., read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in which he contended that the mediaeval Cross was merely raised on a series of steps surrounded by a low wall, but entries in the Treasurer's Accounts referring to doors and locks make quite clear that this is a misconception.

The year 1617 constitutes a landmark in the history of the Cross, for the structure which it was proposed to rebuild in 1555 was now

removed and a *portion re-erected* lower down the High Street, at a point which is marked to this day by an octagonal figure in the causeway. Opposite the head of Fishmarket Close, the new site was admirable for proclamations, pageants, or executions, though perhaps not more so than the old one. According to the contemporary Church historian, Calderwood, all that remained of the mediaeval Cross was the shaft, which however was not forty feet long, as he alleges, but about twenty. Calderwood's estimate possibly includes the pedestal or platform. Be that as it may, he says quite definitely that 'the body of the old Cross was demolished and another builded.'

In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1616-17 are numerous references to disbursements for 'taking down the old croce.' On 18th December 1616 the Council instructed Johnne Byris, thesaurer, 'to caus tak down the croce and to reedifie the same agane and place it lower nearer the trone.' At least half a dozen skilled workmen were employed. John Taliphere was clerk of works, and the stone for the new structure was obtained from quarries at Inverleith, the Dean, and Inverkeithing. On 25th March, 'the croce of Edinburgh wes this day put up on the new seat and payit for.' At the same time a 'denner' was given to the Leith mariners, who seem to have played a conspicuous part in the matter. After this, John Mylne (who became the King's Master Mason in 1631) put the finishing touches by carving ornamental details, such as heads, armorial bearings and gargoyles. The work was finally completed on 17th May 1617, the total amount expended being £4386, 5s. 6d. Scots.

The Cross was removed in 1617 because, it is said, it would have obstructed the procession connected with James VI.'s visit to his native city in that year. At first sight, this seems a paltry reason for removing one of the most ancient memorials of which Edinburgh could boast, but, as Peter Miller remarks, a little reflection on the structural arrangements then existing in the vicinity of St. Giles', together with the growing necessity for new sites for public buildings, suggests that the Cross had become an obstruction as early as 1540. In that year the Town Council bought James Preston's tenement at the east end of St. Giles' to provide an open space at the 'Lady's Steps,' and to improve the entrance to the church. Moreover, the position of the Cross in the sixteenth century rather blocked the access to St. Monan's Wynd and the Kirk Wynd, two ancient closes which ran down to the Cowgate. Nor must it be forgotten that soon after its

removal in 1617 there was reared the Parliament House, and that later in the seventeenth century a considerable portion of the closely-built area around St. Giles', as shown on Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan of 1647, was cleared away for the purpose of making an open space, known in the eighteenth century as the Parliament Close and in the nineteenth as Parliament Square. All this rather tends to indicate that the removal of the Cross in 1617 to a site lower down the High Street was not primarily due to so trifling an affair as a procession in honour of James VI., but was dictated by far-reaching considerations relative to a much-needed scheme of improvement at the very heart of the city.

Among the City Charters is a document, dated 10th September 1617, regarding a complaint made to the Lords of the Secret Council by the Messengers of Arms, in which it is explained that before the removal of the Cross the door had two keys, one being kept by the Messengers 'in ane patent place' to which they had access, namely, the booth of James Winram, writer, 'foiranent the Cross.' The other key was in the custody of the magistrates. After the re-erection of the structure, however, the Town Council kept the 'hail keyis' in 'thair clerkis chalmer.' The consequence was that the Messengers had no access to the Cross except by their permission, 'to the grete hurte and preiudice of all our soverane lordis leiges.' The Messengers therefore were compelled to make 'thair chairgis, proclamatiouns, denunciatiouns, and inhibitiouns at the croce fute.' The petition of the Messengers did not go unheard, for the Provost (Sir William Nisbet) and the bailies were summoned before the Lords of the Secret Council to show reasonable cause why one of the keys should not be in the custody of the Messengers, as heretofore. The result was that their Lordships decerned and ordained the Provost and bailies to deliver to the Messengers 'ane key,' to be 'layd and keepit in the said James Wynrahames buith foiranent the Cross, as in times bygane.'

During the Cromwellian government the Cross was defaced, and in May 1660, in view of the celebrations connected with the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, it was deemed necessary not only to carry out repairs but to give the structure a coat of paint. The latter was carried out by George Porteous, while the repairs were superintended by Robert Mylne, the King's Master Mason and the 'restorer' of Holyroodhouse.

Repaired and bedaubed, the Cross obtained a new lease of life,

which lasted for almost a hundred years—until 1756, by which time it had come to be regarded as an obstruction, and orders were given for its demolition. The *Scots Magazine* records this piece of vandalism thus: 'The demolition of the Cross has now taken place. As soon as the workmen began, which was in the morning of March 13, some gentlemen, who had spent the night over a social bottle, caused wine and glasses to be carried thither, mounted the ancient fabric, and solemnly drank its dirge. The beautiful pillar, which stood in the middle, fell and broke to pieces, by one of the pulleys used on the occasion giving way.' The 'beautiful pillar' (the 'lang stane' of which Calderwood speaks) was not broken to pieces, as is asserted, but the result of the accident was to shorten its former length of twenty feet to fourteen.

The passing of the Cross of 1617-1756 was lamented by 'Claudero,' an eccentric poet who under that name published *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. Among them is a piece entitled 'The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Cross of Edinburgh,' which was 'hanged, drawn and quartered on Monday the 15th of March 1756, for the horrid crime of being an incumbrance to the street.'

The pillar surmounted by the unicorn, which was the sole link between the Cross taken down in 1617 and the one swept away in 1756, had been accidentally shortened, but not destroyed. While the masonry of the lower portion of the structure was sold, the truncated shaft passed into the possession of Lord Somerville, by whom and his successors it was carefully preserved in the grounds of the Drum at Gilmerton for more than a hundred years.

If we have difficulty in visualising the Cross of the Flodden period, we have none as regards the later structure—the Cross which stood lower down the High Street and belongs to the period 1617-1756. Arnot, the historian of Edinburgh, who was born in 1749, may have known this Cross in his boyhood, but if not, he must have been acquainted with people to whom it was a familiar spectacle. His account of it in his *History* therefore has all the importance to be attached to a contemporary sketch.

The main features of the present Cross are derived from Arnot's description of the structure taken down in 1756. The medallions, which, our historian tells us, were acquired by Walter Ross, were inserted in the wall of an extraordinary tower which he built near his house in Stockbridge. Known as 'Ross's Folly,' it was demolished

in 1825. The medallions, however, were preserved, and passed into the hands of Sir Walter Scott, who had them fixed into the garden wall at Abbotsford, where they remain to this day.

When the structure was removed in 1756, a stone was erected on the side of a well adjacent to the place where the Cross stood, which, by decree of the Court of Session, was declared the Market Cross of Edinburgh. But after the demolition of the building which housed the Town Guard, the well was found to be an obstruction. Accordingly it was swept away, and in its place it was proposed, in 1785, to erect a stone pillar a few feet from the site of the well. Though the project was approved by the Court of Session, it was never carried out. Instead, the site of the old Cross was marked by the stones of the causeway being arranged so as to define the area formerly occupied by the structure. Proclamations continued to be made from this historic spot. Here, too, the citizens still assembled on public occasions; here, also, merchants persisted in transacting their business notwithstanding that the Royal Exchange had been erected for their convenience. Nasmyth, of steam-hammer fame, tells us in his *Autobiography* that so late as 1820 it was customary on the King's birthday to drink His Majesty's health on the spot where had stood the Cross of 1756.

The movement for the restoration (if restoration it can be called) of the Cross—that movement which culminated in the erection of the structure we know so well, was a protracted affair. It began in 1829 with a proposal to bring the ancient pillar from the park at the Drum, and to place it on a new pedestal and on the old site of 1617-1756. But the negotiations appear to have broken down. In 1848 the scheme was revived by James Sinclair, Unicorn Pursuivant, who memorialised the Town Council on the subject. This was followed by another memorial for which William Anderson, Marchmont Herald, was responsible. But after inspecting the pillar at the Drum, the Town Council did not consider it either 'necessary or expedient' to take further action.

The idea, however, continued to gain strength, and in 1860 a committee of influential citizens was formed 'for the purpose of taking such steps as may appear desirable to further the restoration of the Old Cross of Edinburgh, in the style and on the site of that ancient historical relic of the Scottish Capital.' Of this committee, Sir William Johnston was chairman, and, on the motion of James Ballantine, the

poet and stained-glass artist, William Chambers, the publisher, was appointed secretary.

In the first place, David Cousin, the city architect, prepared designs for the proposed restoration. Careful sketches were made of the pillar at the Drum, and thereafter drawings were made showing a restoration in harmony with the style indicated by the only remaining portion of the old structure. The pillar being Gothic, the arches, columns and ornamental details were designed in that style, a notable feature being that the arches were open. Some persons were of opinion, however, that the Cross taken down in 1756, and not that removed in 1617, should as far as possible be followed. To remove all possible objections as to the want of a definite plan, the committee procured a design from the Royal Scottish Academy and the Society of Antiquaries, which these bodies obtained from David Bryce, the eminent architect. This design, which was very nearly a facsimile of the Cross taken down in 1756, and a fine example of Scots architecture before the Union, was submitted to the Town Council for their approval.

From the first, the committee insisted that the site should be in the High Street, and as near that of the old structure as practicable, and, in the belief that the Town Council had agreed to this stipulation, they set about raising public subscriptions. But they were speedily disillusioned. While the Lord Provost (Francis Brown Douglas) was favourable to the site suggested by the committee, a party in the Council, led by Duncan M'Laren, disapproved altogether of the restoration on the ground that it would endanger amenity as well as impede the traffic. The upshot was the adoption by a majority of a motion refusing consent to the structure in the High Street, but expressing the view that the open site to the east of the County Buildings would be suitable. This site, however, was regarded by the committee as inconsistent with all traditions on the subject, and irreconcilable with the expectations that had been held out to subscribers. In short, the Council had recommended a site which, as the Lord Provost publicly declared, was enjoined by Act of Parliament to be kept free of buildings. This action led the committee to relinquish further proceedings, and the money gathered for the re-erection of the Cross was returned to the respective donors.

What gave an impetus to the movement for restoration at this time was the fact that in the sale of the Drum estate the proprietor, Alexander Mitchell of Stow, had reserved the shaft, and offered it to the

city, to be used in the event of the Cross being rebuilt. The relic was brought back to the city in 1869, and erected (mainly through the exertions of David Laing) on a pedestal within the railings at the north-east corner of St. Giles', where it remained for sixteen years. The present unicorn on the top of the pillar was added on the occasion of the removal from the Drum.

That the idea of complete restoration was lost sight of for a number of years was due to the fact that most of the leaders of the movement of 1860 were dead and that the succeeding generation did not evince the same enthusiasm. Suddenly, however, the idea was revived in a most hopeful form by no less a person than William Ewart Gladstone, who on 21st March 1885 wrote to Sir George Harrison, the Lord Provost, as follows: 'As your great historic city is the capital of Midlothian, no less than of the Kingdom of Scotland, I earnestly desire, in the character of representative of the county, to leave behind me this small but visible record of grateful acknowledgment of sincere affection in a form closely associated with local and with national tradition.'

When Gladstone decided to leave behind him some 'visible record' of his gratitude to the electors of Midlothian, he appears to have consulted the late Lord Rosebery, who suggested that the memorial should take the form of a complete restoration of the Cross.

Hardly had Gladstone's offer been accepted when the Town Council found themselves face to face with the old difficulty as to where the restored Cross could be placed so as least to interfere with the public convenience, and yet be conspicuous and near the ancient site. Eventually the Office of Works sanctioned a site between the east end of St. Giles' and the Police Chambers, and about a score of yards from the site of the Flodden Cross as well as the site of the structure erected in 1617.

Sydney Mitchell, who was appointed architect, had a hard problem to solve, the prints of the old Cross being on so small a scale as to give scarcely any indication of its design. Fortunately, however, none of them raise a doubt as to the substantial accuracy of the description and drawing given by Arnot in the 1788 edition of his *History of Edinburgh*. Anyhow, the architect took it as sufficiently correct to serve as a guide, though the study of many similar structures of that period were usefully brought to bear on the work.

Active operations were begun in August 1885, and before the

middle of October the octagonal basement was ready to receive the pillar, which has been the central feature of the Cross that existed at the time of Flodden as well as of the later structure of 1617-1756. We are therefore to regard the present Cross as preserving the main feature of the earlier ones. The sense of continuity is maintained. The shaft, as we have seen, was broken in 1617, but what remains of it is thoroughly genuine. But the basement on which the old shaft stands is quite another matter: it is brand new—an octagon 16 feet across and 15 feet in height. At each corner is an Ionic pillar, with a mimic bastion corbelled out from the capital, while between each pair of pillars is a semicircular arch, over which, between the bastions, is a medallion. If it had been possible, the old medallions, acquired first by Walter Ross and then by Sir Walter Scott, would have been restored, but as this could not be, others were inserted bearing heraldic devices, as follows: the Arms of the United Kingdom as quartered in Scotland; then the Arms of Scotland, England and Ireland; next, the Arms of the city of Edinburgh, copied from the old medallion at Abbotsford; and finally, the Arms of the burgh of Canongate, the Town of Leith and the University of Edinburgh. The arch on the east side of the Cross has, as in olden times, a door leading to the open platform on the top of the octagon, whence all royal proclamations affecting Scotland are once more made.

On 23rd November 1885, almost fifty years ago, the restored Cross was formally handed over by Gladstone to the custody of the Town Council, who passed a resolution declaring 'the restored Market Cross and the space around the same . . . to be the Market Cross of the city.' So interesting an event in the history of Edinburgh was fittingly celebrated. There was a lunch at the City Chambers, speeches by Gladstone and Rosebery, and leading articles in the Press. The *Scotsman* spoke of Gladstone as 'a reverent worshipper of antiquity,' and pointed out that the Cross he had restored was 'associated with many of the most memorable acts in Scottish history.' The importance of the occasion could not be mistaken. 'When the year 1885 shall become a date in bygone history, and the career of Mr. Gladstone shall be studied by the Scotsmen of other centuries, it may be that the restoration of the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and the first proclamation made from it in presence of its restorer, may be regarded as not the least memorable of the great events in Scottish annals.'

V

LANDS OF PILRIG, WARRISTON AND TRINITY

On the evening of Tuesday, 11th December 1934, in the Goold Hall, Mr. John Russell lectured on the lands of Pilrig, Warriston and Trinity, together with their mansions. Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., presided in the absence of the President.

Directing attention first of all to Pilrig, the lecturer pointed out that these lands were part of the large barony of Broughton which David I. granted to the Abbey of Holyrood. From early times there was a tower, or 'peel,' on the ridge there, whence the name 'Peelrig' or 'Pilrig.' In 1500 the Monypenny family were owners of the estate. Robert Monypenny, laird of Pilrig, was killed at the Battle of Pinkie. His son and heir, Patrick, married Katherine Kincaid of Warriston, a family with whom the Monypennys were always friendly. Their grandson, Sir Patrick, was twice ward in Edinburgh Castle for taking part in brawls, in one of which Bonnington Mills were wrecked.

In 1623 Sir Patrick sold Pilrig to Gilbert Kirkwood, goldsmith in Edinburgh. He it was who built the existing mansion, a good example of the period when feudal strife had practically ceased and defensive features, as in the old tower of the Monypennys, were no longer necessary. R. L. Stevenson (whose mother was a Balfour of Pilrig) has immortalised the old manor house of the Kirkwoods in *Catriona*. Gilbert Kirkwood is said to have fallen a victim to the plague of 1645, but he was dead some three or four months before the pestilence broke out. He was succeeded by his only son, another Gilbert, who immediately parted with the estate to Sir William Douglas of Kellhead.

This family, after holding Pilrig for three generations, disposed of it in 1718 to Archibald, first Earl of Rosebery, who the same year sold it to James Balfour, merchant burgher of Edinburgh, whose father (of the same name), along with Robert Blackwood, bailie in Edinburgh, was the founder of the Darien Company. An iron treasure chest (still kept at Pilrig) contains a valuable collection of Darien papers which virtually confirm the statement that the elder James Balfour, and not William Paterson, as is generally supposed, was mainly responsible for the Scots colonising scheme. James Balfour, of Darien fame, married Helen Smith, a niece of the heroine of the

Morocco 'Land' in the Canongate. He engaged in the manufacture of soap and glass in Leith, and, along with others, had a monopoly for the making of gunpowder in Scotland, its manufacture being carried on at Powderhall. R. L. Stevenson leaves his hero, David Balfour, at the end of *Kidnapped*, on the point of going to consult his kinsman, the laird of Pilrig (the grandson of the founder of the Darien Company), who was Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University from 1754 to 1764, and afterwards Professor of Public Law, which Chair he held for fifteen years.

Passing to Warriston, Mr. Russell spoke of the ancient family of Kincaid, cadets of Kincaid of Kincaid, which was associated with the lands in the sixteenth century. In 1600 John Kincaid, whose sanity may be doubted, was murdered at the instigation of his young and beautiful wife, Jean Livingstone. She was incensed by his brutal treatment of her, though the prime mover in the wicked design was Janet Murdo, her old nurse. Both women were tried by the Baron-Bailie of Broughton and sentenced to be taken to the Gallowee, there 'to be bound to ane staik and to be worret and brunt quhill thay be deid.' James VI., however (as the Canongate Burgh Court Book, 1592-1600, shows), changed the sentence, at least in the case of Jean Livingstone, to one of beheading. The murder of John Kincaid is commemorated in the ballad of 'The Laird of Warriston.'

In the seventeenth century the Kincaids for several years carried on a bitter feud with the Logans of Bonnington. In 1672 Mary Kincaid, the last of her family, sold Warriston to her kinsman, Sir James Cockburn, who in turn immediately disposed of the estate to James Gray, merchant burgher of Edinburgh. The Grays remained in possession till 1774, when Warriston was bought by William Ramsay, banker, who afterwards acquired Barnton. In place of the old mansion of the Kincaids, reached by the ford at Puddocky, Ramsay built the present Warriston House just after Inverleith Row had been opened up through the building of the bridge at Canonmills in 1761. In 1817 the Ramsay family sold the mansion to Alexander Henderson, another Edinburgh banker, who was also laird of Eildon Hall, near Melrose: hence the names Eildon Street and Eildon Terrace.

At the Warriston Road entrance to Warriston Cemetery once stood the village of Warriston and the farm of Warriston Mains. Both were close to the original Ferry Road which, following the course of the Water of Leith, joined the present Ferry Road at the hamlet of

Bangholm, near Goldenacre, whose old-time smithy is still to the fore. When, in 1759, the line of the Ferry Road was changed to its present route, Warriston Road, which now divides the estate into Easter and Wester Warriston, had to be opened up to give access to Warriston village and farm and the ford of Puddocky. All the lands between this road and the ditch still dividing Warriston from Bonnington were in 1795 purchased by Andrew Bonar (an uncle of the famous Presbyterian divines, Andrew and Horatius Bonar), who built the mansion now occupied by the Edinburgh Crematorium.

In the concluding part of his lecture, Mr. Russell dealt with Trinity, which forms part of 143 acres acquired by James IV. in 1505 from the Abbot of Holyrood to build the harbour of Newhaven. The western portion of these acres formed part of the Abbot's lands of Bangholm. Those to the east were the Warriston lands, and were always kept by the Abbot in his own hands. The annual rent of the portion of these acres around Stanley Road went to the maintenance of the high altar in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and for that reason were called the lands of the Holy Cross of Warriston.

The acres of Newhaven (as the lands acquired by James IV. used to be called) are still Crown lands, and, along with the harbour, were formerly administered by a Bailie appointed by the King. After being held for many years by the Logans of Bonnington and Sheriffbrae and the Grays of Warriston, they were held by Evan Macgregor. During his period of office, the name Macgregor was proscribed for the misdeeds of the clan, and he had to change his name. In the sasines he is described as Evan Evanson. In 1713 the Evansons sold their acres in Newhaven to the Master and Mariners of the Trinity House in the Kirkgate. The latter subsequently purchased more acres, on which they built the farm of Trinity Mains, from which the district gets its name.

The lecturer afterwards recalled the associations of numerous old mansions in Trinity—Christianbank, Lixmount, Laverockbank, Trinity Lodge, Cargilfield, Lilypot, and Admiralty House. Literary associations are recalled by Trinity Grove, the 'Harmony Hall' of John Ballantyne. There is an interesting reference to the mansion in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*. It was built in 1789 by David Hunter of Blackness, whose son, Alexander, was a partner of Archibald Constable, and the *bête noire* of Scott. In 1811 Trinity Grove was purchased by William Creech, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the publisher of

the second edition of Burns's Poems. Creech is the hero of the bard's 'Willie's Awa.' In 1818 Creech's trustees sold the house to John Ballantyne, a younger brother of Scott's partner. Sir Walter and George Hogarth (Dickens's father-in-law), as trustees, disposed of Trinity Grove after John Ballantyne's death. The mansion, which still stands, has been much added to, but the original portion is kept intact, and forms a single dwelling.

VI

SOME CHARACTERS AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF OLD EDINBURGH

Three periods of the history of Edinburgh were dealt with by the Hon. Lord St. Vigeans in a lecture which he delivered on the evening of Tuesday, 12th February 1935, in the Gould Hall—the reign of Queen Mary; the eighteenth century, the latter half of which was, his Lordship said, the *locus classicus* of the study of Old Edinburgh; and the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The title of the lecture was 'Some Characters and Characteristics of Old Edinburgh.' Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, presided over a large attendance.

Lord St. Vigeans pointed out that while Edinburgh in the time of Queen Mary was the most important town in Scotland, it was still essentially parochial and merely civic. It did not exert a dominating influence on the course of national events and aspirations. But even then the striking situation of Edinburgh and its characteristic buildings struck the imagination of visitors. Not until the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, did the city divest itself of its mediaeval character and become a distinctive entity, the representative voice of Scotland.

It was then that Edinburgh blossomed out not only as the capital of Scotland, but made for herself a name in the world of letters and began to take an outstanding place among the capitals of Europe. The sudden blaze of literary effort in the latter half of the eighteenth century, which might be regarded as the Augustan age of Edinburgh, was partly explained by historical reasons. The learning of that period was not perfunctory. It was characterised by a range and

width which would have done credit to a much more advanced state of intellectual activity.

After speaking of the remarkable men who gave Edinburgh the impetus to clothe herself in the garment of beauty and to vaunt herself as a home of learning, Lord St. Vigeans sketched the city as he knew it in his youth, and gave interesting recollections of its prominent citizens, more particularly of those Lords of Session who sat on the Bench when he was at the Scottish Bar in the 'nineties.

In conclusion, Lord St. Vigeans spoke of Edinburgh as the microcosm of Scottish history. She had borne herself proudly in the past, and she still wore her crown as one of the most beautiful, the most distinctive, and the most intellectual cities of the Kingdom.

The lecture was much appreciated, as was evidenced by the loud applause with which the audience responded to the President's call for a vote of thanks to Lord St. Vigeans. On the motion of Dr. Francis J. Grant, the President was thanked for his services in the Chair.

EXCURSIONS

I

CAROLINE PARK HOUSE

ON Saturday, 5th May 1934, the members (by permission of Messrs. A. B. Fleming and Co.) visited Caroline Park House, 'one of the finest places of the kind near Edinburgh,' says Cockburn, and among the few houses in which contemporary panelling, modelled plaster work, and decorative paintings are complete and well preserved. About seventy members assembled on the fine old lawn to the north of the mansion, where Mr. John Russell gave an interesting account of Caroline Park, and was able, as the result of researches at the Register House, to shed fresh light on the early history of the neighbourhood.

The barony of Granton, he explained, was originally known as 'Grendum,' and first came into the records in 1165, in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden. It was then owned by the family of Melville, ancestors of the Earl of Leven and Melville. In 1528 the barony was divided into two estates, John Melville of Carnbee giving to his son, James, the portion which lay between Granton burn and Wardie burn, and which then became known as the barony of Easter Granton. It included the 'Golden Riggs,' later called Goldenacre. Wester Granton, the original castle of which was the manor house of the undivided estate, continued to be held by the older branch of Melvilles of Carnbee, and had reserved to it all the privileges attaching to the barony of Malcolm IV.'s time. Among these were the right to all the minerals, of which one-tenth had to be given to the King; likewise the right to all ships with their cargoes wrecked on the shore opposite their lands.

In 1580 Easter Granton was sold to Andrew Logan, a member of the Coatfield family, but the connection of the Melvilles with Granton was not finally broken till 1592, when Wester Granton was sold. Its ancient castle was partly destroyed in 1544 by Hertford's army (which landed at this spot), but was rebuilt by Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall,

who purchased Wester Granton in 1619. This ancestor of the Hopetoun family had his town house in the Cowgate, where the Public Library now stands. Hope, who was Lord Advocate of Charles I., but eventually became the chief adviser of the Covenanters, lived for twenty-seven years in the old castle of Wester Granton, the ruins of which disappeared only about ten years ago. The barony was sold by the Hope family in 1688, and, after being possessed by various owners, was purchased in 1740 by John, second Duke of Argyll, who is commemorated in the pages of the *Heart of Midlothian*.

Easter Granton, again, was bought in 1659 by Patrick Nicoll, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, who, two years later, received a charter of *Novodamus* from Charles II., in favour of himself and his daughter, erecting Easter Granton into the barony of Roystoun. Under this name, and along with the original manor house, it was bought by Sir George Mackenzie, created Viscount Tarbat and Earl of Cromarty. In 1678 he was made Justice-General, and from 1702 to 1704 was Secretary of State for Scotland, in which capacity he powerfully advocated the Union. Tarbat's son, James, was a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Roystoun. In 1739 the latter disposed of the barony of Roystoun to John, Duke of Argyll, who in 1740, as already noted, also became the owner of Wester Granton. Having reunited the two estates, the Duke named the property Caroline Park, in honour of Caroline of Anspach, the Queen of George II. After Argyll's death in 1743 Caroline Park passed to his eldest daughter, Lady Caroline Campbell. She married Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, who died in his father's lifetime. On the death of this Dowager Countess of Dalkeith in 1793 the estate was possessed by her son, Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch.

During the Buccleuch ownership Caroline Park had several notable tenants. Between 1763 and 1780 the mansion was occupied by Sir James Adolphus Oughton, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland. He was an intimate friend of James Boswell, and it is almost certain that Dr. Samuel Johnson dined at Caroline Park in 1773. Sir John Stewart of Allanbank was tenant in 1794, and he was followed by the father of Lord Cockburn, who resided at Caroline Park for thirty-five years. According to his son, Sheriff Cockburn did the place 'no good,' for he 'removed several very architectural walls, a beautiful bowling-green, a great deal of good shrubbery, and an outer gravelled court at the north front.' Lord and Lady John

Scott (the latter the authoress of a version of 'Annie Laurie') were the last distinguished occupants of Caroline Park, only quitting the mansion in 1872 when Messrs. A. B. Fleming and Co. took over the building on a long lease. In 1922 the firm purchased the property from the Duke of Buccleuch along with the ground on which their factory is built.

Caroline Park House is a notable specimen of Scottish domestic architecture. It was erected for Viscount Tarbat in 1685, probably under the supervision of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie and Kinross, the designer of the modern portion of Holyroodhouse. Situated in a small park to the west of Granton Harbour, it is a harled building of two storeys, save on the south front (recently damaged by fire), where upper apartments are contrived within the roof. The mansion is quadrangular and encloses a paved court. The lateral wings have ogival roofs, and on the north front is a low parapet with finely moulded balusters. Above the moulded doorway is a stone tablet bearing a Latin inscription, of which the free translation runs:—

'Riches unemployed are of no use, but made to circulate they are productive of much good. Increase of property is accompanied by a corresponding increase of care, wherefore, for their own comfort and that of their friends, George and Anna—Viscount and Viscountess Tarbat—have caused this small cottage to be built in the year of the Christian era 1685. Enter then, O Guest, for this is the house of entertainment. Now it is ours, soon it will be another's; but whose afterwards we neither know nor care for none hath a certain dwelling; therefore let us live well while we may.'

So far from being a 'small cottage,' Caroline Park is an imposing mansion with two entrances, the principal one being on the north, where the massive and ornate piers of the sea-gate testify to the former grandeur of the place. To Cockburn, this was 'the grandest gate in Scotland,' the filigree ironwork of which now adorns Sauchieburn House in Stirlingshire. The south front with its flanking towers is in the Renaissance style, and was placed against an older front by Tarbat in 1696. Round each tower is a delicately wrought frieze. Upon the west one is inscribed in bold characters 'Anne Vicountes (*sic*) Tarbat,' while the east one bears the words: 'George Vicount Tarbat.' The south entrance lies beneath a wooden porch surmounted by a balcony

with a wrought-iron screen. Above the balcony is a French window with a pediment enclosing a sun in glory, the crest of the Mackenzies of Cromarty.

The main staircase exhibits on its railing one of the finest examples of smithwork in Scotland. The staircase leads to a suite of spacious rooms, panelled in Memel pine, embellished with imaginary landscapes in monochrome (believed to be by De La Cour) above the doors and fireplaces, and having richly decorated ceilings. The ceiling of the principal apartment is divided into geometrical compartments, each containing modelled plaster scroll-work. In the centre is an allegorical painting of Aurora or the Dawn, signed 'N Hevde, Inventor.' The ceiling of the adjoining room has a circular panel depicting Diana visiting Endymion, the work of the same artist; while the walls of a third apartment are adorned with seven landscapes executed in green, amber and gold, and having borderings containing the Argyll arms. In one of the windows of the mansion are three panes of glass on which has been scratched a passage from Addison's *Rosamund*, appended to which are the words: 'I have done it, April 15, 1774.'

Mr. Russell was cordially thanked, on the motion of Dr. Francis J. Grant.

II

DUDDINGSTON CHURCH AND HOUSE

The second excursion of the season took place on Saturday, 2nd June 1934, when members and friends to the number of about eighty visited several objects of historical interest in Duddingston parish, which is supposed to derive its name from one 'Dodin of Dodinestun,' who flourished in the reign of Malcolm IV. Among those present were Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club; the Earl of Cassillis, and Dr. Francis J. Grant.

The ancient church with its burial ground was first inspected. Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., who acted as leader, gave an elaborate description of the architecture of the building and drew attention to many interesting features seldom noticed. Erected about the twelfth century, the church of Duddingston became in the time of William the Lyon a possession of Kelso Abbey. Originally the edifice was unaisled and Romanesque in design, but the addition in the seventeenth century

of a north aisle and central western tower marred its proportions. Despite its having been grievously knocked about, the church still retains a beautiful chancel arch, semi-circular and in two recessed orders. Externally, the most notable feature is the south doorway (now closed), a fine specimen of the Norman era of architecture. One of the pillars supporting the semi-circular arch contains a representation of the Crucifixion. On the sinister side of the central cross is a cock with head averted, also a figure looking towards the cross, which may typify St. Peter. But the whole ornamentation is much worn and therefore difficult to decipher.

In the east wall is a built-up doorway with the date 1631. This was formerly the entrance to the loft, and was reached by a fore-stair. Several interesting monuments in the churchyard were pointed out, likewise the iron joughs and the 'loupin-on stane' at the entrance. In connection with the burial vault of the Dicks of Prestonfield, the curious fact was mentioned that Sir Alexander Dick, who was President of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, granted James Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson, a right of burial there.

The most famous minister of Duddingston was John Thomson, the landscape painter (1805-40). 'Thomson of Duddingston, heavy and strong,' as Dr. John Brown characterised him, was one of an artistic and literary coterie, and visitors to the manse in his time included Turner, Sir David Wilkie, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, John Clerk of Eldin, and Sir Walter Scott. The last-mentioned became an elder in Duddingston Kirk in 1806, and is said to have written a portion of the *Heart of Midlothian* in the manse garden. In the seventeenth century Duddingston had an extraordinary minister in Robert Menteith. Presented to the parish in 1630, he fell into disgrace and fled to Paris, where, being an accomplished French scholar and a forceful personality, he made his mark. Having become a Roman Catholic, he attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities, was appointed secretary to Cardinal De Retz, and subsequently a canon of Notre Dame Cathedral.

In Duddingston parish there lived in retirement Sir John Hay (1600-54). He began his career as Town Clerk of Edinburgh and ended it as Provost. He was also Lord Clerk Register, and in 1633 was made a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Barra. Hay rendered himself unpopular by espousing the ecclesiastical policy of Charles I., and was forced to resign the Provostship of Edinburgh and take refuge in England. Returning to Scotland some years later, he was convicted

of treason and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. On regaining his freedom, Hay joined Montrose, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh. But his life was spared, and he spent his last days in Duddingston. Another celebrity who had associations with the parish was William Smellie, the Edinburgh printer, naturalist, and antiquary. Smellie, who attended the village school, is noticed in Burns's 'Crochallan Fencibles.' He edited and largely wrote the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, an Edinburgh undertaking. In Duddingston, son of a farmer at Clearburn, was born the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, founder of the Relief Church.

After visiting the manse, the company proceeded, under Mr. Kerr's guidance, to Duddingston House, an imposing Grecian edifice, built between 1763 and 1768 from designs by Sir William Chambers, the architect of Somerset House, London. The barony of Duddingston belonged at one time to the Duke of Argyll, but in 1745 it was bought by the Earl of Abercorn, who erected the present mansion, the whole costing £30,000. Duddingston House witnessed much festivity when occupied by the Earl of Moira, who in 1803 became Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Passing down to the Willowbrae Road, Cauvin's Hospital was pointed out—a plain, white, villa-like building, founded by Louis Cauvin, who, after teaching French in Edinburgh (Burns was one of his pupils), became a farmer in Duddingston. Dying in 1825, he bequeathed his property for the maintenance and education of the sons of poor teachers and farmers, or, failing such, those of printers and booksellers.

Further along Willowbrae Road, and nearer the city, stands Nairne Lodge, which was also inspected, Mr. G. Robert Gair, the owner of the mansion, acting as leader. A large and substantially built structure, surrounded by a high-walled garden containing tall trees, it was formerly known as Caroline Cottage. Its present name is derived from the circumstance that it was the Baroness Nairne's principal home from 1806 to 1830, and that in it this gifted songstress probably composed 'Caller Herrin' and 'The Laird o' Cockpen.' After her husband's death in 1830, Lady Nairne temporarily resided in Ireland, and Caroline Cottage was let to Thomas De Quincey. In the old mansion under the lee of Arthur's Seat the Opium Eater lived during 1833 and to the end of May 1834. For him, it was a time of domestic sorrow, but amidst it all he continued writing for *Blackwood*. At Caroline Cottage, too, he penned some of his articles for *Tait's Magazine*.

But De Quincey's income fell short of expectation, while his erratic habits and the fatal expedient of 'leaving his affairs to arrange themselves' soon brought him trouble. Consequently there was a dispute about the paying of the rent of Caroline Cottage, and in the end Lady Nairne's representatives resorted to sharp measures. This is quite apparent from a long letter written by De Quincey in defence of his position, which was first reproduced in *Chambers's Journal* some years ago. It is clear that Lady Nairne intended returning to Edinburgh, and wished to stay in her old home at Duddingston, and that De Quincey's departure from Caroline Cottage was hastened to give her immediate entry. Nairne Lodge seems to have been built early in the eighteenth century, and was originally small. Some of the rooms have been restored as far as possible to their original state.

Mr. Kerr and Mr. Gair were warmly thanked, on the motions of the President and the Earl of Cassillis respectively.

III

THE DRUM AND WOOLMET HOUSE

The Drum, Gilmerton, and Woolmet House, both intimately connected with the history of Edinburgh, were visited on the afternoon of Saturday, 21st July 1934. The company, which numbered about fifty, first inspected the Drum, the leader being Mr. Hamilton More Nisbett, author of *Drum of the Somervilles*. Mr. More Nisbett gave an interesting résumé of the associations of the place, and narrated the principal facts concerning the erection of the existing mansion, besides describing its architecture. There are many Drums in Scotland (Galloway is credited with 198), but the Midlothian one is rendered distinctive by the use of the definite article: it is *the* Drum. Here resided for close on four hundred years the Lords Somerville, whose history was chronicled by one of their number in *Memorie of the Somervilles*, a work written in the seventeenth century. Despite its prolixity, Sir Walter Scott was attracted by it, and in 1814 published the *Memorie* in two volumes.

The first house of Drum, of which there is record, was built for Hugh, sixth Lord Somerville, in 1584-85, the builder being John Mylne, the King's Master Mason. It was twice burnt and rebuilt before the middle of the seventeenth century. The existing mansion is of Palladian design. Its architect was William Adam of Maryburgh, the

father of the still more famous Robert. Erected between 1726 and 1734, the mansion is an impressive memorial to James, twelfth Lord Somerville, who was known as the Restorer, because, in addition to rearing the present mansion, he repaired the fortunes of the family and revived the title. This Lord Somerville was a friend of Allan Ramsay. The Drum is situated a little to the east of the old house, a portion of which it incorporates, though only on the ground floor, where it forms the kitchen and cellarage. Here can be seen a fine door-knocker of wrought iron, bearing the initials 'J. S.' (for James, eleventh Lord Somerville), and dated 1698.

When the connection of the Lords Somerville with the Drum came to an end in 1800, the property was sold in lots, the purchaser of the house being James Hay of Bhaglepore, an East Indian merchant. In 1806 it was owned by Robert Cathcart, W.S., a partner in the firm of Archibald Constable, Scott's publishers. Lockhart characterises this laird of Drum as 'a man of high worth and integrity.' In 1820 the house was sold to Gilbert Innes of Stow, and was afterwards inherited by Alexander Mitchell of Stow. In the 'sixties it was acquired by John More Nisbett of Cairnhill, with whose descendants it still remains.

To those interested in Old Edinburgh, the chief attraction of the Drum is that within the grounds was preserved for upwards of a hundred years the truncated shaft of the ancient Mercat Cross. In 1756 the 'lang stane' was (in 'Claudero's' words) 'hanged, drawn, and quartered . . . for the horrid crime of being an incumbrance to the street.' By some accident the Cross was allowed to fall among the ruins. Fortunately, the fragments were secured by the Lord Somerville of that day, by whom and his successors it was carefully preserved at the Drum till 1869, when it was restored to the city by Alexander Mitchell of Stow and erected beside the north transept of St. Giles'. There it remained until 1885, when it was placed on the pedestal of the restored Cross, the gift of Gladstone. When taken to the Drum the shaft of the Cross was set up on an eminence near the farm steading, but later was removed to the south end of the beech avenue. A replica now occupies the site.

Mr. Hamilton More Nisbett was thanked for his services on the motion of Dr. Alexander Darling.

Half a mile to the east of the Drum stands Woolmet House, which was also inspected, the leader being Mr. W. Forbes Gray, who drew attention to its architectural features and read some notes relating

to its owners. Woolmet, with its quaint towers and turrets, and its fine series of dormer windows, is a notable specimen of the Scottish Baronial type. The mansion, which bears the date 1686, is three storeys high. In front is a little courtyard, entered by an imposing gateway, arched and ivy-covered. Situated in the middle of a field and isolated, the avenue of approach having become grass-grown, Woolmet owes not a little of its interest and charm to the fact that it has never been modernised. The ground floor is still occupied, but the rest of the mansion has been tenantless for a number of years. In early times the lands of Woolmet belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline, and subsequently to the Edmonstone family, a branch of which occupied the ancient manor house.

In 1673 James Edmonstone sold Woolmet to Major John Biggar, whose only child married William Wallace, a nephew of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Lord Justice-Clerk. On uniting himself to the heiress, Wallace (a descendant of the Scottish patriot) assumed the name and arms of Biggar. The present mansion probably was reconstructed by this family. Over the main doorway and on several of the dormers are carved the initials 'W. B.' together with the coat-of-arms of the Biggars.

Early in the eighteenth century the fortunes of this family became connected with the south side of Edinburgh. The first to settle there was Robert Biggar, grandson of Major John Biggar of Woolmet, and one of the unfortunate shareholders in the Darien scheme. He was a famous golfer and archer, and had two sons—John and Walter—who, forsaking the family tradition, sought their fortunes in trade. About the middle of the eighteenth century they erected a linen manufactory in Sciennes, and rapidly built up an extensive and profitable business. It is noteworthy that the firm was presented by the British Linen Company with a service of silver plate as an acknowledgment of the perfection to which it had brought the manufacture of linen.

John Biggar, the elder of the two brothers, lived at Sciennes Hill House, where Burns and Scott met. Walter, on the other hand, resided in an old house (now demolished) at the east end of Sciennes Road. The brothers owned considerable property in Sciennes, land as well as buildings. John Biggar, whose portrait was painted by Sir George Chalmers, married a daughter of Charles Butter, Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights, and the great-grandfather of Anne,

Duchess of Sutherland. Mrs. Biggar's brother figures in *Kay's Portraits*. He held the honorary appointment of Carpenter to His Majesty's Household and was a member of the Town Council. Butter resided at Kirkbraehed, an old mansion which stood at the west end of Princes Street.

John Biggar had a large family, several of whom rose to eminence. Charles published in 1804 'A Narrative of the Escape of Mr. Charles Biggar from Valenciennes, through part of Germany, Effected under Circumstances peculiarly Difficult and Distressing.' This member of the Biggar family once conversed with Napoleon, and in the 'Narrative' tells that on one occasion he had an excellent opportunity, if there had been two persons along with him, of bringing Napoleon a prisoner to England. Charles Biggar shared the family enthusiasm for music, and was the grandfather of John Hullah, the musical composer.

A younger brother, Walter, entered the linen manufactory in Sciennes, but in later years gave himself almost wholly to music and the drama. About 1820 he brought out a collection of Scottish dance music. In this work will be found 'Mr. Biggar's Strathspey' and 'Mr. John Biggar's Jig.' Walter Biggar also compiled a ready reckoner, which was published when he was seventy-four. Bankers and merchants in the middle of last century were much indebted to 'Biggar's Interest Circle.' Of commanding appearance and high education, Walter Biggar was fond of sport and rode to hounds with the Duke of Buccleuch. His wife, Rachel Heggie, was a relation of Dr. Thomas Chalmers.

Walter's youngest brother, John, was the first to enter the architectural profession, with which the family were prominently connected for three generations. Born at Sciennes Hill House in 1772, he was apprenticed to Robert Burn, who designed the Nelson monument. In 1796 he was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh, 'in right of John Biggar, linen manufacturer.' Later on, he bought the property of Rosehall, in Dalkeith Road, his object being to erect villas thereon, but for some reason only one was erected. John Biggar died in 1811 at his house in Argyle Square. His wife, a daughter of William Murray, corn merchant, Edinburgh, traced collateral descent from David Hume, also from Alexander Home of Kennetsidelands, the Covenanter, who perished at the Market Cross in 1682. Her sister was the wife of James Callender, manager of the Union Bank of Scotland.

The eldest son of John Biggar, the architect, bore the same name as his father and followed the same profession. In 1828 he married Jane Gray, daughter of John Gray, baxter in Edinburgh and a member of the Town Council. Mrs. Biggar was related to George Combe, brewer at Livingston's Yards, the parent of the celebrated brothers, George and Andrew Combe—the former phrenologist, moral philosopher, and husband of Cecilia Siddons, the latter Physician to Queen Victoria and the author of *Principles of Physiology*, which reached a fifteenth edition. A sister of Mrs. Biggar married Hugh Nimmo, baxter, who built the first house at Montpelier, Bruntsfield Links, and resided there. John Biggar, the second architect, was factor of the property in the south side of Edinburgh belonging to John Hope, W.S., and for many years was a Commissioner for the eight southern districts of Edinburgh before they became incorporated with the city in 1856. A member of the High Constables of Edinburgh, he became Captain and Custodian of Insignia. Joining the Scottish Episcopal Church at the Disruption, he was treasurer of St. Peter's Church, Roxburgh Place, and had much to do with the building of the present church in Lutton Place. The edifice, which was designed by an eminent London architect, was erected under the superintendence of Biggar's son, who bore the same name and was, like his father, a well-known architect. John Biggar, the second architect, died in 1862. He was the last distinguished representative of a family which could trace descent from the lairds of Woolmet, and which had been closely connected with Newington, first as linen manufacturers and then as architects, for nearly a century and a half.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1933.

CHARGE		DISCHARGE	
I. Funds at close of last Account :-			
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£70 0 0	I. Miscellaneous and Postages,	£10 12 3
Add—Due by Treasurer,	10 9 3	II. Printing and Stationery,	11 18 3
	£80 9 3	III. Lecture and Excursion Expenses,	28 8 9
II. Subscriptions :-		IV. Volume Expenses,	8 7 6
For year 1933—		V. Funds at close of this Account :-	
350 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£183 15 0	In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£257 0 0
Less—Paid in advance during 1933,	4 14 6	Due by Treasurer,	2 0 0
	£179 0 6		
26 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	13 13 0		
	£192 13 6		
For year 1934—			
12 Members at 10s. 6d.,	6 6 0		
	198 19 6		
III. Volumes sold (16),	8 8 0		
IV. Excursion Fares,	24 10 0		
	£312 6 9		255 0 0

THOMAS E. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

EDINBURGH, 3rd January 1934.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1933, 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

1934

Honorary Patrons

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OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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JAMES H. JAMIESON, 14 Sciennes Gardens.
The Hon. LORD ST. VIGEANS, 33 Moray Place.
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WILLIAM GREENHILL, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.
DAVID ROBERTSON, S.S.C., City Chambers.

Honorary Auditor

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 30th January 1935, at 4 o'clock.

Sir Robert Gilmour, of Liberton and Craigmillar, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., Honorary President, presided, and there was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-seventh 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-seventh Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1934 there were fifteen vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain fifteen names on the list of applicants for admission. In 1933 the losses by death or resignation were unusually heavy, but the leeway has been more than made up, and, as indicated, there is again a substantial waiting list. In these times of economic uncertainty, when societies such as ours are being forced to curtail their activities, the prosperity of the Club is gratifying, since it points to a widespread interest in historic Edinburgh, to a genuine desire to become acquainted with its resplendent past, either through the study of 'traditions, legends and historical data,' or by an intelligent inspection of the ancient buildings and other memorials that survive.

A full programme of lectures and excursions was carried through. Both the subjects discussed and the places visited were closely connected with the old life of Edinburgh, and, judging by the attendances, this side of the Club's work is viewed with increasing favour. Three lectures were delivered in the Goold Hall—on 27th February, when Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Ph.D., described 'The Work of the Canongate Courts'; on 13th November, when Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., told the story of the Market Cross; and on 11th December,

REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING 39

when Mr. John Russell dealt with the lands of Pilrig, Warriston and Trinity, together with their mansions.

There were also three excursions. Caroline Park House, the south front of which was recently damaged by fire, was visited on 5th May. The mansion and neighbourhood are full of history, an outline of which was given by Mr. John Russell, who also pointed out the architectural features of the house and drew attention to the rich internal adornment. On 2nd June Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., conducted a large party at Duddingston Church and Duddingston House, after which a visit was paid to Nairne Lodge, with its memories of the Baroness Nairne and De Quincey. Mr. G. Robert Gair, owner of the mansion, acted as leader. The third excursion (21st July) was to the Drum, Gilmerton, and Woolmet House. At the former Mr. Hamilton More Nisbett, author of *Drum of the Somervilles*, was guide; at the latter, Mr. W. Forbes Gray.

BOOK OF THE CLUB

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the preparation of Volume XX. of the Club's publications is well advanced. The following papers have been arranged provisionally :—

- I. The Grammar School of the Canongate. By H. M. Anderson.
- II. Dalry House: its Lands and Owners. By John Smith.
- III. The Magistrates and Masters of Leith. By David Robertson.
- IV. The Hammermen of the Canongate: Part II. By Marguerite Wood.
- V. An Eighteenth-Century Riding School. By W. Forbes Gray.

Miss Anderson's paper breaks new ground, for although Dr. David Laing contemplated a history of the Canongate High School, and even collected some material for it (which has been drawn upon by the present writer), the project was not completed. The article to be published by the Club embodies all the available information, the main sources of which are the burgh records, numerous notices in the contemporary Press, and fugitive references in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.

Another illuminating paper is that dealing with the Dalry estate. Mr. Smith has been a diligent student of sasines. Besides tracing the successive owners, he sheds fresh light on the feuing of that

portion of the estate now covered by Fountainbridge and adjoining localities. In particular, we are given a full-length word-portrait of that sinister figure, Sir Alexander Brand, with whom Dalry began the most notable chapter in its history. The paper also discloses the interesting fact that in Fountainbridge was a small colony of English Government officials, most of them sent to Edinburgh after the Union of 1707. Many of the Scottish nobility and gentry also dwelt there. Finally, we are introduced to a body known as 'The Society and Fraternity of Gardeners in the Shire of Midlothian,' whose convening hall stood in the vicinity of Morrison Street.

'The Magistrates and Masters of Leith,' which forms the subject of a paper by Mr. Robertson, the Town Clerk, was a body which existed in the first half of last century, and to which was entrusted certain duties previously discharged by the Police Commissioners. The narrative, which is limited to information from the Minute Book of the Magistrates and Masters of Leith (recently presented to the Corporation), provides interesting details of important events that happened in Leith during the period covered.

In the second portion of her paper on the 'Hammermen of the Canongate,' Miss Wood deals with the convening house of the Incorporation; the statutes of the craft; and the Hammermen's relations with Edinburgh, with national affairs, and with charities. The article closes with some extracts from the Book of the Hammermen.

The concluding paper, 'An Eighteenth-Century Riding School,' by Mr. W. Forbes Gray, tells of the chequered fortunes of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises, an institution founded in 1763, patronised by the nobility and gentry of Scotland, and in receipt of a royal grant of £200 a year (latterly increased to £400). The Riding School occupied the site of the Royal College of Surgeons in Nicolson Street, and was built from designs by Robert Adam. In 1828 the manège was removed to Lothian Road. The article is based partly on the Minutes of the Royal Academy for Teaching Exercises and partly on reports to the Court of Exchequer and other documents preserved in the Register House.

The Chairman (Sir Robert Gilmour, Bart.) submitted the Report and Balance Sheet.

Alluding to the activities of the Club, Sir Robert deplored the fact that so many quaint and historic buildings in Edinburgh were dis-

appearing. He welcomed the proposal to form a trust for the purpose of acquiring, as occasion offered, the old buildings that possessed historic interest or characteristic architectural features. A better plan, however, would be to induce the National Trust of Scotland (which already had an excellent record) to undertake the work. As a corporate body, this Trust would guarantee the complete security of the properties. The aim was to preserve the external appearance of the buildings, while the interiors could be reconditioned and made available for houses, offices, or warehouses, thereby producing some return on the money expended.

Lord St. Vigeans moved the adoption of the Report. He said:—

The Old Edinburgh Club was founded in 1908. It has thus been in existence for some twenty-seven years. This therefore seems an appropriate time to take stock of its activities and to bestow a glance for a moment at the work which it has accomplished during that period.

As expressed in the Constitution, 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 for future reference.'

These objects have been kept steadily in view, and the result has been the publication of nineteen memorable volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. It will be at once apparent that in some cases these volumes provide a valuable record of those antiquities which still exist in tangible form, but that the record of those which have been destroyed or removed are absolutely invaluable as now affording the only possible means of recalling their characteristics, their history and their associations.

It is evident from a glance at its constitution that this Club does not exist for the purpose of purchasing or saving from demolition buildings of historic interest. That would be outside the purview of its constitution and might involve much larger issues. That is a duty which lies on the citizens as a whole, and, in my opinion, the time is ripe and more than ripe for the formation of a committee of influential citizens, with funds at their back, to attempt to preserve the historic relics of our city which still remain. This was written before the recent public circular was issued. But I am very glad to

learn that a meeting of citizens has been called for next week, with the view of putting this idea into practical form. The aim of such a committee would be not to criticise but to co-operate with the Town Council in their endeavours to save what remains of historic or architectural interest in Old Edinburgh. I for one believe that the Town Council are wholehearted in their efforts, whenever opportunity offers, but, of course, the rock upon which they split is the consideration of finance, and that is a matter for the citizens at large who love their ancient capital. In the meantime I am merely pointing out that the Old Edinburgh Club are primarily historians and that their constitution does not permit them to become, however much we should desire it, if funds permitted, preservers or restorers of ancient buildings.

Apart from these more practical questions, it must be admitted that the function of the historian as interpreted by the Old Edinburgh Club is of vital importance, and a perusal of the volumes which the Club has already issued cannot fail to impress upon any one what a remarkable achievement has been accomplished. These volumes contain the results of a vast amount of original research, which has been contributed voluntarily by the members of the Club, and they provide a rich mine of information on all kinds of topics relating to the history and traditions of our city which will be of the utmost value to this and to future generations of lovers of Edinburgh. Taken as a whole, the publication may be described as a monumental work rich in all kinds of lore and providing a most fascinating study. What strikes one very forcibly is the immense amount of material that lies to the hand of the diligent student of the old buildings and old traditions of what was the comparatively small superficial area which constituted Old Edinburgh. That small area is packed with interest: historical, literary, architectural and legendary. It would not be out of place to compare these volumes, as records, with the Doomsday Book of William the Conqueror, or the Golden Book of Venice, which chronicled the illustrious names and famous deeds of the citizens of that seafaring Republic, and, like these, they will form a legacy of inestimable value to future generations of citizens of Edinburgh, who love their city and cherish its associations.

Lord Rosebery, who was the first Honorary President of the Club, said at the first meeting: 'I think the feeling of most of us must be one of surprise that the Club has not been long ago in existence, and one of strong regret that such has not been the case.' To us, at least,

it must be a matter of great satisfaction that the Club was founded even then, and that in the intervening years it has done its work with such admirable results.

It is, of course, impossible in a short speech to bring before you all the riches which these volumes contain, and I must content myself by merely indicating the extent and the range of subjects which are treated in such voluminous and accurate detail. All honour to the men and women who have devoted their time and talents to this laudable and patriotic work.

The first volume set the high standard of original and accurate investigation which has been continued in succeeding volumes, and that volume appropriately begins with a descriptive list of the old houses remaining in the High Street and Canongate, by Bruce J. Home, prefixed to which is a map with all the historic sites marked thereon. Lord Rosebery aptly remarked that the paper would always be considered a classic essay of reference on the subject, but he commented on the sinister and dismal sentence with which it began, 'that since 1860 (*i.e.* in Lord Rosebery's own lifetime) two-thirds of the old buildings in Edinburgh had been demolished.'

In this volume John Geddie began the valuable series of articles in which he details all the sculptured stones of Old Edinburgh, illustrated by numerous vignettes and drawings—an extraordinarily valuable record.

In his fourth article Mr. Geddie did a notable service to lovers of Old Edinburgh by describing and illustrating by many plates the sculptured stones which once adorned the old mansion house of the Napiers, called Wrichtshouses. In 1800, by what was admittedly an act of vandalism, this quaint mansion-house was demolished to make way for the snuff-maker's charity foundation of Gillespie's Hospital. The sculptured stones were scattered here and there and bereft of their significance by being detached from their associations with this fine example of a mediaeval building, long occupied by a family of Napiers, who were cadets of Merchiston. Now the only record of it is in Mr. Geddie's article, and a note in the appendix to Wilson's *Memorials of Old Edinburgh*, where there is reproduced a characteristic etching by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe of the old mansion-house. It also appears in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1788.

William Cowan, your late indefatigable and learned President, in describing the erection of the first houses at the east end of Princes

Street, recalls the dispute in 1771 between the Town Council and the feuars of Princes Street, in which after much litigation the latter succeeded in preventing the building of houses on the south side of Princes Street, which would have been an irreparable calamity and would have destroyed the beauty of one of the finest streets in Europe.

Dr. Walter B. Blaikie describes the situation of Edinburgh during Prince Charlie's occupation with his Highland Army, and Dr. Moir Bryce writes on the Flodden Wall and illustrates his paper by a plan representing the various walls with which Edinburgh was surrounded at various periods of its history.

We are also indebted to Dr. Moir Bryce for an exhaustive history of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, and the whole of the volume of 1918 was devoted to an exposition by him of the history of the Burgh Muir, which contains an immense amount of research. This comprehensive article includes *inter alia* the history of the Grange of St. Giles, the lands of Bruntsfield and Whitehouse, the convent of St. Catherine of Siena, St. Roque's Chapel and the lands of Canaan, and gives a minute description of the several parts of the Burgh Muir, which is connected with so many notable events in Scottish history. In another article he described that gem of architecture, St. Margaret's Chapel, which is the oldest building in the Castle.

The history of the Old Tolbooth is elaborately dealt with by John A. Fairley in a series of articles and, as one would expect, particularly distinctive houses are described by various authors. You have for instance the Cannon-Ball House, Lady Stair's House, Mowbray House, Tailors' Hall and Huntly House, so-called. Then you have a map of Edinburgh, constructed to represent the places of historic interest as they existed in the middle of the eighteenth century, by Henry F. Kerr—a most valuable record for future reference. There are some 600 of these, of which 300 are there identified. And as a complement to that, a complete list of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh is given by Charles B. Boog Watson, from the Esplanade to the quaintly named World's End Close. Mr. Forbes Gray very usefully collects extracts from the Bannatyne Club publications relating to Edinburgh, which are not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. Among more general articles are those dealing with the social and literary clubs, such as the Friday Club and the Wagering Club, which were a remarkable feature of Edinburgh society in the eighteenth century, and a history of the Sedan Chair in Edinburgh. There are

biographies of interesting personalities, such as George Drummond, the great Lord Provost, who was instrumental in getting the North Bridge built, establishing the Royal Infirmary, and founding several chairs in the University, in addition to leaving behind him a priceless diary. You can read of John Wesley's stay in Edinburgh and a biography of Sir Daniel Wilson. There is also an article on the reminiscences of a Town Clerk which throw very interesting side lights on the life and characters in Edinburgh in the first half of the nineteenth century.

From the few scattered remarks I have been able to make, it will easily be perceived what a treasure house of information on all kinds of topics relating to the historic associations and monuments of antiquity of Old Edinburgh these volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* constitute. As time goes on, and interesting buildings disappear, it becomes more and more important that their significant features should be chronicled and described. The volumes of the Club should be more widely and better known to the public at large.

The special thanks of the Club is due to Mr. Forbes Gray for his devoted work in editing these publications.

The President seconded, and the Report and Balance Sheet were unanimously adopted.

On the motion of the President, the Hon. President, Sir Robert Gilmour, Bart., and the Hon. Vice-Presidents, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Earl of Cassillis, and Mr. John Geddie, were re-elected.

Dr. Francis J. Grant moved the re-election of Mr. C. E. S. Chambers as President of the Club, which was unanimously agreed to.

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., Lord 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.

46 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Robert Thin, M.B., F.R.C.P. Ed., LL.D., Sir Joseph Dobbie, S.S.C., Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., and Mr. W. Glassford Walker, C.A., were elected members of Council.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. William Angus, Record Office, Mr. Frank C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., the retiring members of Council.

Sir Robert Gilmour was thanked for his services in the Chair, on the motion of Mr. Alexander Darling, LL.D.

The meeting then terminated.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER
For the Year ended 31st December 1934.

CHARGE		DISCHARGE
I. Funds at close of last Account :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£257 0 0	£17 0 0
Due to Treasurer,	2 0 0	
	<u>£255 0 0</u>	
II. Subscriptions :—		
For year 1934—		
350 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£183 15 0	
Less Paid in advance during 1933,	6 6 0	
	<u>£177 9 0</u>	
26 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	13 13 0	
	<u>£191 2 0</u>	
III. Volumes sold (12),	7 7 0	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts,	198 9 0	
	<u>6 6 0</u>	
	<u>2 13 0</u>	
	<u>£462 8 0</u>	
V. Funds at close of this Account :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£140 0 0	
Due to Treasurer,	8 13 6	
	<u>131 6 6</u>	
		<u>£462 8 0</u>

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.
HENRY LESSELS, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

EDINBURGH, 3rd January 1935.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1934, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

Old Edinburgh Club

1935

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Honorary President

SIR ROBERT GILMOUR, OF LIBERTON AND CRAIGMILLAR,
BART., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST.
The Right Hon. THE EARL OF CASSILLIS.
JOHN GEDDIE.

President

C. E. S. CHAMBERS, 11 Thistle Street.

Vice-Presidents

ROBERT T. SKINNER, M.A., 35 Campbell Road.
CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON, 24 Garscube Terrace.
FRANCIS J. GRANT, C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms,
18 George Square.

Honorary Secretary

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 35 East Claremont Street.

Honorary Treasurer

Sir THOMAS B. WHITSON, LL.D., 21 Rutland Street.

Editor of Publications

W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.

Council

HENRY F. KERR, A.R.I.B.A., 12 East Claremont Street.
CHARLES A. MALCOLM, M.A., Ph.D., W.S. Library, Parliament Square.
JOHN RUSSELL, 2 Brunton Place.
JAMES H. JAMIESON, 14 Sciennes Gardens.
The Hon. LORD ST. VIGEANS, 33 Moray Place.
JAMES S. RICHARDSON, 19 Rothesay Terrace.
WILLIAM GREENHILL, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.
DAVID ROBERTSON, S.S.C., City Chambers.
ROBERT THIN, M.B., F.R.C.P. Ed., LL.D., 25 Abercromby Place.
Sir JOSEPH DOBBIE, S.S.C., 10 Learmonth Terrace.
KENNETH SANDERSON, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street.
W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 2 Coates Crescent.

Honorary Auditor

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., 39 Melville Street.

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

*Surviving Original Members marked **

ALLAN, Mrs. C. A., 68 Restalrig Road, Leith.
Allan, Charles W., J.P., 6 West Castle Road.
Allan, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.
Allan, James, J.P., 6 Castlelaw Road, Colinton.
Allan, William, 4 Sciennes Gardens.
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Donaldson's Hospital.
Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 31 Bellevue Place.
*Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 20 Grosvenor Crescent.
Anderson, William, 2 Dalkeith Street, Joppa.
Anderson, W. Kinloch, 14 George Street.
*Angus, William, Record Office, H.M. Register House.
*Armstrong, John Johnston, 9 Learmonth Terrace.
Atkinson, John J., 26 St. Ronan's Terrace.
Auchmuty, Mrs., Arnshean, Ravelston Dykes.

BALFOUR-MELVILLE, EVAN W. M., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.
Ballingall, David, 22 Starbank Road, Trinity.
Barclay, Oswald, C.B.E., D.L., J.P., 6 Merchiston Park.
Barker, John S., 18 Denham Green Terrace, Trinity.
*Barnett, David, Lady Stair's House, Bank Street.
Barnett, Rev. T. Ratcliffe, Ph.D., 7 Corrennie Gardens.
*Barrie, John A., 15 Abbey Road, Eskbank.
Bartholomew, Ian, M.C., M.A., 19 George Square.
*Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.
Berry, Miss E., Fetternear, Kemnay, Aberdeenshire.
Bethune, John, Viewfield, Currie.
Bonar, John J., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.
*Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Bowers, John, 9 Comiston Drive.
 Boyd, John S., Norland, Jedburgh.
 *Boyes, John, 40 Glendevon Place.
 Brown, Charles, 43 Grange Road.
 Brown, G. Dods, 6 Howard Place.
 Brown, James C., LL.B., 94 Dalkeith Road.
 Bruce, James, W.S., 16 Hill Street.
 Bruce, Miss, 19 Bright's Crescent.
 Bryce, Herbert D., 37 Barnscourt Terrace.
 *Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., 8 Bellevue Terrace.
 Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 505 Strathmartine Road, Dundee.
 Butchart, R., Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge.
 Butters, John W., M.A., 116 Comiston Drive.
- CALLUM, Mrs. PEARSON, 19 Roseburn Cliff.
 Cameron, John, S.S.C., 18 Gilmour Road.
 Campbell, Archibald B., W.S., 16 Wester Coates Gardens.
 Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., 'Moidart,' Currie.
 *Campbell, J. D. B., 25 Ainslie Place.
 Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Newhailes, Musselburgh.
 (*Hon. Vice-President.*)
 Chambers, C. E. S., 11 Thistle Street. (*President.*)
 Christie, Miss Margaret, 1 Clark Road.
 *Chrystal, F. M., M.B., 187 Gilmore Place.
 Clapperton, D. A., C.A., 8 Magdala Crescent.
 Clark, Alexander, Roselea, 45 Clermiston Road, Corstorphine.
 *Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
 Considine, W. D., 2 Alvanley Terrace.
 Cook, Sir Edmund R., C.B.E., Law Society, Chancery Lane,
 London, W.C.
 Cormack, Donald S., 21 Ulster Crescent.
 *Couper, Rev. W. J., D.D., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow, E.
 *Craig, Sterling, LL.B., 130 Princes Street.
 Crawshaw, Dr. Charles, Barwood Mount, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.
 Crichton, A. D., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
 Crichton, George, 6 Duncan Street.
 Cruikshank, John, 55 Castle Street.
 Cullen, William J., 7 Howard Street.
 Cumming, Charles M., 4 Laverockbank Terrace, Trinity.
 Cunningham, Mrs. Jean C., 38 Buckingham Terrace.

OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

- DALRYMPLE, The Hon. Sir HEW, K.C.V.O., D.L., 24 Regent Terrace.
 *Darling, Alexander, LL.D., 23 South Oswald Road.
 Darlington, James D., 21 Pitt Street.
 Dawson, A. B., C.A., Misbourne, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.
 Dickson, John A., 3 Brandon Terrace.
 *Dobbie, Sir Joseph, S.S.C., 10 Learmonth Terrace.
 Dobbie, Lady, 10 Learmonth Terrace.
 *Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.
 Donaldson, James, M.A., Morrison's Academy, Crieff.
 Donaldson, James, 8 Gilmour Road.
 Dott, Miss Margaret F., c/o M'Leish, 139 Dalkeith Road.
 Douglas, Miss C. P., 97 Inchview Terrace.
 Douglas, John, 6 St. Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, London, S.W.
 Douglas, L. MacQueen, Newpark, Mid-Calder.
 Douglas, Robert E., 89 George Street.
 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.
 Drummond, William, S.S.C., 66 George Street.
 *Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 7 Ravelston Terrace.
 Duncan, Robert J., 12 York Road.
 Dunn, Miss Jessie D., Braehead, Inveresk.
 EDGAR, Mrs. J. DOUGLAS, 9 Sylvan Place.
 Eggeling, H. F., 95 Comiston Drive.
 Erskine, Andrew, Solicitor, 31 Scotland Street.
 *FAIRLEY, JOHN A., Curator's House, Lauriston Castle, Davidson's
 Mains.
 *Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 46 Dick Place.
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie J., Ellem Cottage, Duns.
 Fisher, John, 18 Learmonth Terrace.
 Forbes, Miss Marcella, 8 Hope Crescent.
 *Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.
 Francis, S. H., 3 Learmonth Terrace.
 Fraser, Mrs. James, 23 Learmonth Terrace.
 Fraser, Professor John, M.C., M.D., 32 Moray Place.
 Fraser, W. A., 49 Braid Avenue.
 Freeman, Sydney C., 9 Thistle Street.
 GAIR, G. ROBERT, Nairne Lodge, Duddingston.
 Gardner, A. Norman, M.B., Ch.B., 11 Hope Terrace.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Gauld, H. Drummond, Allandale, Saughton Road.
 *Geddie, John, The Hillock, Liberton Drive, Liberton. (*Hon. Vice-President.*)
 Geddie, Mrs. Hannah E., 'Ellicot,' Eskbank.
 *Gibson, James T., Largo, Box 29, Mildura, Victoria, Australia.
 Gilchrist, Miss Nancie H., 8 Kirk Brae, Liberton.
 *Gilmour, Brigadier-General Sir Robert, Bart., C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., The Inch, Liberton. (*Honorary President.*)
 Glassford, Samuel, 'Aparima,' Corbiehill Road, Davidson's Mains.
 Glegg, A. H., W.S., Maines House, Chirnside, Berwickshire.
 Good, Mrs., Braefoot, Liberton.
 Gordon, Miss Emily M., 4 Ainslie Place.
 Grant, Francis J., C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms, 18 George Square. (*Vice-President.*)
 Grant, Miss I. F., 10 Heriot Row.
 Grant, J. Taylor, M.D., 9 Eglinton Crescent.
 Grant, Robert, 31 George IV. Bridge.
 Gray, W. Croft, S.S.C., 5 Forres Street.
 Gray, W. Forbes, F.R.S.E., 8 Mansionhouse Road. (*Editor of Publications.*)
 Green, A. M'Watt, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.
 Greenhill, William, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.
 Gumley, L. S., J.P., 52 Inverleith Row.
- HALLIDAY, T. M., 21 Priestfield Road.
 Hamilton, James, J.P., 20 Finlay Drive, Glasgow, E. 1.
 Hannah, Hugh, Solicitor, 6 St. Bernard's Crescent.
 Hannah, William, 27 Bellevue Place.
 Hannan, Rev. Thomas, M.A., The Rectory, Links Place, Musselburgh.
 Hannay, Professor R. K., LL.D., 5 Royal Terrace.
 *Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
 Hardie, R. S. L., 3 Clarendon Crescent.
 Hawkins, Miss Eleanor, 19 Mayfield Terrace.
 *Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.
 Hayne, Adam H., 'Thirlestane,' Gardiner Road, Blackhall.
 Henderson, Peter H., 57 St. Alban's Road.
 Henderson, W. F., 16 Mansionhouse Road.
 Hendry, Robert J. L., Clydesdale Bank, George Street.
 Hewat, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.
 Highgate, James, 31 Dumbreck Road, Glasgow, S. 1

- *Hogben, John, 35 Royal Terrace.
 Holland, Principal Sir Thomas H., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S., The University, Edinburgh.
 Hunter, Andrew, 48 Garscube Terrace.
 Hunter, Miss Jane, 10 Comiston Place.
 *Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.
- IMRIE, JOHN D., M.A., City Chamberlain, City Chambers.
 Inglis, D. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.
 *Inglis, Francis Caird, Rock House, Calton Hill.
 Inglis, Mrs. G. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.
 Inglis, Joseph, W.S., 110 George Street.
 Inglis, Miss Margaret J., 39 Bruntsfield Place.
- JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 11 Greenhill Gardens.
 Jackson, Miss Emily J., 44 Dick Place.
 Jameson, James H., W.S., 16 Coates Crescent.
 Jamieson, J. Boyd, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 43 George Square.
 *Jamieson, James H., 14 Sciennes Gardens.
 Jamieson, John R., 18 Napier Road.
 Johnston, Dr. W. G., 1 Upper Coltbridge Terrace.
 Joss, John, 47 M'Donald Road.
- *KELLY, JOHN G., Summerhall, Ratho.
 Kennedy, John, c/o Reid, 42 Comiston Drive.
 Kennedy, Mrs. Susan, 18 Drummond Place.
 Kerr, Henry F., A.R.I.B.A., 12 East Claremont Street.
 Kerr, W. Hume, M.A., B.Sc., Greyfriars, Jedburgh.
 Kilpatrick, Robert, 13 Rothesay Place.
 King, John A., Tigh-na-Righ, Dreghorn Loan, Colinton.
 *Kippen, John, M.A., James Gillespie's Boys' School, Marchmont Crescent.
- LAMB, STEWART, 10 Mortonhall Road.
 Langwill, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.
 Law, Alexander, M.A., Royal High School, Regent Road.
 Law, Mrs., 41 Heriot Row.
 Lawson, William B., 26 Roseburn Street.
 Leckie, Rev. R. W., M.A., The Manse, Davidson's Mains.
 Lee, William J., 21 Merchiston Crescent.
 Lemon, Miss E. B., 35 Lauriston Place.

Lessels, Henry, C.A., 16 Ravelston Park.
 Lindsay, David, 28 East Preston Street.
 Linton, Robert, City Chambers.
 Lorimer, Miss Agatha, 17 Learmonth Terrace.
 *Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.
 Lorimer, Norman W., F.F.A., High Croft, Balerno.
 Lyle, Mrs. Janet, 45 Willowbrae Avenue.

MACARTNEY, WILLIAM A., A.M.Inst.C.E., City Chambers.
 Macaulay, Mrs., *Oban Times* Office, Oban.
 M'Crae, Thomas, F.R.I.A.S., 6 North East Circus Place.
 Macdonald, Mrs. Mary, 52 Grange Loan.
 Macdougald, Robert, S.S.C., 34 Castle Street.
 Macintosh, William, 34 Woodburn Terrace.
 Mack, J. Logan, S.S.C. F.S.A., 10 Grange Terrace.
 *Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place.
 M'Kelvie, Alex., C.A., 26 Mortonhall Road.
 Mackenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.
 MacKinnon, Donald Shaw, 'Loeb,' Elliot Place, Colinton.
 M'Laren, J. Wilson, 'Dunvegan,' Moredun, Gilmerton.
 MacLennan, T. Forbes, F.R.I.B.A., 57 Melville Street.
 *M'Leod, Alex. N., 1 Blackford Road.
 MacLeod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 25 Albany Street.
 M'Neil, Professor Charles, M.D., 44 Heriot Row.
 Macniven, Daniel, 138 Princes Street.
 Macpherson, James P., Cockburn Hotel, Cockburn Street.
 M'Pherson, Miss L., 2 Albert Place, Leith Walk.
 Macrae, Donald, 31 Palmerston Place.
 MacRae, E. J., A.R.I.B.A., City Chambers.
 *MacRitchie, Lewis A., 35 East Claremont Street. (*Hon. Secretary.*)
 Macvey, William, 44 Duddingston Park, Portobello.
 Macvicar, Neil, W.S., 9 Belgrave Crescent.
 M'Vie, John, 13 Hillside Crescent.
 Malcolm, Charles A., M.A., Ph.D., W.S. Library, Parliament Square.
 Manclark, James M'Kinnon, 14 Hope Street.
 Marshall, William, Belmont Castle, Meigle.
 Martin, Robert, 70 Botsford Street, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada.
 Marwick, Hugh, M.A., D.Litt., Education Office, Kirkwall.
 Marwick, T. Craigie, 54 Northumberland Street.
 Mason, John, M.A., Ph.D., The Schoolhouse, South Queensferry.

Mathieson, Donald M., 10 India Street.
 *Mears, Frank C. F.R.I.B.A., 3 Forres Street.
 Meikle, Henry W., M.A., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road.
 *Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Mull, by Oban.
 Melrose, W. B., 17 Mitchell Street, Leith.
 Melville, A. P., W.S., 11 S. Charlotte Street.
 Melville, James, M.A., 30 Morningside Park.
 Mercer, Walter, 12 Rothesay Terrace.
 Middleton, Miss Harriet A., Manorhead, Stow.
 Mill, William, 54 Polwarth Terrace.
 Miller, Miss Milne, 31 Kingsburgh Road.
 Milligan, James, W.S., 15 York Place.
 *Milne, Archibald, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., 38 Morningside Grove.
 Milne, Charles, M.P., 9 Northumberland Street.
 Milroy, Miss J. G., 16 Abbotsford Park.
 *Minto, John, M.A., 12 Nile Grove.
 Mitchell, Alexander, 58 Comiston Road.
 *Mitchell, Charles, C.E., 2 Randolph Crescent.
 *Mitchell, William, K.C., Abbotshill, Galashiels.
 *Morris, George, 16 Strathearn Place.
 Morrison, Mrs. Jane C., 69 Merchiston Crescent.
 Munro, Charles, Castlehaven, West Ferry Road.
 Murray, Miss Eunice G., Moore Park, Cardross.
 Murray, Major The Hon. Lord James Steuart, Cuil-an-Duin,
 Ballinluig.
 Murray, J. H., Glengyle Lodge, 68 Bruntsfield Place.
 Murray, R. Selcraig, 8 Mackenzie Place.
 NIGHTINGALE, CHARLES T., S.S.C., 8 North St. David Street.
 Norrie, John, 2 Murrayfield Place.
 *OLIVER, JAMES, Callachally, 52 Craighleith Road.
 Orr, John, M.D., 6 Strathearn Road.
 Orrock, W. A., S.S.C., 4 North Charlotte Street.

PATERSON, H. BROUGHAM, S.S.C., 13 York Place.
 Paterson, James, C.A., 9 Craigmillar Park.
 Paterson, J. G., C.A., 17 Melville Street.
 Paterson, J. Wilson, M.V.O., 11 Abinger Gardens.
 *Paton, Rev. Henry, M.A., Inchewan, Peebles.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- *Paton, Henry Macleod, 13 Argyle Place.
 *Paton, Robert, 19 Regent Terrace.
 Patterson, Charles, 22 Dudley Terrace, Trinity.
 *Peddie, Miss Barbara, 63 Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W. 5.
 Pentland, D. W., 'Rosetta,' Inverleith Gardens.
 *Petrie, James A., 28 Windsor Street.
 Porter, David, W.S., 16 St. Ninian's Road, Corstorphine.
 Proudfoot, George, 45 Greenbank Crescent.
 Purves, Mrs. Isabella, 49 Greenbank Crescent.
- REEKIE, J. FERGUSON, S.S.C., 22 Great King Street.
 Richardson, James S., 19 Rothesay Terrace.
 *Robbie, J. Cameron, 22 York Place.
 Robertson, David, LL.B., S.S.C., Town Clerk, City Chambers.
 Robertson, Robert A., 24 St. Ninian's Terrace.
 *Robertson, William, 22 Atholl Crescent.
 Ronaldson, Mrs., 4 Clarendon Crescent.
 Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, 38 Berkeley Square,
 London, W. 1.
 Ross, Miss Elizabeth H., 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
 Ross, William C. A., M.A., Royal High School, Regent Road.
 Rusk, J. M., S.S.C., 14 Whitehouse Loan.
 Russell, John, 2 Brunton Place.
 Russell, Miss Madge, 112 Thirlestane Road.
 Rutherford, R. S., 36 Garscube Terrace.
- *ST. VIGEANS, Hon. Lord, 33 Moray Place.
 Salvesen, Miss Dorothy, Dean Park House.
 Sanderson, Miss Jessie, Lyndale, West Linton.
 *Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street.
 Sands, William, 37 George Street.
 Saunders, William, 15 Morningside Grove.
 Savage, Ernest A., 23 Braidburn Crescent.
 Scott, George J., J.P., Bank of Scotland, North Bank Street.
 Scott, James C., 15 Napier Road.
 *Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.
 Sinton, James, Braehead, Inveresk.
 *Skinner, Robert T., M.A., F.R.S.E., 35 Campbell Road. (*Vice-President.*)

OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

- Sloan, Rev. Andrew D., D.D., 29 Regent Terrace.
 Small, David A., 106 Princes Street.
 Smart, Mrs., Bellfield, Eskbank.
 Smith, C. Maitland, C.A., 4A York Place.
 Smith, Lieut.-Col. Chilton L. Addison, O.B.E., W.S., 19 Heriot
 Row.
 Smith, James, 123 Willowbrae Road.
 Smith, John, 14 Viewforth Gardens.
 Smith, John H., 16 Duddingston Park, Portobello.
 Smith, John Lamb, S.S.C., 26 Napier Road.
 Smith, Robert I., 9 Abercorn Road.
 Sommerville, John, 9 Hermitage Terrace.
 Spittal, John K., 41 Moray Place.
 *Steedman, James, 72 Morningside Drive.
 Steuart, James, W.S., 25 Rutland Street.
 Stevenson, Percy R., 7A Young Street.
 Stevenson, Peter, 52 Arden Street.
 Stewart, George D., 92 George Street.
 Stewart, Miss Ranolina, 19 Blacket Place.
 Stitt, Mrs. M. B., 29 Cluny Gardens.
 Strachan, J. Frederick, 27 Heriot Row.
 Sturrock, George L., S.S.C., 76 George Street.
 Sutherland, Mrs., Belvedere, Duddingston Park.
- TAIT, ANDREW C., M.A., 14 Thirlestane Road.
 Taylor, Alexander W., 25 York Place.
 Tedcastle, John G., 7 Coltbridge Terrace.
 *Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
 *Thin, Robert, M.B., F.R.C.P.Ed., LL.D., 25 Abercromby Place.
 Thomson, Miss Alice, 108 Findhorn Place.
 Thomson, J. F. Gordon, 26 Heriot Row.
 Thomson, J. Gordon, S.S.C., 54 Castle Street.
 Thomson, Leslie G., 6 Ainslie Place.
 Thorburn, Thomas, 'Hearthstones,' Tweedsmuir.
 Tirol, M., B.A., Ph.D., 174 Earl Street, Kingston, Canada.
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 *Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 Castle Street.
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CONSTITUTION

- I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'
- II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.
- III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.
- IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.
- V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.
- VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.
- VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.
- VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

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